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Faculty Introduction

Dr. Lisa Ottum
Assistant Professor of English

In the abstract, “academic research” sounds like a pretty dull activity. Asked to picture “research” in action, most of us would call up stereotypical images: test tubes and crucibles of bubbling liquid; humorless, clipboard-wielding individuals in lab coats; boxy machines with inscrutable displays. Hollywood is partly to blame. On TV and in movies, the figure of the “mad scientist” stands, synecdochically, for the pursuit of research at large. “Research” on shows like The Big Bang Theory and NCIS is conducted in labs, by people we are invited to view as quirky, antisocial, and/or obsessive. Typically, “research” is linked to medicine or criminal justice; while we occasionally see an eccentric English or history professor at work amid stacks of books, most research seems to occur under a microscope or on chalkboards covered with symbols. Research on TV looks narrow, technical—even a bit crazy. It looks like something best left up to experts.

Seen from a different vantage point, however, research takes on a very different cast. As the essays in this volume of XJUR reveal, undergraduate research at Xavier is anything but dull—indeed, research at XU is vibrant, provocative, and socially-engaged. Across the College of Arts and Sciences, Xavier students are turning their passion for language, culture, science, and other fields into new knowledge. They are framing significant questions and pursuing answers with rigor. Most importantly, Xavier students are applying the insights of Ignatian spirituality to their work in the lab, in the library, and in the many other settings where research takes place. As I look back through the essays in this second volume of XJUR, I am struck by the fact that each project engages, in one way or another, with issues of profound social or ethical import. Hannah Barker’s essay on modern drama, for example, asks whether theater can be a force for social justice—a question she relates to economic inequality in Cincinnati’s Over the Rhine neighborhood. Juan Martir, meanwhile, examines Russia’s recent invasion of Crimea, arguing that this action cannot be justified by the framework of natural law theory. The academic research displayed in this volume of XJUR is “academic”—but it is more than academic, too. It looks beyond the boundaries of the academy to the wider world, linking scholarship to real-world dilemmas.

Of course, while it may not appear so on TV, research itself is always a social activity. Behind each of the essays in XJUR is a faculty mentor, whose guidance and encouragement helped contributors to formulate an agenda, gather data, and compile their results. Xavier staff and administration also foster excellent student research: XJUR 2014 is made possible by financial support from Dean Janice Walker of the College of Arts and Sciences, advising by Drs. Mack Mariani and Lisa Ottum, and by logistical support from Nannette Moore. Essays for this volume were selected by members of XJUR’s 2014 editorial board, who read and discussed the many impressive submissions XJUR received. Finally, Sarah Nimmo (class of 2015) edited and formatted this volume.
of XJUR, preparing the issue for publication online. It is fashionable these days to assert that “it takes a village” to undertake one task or another; while this phrase is perhaps overused, it is nevertheless apt in the case of XJUR. XJUR reflects an institutional commitment to high-quality teaching, meaningful learning experiences, and the ideals that underpin Jesuit education.

Xavier University
August 2014
A Mission to What?: Education in *Afrique Occidentale Française*, 1903-1945

Sean Gravelle

Nous taillons dans le neuf, comme on dit; nous connaissons mal encore cette rude étoffe qu’on nous confie, et nos ciseaux, ne craignons pas de l’avouer, hésitent souvent dans nos mains. Nous élaborons petit à petit une pédagogie indigène…et personne de vous n’oserait assurément soutenir que nous voyons en toute netteté, non seulement les moyens, mais le but même de notre enseignement.

--Georges Hardy, from the introduction to the inaugural issue of the Bulletin de l’Enseignement de l’Afrique Occidentale Française, January 1913.

The education system which France established for her colonies in West Africa has long been the subject of interested study by historians. French colonial education policy was rooted in abstract philosophical notions and political ideologies that go to the root of her colonial enterprise. Historians have thoroughly explored the issue of education in the context of assimilation, association, the *mission civilisatrice*, the *mise en valeur*, and the *politique des races*, and shown how the resultant contradictions often caused trouble for the French. However, these questions have not always been central to their research, but rather addressed tangentially to other subjects, and the ultimate root of these contradictions has yet to be explored fully. This paper attempts to move in the direction of such an exploration by showing how these contradictions were inherent to France’s education policy as the French defined it in relation to their colonial mission, and thus led necessarily to the various tensions which characterized the colonial experience. It is important, therefore, to begin with a thorough overview of the philosophy which underpinned French colonialism.

French Colonial Ideology: An Overview

French colonial ideology was associated with the concept of “assimilation”—that is, the principle whereby conquered lands were administered as an integral part of the French Republic, and the indigenous inhabitants were
encouraged and given the opportunity to completely transform themselves into Frenchmen and live as equal citizens of the Republic. This system is rooted in French Enlightenment philosophy, which emphasized the universality of human nature in the long-standing French tendency to centralize power and in France’s perennial conviction of the superiority of her civilization. In the early days, when the French owned little beyond a few trading posts on the Senegal River and its environs, reality tended to conform to this vision. After the conquests of the late nineteenth century, however, the French turned away from the doctrine of pure assimilationism, both because of its practical difficulty in such a vast area as well as growing acceptance of pseudoscientific racism at the time.

Nonetheless, the spirit of assimilation lived on throughout the nineteenth century. In 1895, the French created a civilian government for their newly conquered territories, the Federation of French West Africa (L’Afrique Occidentale Française—AOF), and from its foundation, it functioned under the officially sanctioned ideology of the mission civilisatrice—France’s mission to bring civilization to the purportedly savage African natives. Rather than uplifting Africans by assimilating them directly into French society and culture, the AOF was to guide them on the natural course of evolution within their own cultures. This was accomplished through a variety of means, including the mise en valeur (sometimes, especially after 1924, translated as “rational development”) of the colonies, bringing scientific, technological, and economic progress, political changes to bring African society more or less gradually into conformity with French norms, and education both to further the mise en valeur and to inculcate French values in Africans from childhood.

The details of the mission civilisatrice were hardly static. Before the First World War, although colonial policy called for Africans to progress within their own cultures, there was a marked emphasis on eliminating all African institutions which directly conflicted with the ideals of French civilization. In particular, the colonial governments fought a bitter struggle to minimize the power of the African chiefs, whose authority they had previously attempted to channel for their own purposes during the period of conquest. To the French, traditional rulers represented a form of “feudal” power which must be stamped out in order for African society to progress. This policy, called the politique des races, was outlined by a circular issued by Governor General William Ponty in 1909.

A shift occurred around the time of the First World War, after which French officials began to speak more and more of “associationism” as an antidote

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2 Ibid., 6-7.

3 Ibid., 108-119.
to those past policies which they viewed as overly assimilationist. Rather than seeking to eliminate indigenous African authorities, they aimed to “associate with them,” involving not only chiefs, but also évolutés—those few Africans who had been educated and actually assimilated as “black Frenchmen”—in the decision-making process so that they would first adopt French attitudes, and then pass them on to their subjects and compatriots. This change grew out of a period when metropolitan France was not only growing more conservative and appreciative of traditional authority structures, but also developing a real interest in the cultures of Africa. It was also believed that this new policy was more benevolent and democratic by granting Africans more of a voice in their affairs and a greater ability to retain their own cultural institutions—all while still “evolving” toward the French ideal, of course.

In reality, associationism had more complex motives and was not always as benevolent as the French claimed. The new advisory councils on which the chiefs and évolutés sat generally had no real power, and efforts to establish true elective assemblies were rejected because the Africans were not considered ready for them. Furthermore, the concept of associating with native authorities, rather than spreading civilization to everyone, translated effectively to a dilution of the mission civilisatrice. Associationism was not born out of a greater respect for native culture or out of a desire to grant Africans more equality with the French. Rather, it was largely motivated by the desire of the French to consolidate their power by ruling in a more practical and efficient manner. Associationism was a means both to further the economic exploitation of the colonies and to maintain stability in the aftermath of the First World War.

Thus, broadly speaking, the tension inherent in French colonialism can be seen as resulting from the contradiction between their two aims of bringing French civilization to the Africans and of maintaining an unequal relationship in order to effectively rule over them. We may now begin to consider how these tensions relate to education.

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4 It was only recently—1899—that the École Colonialement began offering courses in African languages, and the French scholar of Africa, Maurice Delafosse (appointed director of political affairs by François-Joseph Clozel, Ponty’s successor as Governor General), was heavily associated with the political changes.

5 Ibid., 174-211.

6 Ibid.; Anne Summer and R.W. Johnson, “World War I Conscription and Social Change in Guinea,” Journal of African History 19, no. 1 (Jan. 1978): 25-38. The postwar era saw revolts by veterans whose promises from the French had not been fulfilled and demands by the évolutés for greater equality and self-determination. Associationism aimed to reign in these dangerous forces by limiting the power available to chiefs and évolutés. Furthermore, they hoped that the greater efficiency gained from delegating more power to the local chiefs would aid the mise en valeur of the colonies; that is to say, their economic exploitation.
The Education System of AOF: Description and Historiography

Throughout the colonial era, education remained central to the *mission civilisatrice*: colonial officials saw it as one of their primary tools to develop the Africans to fit the pattern of Europeans. One of the most well-known, and eloquent, exponents of this view was Georges Hardy, the *Inspecteur de l'enseignement de l'AOF* (inspector of education) appointed by Ponty in 1912. Ponty took a notable interest in education as part of colonial policy, and pursued it more vigorously than his predecessors. Hardy, an *agregé* (certified secondary and postsecondary instructor) in history, both spearheaded Ponty’s education program and wrote in detail about education policy and philosophy, most notably in his book *Une Conquête Morale: L’Enseignement en AOF*. The title (*A Moral Conquest*) is revealing: according to Hardy, while the military conquest has been completed, the African people must still be won over in another way:

To transform the primitive peoples of our colonies, to render them, as much as possible, devoted to our cause and useful to our enterprises, we have but a limited number of means at our disposal, of which the surest is to take the native from childhood, to ensure that he diligently associates with us and puts up with our intellectual and moral habits for several successive years; in a word, to open our schools to him, where his mind will be shaped by our intentions.  

Before examining the ideology of colonial education policy in French West Africa in more detail, however, it is necessary to present a brief overview of the development of the colonial system of education and its basic characteristics. Before the era of expansion and the foundation of AOF, French education in Senegal followed a purely assimilationist pattern. In those early years, there were only a handful of mission schools in the small colony, operated by the *Frères de Ploërmel*. They primarily served Europeans and Christian blacks and *métis* of the Four Communes, and thus taught a curriculum essentially identical to that of schools in France. This provided a route for Africans to completely assimilate into French culture, becoming the *assimilés* or *évolués*.

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7 Georges Hardy, *Une Conquête Morale: L’Enseignement en AOF* (Paris: L’Harmattan, 2005), 6-7. (N.B. This is a reprint; the original was published in 1917.) Original text: « Pour transformer les peuples primitifs de nos colonies, pour les rendre le plus possible dévoués à notre cause et utiles à nos entreprises, nous n’avons à notre disposition qu’un nombre très limité de moyens, et le moyen le plus sûr, c’est de prendre l’indigène dès l’enfance, d’obtenir de lui qu’il nous fréquente assidûment et qu’il subisse nos habitudes intellectuelles et morales pendant plusieurs années de suite; en un mot, de lui ouvrir des écoles où son esprit se forme à nos intentions. » (All translations in this paper are by the author, unless otherwise noted.) For a thorough analysis of this particular text as it relates to the *mission civilisatrice*, see Pat Little, “Ambiguités de la ‘Mission Civilisatrice’ in Georges Hardy’s *Une Conquête Morale: l’Enseignement en A.O.F.*,,” *Essays in French Literature* 41 (Nov. 2004).

As France dramatically widened its territorial reach at the end of the nineteenth century, however, this system became the exception, rather than the rule. In 1903, eight years after the creation of AOF, Governor-General Roume began the process of extending education throughout France’s expansive newly-conquered territory. His decree of November 24 of that year, largely written by Lieutenant-Governor Camille Guy of Senegal (who, incidentally, was an agregé in history like Hardy), set up a state-run school system, supplanting the mission schools. This new system, which lasted until reforms after the Second World War, was profoundly different from its metropolitan equivalent and from its African predecessors, reflecting the change from pure assimilation to the reformulated mission civilisatrice described above. It had two primary stated goals: first, to provide a rudimentary education to the mass of Africans, and second, to provide a slightly higher level of instruction to a small, carefully selected cadre of elites who would assist the French in colonial administration.

The French succeeded far more at the latter goal than at the former: while they were able to train Africans to fill the necessary administrative posts, few Africans ever saw the inside of a classroom. Notably, primary enrollment in AOF was low even compared to other (e.g., UK) African colonies, at 0.5% of the total population (figures for the total school age population were not known). Furthermore, even for those who did have such an opportunity, the education they received was at best a diluted and truncated form of the French original. Instruction usually terminated after a few years and encompassed little beyond basic literacy in French, elementary arithmetic, and some practical skills. Even the lucky few destined to be “elites” could only obtain, at best, a “post-primary” education geared mainly toward training for particular low-level colonial positions and lacking the equivalent of a French diploma.


Ibid., 255-56.


Bouche, “Autrefois, notre pays s’appelait la Gaule,” 116; Sabatier, “Era of Limits,” 250-51; Chafer, “Teaching Africans to Be French,” 192-93. Lycées operated in St. Louis and Dakar which offered degrees equivalent to the baccalauréat, but these were the exception. For this reason, the évolués of the Four Communes resisted the changes heavily.
This intellectual attenuation was known as “adaptive education,” where “adaptation” consisted less of accommodation to African cultures out of respect for them and more of a watering down of the curriculum. Though seeking to inculcate at least something of their worldview in their students, the French wished to keep them at a lower level. The purpose of education was explicitly to increase colonial productivity (the *mise en valeur*): excessively abstract learning would serve no useful purpose. In fact, French officials were continuously worried that their schools would create overly pretentious déclassés and déracinés—Africans detached from their roots and finding a home neither in French nor indigenous society. The administration guarded against this by keeping the academic level low, and indeed even decreasing it in several reforms during the interwar period. Thus, education in some respects preceded other areas of government policy in distancing itself from a supposed overemphasis on assimilation.

Yet at its core, colonial education policy, like the *mission civilisatrice*, remained at least partially assimilationist, in that it attempted to inculcate something of French thought in its students. Crucially, education at all levels was conducted in French (in contrast with the British who used the native vernacular, at least early on). While this was largely due to the logistical nightmare of developing instruction in the multitude of languages native to West Africa, some also justified it on the basis that it would better transmit the ideas of the superior French civilization which they hoped so much to spread. This was not empty rhetoric, though: students at the École William Ponty, the most elite school in AOF (which mainly trained teachers) absorbed French culture in no small amount. They developed a proud common identity and a new worldview, and began to see themselves as special intermediaries between the French and the Africans. Indeed, these same “Pontins” constituted a large part of the ruling class of the newly independent West African states and often pursued policies of continued cooperation with their former colonial power. Even at the lower levels of education, the French hoped to mold the masses to their liking, for example, by teaching them work ethic, hygiene, and loyalty to France. By spreading such

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15 Clignet and Foster, “French and British Colonial Education in Africa.”

16 Hardy, *Une Conquête Morale*, 145-54.


18 Ibid.: 437-40.

French knowledge, ideas, and attitudes, education played a concrete and central role in the mission civilisatrice.

Thus, education in AOF sought to bring French civilization to the native peoples, yet did not do so in order that Africans be equal partners with the French, but rather that they be better able to serve the colonial interests. Because of this, it embodies the fundamental contradictions of the mission civilisatrice. Much of the research in colonial education in AOF therefore attempts to sort out these contradictions. Early authors had the basic task of deconstructing the myth that French policy consisted of pure assimilation. Later historians have followed in that path, but have also gone deeper. Studies by Sabatier and Chafer have given a general outline of the colonial system of education and have shown both how it was “adapted” from the start and how it served French political goals. Conklin, in A Mission to Civilize, gives a thorough and enlightening analysis of the mission civilisatrice, and in particular fits education into that larger context which explains French colonial education ideology much better than the assimilation-association spectrum. Likewise, Little examines the mission civilisatrice by focusing in on Hardy’s Une Conquête Morale.

Other authors, examining more specific, concrete aspects of education, show how this ideology affected Africans and their interactions with the French. Kelly studied French portrayals of indigenous culture and noted how it was benignly trivialized, arguing that the French portrayed it simplistically in order to prevent the emergence of a native political consciousness. Chafer, in another study, examines the “political socialization” of African graduates of the École Ponty, showing how they absorbed a common mindset from the French. Sabatier studies particular student works from the École Ponty: the cahiers (reports in which the students observed and “rationally” analyzed some aspect of their own culture as a kind of capstone project) and student-written and -performed plays. She shows how, while these works were neither free expression

20 Bouche, “Autrefois, notre pays s’appelait la Gaule.”

21 Sabatier, “Era of Limits.”

22 Chafer, “Teaching Africans to Be French.”

23 Conklin, A Mission to Civilize.

24 Little, “Ambiguities of the ‘Mission Civilisatrice’.”


26 Chafer, “Education and Political Socialisation.”
of African identity nor resistance to French rule, they nonetheless allowed Africans to at least partially learn and appreciate the value of their own cultures.  

This paper builds on such past work. Others have already observed that the mission civilisatrice was beset by contradictions. In particular, while the French wanted to “civilize” the Africans, they constantly worried that they would go too far and produce dangerous déracinés and déclassés. This concern is largely what prompted both “adapted education” and “associationism.” I will argue that such tensions were the result of internal contradictions inherent in the use of education as a tool of the mission civilisatrice. Any French education would uproot Africans, so colonial officials were doomed to be forever pulling the ground out from under themselves, fighting against a phenomenon caused by their own ideological presuppositions and political policies.

First, revisiting Hardy, a more thorough examination will be made of the relationship between education and colonial ideology. This will show how an intensely abstract and philosophical attitude toward government was reflected in France’s approach to colonial education, and how its contradictions originated. Next, an analysis of texts more directly related to the schooling of Africans will show the concrete reality of this ideology. Investigating what type of education the French provided the Africans, and how the latter received it, will examine both the anticipated and actual effects of education of Africans. Finally, coming full circle, this information will support a reassessment of French beliefs about their colonies.

The Ideological Nature of French Colonial Education

The French colonial enterprise was very self-consciously philosophical, and education was no exception. From the establishment of a school system for AOF in 1903 by Governor General Roume, French officials framed the purposes of their education policy in terms of not only their practical goals, but their ideological ones as well. As Conklin observes, “The very decision to make the education of all Africans an objective of French administration in West Africa reflected this [i.e. republican] influence.”

In the metropole, the Third Republic used education as a tool in the consolidation of its rule by forming provincial peasants into citoyens français. In the colonies, education similarly served the goal of molding Africans into the kind of subject called for by their political philosophy. French schools would provide lay instruction intended to teach the rudiments of French language and thought, spreading civilization as rational French ideas permeated the minds of the natives. Unlike in the metropole, however, creating citoyens républicains was not the goal of the French in Africa.

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28 Conklin, A Mission to Civilize, 75.
Africans were to learn primarily practical skills so that they could work to advance the *mise en valeur* of the colony: their deep intellectual development was not necessary for colonial objectives. Insofar as the Africans were to evolve, it was to occur within their own cultures, not through assimilation into France. Though Roume did not focus heavily on education or outline its philosophy in detail, his initial program planted the seeds for ideological development in the future.

When Governor General Ponty came to office in 1907, he made it clear that education was a key priority for him; under his administration, it became even more entwined in the concept of the *mission civilisatrice*. First, he simply paid more attention to it than his predecessors, reforming the school system, developing a more standard curriculum and set of regulations, and attempting to increase enrollment. Additionally, he elaborated a more comprehensive philosophy of the purpose of education within colonial policy. Education would complement the *politique des races* by eliminating any African ideas or customs which conflicted with European civilization. Notably, he mandated the universal use of French as the language of instruction in the colonial schools, because ‘unless Africans learned to speak French, such measures as the eradication of ‘feudal’ vestiges and barbaric customs risked being misunderstood, and therefore remain incomplete. Instruction by the French in French, in other words, was the glue that would make all of France’s other civilizing measures stick.”

Ponty’s official statements show how he saw education, and French language instruction in particular, as an integral part of the noble mission of the French:

> The diffusion of the French language will constitute a particularly flexible link between our subjects and us. Thanks to it, our influence will seep into the masses, penetrate them, and envelop them as a network held together by new affinities….My eyes are not closed to the long-term nature of this task of schooling in AOF. It seems to me that the shining influence of our language is but yet dawning among these races of inferior civilization, but you see with which we expand our efforts.

His views were echoed and expanded by Hardy, who wrote extensively on the education philosophy of AOF. From the first sentence of Hardy’s introduction to

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29 Ibid., 75-86.
30 Ibid., 130-35.
Une Conquête Morale, it is clear that he takes an intensely abstract and philosophical approach to the entirety of colonialism: “If you asked me, ‘What is a French colony?’ I would gladly respond, ‘It is before all else the geometric place of general ideas.’”32 He goes on to elaborate:

Fortunately, we have a vocation of colonizers in our blood; otherwise, we would never have suspected so. We hear the opposite affirmed every day…in a word, to squeeze the conquered country like a lemon and treat the inhabitants as slaves—this, we do not know how to do….Instead, consider the colonies as long-term investments, prepare without haste or suddenness the transformation of the country and its inhabitants, respect as much as possible the liberty and goods of the native, and bring him to understand and assist us in our intentions; this, of which so few nations are capable, plainly conforms to our aptitudes and tastes, and I maintain that this alone is worthy to be called colonization.33

This, then, is the mission civilisatrice: to make the native think with the European; the only tool with which to accomplish this is the school.34 Education, therefore, is central to the colonial enterprise, because it is the means through which the new “moral conquest”—that is, the winning of the hearts and minds of the Africans—will be accomplished. Starting from this foundation, Hardy develops a set of principles to guide education policy on which he elaborates throughout the book. He specifically enumerates some of them near the beginning, and they are worth quoting here in full:

1. Measure the extent of instruction to the current and real aptitudes of the native.
2. Ensure that the native student perfectly internalizes the knowledge placed within his reach.
3. Adapt to the needs of the country and support step by step the work of civilization undertaken by the administration.
4. Avoid making education an instrument of social upheaval.
5. Keep the school as much as possible in accord with the familial and religious milieu.
6. Throughout these several precautions, keep and protect the school’s essential role of intellectual and moral perfection.
7. Choose teachers for natives with the greatest care, and form them especially for their task.

32 Hardy, Une Conquête Morale, 5. Original: « Si vous me demandiez, « Qu’est-ce qu’une colonie française? » je répondrais volontiers : « C’est avant tout le lieu géométrique des idées générales. » »

33 Ibid., 11-12.

34 Ibid., 12-13.
8. The key is not to understand, but to practice.\textsuperscript{35}

It is clear from these principles, and from Hardy’s discussion and elaboration on them in the text, that to him, education is central to the \textit{mission civilisatrice}, and therefore to the entire colonial enterprise. At the same time, the contradictions inherent in colonial education policy become visible in Hardy’s writing.\textsuperscript{36}

There is a very real tension between the goal of uplifting the native (point 6, for example) and the goal of Africans developing within their own culture. This leads to the precaution of keeping the curriculum “adapted” enough that students will not learn so much that they become \textit{déracinés}. The socio-political aspect of this is admitted explicitly by Hardy in his discussion of point 4, in which he explains how their schools will lose credibility if they allow too much social advancement for those outside the traditional ruling classes. Thus, selection must be made at every level, to allow the advancement of only a select few.

Furthermore, at all levels, the content of instruction is simplified because of a belief that the natives might not yet be capable of as much knowledge as the Europeans (point 1). This is also the sense in which he elaborates on point 2: he does not mean that students should be taught knowledge more deeply until they understand it, but rather that they should not be taught material which is too advanced for them to understand. His attempt to resolve these internally conflicting goals motivates point 3, which at the same time calls for education to civilize Africans, but to do so in a way adapted to their condition. The result is that the instruction in civilization given to Africans largely consists of learning subjects such as hygiene and manual labor (the main topics of his discussion on that point).\textsuperscript{37} Nonetheless, he still wishes for students to be somewhat \textit{francisés}:

“It is important, finally, that the school makes an effort to strengthen the ties of sympathy that bind the native to the French cause…”\textsuperscript{38} The persistence of this

\textsuperscript{35} Ibid., 14-22. Original text:
2. S’assurer que l’élève indigène s’assimile parfaitement les connaissances mises à sa portée.
3. S’adapter aux besoins du pays et seconder pas à pas à l’œuvre de civilisation entreprise par l’administration.
4. Éviter que l’enseignement des indigènes ne devienne un instrument de perturbation sociale.
5. Maintenir le plus possible l’école en accord avec le milieu familial et religieux.
6. Garder à l’école, à travers ces multiples précautions, son rôle essentiel de perfectionnement intellectuel et moral.
7. Choisir, avec le plus grand soin, les maîtres chargés de l’enseignement des indigènes et les former spécialement à leur tâche.
8. Le tout n’est pas de la connaître, c’est de la pratiquer.

\textsuperscript{36} This is also observed by Chafer, “Teaching Africans to Be French:” 196-99; and Little, “Ambiguities of the ‘Mission Civilisatrice.’”

\textsuperscript{37} Ibid.; Hardy, \textit{Une Conquête Morale}, 14-22.

\textsuperscript{38} Ibid., 18. Original: « Il importe, enfin, que l’école s’efforce de consolider les liens de sympathie qui attachent les indigènes à la cause française… »
idea is one of the most important driving forces in the ideology of French colonial education.

Especially relevant to the current inquiry is his discussion on teaching the French language. Hardy begins by acknowledging that there are those who think that Africans should not be taught at all, but he has no time for these “obscurantistes”—he takes it for granted that Africans must be given some kind of education, since the colonizer has a mission beyond simply exploiting the colonized peoples. Interestingly, however, he takes a very practical turn—brushing aside claims that French is an intellectually superior language, he simply points out that, given the plethora of languages in AOF, it would be logistically impossible to teach in all of them. One must be chosen, so in the (claimed) absence of a native lingua franca, he chooses French. 39

Nonetheless, instruction in French had an intellectual as well as a practical dimension for Hardy. Rather than as an end in itself (i.e., to promote the superiority of la belle langue), however, it was a means to an end: to ultimately make the African student absorb at least part of the French worldview. 40 This entailed a delicate balance: while the student would hopefully pick up some of the French mentalité, the bulk of the content of his education was still to be in practical matters. Hardy acknowledged that educators must be on their guard to preserve the intellectually and morally formative aspect of the school which, in the best French Enlightenment tradition, aims to “form the mind, to give habits of reasoning, to develop the faculties of observation and of good sense.” 41 At the same time, it was paramount to prevent studies from becoming too abstract and cerebral: they were ultimately educating the peasants, farmers, and laborers of tomorrow, not scholars and scientists. Indeed, discussing the study of written French, Hardy emphasizes that its purpose is to teach clear, precise writing in everyday language, and that “we should not worry ourselves about initiating them to the beauties of our classic literature.” 42 In order to accomplish this, French must not be taught as a subject by itself, but rather should be integrated with the other studies. As the student learns French, he also learns knowledge which will be useful in his life, and gradually becomes more French and less “savage.” 43

39 Ibid., 145-50.
40 Ibid., 149-50.
41 Ibid., 20-21. Original: « …à former l’esprit, à donner des habitudes de raisonnement, à développer les facultés d’observation et de bon sens. »
42 Ibid., 152. Original: « …nous ne nous soucions pas de les initier aux beautés de notre littérature classique… » Interestingly enough, he goes on to say that he would prefer them to read authors such as Jules Verne, apparently considering him to be a lower form of writing.
43 Ibid., 151.
These discussions between colonial officials show the importance of French language instruction for understanding the ideology of colonial education. We can see how official policy was confused and somewhat contradictory. Compare, for example, the differing reasons for teaching French: was it simply a matter of expediency, as Hardy claimed, or to spread French culture, as Ponty claimed but Hardy denied (at least on the surface)? The French could not decide whether, and how much, they wished to assimilate the Africans. Regardless, they still did teach French, and no matter how much they fought against the emergence of déracinés through adapted education, a French education was an uprooting experience for Africans. I therefore next explore how this ideology related to the actual practice of education, and reveal how this uprooting occurred.

French Colonial Education Ideology in Practice

The practice of education in colonial AOF reflected both the goals and the contradictions of French ideology. One author who examines this is Gail P. Kelly, who compares the portrayal of native cultures in AOF with that in French Indochina and finds striking differences. Analyzing textbooks, curriculum guides, and student notebooks, he argues that portrayals were inaccurate in both colonies, but in different ways. In AOF, which had no single strong, unifying nation-state prior to the European conquest, indigenous cultures are portrayed neutrally or benevolently (bordering on paternalistically), but inaccurately. Blacks are usually either lumped together as an undifferentiated group, or are viewed as individuals or villages within French-defined geographic units such as the cercle.

Either way, the existence of pre-colonial societies is ignored or downplayed. Those cultural descriptions which do exist are shallow and trivial rather than providing anything that could awaken distinctive cultural identities. Thus the French did everything they could to prevent the development of a “shared political culture,” and therefore “the schools…avoided making too many distinctions between Africans and French, between France and Africa,…or between primitive and modern.”

Kelly contrasts this strongly with Indochina, where the existence of the advanced pre-colonial nation-state of Vietnam was not only acknowledged, but emphasized through descriptions comparing it highly unfavorably with enlightened French rule. Thus the French depictions of indigenous society were responses to the pre-colonial political cultures of those societies.

While Kelly provides an incisive analysis of colonial education, he leaves his conclusions open-ended, saying that “one possibility for future examination is the relationship between the school curriculum and the emergent colonial

economic and political structures." Re-examining some of the same sources in these terms shows that, rather than simply trying to suppress the development of an indigenous political culture over and against French rule, the French in Africa were actively trying to develop a certain political culture (or at least a worldview) that advanced their goals and cooperated with their rule. This naturally follows from the political and ideological nature of French colonial education that has already been explained. Framing Kelly’s work in this context will thus help to expand his thesis. In particular, we will revisit the text *Moussa et Gi-gla: Histoire de Deux Petits Noirs* (*Moussa et Gi-gla: Story of Two Little Blacks*).

This book was a reader for schoolchildren in AOF, published in several printings from 1926 until at least 1946 (the year when the edition I accessed was printed). It tells the story of two young African children who travel around AOF in the employ of a Frenchman and learn about a variety of topics. In the preface, the authors list three purposes for the book. The first two are to complete the student’s instruction in reading through an enjoyable story and to “aid his moral, social, and practical education” by showing him various aspects of the world around him. The third objective is worth quoting in full:

> To make him know and love France, to show him our country as the most glorious, the most advanced in civilization, the first among all as much by the courage of her soldiers as by the merits of those who have made her famous, especially those who have brought prosperity and progress to West Africa. “Africa produces men,” said Faidherbe. Let us make of these men Frenchmen who are happy and proud to be such.

Like the other French officials, the authors of this book saw themselves as acting in tandem with colonial policy. But in what manner? Kelly has some suggestions, based on his analysis of this and other texts. An overarching theme is that colonial educational materials gave the impression that “indigenous society was an amorphous black mass”; i.e. they largely ignored cultural distinctions. Although there are some exceptions—at times the text does acknowledge ethnic differences between Africans, for instance—this is generally true. Most chapters focus on topics such as geography (including local wildlife, agricultural products, natural

46 Ibid., 542.


48 Ibid., v. Original: « 3. Lui faire connaître et aimer la France, lui montrer notre pays comme le plus glorieux, le plus avancé en civilisation, le premier de tous autant par le courage de ses soldats que par les mérites de ceux qui l’ont illustré, particulièrement de ceux qui ont apporté en Afrique occidentale la prospérité et le progrès. « L’Afrique produit des hommes » disait Faidherbe. Faisons de ces hommes des Français heureux et fiers de l’être. »

49 Kelly, “Presentation of Indigenous Society,” 530.
features, etc.), European technology, and moral lessons. There is little space dedicated exclusively to African culture or pre-colonial society. However, the book’s content is not only notable for what it excludes—native cultures, as Kelly observes—but for what it includes as well, through which shines the particular message France wanted to impart.

First, the book holds up certain types of relationships between different groups of people as the ideal. From the beginning, the authors emphasize that although Moussa and Gi-gla have different ethnic and religious backgrounds, they still can become friends by “rising to the ideal of brotherhood in the great black family.” Indeed, when a friendly stranger later in the story rescues our two heroes from a storm, the reader is admonished, that “all the Blacks are brothers and they must help one another.” It seems as though the French view solidarity as a distinguishing trait of civilized people, one which the Africans must adopt. Yet the call of fraternité takes on a different tone with relation to the French. It may be that “kindness has no color,” but this statement is quickly qualified:

There is, to the contrary, an advantage for a Black to find himself in the service of a White, because Whites are more learned, more advanced in civilization than Blacks, and, thanks to them, the latter can make more rapid progress....On their end, Blacks render service to Whites...for the work of all kinds which they have undertaken....Thus the two races associate with one another and work in common for the prosperity and happiness of all.

By presenting colonial subjugation as a kind of symbiotic relationship, the authors attempt to convince their African readers to accept their place in the colonial order. Indeed, this passage is, in some ways, nothing more than a rephrasing of the core tenets of the mission civilisatrice, except with an audience of young students in mind. Passages such as this make it clear how France’s abstract philosophical principles carried through to the classroom.

Secondly, there do exist a few exceptions to Kelly’s broad observation that indigenous societies and states were ignored or glossed over. Particularly striking

50 Sonolet and Pérès, Moussa et Gi-gla, vi. Original: « ...de s’élever à une idée de fraternité humaine dans la grande famille noire. »

51 Ibid., 124. Original: « ...que tous les Noirs étaient frères et qu’ils devaient s’entr’aider. » (italics in the original for this and the two following citations.)

52 Ibid., 83. Original: « La bonté n’a pas de couleur. »

53 Ibid. Original: « Il y a, au contraire, avantage pour un Noir à se trouver au service d’un Blanc parce que les Blancs sont plus instruits, plus avancés en civilisation que les Noirs et que, grâce à eux, ceux-ci peuvent faire des progrès plus rapides...De leur côté, les Noirs rendent service aux Blancs...pour l’exécution des travaux de tous genres qu’ils ont entrepris...Ainsi les deux races s’associent et travaillent en commun pour la prospérité et le bonheur de tous. »
was their section on the Kingdom of Dahomey. Several pages are devoted to a
gruesome description of human sacrifices regularly carried out by the kings of
Dahomey, complete with an illustration of an executioner holding a severed head
and a bloody sword. The chapter ends with the characters singing the praises of
the glorious French who have liberated them from this awful tyranny.  
Similarly, a narration of Tuareg raids on pre-colonial Timbuktu ends with Moussa
proclaiming, “with a serious air on his little figure, ‘Like you, Moktar, I will serve
France faithfully!’” These are hardly trivializations of pre-colonial society.
Rather, quite the opposite: the authors seem to be exaggerating its negative
qualities in order to indoctrinate their readers with love for France. This was one
of the most common goals of education cited by colonial officials (as we have
seen), and was key to their entire purpose of educating Africans. Yet it quickly
points to the ambiguity of the French desire for Africans to develop loyalty to a
country of which they would never fully be a part: here again are the conflicting
goals at the heart of colonial education.

Thirdly, the portrayals of France and of France’s relation to her colonies
help to round out the view that Africans are better off for having been colonized.
Kelly claims that school materials mostly ignored France, or portrayed it in
imprecise terms. They neither mentioned cities in France nor “aircraft at Orly,”;
“indeed,” Kelly adds, “the text of Moussa et Gi-gla was written taking great
pains, even when discussing Bastille Day, not to talk too much about the
metropole.” While this, again, is generally true, it is the exceptions that prove
the rule. Interestingly, Moussa et Gi-gla does discuss (albeit briefly) Bordeaux,
Marseille, and Paris (complete with an illustration of la Tour Eiffel). Moreover,
while the text does, as Kelly points out, give a superficial account of Bastille Day
in chapter 48, it is followed by an epic (though again somewhat cursory, so as not
to inflame too much native passion for la liberté) telling of the Revolution of
1789 and the Napoleonic Wars in chapter 49. As for the omission of “aircraft at
Orly,” it turns out that aviation was not as neglected as Kelly believes: chapter 14
explains and depicts hot air balloons, dirigibles, and airplanes, not forgetting to
mention the brothers Montgolfier, two Frenchmen who first flew in a balloon.

54 Ibid., 30-32. Indeed, they are even precise enough to provide the name of Dahomey’s last king
(Béhanzin) and the date he was “vanquished” by the French (1892) (Ibid., 26).
55 Ibid., 12. Original: «…avec un air sérieux sur sa petite figure, ‘je ferais comme toi, Moktar, je
servirai fidèlement la France.’ »
56 Kelly, “Presentation of Indigenous Society,” 539.
57 Sonolet and Pérès, Moussa et Gi-gla, 105-110.
58 Ibid., 204-15.
59 Ibid., 51-54.
By itself, aerial transport is perhaps not terribly relevant, but it is an example of a common theme throughout the book. It is filled with descriptions of intriguing European technologies that have improved life for the African, or heroic French exploits in the name of liberté, égalité, fraternité. These images, which dominate the text, are yet another example showing how eager the French were to highlight the benefits of civilization which they brought to the Africans. Though their education would hardly be sufficient to learn how to build airplanes, colonized subjects would learn that such technologies are what make people modern and civilized.

This brief examination of Moussa et Gi-gla shows how one textbook was used to advance the colonial agenda by developing a certain mindset among African students. In fact, the close connection to official French policy is seen right on the cover, which identifies it as one of the “publications exécutées par ordre du Gouvernement Général de l’Afrique Occidentale Française” (“publications carried out by order of the Government General of AOF”). Furthermore, the time period in which it was used (1926 through at least the Second World War) corresponds to the heyday of “associationism.” Thus, at the very time when the French were most emphasizing the traditional power of the chiefs and the adaption of colonial rule generally, and education specifically, to African culture, Africans were still learning about the benefits of French culture.

The next logical question to ask is what effect such an education actually had on Africans; it is thus instructive to examine sources written by Africans themselves. Among the most important of such sources are the so-called cahiers (literally, “notebooks”) at the École Ponty. These were essentially reports prepared by the students during their summer break, when they were asked to study their own home village or region and investigate a particular topic of ethnographic or anthropological interest (food, family structures, customs, beliefs, etc.). While their reliability as true anthropological research is questionable, they are invaluable as a documentation of the meaning of education for Africans in AOF.  

The program began in 1933, and a few of the first cahiers were published in the Bulletin de l’Enseignement de l’AOF, a journal, founded by Georges Hardy in 1913, through which teachers in AOF communicated with each other. They are prefaced by a description, written by Albert Charton (Inspecteur de l’enseignement at the time), which explains the purpose of the new experiment. He would first like students to give an “exact description of known facts,” while “avoiding false literary descriptions.” It is also important to “turn the attention of our future teachers to the rational understanding of their original milieu,” so that they may “find…respect for living traditions [but also] a feeling for necessary


61 Ibid., 3.
Thus he wishes to form students’ minds in such a way that they understand the world in a more rational manner, detached from the mindset of their original environment. These comments of Charton are contextualized by statements he made just the previous year, following the departure of Désiré Dupont, a director of the École Ponty who had advocated a French curriculum and metropolitan diploma for Ponty students:

> There were evidently some unfortunate results from this premature experiment: changing around the curriculum, lack of adaptation of the material studied [to African realities], aroused student ambitions and resultant disappointment, accentuation of the bookish character of the school. I think that at present the situation is almost back to normal, the obsession with diplomas not so strong, and the moment has come to reorganize the school program.

For Charton, then, the *cahiers* were in part a means of keeping the French-educated African elite connected to their own cultures enough that they might be a bridge between the two worlds, rather than being completely uprooted. Sabatier provides us with the context to see how this dynamic played out, showing how this exercise did not do much to support native culture. First, the students were hardly learning anything new—they were simply recording various aspects of everyday life which most likely seemed trivial to them. Moreover, it is known that on occasion, students simply submitted fictitious *cahiers* in order to fulfill the assignment. In general, students saw the assignment as primarily a distraction from the other (more French) parts of their education, in which they were learning things they had not known before. Second, their professors knew little to nothing about their societies, and thus graded them less on content and more on French language proficiency. Finally, there is the simple fact that, as school assignments for the French, the students’ accounts can hardly be expected to be free from the bias of self-censorship. For all these reasons, the *cahiers* cannot be unequivocally regarded as free expressions of African culture or as valid anthropological data. However, in some sense, by presenting at least some bit of African culture as worthwhile, assignments such as these might have mitigated the effects of *déracinement*, helping Africans retain at least some pride in their heritage.

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64 Sabatier, “African Culture and Colonial Education.”
Nonetheless, Ponty graduates remained notable for their view of themselves as educated Frenchmen. The extent of this is shown by how deeply the attitudes described by Charton—the ability to describe matters-of-fact dispassionately, to view their own cultures as rational external observers—implanted themselves into the students and revealed themselves through their writing. For example, the African student Sanon Sanny wrote a paper on indigenous festivals, ceremonies, and traditions in the region of Sia or Bobo-Dioulasso. Throughout the piece, he maintains a dispassionate tone, as called for. While describing the scenes with remarkable vividness, he rarely lets his own commentary through. The few times when he does are therefore instructive. First, when describing the costume of the young ladies during a funeral ritual, he claims that “you would doubtless be stunned to see in these beings, so close to nature, as much pride as in a maiden all decked out in gold and silver jewelry.”65 It would seem as though he no longer holds his home environment as normative, but understands how European culture is held up as the standard (whether or not he actually believed that is, perhaps, unknown). Thus he can relate to a reader who finds it surprising that a girl clad in native garb could be “proud.” Even more strikingly, he makes an offhand comment that implicitly rejects what is presumably his religious patrimony: “This god, which is only a piece of wood….”66 Not only have his aesthetic tastes changed, but his entire worldview seems to have become more European through education. At the very least, though, we see him critically examining his own culture from a perspective almost as if he were an outsider—just what Charton wanted.

This change in attitudes is found outside the cahiers as well. For example, another issue of the Bulletin contains what seems to be a serious, scholarly, and straightforward article on native hunting customs and their relations to religious practice. The author speaks from the perspective of a European social scientist, includes footnotes, cites other articles, and at the end, expresses the hope that “this sketch may…awaken…initiatives which will certainly contribute to the more perfect knowledge of the psychology of the West African races in order to better support French action in this country!”67 Yet the author is no Frenchman, but rather a lowly African instituteur from the Soudan, Mamby Sidibé. The fact that someone could appear so completely assimilated in a society that claimed to have rejected assimilationism is quite amazing.


66 Ibid., 203. Original: « Ce dieu, qui n’est qu’un morceau de bois… »

These sources, combined with the analysis of Moussa et Gi-gla, show how French education was in fact developing new modes of thought in Africans, even though the French took such pains to “adapt” it to native African society. French efforts, then, did not suppress the formation of a political culture; instead they created one in the image of France, especially among the elite Pontins. As has been mentioned above, the elites occupied a special place in the colonial system and they knew it. They viewed themselves as intermediaries between French and African culture and were very proud of their status as “modern.” No matter how much the French attenuated their education, this select group was leaving school with a new way of looking at the world inherited from the French, yet still their own.68

Conclusion: Understanding the French Reaction

This survey of French education in colonial West Africa has shown how, despite the best efforts of the French, contradictions stubbornly persisted. They tried their best to elaborate a coherent philosophy, armed with the theoretical might of the mission civilisatrice, but remained mired in the tension between civilizing the African while not uprooting him. The French struggled to make sense of this and to hold on to their beliefs in spite of the problems with them until the bitter end. Writing in 1940, Henri Labouret described the broad differences between the older policy (which he dismissed as pure assimilation) and the newer policy of association; as he goes on, the reader sees more and more how invested he is in the latter, seeing it as a solution to numerous problems he blames on assimilation. One can sense his frustration when he complains about those who “instead of building upon the foundations established by local culture, …preferred to pull down the whole edifice, so as to replace it by something which was in accordance with their own habits and traditions.”69 Yet he later uses his assimilationist views to explain why the Africans should not be given the ballot while they are “not yet ready to make good use of it.”70 He is clinging to his ideology for dear life, because it is all he has to deal with the contradictions of an imperial republic.

This large-scale drama, so fundamental to understanding AOF, played out on a smaller scale in education. Other authors have discussed these issues, but this paper has attempted to center on education to more fully understand why they were so persistent. We have seen, first, that the colonial authorities elaborated a detailed philosophy and policy of education, grounded in the mission civilisatrice which was central to the colonial venture generally. We have then seen the push and pull of the contradictions inherent in this ideology as education was carried


70 Ibid., 35.
out in the colonies: education was “adapted” to the African environment—i.e., watered down—while at the same time still designed to fulfill France’s mission to civilize the Africans. I have shown how, on the one hand, adaptation preceded the broader dominance of associationism within colonial circles (the former occurring from 1903, the latter primarily after the First World War). On the other hand, no matter how much education was attenuated, France’s civilizing ideology allowed enough to shine through that Africans were still becoming a little French, even in the heyday of associationism. In response to this tension, the French continued to limit education more and more in order to prevent the schools from producing déracinés, yet their fears never went away.

Therefore, rather than incidental and extrinsic, these tensions were intrinsic and internal to education as the French conceived it for West Africa. As long as they continued to believe that the purpose of education was to civilize the African, students would become “uprooted” no matter how “adapted” their education became. Thus, the French were fighting against themselves: the déracinés of whom they were so afraid were their own making, because of their choice to use education the way they did in colonial policy. Because of this, the drama continued throughout the colonial era until the Second World War.

This paper is only attempting to begin the investigation of these issues by refocusing the discussion of education in AOF on these contradictions and their causes. There is much room for future research to broaden and deepen these results. Some possibilities are broadening the time period (before 1903 or after 1945), examining these or other primary sources more in depth, or studying the influence of Islam on these aspects of education in AOF, which has been left aside here. Regardless of the future direction research in this area takes, it will surely be fascinating. Education was of the greatest importance in France’s colonial venture, and thus understanding their education policy is of the greatest importance to historians today.

Bibliography


About the Author

Sean Gravelle (class of 2014) graduated with a B.A. in history and a B.S. in mathematics, as well as minors in French and physics. While at Xavier, he was involved in campus ministry, student orchestra, and Phi Beta Kappa. He was also a member of the editorial board for the 2013 issue of XJUR. This fall he will enter the Ph.D. program in mathematics at the University of Nebraska-Lincoln. “A Mission to What? Education in Afrique Occidentale Française, 1903-1945” was sponsored by Dr. Christian Strother of the history department.
The Transformation and Conjugation of Ampicillin-Resistant *Escherichia coli*

William J. Gannon and Nicholas G. Stapleton

**Abstract**

There is growing concern regarding the development of antibiotic resistance in clinical and agricultural settings due to the prevalence of antibiotics that exist there. However, antibiotic-resistant traits are used extensively in research labs and even in undergraduate classrooms. We aimed to determine whether undergraduate laboratory transformation experiments could contribute to the spread of antibiotic resistance. Studies have been done on antibiotic resistance in large-scale hospital and waste-treatment environments; we applied similar methods to an undergraduate laboratory. We first examined whether ampicillin-resistant *E. coli* were left in the laboratory after the General Biology freshmen performed a transformation lab. In addition, we tested how efficiently ampicillin-resistant bacteria could transfer their resistance to other bacterial genera. The undergraduate lab was swabbed in five highly trafficked areas; swabs of the undersides of work tables, sides of chairs, and doorknob produced no resistant cultures, while swabs of the sink and table tops contained some resistant bacteria. These *E. coli* were plated with various strains of bacteria, including several other *Enterobacteriaceae* as well as gram positive genera with clinical relevance. We then used selective and differential media to determine if ampicillin-resistance was transferred. The results were assessed by the colony counting plate method. Our findings could have immediate implications for the safety and cleaning procedures used by undergraduate labs and could provide incentive to test this hypothesis more thoroughly in clinical environments in the future. In addition, the results indicate the possible contamination of sewage water and the release of resistant bacteria into the environment. Further experimentation could better determine the clinical and environmental consequences of the spread of antibiotic resistance in an aquatic environment.

Through the years, resistant bacteria, specifically MRSA, have shown to be a crucial problem facing the healthcare industry. MRSA infections treated in hospitals have doubled nationwide between the years of 1999 and 2005, growing from an estimated 127,000 reported infections to 278,000 reported infections.9
Resulting from these bacterial infections, awareness of antibiotic resistance has become a widespread issue. Bacteria are found on all surfaces in our environment, and they possess the potential to transfer resistant genetic information from one strain to another. This resistance can be transferred through mutations in the DNA of the bacteria, or through a process called horizontal gene transfer. Transformation, or the transfer of recombinant DNA between bacteria, is the primary mechanism of horizontal gene transfer in recombinant strains of bacteria, and it consists of releasing DNA into the environment, the induction of the gene of interest into competent host bacteria, interaction of cells and recombinant DNA in the host cell, and the entering of DNA into the cell, which begins expressing the recombinant gene. In conjugation, the donor colony typically uses a plasmid known as an ‘R-factor’ to transfer the genetic material directly to the target bacterium. Strains with R-factors have been shown to transfer their resistances both in nutrient broth and when found in a supportive natural environment. In order to transfer genetic information, however, the host bacteria must have competence, or the ability to take in foreign DNA into its cell. For this reason, the bacterial strain, Escherichia coli, is commonly used due to its competency and ease of use.

In addition to being extremely competent, E. coli has shown the ability to transfer resistance to ampicillin to a non-adjacent colony through intercellular signaling, as well as the ability to transfer resistance through direct horizontal transfer, allowing it to both transfer and receive resistance with other strains. Williams demonstrates that E. coli is able to transfer a plasmid to other strains of bacteria, such as Enterococcus faecalis, Streptococcus cremoris, and Clostridium acetobutylicum. Due to the possible antibiotic resistance from E. coli to other strains of Enterobacteria, it could pose viable clinical issues that could alter the health of those that come into contact with them. The work of Reinthaler revealed that sewage runoff of hospitals can provide a natural environment which encourages the growth and spread of antibiotic resistance, finding multiple resistant bacterial strains in sewers connected to hospitals. For these reasons, the transfer of recombinant DNA across bacterial species is relevant to biology labs across the country. This issue is compounded when General Biology students perform transformation labs without utilizing proper safety techniques.

Sniegowski and Lenski report that there are high rates of mutation in E. coli populations with higher mutators, or bacteria that have mutated to show resistance to a particular vice, than wild-type populations, and these populations are more likely to replicate with the mutation. If General Biology laboratories are not safety conscious about preventing E. coli transformation of ampicillin resistance to other species of bacteria, an outbreak of antibiotic-resistant bacteria could emerge. Enterococcus faecalis, for example, has been shown to be competent and capable of receiving. It was the goal of this study to determine whether or not General Biology students’ methods lead to an abundance of untreated resistant strains of bacteria, and it aimed to show the importance of minimizing the transformation of recombinant DNA in freshman laboratories.
(This model could also be applied to hospital settings to determine cleanliness of the facilities and surrounding areas.) We expect to find higher bacterial resistance transfer in cases where cleaning procedures are followed less stringently.

2. Materials and Methods

2.1 Obtaining ampicillin-resistant *Escherichia coli*:

The bacteria used in this experiment were *E. coli*, and ampicillin-resistant strains were obtained through the transformation laboratory performed by General Biology students. In order to obtain ampicillin-resistant samples for further experimentation, this experiment was replicated. It began by mixing *E. coli* with calcium chloride in a micro tube and adding pGEM plasmid DNA to the solution and setting on ice for 15 minutes. Next, the competent cells were subjected to a heat shock in a 42°C water bath for exactly two minutes, and then transferred back to the ice. The competent cells then sat for five minutes until Luria (LB) broth was added to the tube. The cells were then left alone in room temperature for 60 minutes and plated, using standard plating methods, onto ampicillin-positive agar in a petri dish. This experiment was performed using five different micro tubes. Thus, five plates of ampicillin-resistant *E. coli* were obtained and allowed to culture overnight in a 37°C incubator.

2.2 Collecting ampicillin-resistant *Escherichia coli* cultures:

Four swabs were taken from each swabbing location at Xavier University Albers Hall, Room 207, to determine whether or not ampicillin-resistant *E. coli* was present. Four swabs were used for each experimental surface. The swabs were sterile and dipped into autoclaved water before sampling each surface. The first swab was the control, and was taken from five different locations in the laboratory: the sink, the door handle, the surface of students’ lab benches, the underside of students’ lab benches, and underneath students’ chairs. Four swabs were taken for each location per trial and were plated on ampicillin-positive agar to determine if resistant strains were present in these locations. Next, three experimental trials were taken from the same locations as the control, using four different swabs for each experimental location, and after each trial the plates were placed in a 37°C incubator and left for 48 hours to allow bacterial growth.

2.3 Determining transformation of ampicillin resistance to surrounding bacteria:

In order to determine whether or not ampicillin-resistant *E. coli* had the capability to transfer its ampicillin resistance to other surrounding bacteria, resistant *E. coli* colonies were placed on a nutrient agar with various strains of Enterobacteria (*K. pneumoniae, E. cloacae, S. epidermidis, P. vulgaris, and P. mirabilis*). The colonies of Enterobacteria were then placed in LB broth and allowed to grow in a 37°C incubator for 48 hours. After 48 hours, a serial dilution was performed and the resultant plates were left to sit overnight in the 37°C
incubator. The next morning, the selective plates were observed and the number of resistant strains of Enterobacteria were measured. Those plates that showed positive ampicillin-transformation exemplified different colors on the selective media; light green dots were ampicillin-resistant \textit{E. coli} and darker dots on the same petri dish were the resultant strains of Enterobacteria that underwent positive ampicillin-transformation. The data was recorded in the number of colonies that showed ampicillin-resistant transfer.

2.4 Data Analysis:

Swab sample data was counted by hand to determine the existence of bacterial growth and to identify different bacterial strains on the EMB plates. Plates were divided into fourths; a single quadrant was counted and multiplied by four to obtain an estimate for total number when plates exhibited high amounts of growth (greater than 200 colonies). An ANOVA test was performed in order to determine the significance of the results of the antibiotic resistance transfer experiment.

3. Results

During the duration of this research, two different experiments were performed. The first was to determine whether or not there was an abundance of ampicillin-resistant \textit{Escherichia coli} remaining in freshman biology laboratories. We went about this by swabbing various highly trafficked locations in the laboratory and plating the swabs on ampicillin-positive agar to measure growth.

\textbf{Table 1:} Collections of ampicillin-resistant \textit{Escherichia coli} in highly trafficked areas in a freshman biology laboratory measured in colonies (col).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location of swab</th>
<th>Control</th>
<th>Trial 1</th>
<th>Trial 2</th>
<th>Trial 3</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>3 col</td>
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<tr>
<td>Table underside</td>
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<td>0 col</td>
<td>1 col</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sink</td>
<td>31 col</td>
<td>0 col</td>
<td>TNTC col</td>
<td>0 col</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Door handle</td>
<td>0 col</td>
<td>0 col</td>
<td>0 col</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chair underside</td>
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</table>

As seen in \textbf{Table 1}, there was observed growth in three of the five swabbed locations with the sink having the most remaining ampicillin-resistant \textit{E. coli} with measurements TNTC (too numerous to count). Although there was growth in three of five swabbed locations, the results were non-significant (p=0.43 by ANOVA).
**Table 2:** Number of hand-counted colonies on selective ampicillin positive plates created from serial dilutions of broth of *E. coli* and various pathogenic bacterial strains. Three strains of gram negative bacteria showed successful expression of ampicillin resistance. Lack of result from gram positive bacterial strain (*Staphylococcus epidermidis*) supports the occurrence of conjugation over transduction and translation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Species Name</th>
<th>Number of colonies on 10^6 dilution</th>
<th>Secondary color present</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Citrobacter freundii</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Klebsiella pneumoniae</td>
<td>TNTC</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enterobacter cloaceae</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proteus vulgaris</td>
<td>612</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proteus mirabilis</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Staphylococcus epidermidis (+)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As seen in Table 2, three of the six experimental dilutions produced ampicillin-resistant *E. coli* and ampicillin-resistant colonies of the second bacteria. The differential media on those three plates successfully produced color differences for identification of both *E. coli* and non-*E. coli* colonial growth. *E. coli* was the most dominant bacteria on all the plates that exhibited growth. The highest observed rate of resistance transfer occurred on the *Klebsiella pneumoniae* experimental plate.

**Figure 1:** Results of ampicillin resistance transfer from *Escherichia coli* to various strains of gram-negative Enterobacteria measured in colonies.
For the second part of this research, we wanted to observe whether or not ampicillin-resistant *E. coli* transferred its resistance to surrounding Enterobacteria through the process of horizontal gene transfer. As described by Figure 1, there was successful transformation of the resistant plasmid in *E. cloacae* and *P. vulgaris* with *P. vulgaris* having the highest rate of transformation.

4. Discussion

Initially, we believed that the freshman biology lab would show extremely high levels of antibiotic resistance, specifically ampicillin-resistant *Escherichia coli*, because the students wouldn’t follow the cleaning procedures properly. Although it cannot be certain that they did not follow the cleaning procedures carefully, it was determined that there was still some ampicillin-resistant residue remaining after their transformation labs. Ampicillin-resistant *E. coli* was found in the sink drain as well as on the surface and underside of the tables they were working on. It might be noteworthy to add that the controls of the experiment were taken a day after the transformation labs began, so the resistant strains could be a result of that day’s lab, or they could also be a result of the professor enacting the same experiment and leaving traces of resistant strains in the sink due to poor cleaning procedures. This could also indicate that the resistant strains found in the sink have been there for quite some time, indicating that the resistance could have been contaminating the water supply since the last year’s experiment. These resistant strains of bacteria could pose a threat to the surrounding environment and agriculture if they get into the water supply because they have the possibility of transferring their resistance to other strains of gram-negative bacteria. Specifically, since there was the highest concentration of ampicillin-resistant *E. coli* centralized in the communal sink, these bacteria could easily seep into the sewage and affect the water supply. Also, because the bacteria have shown the capability to transfer their resistance to other, surrounding species of bacteria, this could become a widespread issue. This was determined through the second experiment, which showed the transfer of ampicillin resistance from *E. coli* to *K. pneumonia* and *P. vulgaris*, as well as *E. cloacae*.

Clinical relevance is one implication that the transformation of resistance from *E. coli* to other bacterial species is harmful. For example, the bacteria *Klebsiella pneumoniae* has clinical relevance in that it is believed to be the major pathogen involved with pyogenic liver abscess as well as one of the leading causes of pneumonia. *Klebsiella pneumoniae* can potentially be pathogenic if it is inhaled, and is a pathogen of concern in hospital environments due to multi-drug resistance phenotypes. Research has found that *K. pneumoniae* is capable of transferring this multi-drug resistance to *E. coli* bacteria. This is relevant because *K. pneumoniae* was a bacterial species that tested positive for the transformation of ampicillin resistance from *E. coli*, and if this bacterial species is capable of receiving resistance to treatments and antibacterial medications, then it could pose a significant problem to those suffering from the liver abscess that require specific treatment, or those prevalent to pneumonia.
In addition to *K. pneumoniae*, *P. vulgaris* also may have clinical implications given that it, too, received positive transformation of the ampicillin-resistant gene from *E. coli*. One of the major pathogenic capabilities of *P. vulgaris* is urinary tract infections, specifically bladder and kidney stones. Since *P. vulgaris* was observed to exhibit positive transformation of ampicillin from resistant *E. coli*, it could imply that it is competent to receive other resistant genetic material as well. Since this transformation is possible from *E. coli* to *P. vulgaris*, there could be significant health issues if the ampicillin-resistant *E. coli* spread in the environment because they could influence resistance into these more virulent strains of bacterial species.

To add, *E. cloacae* also exhibited positive transfer of ampicillin resistance from *E. coli*, and this bacterial species also possesses clinical significance. For example, in neonatal patients, *E. cloacea* was discovered to cause necrotizing enterocolitis, or the death of intestinal tissue that generally affects premature and sick babies. This is very significant because, although not typically treated with ampicillin, the transfer of antibiotic resistance to these pathogenic bacteria could pose a threat to those affected with them.

In addition to the various tested gram-negative bacterial species that showed positive transfer of resistance, it is also important that resistance was not transferred to the gram-positive *S. epidermidis*. Our result for *S. epidermidis* did not support the idea that *E. coli* is capable of transferring resistance to gram-positive bacterial strains. It did support the occurrence of conjugation within our experiment over transformation or transduction. Gram-positive bacteria have large clinical relevance, especially in hospital settings, because they are the common causes of bloodstream and other infections in hospitalized patients. One of the largest gram-negative infections occurring today is methicillin-resistant *Staphylococcus aureus* (MRSA), and the fact that transformation of resistance from a gram-negative species did not occur means that this infection is influenced in other ways. It is of large concern to minimize the transfer of MRSA and other gram-positive infections because they do not behave the same as our studied gram-negative species.

Finally, although none of these pathogenic bacteria are commonly treated with ampicillin, this research provides a model for the possible transfer of antibiotic resistance to that of virulent, harmful strains. For example, instead of using ampicillin resistance transfer to *K. pneumoniae*, researchers could use more clinically relevant strains of antibiotics, such as Carbapenem. If transfer of this resistance is not carefully observed and monitored, there could be a resultant epidemic of increasing antibiotic resistant virulent strains of bacteria that our current medication systems could not manipulate and destroy. Antibiotic resistance is of growing concern around the world today, and this research is a model of the different types of virulent strains of bacteria that can be affected if left untreated or if left in areas containing other resistant strains. Further research should be conducted, and a suggestion is to use medically relevant resistant
bacteria to determine if virulent strains can positively transfer or conjugate resistant strains of their common antibacterial. Also, our research only performed three trials in five different locations in a General Biology laboratory, which is certainly not enough data to determine whether there is a reoccurring problem with resistant *E. coli* residue. For future studies, researchers could increase the number of trials and locations tested in order to obtain more data. In addition, this research should be carried on through the extent of the year in order to determine if resistance is most prevalent during the transformation lab, or if it is occurring on a more significant basis.

5. Acknowledgments

The authors wish to express their appreciation to the Xavier University Biology Department for access to the research laboratory and necessary materials to conduct research, Professor Neema Nourian for allowing us to experiment in his General Biology Lab, Biology 497 peers for their continued support, and Dr. Jennifer Robbins for her guidance and advice.

6. References Cited


7. Appendix

Figure 2. William Gannon, 2014, E. coli growth on ampicillin positive LB agar from General Biology laboratory communal sink drain. Colonies were too numerous to count, and growth indicates presence of antibiotic-resistant bacteria.

Figure 3. William Gannon, 2014, E. coli and K. pneumoniae growth on selective, differential, ampicillin positive EMB agar. EMB agar tests specifically for E. coli growth and dyes E. coli colonies green due to the lactose fermentation process. All other colonies appear pink-purple in color.

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William Gannon (Class of 2014) earned a B.S. in biology and a minor in chemistry. He was involved with Club Soccer and was the co-founder of the Xavier University Paintball Club. William is currently working as an Account Manager, managing the Asia Pacific Territory for Celsis International, and enjoys playing sports, catching up with friends, and the outdoors in his free time.

Nicholas Stapleton (Class of 2014) earned a B.S. in biology. He was a University Scholar and is an Eagle Scout. He plans to become a Physician Assistant. Nick enjoys reading, archery, and camping in his spare time. “The Transformation and Conjugation of Ampicillin-Resistant Escherichia coli” was sponsored by Dr. Jennifer Robbins, Professor of Biology.
Race, Real Estate, and Realism: 
_Clybourne Park_ and Social Change

Hannah Barker

There is no political value in having sensitive feelings about the world. I don’t think it generates political action. You go [to the theatre], you watch, you say, “That’s sad,” and then you go for a steak. The best you can hope for is to make people slightly uncomfortable. At least if you take the piss out of the audience, they feel they are being addressed.

--Bruce Norris, author of _Clybourne Park_

Throughout my final semester as an undergraduate English major, I have been seeing more plays—both ones I have read in class and ones I have not—in order to gain a better understanding of the theatre world. One play that had a big impact on me was _Clybourne Park_, which I saw in January at Playhouse in the Park, in Cincinnati. _Clybourne Park_ was written in 2011 by Bruce Norris. It has won countless awards, including the Pulitzer Prize. _Clybourne Park_ picks up where Lorraine Hansberry’s famous _A Raisin in the Sun_ left off; Act I takes place in 1959. A white, middle class couple, Russ and Bev, is moving out of their all-white neighborhood of Clybourne Park. A black family, the Youngers from _A Raisin in the Sun_, is moving into the house. Karl Lindner, the same Karl from Hansberry’s play, tries to convince Russ and Bev to either stay, or not allow the black family to move into the neighborhood. Act II is set fifty years later in 2009. The same actors play these characters, and the audience can pick up on many parallels between the 1959 scene and the 2009 scene. In Act II, Clybourne Park has become an all-black neighborhood, and a white family is trying to move into the same home from Act I and re-gentrify it by essentially tearing the house down and rebuilding it. Here, no one seems to have changed: in both scenes, the characters are uncomfortable discussing race. They are defined by their differences and refuse to accept others who are different.

_Clybourne Park_ addresses tough, but relevant, social issues with which audiences from almost any city can identify. For me, the play brought to mind Cincinnati’s Over-the-Rhine (OTR) neighborhood. This area of Cincinnati is currently experiencing gentrification and has had issues with race and property in the past—especially with the 2001 race riots—so _Clybourne Park_, which does not
have a “happy ending,” made me curious about the intersection of race and property in Cincinnati currently. What is the right action to take in the development of OTR? Has the city made any positive progress? Watching Clybourne Park also made me question the value of theatre. Are the concepts in this play more effective because they are on a stage? Can this play make a difference in places like OTR, since it exposes some of society’s problems? As this essay’s epigraph reveals, playwright Bruce Norris does not see theatre as capable of creating much social change. Sure, it can make people uncomfortable, but that’s “the best you can hope for” (Norris Interview by Beatrice Basso). Through this paper, and using Clybourne Park as evidence, I will show that theatre is capable of promoting social change. Based on studies of art and modern drama, and the events that surrounded Clybourne Park’s premiere in Cincinnati, I will challenge Bruce Norris’s negative outlook on modern drama’s ability to motivate social action for the better.

First, I will explore theories about art in general and how art has the ability to influence people’s actions. Then, more specifically, I will address modern drama and what theorists have discovered about its ability to influence social change. As part of this analysis, I will include examples from Clybourne Park to show how it fits in with the power of modern drama. I will follow this discussion by illustrating how modern drama can be more effective than the novel or other forms of art that promote pro-social messages. Finally, I will delve more into OTR and the parallels between it and Clybourne Park, addressing how so far, the effects of the play on the city prove hopeful for the future of Cincinnati, theatre, and theatre’s ability to act as a catalyst for change.

Art’s Ability to Influence

Art’s relationship to social order is both complex and highly controversial; however, there are many examples supporting how art can show a general concept in a particular context to help people better understand themselves and create change in their society. According to Emma Goldman in The Social Significance of Modern Drama, people can view the purpose of art in two ways: “art for art’s sake” and “art as the mirror of life” (3). The former occurs when the artist shows indifference toward the complex struggles of life. But the latter is central to modern art. Goldman claims, “The artist being a part of life cannot detach himself from the events and occurrences that pass panorama-like before his eyes, impressing themselves upon his emotions and intellectual vision” (3). It is difficult for the artist, who is a part of society, not to reflect what he sees and experiences in society in his works. This is why art is so relatable to many people: it is created by humans who share the same experiences as the viewers. Norris, seeing the separation of race in his all-white neighborhood as a kid, wrote Clybourne Park after this experience. He comments in an interview with Beatrice Basso, “At any given moment, you know that even something as insignificant as taste—‘I like this house better than that house, it’s prettier’—identifies us as part of a group that looks at another group skeptically or critically” (147). Norris’
characters are pitted against each other in these “groups”: Karl, Betsy, and Jim against Francine and Albert in Act I and Lindsey and Steve against Lena and Kevin in Act II. *Clybourne Park* is realistic and relatable because Norris cannot remove himself from this reality of separation.

D.W. Gotshalk also points out many of the contributions art offers to society in *Art and the Social Order*. He says that the creation and appreciation of art include similar emotions to social action, such as senses, feelings, imagination, and intellect. He writes, “fine art transforms what social action everywhere embodies and is thus implicitly a social force in the very creation and appreciation of an object which serves purely aesthetic purposes” (204). While Gotshalk points out that art and social action trigger similar responses, he recognizes that art alone cannot create permanent social change. Gotshalk asserts that the artist is limited because he cannot control external circumstances, which affect the influence art has on a society. Art must work with the society it has the ability to change: “Unless a work of directive art is bulwarked by pressures and terrors from elsewhere, by a critical situation such as a war, a national calamity, an economic or moral crisis, its message is likely to seem artificial and labored and its point irrelevant” (205). This makes sense, because if a play makes the audience think about the negative effects of violent wars, and there is no war going on in this particular society, the message appears irrelevant—why make a change to an issue that doesn’t exist? *Clybourne Park* exists alongside the real gentrification and race issue in OTR and other large cities; therefore, these outside pressures make the *Clybourne Park* neighborhood a more resonant experience for its viewers.

Gotshalk also notes that art is not magic; it cannot make everything perfect. What artists can do is, “[i]n creation and appreciation they can increase the range of our sensory and imaginative grasp, enlarge the scope and subtlety of our feelings and insights, preserve and strengthen a large sheaf of the finer and rarer values of human existence—creativity, originality, spontaneity” (213). The abilities of the artist can lead to social action, since people tend to act based on what they think, feel, value, see, etc., which are aspects the artist has the ability to influence. Artists can modify people’s characters in a way that leads to social action; they can make “the mind more flexible, receptive, discriminate, and responsive” (212). In order to change people in this way though, the artist also needs recognition from society: “society is required to recognize difficulties to the good confronting itself and a unity of belief…increase and multiply (as far as harmonious with general welfare)...seek, rather than to force, the co-operation of the artist...[and] stimulate alert, informed, and critical attention to the works of the artist” (228). According to Gotshalk, all of these aspects must be present for art to have its maximum effect. It is unlikely that any society has ever fulfilled all of the requirements, but many have been close (229). Art helps keep society in check by exposing its violence and hostility; however, in order to be fully effective, people need to seek out the art.
Additionally, art needs society to see and recognize the parallels between the play and society’s own experiences. If Cincinnati views the events in *Clybourne Park* with a critical eye, as a platform for changing the economics of the city, then this play could help people understand the underlying racial and sociological issues involved in OTR gentrification.

The Social Role of Modern Drama

While drama has always had an influential role in society, the era of modern drama further increased theater’s power to spur change. Starting roughly in the era of Ibsen’s plays, theatre turned toward a new style: modern drama. Many critics view modern drama as a more realistic type of theatre—one which exposes the atrocities of society by showing viewers an outsider perspective of what society is actually like. Martin Esslin in *An Anatomy of Drama* describes modern theatre as “a mirror which society looks at itself” (103). For example, the fact that “at certain times the theatre tended to show only middle-class people to middle-class people demonstrates that in those times the lower classes were effectively excluded from society and therefore from the theatre” (Esslin 103). *Clybourne Park* is one of these types of plays. Only the middle-class characters are shown to a presumably middle-class audience. Viewers don’t get to see the black family who is trying to purchase the house in 1959. They don’t get to see any poor characters, which suggests that these people don’t have any say in society, or, at least in the case of *Clybourne Park*, any say in the issues of race and gentrification. Norris comments on his choice for the kinds of characters he creates:

People ask how come I don’t write plays about, say, people in housing projects, and I say, “Well, because those are not the people who go to the theatre.” You can say, “We should get them to the theatre,” but in actual fact, people who buy subscriptions to theatres like ACT are usually wealthy people. They are almost always wealthy, liberal people. So why not write plays that are about those people, since those are the people who are in the audience? If you actually want to have a conversation with that audience, then you should address them directly. That’s what I always think. (Interview with Beatrice Basso 148)

If an audience sees a mirror image of a society they don’t recognize, or they don’t feel responsible for, then the effect of the artist is more likely to be lost. Though the audience for *Clybourne Park* removes itself for the most part from the 1959 scene, which is right in the middle of the Civil Rights Era, it cannot remove itself as easily from the 2009 scene. The parallels between the scenes are so clear that the audience sees a poor mirror image of itself and hopefully feels uneasy about the way society is portrayed; this feeling, along with if they recognize their society in the one on stage, makes the audience hopefully want to fix the problem.
A playwright’s rendering of society therefore plays an important role in the social effect of the play. Esslin writes, “The more completely a playwright imagines a situation and the characters in it, the nearer the play will come to the complexity and ambivalence of the real world” (Esslin 98). Norris effectively creates this realistic scene with his play, especially in Act II. The characters Norris creates are extremely complex. Norris, to Beatrice Basso, comments on the characters’ interactions: “Everyone holds their tongue, because we live in a society where speech is much more dangerous than activity—than action . . . . No one knows that they should be embarrassed in the first act; everyone knows they should in the second act. We’re embarrassed about everything” (149). The audience can somewhat forgive or at least roll their eyes at the racist and closed-minded attitudes of the characters in Act I. For example, Karl approaches Francine, the black housekeeper for Russ and Bev. He asks her about skiing as a way to prove that blacks and whites cannot live together because they are different:

KARL: Francine, may I ask? Do you ski?  
FRANCINE: Ski?  
KARL: Downhill skiing?  
FRANCINE: We don’t ski, no.  
KARL: And this is my point. The children who attend St. Stanislaus. Once a year we take the middle schoolers up to Indianhead Mountain, and I can tell you, in the time I’ve been there, I have not once seen a colored family on those slopes. (33)

In the year 2014, most people understand that slavery and the discrimination toward African Americans that came long after they were free was and is not tolerable, not morally acceptable. When the audience hears Karl make this point about skiing, they can laugh it off because they understand that Karl is ignorant. He doesn’t understand that a black person is equal to a white person, and they can co-exist. The first act is not so much a mirror, as it is a reminder to the audience of how ignorant and cruel people were before the Civil Rights Movement.

In the second act, the roles reverse, including the fact that now the black family skis instead of the white family. But more importantly, the same racial stereotypes and fears of difference permeate the conversation. Except this time, like Norris points out, people are embarrassed to talk about it:

STEVE: What, and now we’re the evil invaders who are—  
LINDSEY: (To Steve) She never said that!!!!  
STEVE: —appropriating your ancestral homeland?  
LINDSEY: (To Steve) This, this, this—No. I’m sorry, this is the most asinine—(To Lena and Kevin) Half of my friends are black! (73)

At this exchange, the audience probably cringes because it’s awkward. The entire room still is ignorant, both the white couple and the African American couple.
Everyone appears offended, and Lindsey tries to ease her conscience by saying, “Half of my friends are black.” She’s embarrassed by this inability to speak about the racial tensions that still exist. The second act is the mirror to the middle-class society watching the play. The audience has probably encountered similar situations, and because the second act so closely mirrors the first, where the people were clearly ignorant about race, the audience can see how much still needs to be changed in regard to race and property. The racial tensions still exist, but people, both the characters and the audience who bought tickets to see the play, are afraid to address them because, like Lindsey, they recognize the sensitivity of the issue.

Famous playwright and critic Bertolt Brecht offered strong ideas on modern theatre that illuminate Clybourne Park. Brecht admires theatre and deems it successful when it appeals to reason, makes the audience think for themselves, and gives a maximum freedom of interpretation. Norris’ play does all of these (Brecht 15). At the end of Clybourne Park, there is no explicit message that society needs to change. Rather, based on reason, the audience can think about their current society and infer that something has to be done. After the people in Act II disperse in anger, Bev from Act I comes on the stage again. She speaks to her son Kenneth, who committed suicide after killing people in the Korean War. She says, “But you know, I think things are about to change. I really do. It’s been a hard couple of years to all of us, I know they have been, but I really believe things are about to change for the better. I firmly believe that” (84). Based on the similarities in Act I and Act II, the audience can infer that nothing has changed in fifty years. This makes Bev’s statement and the ending of the play even more heartbreaking. White people moved out of the neighborhood, black people moved in, and now white people want back in the neighborhood, meaning black people will probably get pushed out. Both races have never lived together. Norris exposes this social issue without explicitly telling the audience what to think about it. He doesn’t even offer a solution; he only presents the mirror.

Norris’ objective presentation of the story also fits along with Brecht’s views. Brecht says that the playwright should not force an audience to interpret his piece a certain way. Drama isn’t about tricking the audience with falsified emotions. Instead, characters “ought to be presented quite coldly, classically and objectively. For they are not matter for empathy; they are there to be understood” (15). Clybourne Park does just this. None of the characters are really likeable. When watching the play, I didn’t find myself siding with any of them. Instead, I saw myself and my society in the characters and their experiences, and it made me sad. Because the scenes in Clybourne Park are extremely realistic, they are pure modern drama, according to theorists like Brecht.

Although he claims not to have a political agenda, Norris promotes an implicit message with Clybourne Park: society needs to unify and needs to mend the problems of race and inequality. Timothy Douglas, the director for Cincinnati’s 2014 production of Clybourne Park, explains in an interview, more
optimistically than Norris, what the play does. As an African American, he brings another perspective to the play and the issues it presents: “There hasn’t been a coming together for how we heal the atrocity of African American slavery . . . so we don’t have the words for that conversation, which is why this play gets explosive. It’s not that people don’t want it, but they don’t even know how. This play just offers us a little corner of that conversation” (Douglas). In other words, history hasn’t disappeared just because laws have changed and time has passed. People have to be open to dialogue with people different from them. Otherwise, society stays stuck in a negative cycle, like the one depicted in *Clybourne Park*. But why is theatre the appropriate vehicle to display this message? What does theatre do that makes it the best medium for promoting this social message?

Many theorists agree that theatre is a social act and therefore an appropriate method to expose social needs. However, in order to be successful as a political statement, a play has to show that society is capable of being changed. Brecht writes: “The question of describing the world is a social one . . . the present-day world can be reproduced even in the theatre, but only if it is understood as being capable of transformation” (275). If people leave *Clybourne Park*, saying, “Well, society is worse than I thought. Everything is hopeless,” then the play is pointless. I don’t think the audience leaves saying this as a result of this play though. Because the audience can parallel the play with their own city, they can see the issue as realistic. They don’t want their relations with others to be as sour as those between Steve and Lindsey and Kevin and Lena. As Nolan comments in “The Racial Politics of Real Estate: Bruce Norris’s *Clybourne Park*,” “Perhaps Norris’s appeal in this play is for all people to accept ‘the other’ and recognize the similarities and commonalities that bind us all as human beings” (256). Hopefully, the audience thinks that if they could insert themselves into the play, they could change something and will therefore insert themselves in their society to make that change.

Some people, including Norris, disagree, claiming that theatre is merely a spectator activity. W.B. Worthen in *Modern Drama and the Rhetoric of Theater* argues this point:

Realistic production invites empathy and even understanding, but it invites us to practice that understanding only as spectators. June Howard and others have suggested that in naturalistic fiction, the role of the spectator prevents understanding and self-awareness described by the spectatorial heroes of naturalistic novels. (24)

Crucially, Worthen and Norris neglect to see the important differences between theatre and other forms of art, like film or the novel, that make theatre into this vehicle for creating change. Readers consume a novel in private. Theatre, on the other hand, is a “collective experience” (Esslin 100). As Esslin points out, “The reaction [theatre] evokes happens in public. Thus the message (political or otherwise) which a play contains always coexists with a demonstration of its
reception by a social unit, the collectivity of the audience” (Esslin 100). Plays require an audience and therefore are social acts. Film, which also requires some sort of audience, though it is not performed live, uses the camera as its instrument. The camera doesn’t offer an immediate relationship between live people, actual actions, and a physical environment. Theatre drama is immediate and direct, and therefore, drama tends to be more powerful than the novel or film in promoting action. It can influence people more because it requires their participation and reaction, beyond the role of a spectator. William Archer sums up the nature of theatre succinctly: “The painter may paint, the sculptor model, the lyric poet sing, simply to please himself, but the drama has no meaning except in relation to an audience. It is a portrayal of life by means of a mechanism so devised as to bring it home to a considerable number of people assembled in a given place” (13). Theatre can spark social change because the drama medium provides an influential connection to the audience.

Indeed, several plays have been notably successful in promoting social change. Two examples of successful playwrights in the realm of social change are Henrik Ibsen and Lorraine Hansberry, the playwright of A Raisin in the Sun. Ibsen wrote a number of plays about marital life and the woman’s role. His plays are very realistic and are like Clybourne Park in that they don’t explicitly state a message, but instead hold a mirror up to society, which inevitably exposes its flaws. Esslin writes, “Ibsen was a very important influence in opening up the discussion of the position of women in society and did, in fact, I believe, make a decisive contribution to the change which started with women’s suffrage and which is still going on today under the heading of the women’s liberation movement” (98). Ibsen, of course, was not the sole reason women received voting and other rights in this country. But his works, combined with societal issues and people’s actions, led to a greater social change. Though it is difficult to measure how much influence theatre actually had on events like women’s suffrage, it is reasonable to assume that Ibsen’s plays had some influence, since women’s rights movements coincided with or followed several of his works.

Lorraine Hansberry also promoted social change with A Raisin in the Sun. Unlike Norris, Hansberry was more optimistic with theatre’s capacity to make a difference: “Hansberry believed that universality could be reached by an honest examination of the specific—that the struggles of an African American family to move themselves out of a ghetto in the South Side of Chicago would speak to the larger issues of the human race” (Rubin 48). As one of the first female African American playwrights, Hansberry certainly made waves against discrimination. If anything, she exposed how difficult it was for an African American family to make a better life for themselves. Additionally, “Hansberry’s lasting legacy, more than any one work, is proof that art has the power to illuminate, change, and create society” (Rubin 49). Though society still has a long way to go, especially in respect to race relations, it has come much further since A Raisin in the Sun. Works by Hansberry and Ibsen offer examples of how theatre can be a successful component of change in a society. Because Clybourne Park was written in 2011,
it’s probably too soon to say whether or not it will have an impact on society; however, it has already sparked conversation in places like Cincinnati, which offers hope for the future.

_Clybourne Park_ in Cincinnati

Theatres across the country, from New York to Portland, have performed _Clybourne Park_. Although the play is set in Chicago, the cycle of urban decay and gentrification it describes is a reality for many cities across the country. Here in Cincinnati, the play hits particularly close to home, because Cincinnati’s Over-the-Rhine neighborhood is currently undergoing the same difficult transition as in _Clybourne Park_. In the play, the cycle eventually leads to gentrification and the revelation that racial relations have not improved.

From around 1840-1900, there was a large immigration of Germans to Cincinnati, especially into the OTR area. The Germans left a large cultural impact in Cincinnati, especially OTR: beer brewing, architecture, and food. In 1840, Cincinnati’s population was roughly 46,338 people; in 1850, it grew to 115,435 people, a 149% increase (Rhiney). In 1915, there was a suburban exodus, also known as “white flight,” to escape the dirty, crowded conditions of the downtown neighborhoods. The poorer people who could not afford to move out of the city were forced to stay, causing areas like OTR to be predominantly poorer.

Starting in the 1960s, many African Americans in the southern United States migrated north to take advantage of auto industry jobs. Unable to afford the cost of living in the suburbs, many African Americans ended up moving into OTR. Just like in _Clybourne Park_, OTR experienced a period of high crime and drug rates, leading to further degradation of the area over the years. Today, many of the buildings have been abandoned: in 2000, 1,667 housing units reportedly stood empty (Rhiney). Additionally, many of the residents of OTR fall below the poverty line, and the area continues to be racially divided. In 2005, it was reported that in OTR, 55% of the African American families who lived there were under the poverty line, but only 1% of the white families living there were below the poverty line (Rhiney). Currently, organizations, like the non-profit 3CDC, are remodeling and restructuring OTR, in an attempt to make it a more appealing destination for wealthy suburbanites. This mirrors the plot of _Clybourne Park_, where the wealthy couple (Steve and Lindsey) are trying to renovate the house so they can move in and raise a family. The problem with this mindset, both in Cincinnati and _Clybourne Park_, is that the reconstruction is pushing out the people who already live in these lower-income areas, because they can no longer afford to live there—a process which many refer to as “gentrification.”

Dan Rubin describes gentrification in his article “What is Gentrification?” saying, “Some translate gentrification simply as the visible upgrading of a blighted area, while others investigate what they perceive as a conspiracy of government and business interests purposefully disinvesting and then reinvesting...
in a particular neighborhood in order to turn a profit” (20). In other words, Rubin
suggests that the process of renovating blighted neighborhoods, such as
Clybourne Park and Over-the-Rhine, is not as innocuous as it seems; the process
may actually be driven by a desire to make money, while ignoring the poor who
live there. As stated before, OTR is predominantly African-American, and as a
result, many people see gentrification as a displacement of minorities by white
people. This in turn leads to negative race relations and deepens the disparity
between race and class. In Clybourne Park, Lena’s remark echoes the darker
truth: “I’m asking you to think about the motivation behind the long-range
political initiative to change the face of this neighborhood . . . . And I’m saying
that there are certain economic interests that are being served by those changes
and others that are not” (70). While strictly economic on its surface, gentrification
quickly becomes a racial issue.

Although fictional, the history of Clybourne Park is nearly identical to that of OTR. Originally, white people dominated Clybourne Park, and it was a well-off neighborhood. Then, as black families moved in, white families moved out, and its racial make-up changed. Following a period of crime and drug activity, the neighborhood went downhill. Then, many years later, the white, wealthy people from the suburbs noticed the beautiful, historical architecture and suddenly wanted back in the neighborhood. Lindsey’s description of Clybourne Park details this very process:

LINDSEY: And I totally admit, I’m the one who was resistant, especially
with the schools and everything, but once I stopped seeing the
neighborhood the way it used to be, and could see what it is now, and its
potential?
LENA: Used to be what?
LINDSEY: (Beat.) What it “used to be”?
STEVE: (Helpfully, to Lena) What you said. About the history of—?
LINDSEY: Historically. The changing, you know, demographic—?
STEVE: Although originally—(To Lindsey) wasn’t it German,
predominantly? (60-61)

Similar to Cincinnati’s OTR, Clybourne Park changed both its racial and economic demographics, causing unease on both sides of the issue. Rubin explains how what happens in Clybourne Park matches with history: “As Bruce Norris does in Clybourne Park, many sociologists link gentrification to an earlier phenomenon—white flight and the suburbanization of America . . . . Between the 1940s and the 1960s, the departure of white residents from the inner city led to vacancies, a lower median income, and a weaker tax base” (21). While many try to separate race and class, especially when discussing gentrification, these examples demonstrate that the two are undeniably related.
Conclusion

Bearing in mind all of the points I have discussed so far, it is important to ask the question: why does *Clybourne Park* matter in Cincinnati? Will people watching the play actually do anything about the current situation? Based on the evidence above, and my experience seeing *Clybourne Park*, I think it can. Norris has written a play that is applicable to many big cities in America, but especially Cincinnati. Its themes mirror society in a way that persuades people to rethink their stance on issues they have ignored. *Clybourne Park* causes audiences to say what Norris hopes they come out of the theatre saying: “I don’t know what’s right anymore. I used to think I knew what was right, but I’m not sure I do” (Norris interview with John Guare 10).

In Cincinnati, *Clybourne Park* was performed at Playhouse in the Park. The Playhouse is located in Eden Park, adjacent to Mt. Adams, a wealthy, urban neighborhood. When I went to see *Clybourne Park*, I looked around at the people in the audience, and it seems like a safe and reasonable assumption that most of the theatre-goers were relatively well-off. Tickets for the play were fairly expensive, and the audience on the whole was well-dressed and predominantly white. I stayed for the Q&A session after, with one of the stage managers. People asked really in-depth questions, showing how much the play sparked their thinking about this issue and how it relates to OTR. It struck me that many of the people at the play, while interested in the topic, probably don’t come into contact with the poorer residents of OTR very often, if at all. In fact, they were far more likely to be the type of people to move into the newly-renovated areas of OTR. Listening to their questions made me realize that there already exists an “us vs. them” mentality between the upper and lower classes in Cincinnati. However, the play and the resulting conversations have brought this relationship out into the open, and have caused people to re-examine how they view the other side.

According to the PR manager at Playhouse in the Park, director Timothy Douglas also participated in a community forum presented by Housing Opportunities Made Equal (HOME), an organization that advocates affordable housing in Cincinnati. *Clybourne Park* is clearly spurring conversation about racial issues and property issues. First, people must talk about the issue, and then they will be more likely to act. It is important that plays like *Clybourne Park* are performed and integrated into the public discussion. Modern drama truly can enact social change when it becomes a part of the community. Though still a young play, *Clybourne Park* will certainly lead to social change in the future—for Cincinnati and elsewhere.

Works Cited


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About the Author

Hannah Barker (Class of 2014) earned a B.A. in English, with minors in natural sciences and writing. Starting in July 2014, Hannah will attend Indiana University School of Dentistry. From there, she hopes to work in Public Health Dentistry, through the National Health Service Corps. Hannah's ultimate goal is to use her English humanities degree as a way to connect with her future patients. “Race, Real Estate, and Realism: Clybourne Park and Social Change” was sponsored by Graley Herren, Professor of English.
Defendant Information on Judgments of Simulated Jurors

Olivia Robinson

Abstract

This study examined the relationship between defendant information and the nature of judicial judgments through the use of a simulated trial. Undergraduate students were given one of four possible vignettes to read and evaluate. These vignettes, presented as case files, described the same criminal offense and circumstances, varying only in defendant’s race and described socioeconomic status. Participants then rated the defendant on attributed personality traits, perceived culpability, and punishment severity. No significant differences emerged between groups in the measures of perceived culpability or punishment severity. Six of the twelve attributed personality traits were significantly different between groups. These traits were: vulnerable, violent, dangerous, hostile, unlikable, and bad. Overall, the Caucasian defendant of low socioeconomic status received more negative trait ratings than any other defendant. Further research in this area would be beneficial in an effort to create a fair and impartial criminal justice system.

As stated in the Sixth Amendment to the United States Constitution, all citizens accused of criminal behavior have the right to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury. As such, the jury trial functions as a valuable social institution. Rough estimates suggest that there are more than 300,000 jury trials per year in the United States and that 80% of all jury trials in the world are held in the United States (Pennington & Hastie, 1990). Because juries are comprised of individuals without legal training, psychologists have become interested in the effects of defendants’ personal characteristics on jurors’ decisions regarding culpability and punishment (Gleason & Harris, 1976; Pennington & Hastie, 1990).

There are only two possible settings in which data concerning juries can be collected. These settings are post trial interviews and surveys, and trial reenactments through the use of mock jurors. Although the use of trial simulations has raised doubts and concerns about generalizability to actual juror behavior, the use of trial simulation has proven beneficial: unlike post trial interviews, archival records, and surveys, trial simulations have allowed researchers to account for
extraneous variables while still manipulating the variable(s) of interest (McCabe, Krauss, & Lieberman, 2010). Some of these variables could include racial identity, socioeconomic status, perceived similarity, and juror decision-making conditions.

Because of the prevalence and reliance on jury trials within the United States it is advantageous to examine and understand factors that may ultimately affect trial outcomes. The current study is interested in the effects of defendants’ demographic traits on simulated jurors’ judgments when judging an identical offense. Based on previous research it is expected that the defendant being described as African American and from low socioeconomic status will be judged more harshly on attributed personality traits, perceived culpability, and punishment severity.

Background

Demographic studies have indicated that blacks have a higher probability of being convicted of any given crime than whites, and that racial identity of the defendant can affect other juror decisions as well (Kemmelmeier, 2005). DeSantis and Kayson (1997) provided participants with a case that described a fictitious burglary. With the exception of the identified sex of the defendant, the cases were identical. Along with the case, participants received one of eight possible photos: an attractive or unattractive, Euro-American or African-American man or woman. DeSantis and Kayson (1997) found a significant main effect for each independent variable, with African-American defendants receiving longer sentences than Euro-American defendants.

DeSantis and Kayson (1997) provided several possible explanations for these findings. Racial bias and stereotypes of blacks as “common criminals” may be a reason for their harsher sentencing. They also point to other research that suggests participants may have assumed that if the defendant were African-American this would not be his or her first offense, even though no information related to this was given.

Graham and Lowery (2004) found similar results when conducting a series of studies involving police officers and juvenile probation officers. Participants first completed a task on the computer that they believed was a mind-clearing task; this task was actually used as a priming procedure to subliminally expose them to words that related either to the category black or to a neutral category. After completing this task, participants were asked to read a crime report and then respond to a series of questions regarding the juvenile suspect. Graham and Lowery (2004) found that when participants were primed with the black category, they reported more negative trait ratings, greater culpability and expected recidivism, and they suggested harsher punishments for the juvenile suspect. Based on these results, Graham and Lowery (2004) proposed that racial
disparities within the criminal justice system are the result of unconscious racial stereotypes held by those who ultimately decide the fate of those arrested.

Dannefer and Schutt (1982) also studied juvenile cases, only in terms of the social environment and the type of agency involved. They found a substantial racial bias among police officers, with 79% of white juveniles being released, while fewer than half of black and Hispanic juveniles were released. Though this bias was less evident in court decisions, Dannefer and Schutt make an important connection, because a court’s decision is not independent of police decisions. They suggest that if at any point racial bias is present in police decisions, it will ultimately affect prior record, which has been shown to have a strong influence on court rulings.

Gleason and Harris (1975) questioned whether blatant inequality in the courtroom is the result of race, socioeconomic status, or a combination of both. Participants were asked to carefully read police files on the background of the defendant which manipulated the socioeconomic status, race, and testimony summary from the mock case, and then respond to the questionnaire at the end of the booklet (Gleason & Harris, 1975).

When judging how guilty the defendant was, participants rated the high socioeconomic defendants, regardless of race, as less guilty than those of low socioeconomic status. The same was found true for leniency and the number of years to be served. Regardless of race, participants indicated that the defendants of high socioeconomic status should be treated with more leniency and were “sentenced” to fewer years in prison (Gleason & Harris, 1975).

Thornberry (1973), concerned with inconsistent previous findings, utilized actual cases in an attempt to discover whether “Blacks and members of a low socioeconomic strata receive more severe dispositions than whites and members of a high socioeconomic strata” (p. 90). Thornberry (1973) found that even when controlling for legal variables, seriousness of the crime, and recidivism, blacks and low socioeconomic juveniles were more likely than whites and high socioeconomic juveniles to receive severe sentences. These findings were observable at all three levels of the juvenile justice system—police, intake hearings, and juvenile court—but were most prominent at the levels of police and the juvenile court. Therefore, nonlegal variables still affect the severity of dispositions, even after legal variables are held constant.

More recently, Kemmelmeier (2005) has added another dimension to the discussion of courtroom inequality. In the first part of Kemmelmeier’s study participants were given a one-page trial summary that described the case of a man accused of assault and battery against his girlfriend. There were two separate conditions involved: one in which the defendant was African American and the victim was white, and another in which the defendant was white and the victim was African American. Participants then completed post-trial questions,
addressing the defendant’s guilt, a recommended sentence, strength of the evidence, personal attributes of the defendant, expected recidivism, how others would react in a similar situation, and the extent to which they believed that race of a defendant affects the fairness of the trial.

After completing an unrelated filler task, participants completed a modified version of the Social Dominance Orientation (SDO) scale. The SDO is a personal measure that has been constructed based on the Social Dominance Theory (SDT), which assumes that societies are inherently hierarchical. According to the SDT, dominant groups are more likely to accept societal hierarchy and thus discriminate against members of subordinate groups in an effort to maintain their dominance. Research has suggested that the SDO accounts for such “hierarchy-enhancing beliefs,” like racial prejudice and support in oppressing subordinate groups (Kemmelmeier, 2005).

Kemmelmeier failed to find a consistent effect for defendant race, but noted that defendant race had an effect that interacted with jurors’ SDO level. Participants with a high SDO displayed an anti-black bias, giving black defendants more severe sentences and viewing them as more culpable than white defendants. Participants with a low SDO had mirrored results, displaying a pro-black bias. Though no main effect was found, Kemmelmeier’s results suggest that the defendant’s racial identity is an important factor affecting juridic decision-making.

Current Study

The current study aims to expand upon previous research and further investigate the relationship between defendants’ demographic characteristics and the nature of judicial judgments, through the use of a simulated trial. The following hypotheses will be tested:

**H₀₁:** There is no statistically significant difference in the personality traits attribute to the black defendant versus the white defendant.

**H₀₂:** There is no statistically significant difference in the perceived culpability of the black defendant versus the white defendant.

**H₀₃:** There is no statistically significant difference in the punishment severity of the black defendant versus the white defendant.

**H₀₄:** There is no statistically significant difference in the personality traits attributed to the low socioeconomic defendant versus the high socioeconomic defendant.
**H$_{05}$**: There is no statistically significant difference in the perceived culpability of the low socioeconomic defendant versus the high socioeconomic defendant.

**H$_{06}$**: There is no statistically significant difference in the punishment severity of the low socioeconomic defendant versus the high socioeconomic defendant.

**Method**

**Participants**

Participants in this study were 98 undergraduate students from Xavier University, a mid-sized, private, Jesuit university located in the Midwest. Table 1 presents the demographic characteristics of the sample. Participants were recruited through the university’s study participant pool. All students who were interested had the ability to participate and received course credit for participating in the study. Participants ranged in age from 18 - 24 ($M = 20.17$). The majority of the sample (70.40 %) were women, 82.70 % were Caucasian, and 65.30 % were Catholic.

**Materials**

**Case files.** One of four possible vignettes created for this study was given to participants to read and evaluate. These vignettes were presented as case files, describing the same criminal offense and circumstances. Differences across the vignettes were race (black vs. white) of the offender and his described socioeconomic status (high SES; “Hyde Park” vs. low SES; “Evanston”). This information included detailed descriptions of the defendant’s family history, previous offenses, and current living and employment status (for one example see Appendix A).

**Personality traits.** Using a 12-item questionnaire created for this study, participants rated the defendant presented in the case file on several trait dimensions. Participants were instructed to circle on a 5 point scale the extent to which they believed the defendant possessed the given trait, such as honesty, aggressiveness, and impressionability. This questionnaire was intended to measure judgments that participants made about the defendant’s personality. These measures were modeled after a previous study (Graham & Lowery, 2004) in which racial stereotypes about adolescent offenders were examined.

**Perceived culpability.** This questionnaire, created by the author for this study, included items listed on a 5-point scale that required participants to make judgments about the defendant’s guilt, blame, and responsibility. Participants circled the extent to which they agreed with the items. These measures also were modeled after a previous study (Graham & Lowery, 2004).
**Punishment severity.** In this section participants were provided with a 5-point scale that required them to make judgments about the severity of the sentence given to the defendant. Although it was created for this study, this measure was adapted from Graham and Lowery (2004). Participants were then asked to act as the judge and choose between three possible sentences. After making their “ruling” participants were instructed to return to the case file and indicate three passages or facts that contributed to their decision, with 1 being the most important or influential fact, 2 being the second most important or influential, and 3 being the least (of the three) important or influential.

**Procedure**

After reviewing the consent form, participants were randomly assigned to one of four possible case files. After reading the report, participants were instructed to complete questionnaires on defendant personality traits, perceived culpability, and punishment severity. Participants then provided demographic information about themselves, such as age, race, sex, and political affiliation. After all study measures were completed, participants were given a debriefing form which provided information on the true nature and purpose of the study.

**Results**

A one-way between subjects ANOVA was conducted to examine the effect of defendant race and socioeconomic status on simulated jurors’ judgments of attributed personality traits, perceived culpability, and punishment severity. Table 2 presents the means, standard deviations, and ANOVA results for each defendant-attributed personality trait. Traits with a p-value of greater than .05 represent those that did not significantly differ across conditions. These traits included gullible, naïve, impressionable, aggressive, dishonest, and unfriendly. However, there were statistically significant differences across the four conditions for the traits of vulnerable, violent, dangerous, hostile, unlikeable, and bad, with all traits having a p-value of less than .05.

Post hoc comparisons using the LSD test were run on each of the statistically significant personality traits to understand which specific conditions differed significantly. Among the various conditions, those with high mean scores represent harsher judgments, while those with lower mean scores represent more lenient judgments. For both the personality traits of dangerous and hostile, the mean score for the Caucasian, low SES defendant was significantly lower than both the African American, low SES and high SES defendants (p < .05). However, the mean score for the African American, high SES defendant was the highest (p < .05).

For the personality trait of violent, the mean score for the Caucasian, low SES defendant was significantly lower than all other defendants, with the African American, high SES defendant being the highest (p < .05).
For the trait of vulnerable, the mean score for the African American, low SES defendant was significantly lower than the Caucasian, high SES defendant ($p < .05$).

For the personality trait of unlikable, the mean score for the African American, low SES defendant and the Caucasian, high SES defendant did not differ, and both were significantly lower than the other two defendants ($p < .05$).

Finally, for the trait of bad, the mean score for the Caucasian, high SES defendant was significantly lower than the Caucasian, low SES defendant and African American, high SES defendant, with the African American, high SES being the highest ($p < .05$). The means and standard deviations are presented in Table 3.

I examined perceptions of the defendant’s perceived culpability using four different questionnaire items; none of those differed significantly across conditions. Similarly, the conditions did not differ in the punishment severity or sentencing recommendations. Table 4 presents the means, standard deviations, and ANOVA results for the perceived culpability and punishment severity measures.

The frequencies of information ranked by participants as affecting their judicial judgments are presented in Figure 1. The information is represented by twelve different information categories, of which each have a frequency for ranked first, second, and third by participants. As shown in the figure, participants’ most frequently cited influence on their judgment was the actual offense for which the defendant was convicted. The second most frequently cited influence related to information regarding the defendant’s parents. The influence cited least by participants was the possible sentences that a judge can impose on the defendant in the state of Ohio.

Discussion

The current study’s findings were inconsistent with previous research finding that both low socioeconomic and African American defendants are treated more severely than others (Dannefer & Schutt, 1982; DeSantis & Kayson, 1997; Gleason & Harris, 1975; Gleason & Harris, 1976; Graham & Lowery, 2004; Spohn, Gruhl, & Welch, 1981; Thornberry, 1973). The current results suggest that minority, low socioeconomic status defendants are not consistently treated differently by jurors than defendants from other groups. There were statistically significant differences between conditions for half of the attributed personality traits; however, none supported the proposed hypotheses. Although the pattern of difference varied across traits, in general, the Caucasian, low SES defendant was deemed more hostile, violent, and dangerous than other defendants. The Caucasian, high SES defendant was seen as the most “bad” and obtained the same
rating as the African American, low SES defendant in being unlikeable. Finally, the African American, low SES defendant was seen as the most vulnerable, suggesting that other defendants were considered callous and cold. Across conditions there were no statistically significant differences for any perceived culpability measures, or punishment severity measures, suggesting that all defendants were rated similarly.

Though no hypotheses were made concerning the information participants utilized in their judgments, the data suggested that participants relied on information not directly related to the crime at hand to aid them in their decision making processes. The most frequently ranked piece of information was the actual offense for which the defendant was arrested. However, the second most frequently ranked piece of information related to the defendant’s parents and was in no way connected to the crime. It is also important to note that 16 participants directly indicated race and age as affecting their decision.

The present study’s results differ from previous studies in suggesting that minority, low socioeconomic status defendants are not always disadvantaged by jurors’ perceptions. Though defendant race and socioeconomic status did have some effect on half of the attributed personality traits, the findings were still inconsistent from previous research. The present study found that overall, the Caucasian defendant received more negative trait ratings than the African American defendant, regardless of socioeconomic status.

There are several factors that may have led to inconsistent results with previous research. First, this study was primarily limited by the sample. The sample size (98 participants) could have been larger and the use of undergraduate students only may have affected the results. Participants received credit regardless of whether they were actively engaged or not; this may have led to disinterest and carelessness when participating. The sample was also predominantly female, with 70.4% of participants being women. This most likely affected results and further research should aim at an equal balance between the sexes.

Another limitation of the present study may have been the depicted offense. The defendant, though convicted of drug trafficking, was only selling roughly 3.5 grams of marijuana. Had the defendant been in possession of a larger quantity, or had the offense been violent, the results may have been different. In fact, two participants made spontaneous comments about the nature of the offense, indicating that they did not view it as criminal. One participant argued, “$50 of weed is about 3.7 grams. That’s not worth jail time. Put real criminals behind bars.” Another participant stated, “I would give him no penalty because I think marijuana should be legalized. No factor about James (the described defendant) contributed to my punishment if I were judge.”

Future research may want to study how jurors respond to a more serious or violent crime. Also, it may be beneficial to include manipulation checks that
ensure participants actively read and understood the given prompt. These manipulation checks could take the form of simple reading comprehension questions and only be checked for accuracy. Further research in this area is both necessary and beneficial. Because the criminal justice system is such an integral part of our society, it is necessary to ensure that all acts carried out under the system are both fair and impartial.

References


**Table 1**

Demographic Characteristics of Participants

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Table 2

Means, Standard Deviations, and ANOVA Results for Attributed Personality Traits

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Note. AA/E = African American, low SES defendant; AA/HP = African American, high SES defendant; C/E = Caucasian, low SES defendant; C/HP = Caucasian, high SES defendant.
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Note. AA/E = African American, low SES defendant; AA/HP = African American, high SES defendant; C/E = Caucasian, low SES defendant; C/HP = Caucasian, high SES defendant.
### Table 3

Means and Standard Deviations for Post Hoc Comparisons

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*Note*. AA/E = African American, low SES defendant; AA/HP = African American, high SES defendant; C/E = Caucasian, low SES defendant; C/HP = Caucasian, high SES defendant.
Table 4

Means, Standard Deviations, and ANOVA Results for Perceived Culpability and Punishment Severity Measures

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Note. AA/E = African American, low SES defendant; AA/HP = African American, high SES defendant; C/E = Caucasian, low SES defendant; C/HP = Caucasian, high SES defendant.
Figure 1. Frequencies of information ranked by participants as affecting their judicial judgments.
The following is a description of a defendant who has been convicted of drug trafficking. Please carefully read the fictional case file and then respond to the following questionnaires.

Case # 3278 - Ohio v. James

James is a 23 year old, African American man who was convicted of drug trafficking. He was apprehended by an undercover policeman after selling $50 worth of marijuana to what he thought was a Xavier student. This is his first offense as an adult. In Ohio, judges can impose various punishments for this type of offense. Defendants can receive a $100 fine or a jail sentence ranging from 6 months to 5 years. The penalty can also be increased if one was distributing an illegal substance within 1,000 feet of a school.

James lives in the Evanston area of Cincinnati with his mother and four siblings. Two preschool aged nephews also live in the home. James did not finish high school, but he has enrolled twice in a program to finish his GED; he has not yet completed that program or earned his GED. Although he has applied for many different jobs, he has not been hired. His mother is employed as a cook in a school cafeteria, and although she has worked steadily in this type of position throughout James’s life, she does not earn much money. James’s father has not been involved in his upbringing. In fact, for most of James’s life, his father has been in prison, most recently for armed robbery. James has smoked marijuana since he was in high school; for most of the past several years he has smoked daily. He tested positive for substances (THC) when he was arrested and booked on this charge.

About the Author

Olivia Robinson (Class of 2015) is currently working to earn a B.S. in psychology with a minor in criminal justice. She is part of Xavier Psi Chi and Psychology Club, and aspires to one day work in the Federal Bureau of Investigation. In her spare time she enjoys spending time with friends, reading, and watching movies. “Defendant Information on Judgments of Simulated Jurors” was sponsored by Dr. Kathleen Hart, Professor of Psychology.
Hobbes and Vattel in Crimea: A Natural Law Critique of the Russian Annexation

Juan Martir

In March 2014, the Russian government—upon learning the people of Crimea voted overwhelmingly by a referendum to secede from Ukraine—announced that it would annex the territory. The international community was shocked. United States Secretary of State John Kerry condemned the move as a revival of outmoded power politics: “You don’t just in the 21st century behave in 19th century fashion by invading another country on a completely trumped-up pretext.” This paper argues that, even by earlier standards in international politics, this move by Russia would be considered illegitimate or imprudent. By looking at the incident through the natural law theories of Thomas Hobbes and Emer de Vattel, the annexation would be considered imprudent: by the former because it threatens domestic harmony and is completely illegitimate, and by the latter because it is a blatant violation of the rights of the Ukrainian polity. In order to properly understand the relationship among polities, it is necessary first to determine how each philosopher qualified and defined a polity. Subsequently, I shall outline possible arguments for why Russia may legitimately annex the Crimea before refuting these claims. The paper shall then conclude with a survey of possible solutions by which the international dilemma may be resolved. The issue of legitimate expansion of a polity’s land is one of the oldest dilemmas in international natural law theory. By examining the tradition of early modern thinkers, it may be readily demonstrated that the recent Russian annexation does not meet the criteria set forth by Hobbes and Vattel.

Modern natural law theory is a branch of philosophy which deals with the relations among polities on the international stage, in regard to commerce, war, alliance, and other concepts germane to the dealings of states with one another. This may be distinguished from earlier traditions of international law in that it tended to rely less on Thomastic and Aristotelian models of earlier ages. The primary sources I draw from in this paper are Thomas Hobbes’ *Leviathan* and

Davidson, Dana. (2014, March 2) “Kerry rebukes Russia’s ‘incredible act of aggression’ in move into Ukraine.” CNN Politics.
Emer de Vattel’s *The Law of Nations*. Both works describe the relationships between the individual and the polity, as well as how polities should behave on the international stage.

Thomas Hobbes: The Role of the Polity

There is perhaps no other political philosopher more famous than Thomas Hobbes, but perhaps also not one more misunderstood: Hobbes’ thought experiment of the state of nature is meant not to expound upon the natural evil of man (an idea that Hobbes himself did not espouse), but to explain the purpose and role of political society or the state. Hobbes’ thoughts regarding the state of nature (a condition which lacks political society) is often quoted: “there is no place for Industry, because the fruit thereof is uncertain . . .and the life of man, solitary, poore, nasty, brutish, and short.”

The second half of the quote is more memorable, but the first half is more important to Hobbes. Each man has “natural right” or the ability to act in whatever way is conducive to his self-preservation. Although natural right contributes to the dismal state of nature because there is no common judge to whom natural man may appeal, it is ultimately an epistemic dilemma—uncertainty—that creates the brutishness of the natural condition. Man is not evil, but he is distrustful. It is by nature that man lacks common signs by which he may communicate and overcome this wariness. Language itself is antagonistic to mutual trust (a point which is to be contended by Vattel). For Hobbes, no objects necessarily have names—it is by an arbiter’s rule that men agree on common definitions. For example, the paper upon which this text is read is only known to everyone as paper because some central authority has declared it to be such. Unlike in Aristotle’s theory, there are no “essences” of things. Natural man does not know whether his neighbor is an enemy or ally, and thus he lives in a state of constant contention or war.

The commonwealth is the solution to this problem; the Leviathan, or sovereign, becomes the judge and defines terms, dispels distrust, and ultimately

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4 While the epistemic dilemma which Hobbes perceives is of the utmost importance to his political theory, as well as an innovation from earlier Aristotelian models of knowledge, it falls beyond the scope of this paper. See *Leviathan*, Chapter IV for more information.


6 This may be a difficult concept for English-speakers to understand because the United States and the United Kingdom do have central bodies which determine language. The Académie Française, a French governmental body which determines the correct French language usage/definitions, is more analogous to Hobbes’ idea of arbitrated language.
ensures the stability of the polity so that man may pursue industry. Hobbes expounds upon the rights of a sovereign, most importantly the sovereign’s right to arbitrate: “sixtly, it is annexed to the Soveraignty, to be Judge of what Opinions and Doctrines are averse, and what conducing to Peace.” Hobbes defines terms—he creates a common language by which the citizens of the commonwealth may communicate. The vocabulary, shared by all those in the polity, becomes the foundation for industry and the means by which natural distrust is surmounted. Man is guided to this condition of civil society by natural laws—precepts “found out by reason” which dictate that man must seek peace. In order for civil society to properly function, however, all constituents must lay down their natural right before the sovereign, who would retain his natural right. This may seem excessive in that the citizens have no claim against the sovereign, while the sovereign may have unlimited power against the citizens. Indeed, *prima facie*, this seems true—but the Hobbesian model does make important exceptions. Citizens still maintain the right to self-preservation, an inalienable right which would limit the role of the Leviathan in international relations.

The Hobbesian Polity in International Relations

Hobbes, to a certain extent, maintains that sovereign nations in the international realm continue to exist in a state of nature—but with important qualifications. It then may be said that the Russian annexation of the Crimea is an act of natural right; Russia *may* annex the Crimea merely because Russia is *able* to annex. Although this is true in the Hobbesian scheme, it is still to be considered imprudent and foolhardy. While the Leviathan wields absolute power, it should wield it with a clear purpose in mind: the sustaining of itself and, as corollary, the sustaining of its people. Domestic matters must check international matters even for the sovereign.

The state of nature which exists among individuals is similar to the state of nature which exists among nations in that there is no common judge and nations retain natural right in regard to one another. The different polities in the international realm acknowledge no common ruler; their conduct is still dictated by natural right and resembles still the state of nature: “Persons of Soveraigne authority, because of their Independency, are in continuall jealousies, and in the state of and posture of Gladiators, having their weapons pointing, and their eyes fixed on one another.” That disputing parties have no redress other than by

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9 Hobbes, *Leviathan*, 120. Hobbes favors monarchy, though he does acknowledge that an assembly of men may also be considered sovereign.

force may come under scrutiny in the modern day. Supranational bodies such as the United Nations and International Monetary Fund may serve as examples against this proposition. These bodies, however, cannot be considered a commonwealth by which nations leave the state of nature. These bodies, though instituted by member nations, lack the force characteristic of a Leviathan—the ability to enforce decrees and promulgations: “Covenants, without the Sword,” Hobbes argues, “are but Words, and of no strength to secure a man at all.” These international bodies cannot enforce their own wills in the same manner that domestic governments may enforce their own wills upon their respective populaces. It follows then that polities still have the right to act in whatever manner may best serve their self-preservation.

It must be acknowledged that the state of nature among individuals is not a complete analogue to the international anarchy; unlike the condition among individuals in which the agents are whole, the natural condition of states is such that agents are conglomerations. Individuals in a state of nature have only to worry about external threats—e.g. other humans, natural disasters, food shortages, etc. Polities, on the other hand, must worry not only about external threats (other polities), but also internal dissention. The internal worries which a sovereign faces in its own citizenry is a topic explored by several modern scholars: “as a corporate body, the sovereign must consider the relationship between its external relations and relations with its own citizens.” Hobbes, to a certain extent, acknowledges this dilemma by granting the subjects of the Leviathan the right of disobedience under circumstances in which the Leviathan is no longer able to provide protection: “The Obligation of Subjects to the Soveraign, is understood to last as long, and no longer, than the power lasteth, by which he is able to protect them.” The sovereign ceases to be a sovereign (thereby losing legitimacy to command subjects) when he no longer is able to protect his subjects. This may be extended to the idea that if a sovereign acts in such a way as to endanger his subjects, it is permissible to dethrone the sovereign. The fate of a Leviathan, then, is tied to that of his subjects; to neglect or abuse them would spell his own demise—this factor would play an important role in the relationships among polities.

Vain expansion and interdependence among polities are two other limits on the Leviathan’s natural right in the international realm. Vain expansion of

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14 For example, if a sovereign started senseless wars with the result that a subject’s existence is then made similar to a state of nature, the subject may defect from the polity.
territorial holdings is a factor that may lead to the dissolution of the commonwealth; Hobbes refers to “the insatiable appetite, or Bulimia, of enlarging Dominion” that can lead to a commonwealth’s demise.\textsuperscript{15} The polity may expand because of the necessities of self-preservation, but to do so vainly—to expand to such an extent that it exposes the state to foreign invasion or dissent from new subjects in the polity—is to lead to the polity’s own destruction. Caution must be attendant upon expanding borders. Additionally, Hobbes also makes the case that—to some degree—states depend on one another: “because there is no Territory under the Dominion of one Commonwealth . . . that produceth all things needful for the maintenance, and motion of the whole Body . . . [a Territory can] supply these wants at home, by importation of that which may be had abroad.”\textsuperscript{16} There should be trade among Leviathans, if only out of the material necessities of human existence. A Hobbesian kind of commerce, however, remains always imperfect because there is no common judge to adjudicate in the case of altercation or controversy. A case may be made to state that Hobbes is proposing a stronger claim—that the Leviathan should actively seek out commercial activities: “to the extent conditions for international trade can be created and sustained by governments, it is for governments to create and sustain them.”\textsuperscript{17} Nevertheless, trade must be a consideration that limits a Leviathan’s natural right.

One should recognize, however, that—though the Hobbesian Leviathan is limited in international relations—these limitations are mainly in regards to domestic, not international, concerns. The historical context of Hobbes is the English Civil War. It is therefore not surprising that he places such importance on domestic matters. Nevertheless, Hobbes lacks any idea of a cosmopolis or suprapolitical commonwealth among men which would dictate certain norms or define certain relationships (as would be seen in Vattel’s works). The commonwealth exists so that its citizens may exist outside the brutish state of nature—its relationships with other commonwealths, and indeed all of its actions, should be dictated by this purpose. Its obligations, treaties, or other pursuits including trade or conquest must be undertaken insofar as they contribute to the stability and well-being of the domestic situation in the commonwealth. The natural right of the state, which may have no real limitation in the sense that a violation would not be punished, must be limited reasonably so that the Leviathan may fulfill this purpose.

\textsuperscript{15} Hobbes, \textit{Leviathan}, 230.

\textsuperscript{16} Hobbes, \textit{Leviathan}, 171.

\textsuperscript{17} Sorell, “Hobbes on Trade Consumption, and International Order,” 252. Modern scholarship has suggested that Hobbes may be considered the first “bourgeois” philosopher in that he facilitated the modern market economy. For more information, see Peter Hayes, “Hobbes’s Bourgeois Moderation,” \textit{Polity} Vol. 31(1): 53-74.
Hobbes in Crimea

The adverse response by the international community to the Russian annexation has unnecessarily threatened the existence of the Russian polity. The United States, as well as the European Union, have initiated economic sanctions, and credit agencies have downgraded Russian bonds.\(^{18}\) This backlash against the Russian polity would invariably limit domestic prosperity. International lending is essential to any polity and, although it is of a financial nature, Hobbes would likely consider this resource to be a commodity essential to the proper functioning of state. Even the Russian Finance Minister acknowledged that, because of the flight of capital from the country, economic growth for the year may halt.\(^{19}\) The economic sanctions, currently nominal, also fall under this same category and may be expanded in the future to cover more Russian companies and people. These economic hindrances would likely be considered \textit{bulimia} under the Hobbesian scheme; the state is expanding to such an extent that it is becoming detrimental to the citizens of the polity.

The solution to this dilemma, according to a Hobbesian model, is complicated and difficult because of the discrepancy that exists between natural right and natural law. Hobbes states that the natural laws are derived from reason, and that the fundamental and first law is: “to seek Peace, and follow it.”\(^{20}\) The natural laws are essential to form the polity, and—because man realizes a more peaceful and better condition in the polity than in nature—therefore essential to man’s prospering. Natural right, on the other hand, states that man may do anything to preserve himself. The two come into contention in the state of nature, where uncertainty prevents peace. The Leviathan, i.e. the submitting of natural right to a commonwealth, is the solution to the state of nature among individuals, but not polities. The same principles, then, that hinder Russia from expanding also hinder other nations from checking Russian expansion. Ultimately, the Hobbesian would argue that Russia must cease expansion because of the resulting domestic incommodities. It may be speculative, but—given the recent expansion of Russia and the precedent for international annexation without international consent—the Hobbesian may be forced to state that, for the interest of all Leviathans being able to control their respective populaces, it would be beneficial to restrain Russia in some manner. Whether or not this would be done by means of force with war, or economic sanctions, the Hobbesian tradition would seem to remain silent. This Hobbesian model, unless a more in-depth analysis of all other

\(^{18}\) MacFarquhar, Neil. (2014, Apr 26) “For Russia, Negatives Seem to Outweigh Positives of an Invasion.” \textit{NYTimes}.

\(^{19}\) Lakshmanan, Indira. (2014, Apr 30) “Putin's Threat to Retaliate for Sanctions Carries Risks.” \textit{Bloomberg}.

nations is conducted, cannot enumerate the role other countries must play in this situation.\textsuperscript{21}

Emer de Vattel: The Role of the Polity

Emer de Vattel differs primarily from Hobbes in that he defines the constitution and fundamental laws as the foundation of the polity. Unlike Hobbes, who begins his thesis from a state of nature, Vattel already assumes their ascension from the natural condition.

The purpose of polity in Vattel’s model is the perfection of man. Vattel has a much more optimistic outlook on both nature and man; he does not suffer from (or recognize) the natural uncertainty which Hobbes posits:

\begin{quote}
We see . . . that nature has refused to bestow on men the same strength and natural weapons of defense which she has furnished other animals,—having in lieu of those advantages, endowed mankind with the faculties of speech and reason, or at least a capability of acquiring them by intercourse with their fellow-creates. Speech enables them to communicate with each other to give each other mutual assistance, to perfect their reason and knowledge.\textsuperscript{22}
\end{quote}

The mutual mistrust which exists in the Hobbesian state of nature does not exist in Vattel’s model. Nature has not made man naturally mighty because she has made him naturally sociable. A sign of this sociability is speech by which people may naturally understand one another. Unlike Hobbes who views language as a hindrance to man’s ability to organize into groups, Vattel views language as an indication of man’s sociable nature. Vattel’s conception of society additionally requires mutual assistance: “each individual should do for others everything which their necessities require, and which he can perform without neglecting the duty he owes to himself.”\textsuperscript{23} Vattel also conceived of a polity itself as an individual because it may contract, deliberate, and make resolutions.\textsuperscript{24} An individual has an obligation to others; this is a concept which, with some exceptions, would also be applied to the realm of international relations.

Emer de Vattel: The Polity in International Relations

\textsuperscript{21} An analysis of other actors on the international stage (e.g. European Union, the United States, etc.) and their domestic condition is necessary to determine each agent’s most prudent options.

\textsuperscript{22} Vattel, \textit{The Law of Nations}, 71.

\textsuperscript{23} Vattel, \textit{The Law of Nations}, 72.

\textsuperscript{24} Vattel, \textit{The Law of Nations}, 67.
In international relations, there exists equality among polities—a notion which stems from Vattel’s intellectualist beliefs regarding free will. The Hobbesian model, with important limitations regarding domestic tranquility, grants to polities natural right. Vattel’s model limits this by stating that, once established, polities are on equal footing because each polity pursues its own concept of self-perfection. This idea finds its roots in an intellectualist tradition which held that the only way to act freely is to act in accordance with nature. Self-perfection, the goal of every polity, can be attained only if nations act freely. Since a polity cannot both act by reason and by compulsion (i.e. by another nation), it follows that a compelled nation cannot be a reasonable nation. Freedom and reason are one; a compelled nation cannot be a free nation. Reason, in these circumstances, must be defined by the polity itself. For example, if one state views slavery as unreasonable (and therefore outlaws it), while another state views the same kind of slavery as reasonable (and therefore does not outlaw it), both states would be acting reasonably. By using this line of argumentation, the best policy regarding international relations is non-interference because to interfere would mean to hinder another nation’s self-perfection.

This idea of non-interference plays an important role in Vattel’s concept of a *cosmopolis*, literally translated: “world city,” but better understood as “global community.” Non-interference is the minimum requirement of a Vatteline polity in the international realm. It is necessary not only that polities refrain from unwarranted aggression, it is also necessary that they help one another in each other’s achieving self-perfection—provided that aiding others does not hinder the aiding polity’s own perfection. Just as individuals congregate into polities for each other’s mutual benefit, so too should such a symbiotic relationship exist among polities. Vattel writes that even the glory, or reputation, of other polities must be a consideration when acting on the international stage: “the duty of a nation extends even to the glory of other nations.” Vattel is, however, sensitive to the harsh realities of political landscapes. A polity may refuse to help another polity, should this run contrary to its own perfection: “and if [the polity refuses] to comply, their determination is to be patiently acquiesced in.” It is up to the polity itself whether aiding another polity is in its own interest. This may be said

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25 Holland, “The moral person of the state: Emer de Vattel and the foundations of international legal order,” 439. Ultimately, Vattel’s conception of nature is richer and more Aristotelian than that of Hobbes. In Vattel’s view, objects—even states—have their own nature, which may be perfected.

26 Holland, “The moral person of the state: Emer de Vattel and the foundations of international legal order,” 443.


to be an imperfect duty—in that it should be done, but failure to perform should not be punished. Vattel’s spectrum, then, has two extremities. On the one hand, the international realm may become an almost world state (at least in idea) where different polities assist one another in their respective goals. On the other hand, the international realm may devolve into a collection of isolated states—no nation helping any other nation because each nation determines it to be against their own perfection. Vattel, an advocate of commerce, would likely favor the former over the latter. Nevertheless, either circumstance results from the necessary equality of polities, and neither circumstance advocates aggression or expansion.

Vattel in Crimea

The equality of all states has another corollary in Vattel’s system; a state may not interfere in the affairs of another state unless asked. Vattel abhors the typical imperialistic argument for expanding the polity to expand civilization: “though a nation be obliged to promote . . . the perfection of others,” he writes, “it is not entitled to forcibly obtrude these good offices on them.” The arguments of spreading culture or religion to “barbarians” or “heathens” is an old justification for the expansion of states. Oftentimes, however, this may be merely a façade to exploit native peoples for material gain. Two polities may engage with one another only if both polities consent. A contemporary example of this would be the cultural exchange program scholarships such as the Fulbright Scholarships or the Marshall Scholarships—in both cases, the two polities engage consensually and to each other’s mutual benefit. This concept is so rigorous that, unless prompted, a polity may not interfere in the affairs of another even in the case of what contemporary society would consider human rights violations. The only reason for just war or military conflict is the violation of rights—and this may be pursued only by the injured party. In regard to Russia, since it has not suffered any sort of injury, nor has Ukraine consented to any interference, the annexation would be illegitimate.

Vattel does acknowledge that polities may justly use force in international politics for the sake of annexation; three possible scenarios in which annexation would be legitimate are: 1) for the sake of cultivation of land; 2) because of laws of necessity; and 3) intervention in civil war. None of these three can be justified in the Crimean annexation.

The most primitive reason for which a polity may legitimately expand is to cultivate more land, thus allowing a more commodious existence for mankind as a

29 Vattel’s views on commerce may best be seen in Book II, Chapter II of his work (pp. 273).


31 Ibid.
whole; today, this would be a ludicrous basis for Russian expansion. Vattel justifies the existence of property as a means by which man may better sustain himself: “when the human race became extremely multiplied, the earth was no longer capable of furnishing spontaneously . . . it therefore became necessary that those tribes should fix themselves somewhere, and appropriate to themselves portions of land, in order that they might . . . apply themselves and render those lands fertile, and thence derive their subsistence.” Polities are able to expand to uncultivated lands so that the land could better be utilized and provide more food for mankind.

This is an argument perhaps unique to the early modern period in which large plots of land (e.g. in the un-European settled lands of the New World) remained near to a state of nature. This argument, in the case of Russia, is no longer relevant. Before Russian annexation, culture and civilization had already existed in the Crimea. The land had been home (and still is) to Ukrainians and other ethnic groups. In a condition of extreme material scarcity, it is permissible that a polity use force to meet this necessity; the polity in need, however, must offer more peaceful measures before resorting to outright force. The earth is designed in such a way to provide sustenance for all its inhabitants. If a nation finds herself in an “absolute want of provisions, she may compel her neighbors, who have more than they want for themselves, to supply her with a share of them at a fair price: she may even take it by force, if they will not sell.” The resources in question may be considered food or even women (citizen reproduction is essential to the sustaining of a nation); the important distinction, however, must be made that commercial overtures are necessary before resorting to force. Russia has made no such negotiations. Additionally, the law of necessity pertains only to movable goods, not to immovable goods (property). The law of necessity, then, may be seen as a temporary solution; it is meant only for immediate sustenance and cannot be invoked infinitely. In Vattel’s scheme, the annexation of the Crimea would represent a use of brute force which does not respect the equality among nations.

The most convincing argument which Russia may offer in its annexation is the argument that, since the Ukraine is in a state of civil war, two separate polities emerge and it is justified to interfere at the behest of those asking for help; this, however, fundamentally misunderstands and cheapens Vattel’s concept of state. According to some, the Crimean referendum in March 2014, which resulted in a 97% approval rate for joining Russia, serves as the grounds for Russia’s acquisition of the peninsula. A glib analysis of Vattel’s works may justify this,


34 Myers, Steven Lee. (2014, 18 Mar) “Putin Reclaims Crimea for Russia and Bitterly Denounces the West.” *NYTimes*. 
not as a mere separatist movement of malcontents, but as the creation of a new state which may, because of equality of nations, determine its own means to perfection.\textsuperscript{35} However, the reality of the situation places doubt on the legitimacy of the referendum itself, which some observers claim was rigged.\textsuperscript{36}

Nevertheless, even if there had been no doubts about the referendum’s legitimacy, Vattel would still doubt that this single action would constitute the creation of a polity. A polity may only separate itself into two in dire extremities: “it ought to be attempted only in cases of extremity, when the public misery is raised to such a height that people may say with Tacitus, \textit{miseram pacem vel bello bene mutari} [a miserable pace is exchanged well for war].”\textsuperscript{37} This is a circumstance similar to the one Hobbes imagines in that rebellion is permissible only when the polity is no longer able to sustain order. Notably, Ukraine still had troops in the peninsula at the time Russia declared the annexation; there had not been any anarchy. Additionally, the creation of any new state requires a constitution—an important document which determines the manner in which a state may perfect itself. The creation of such an outline would require much time and contemplation; a referendum, organized in such a short time, cannot reasonably be considered a constitution. Since the Crimea cannot be considered its own polity, it is still part of the Ukrainian commonwealth. This expansion is an illegitimate invasion of a neighboring country; this kind of acquisition has no basis in natural law.\textsuperscript{38}

Vattel offers two possible solutions to international dilemmas in which there is an unlicensed use of force: complete annihilation of the aggressor or economic sanctions. Vattel writes that nations which would make war without any reason are “enemies to the human race, in the same manner as, in civil society professed assassins and incendiaries,” and that “all nations have a right to join in a public confederacy for the purpose of punishing and even exterminating those savage nations.”\textsuperscript{39} It is unlikely that Vattel would advocate this measure for the situation in the Crimea. Although the expansion of Russia seems to stem from

\textsuperscript{35} “They stand therefore in precisely the predicament as two nations, who engage in a contest, and, being unable to come to an agreement, have recourse to arms.” Vattel, \textit{The Law of Nations}, 645.

\textsuperscript{36} Cumming-Bruce, Nick. (2014, Apr 15). “U.N. Cites Abuses in Crimea Before Russia Annexation Vote.” \textit{NYTimes}.

\textsuperscript{37} Vattel, \textit{The Law of Nations}, 108. Latin translation by author of paper. It is also important to note that rebellion is a circumstance in which the people are violently against the prince/polity, not a circumstance in which both willingly dissolve the social contract which binds them.

\textsuperscript{38} Vattel had conceived of polities as highly abstract and intellectual structures. As such, any argument from common consanguinity or history would likely seem irrelevant in his system.

\textsuperscript{39} Vattel, \textit{The Law of Nations}, 487.
Illegitimate reasons, the crime is not so great and so senseless as to warrant the destruction of an entire polity. Instead, Vattel would likely advocate for commercial sanctions: “the balance of power could be stabilized if it operated primarily through a process of commercial preferences and restrictions.” This is perhaps the most peaceful way to resolve conflict. States—established as legitimate—must maintain their legitimacy by keeping in check the polities which violate the cosmopolis. This too is the typical way in which modern polities respond to military aggression (and indeed, it is also the option chosen by the United States and European Union in this particular incident)—it is a testament to the debt which contemporary international mores owe to the thinkers of the early modern period.

Conclusion

The world of international politics is one of immense potential. On the one hand, every day, nations contribute to each other’s perfections—by means of exchange, whether commercial, cultural, or technological. On the other hand, polities continue to exist in uncertainty. There is no common power to adjudicate, with finality, any international disputes. Both of these concepts—a cosmopolis of mutual benefit and an international anarchy which resembles a state of nature—were present in the writings of the early modern writers. Both Hobbes and Vattel wrote of peace as the final objective of human existence. Natural law was the means by which man might achieve this end. The two political thinkers, however, approached the means to peace differently.

Hobbes looked at domestic concerns as a limiting factor of the Leviathan on the international stage. Vattel conceived of an international community which itself would limit any transgressions against natural law. The Russian annexation of the Crimea would represent a violation of natural law for both of these thinkers. Although the infamous Iron Curtain between the Communist East and Capitalist West has long fallen, there is a new division in the region: between the western European Union and the Russian economic bloc. Instances such as the Crimean annexation indubitably exacerbate the divide. Proper reflection is required in thinking about contemporary international politics, and indeed, there is a long, centuries-old tradition to consider. With the advent of the modern state, and technological advancements, such reflection is of the utmost importance.

Bibliography


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Juan Martir (Class of 2015) is majoring in both the Honors Bachelor of Arts Program and philosophy with a minor in computer science. In addition to serving as an editor for the Xavier University Journal of Undergraduate Research, he is also an editor for the university’s undergraduate law review and a tutor of classical languages and philosophy for Xavier’s Learning Assistance Center. After he graduates, he hopes to pursue a degree in law. In his spare time, he
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Attempts to Control Nature: The Feminine Wild and Resistance to Courtly Convention in *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*

Katherine Colborn

The world of Shakespeare terminology was rocked in the mid-1950s and greatly affected for several decades after Northrop Frye coined the phrase “green world.” In his published books and essays, he coined the phrase to describe and establish the opposition between the “green world of romance” and the “normal world.” He categorized the green world as the world of “dream” and “desire,” referring, of course, to male desire. Ever since, there has been an increased interest in Shakespeare’s portrayal of gender in light of this distinction. While the 20th century welcomed a significant increase in feminist criticism of Shakespeare’s plays, there is still a comparably small amount of scholarship on the relationship between gender and the green world. Frye’s references to the roles of males and females within the green world remain underdeveloped. While other scholars have considered the subject and more still use Frye’s terminology, few connect gender and the green world very directly. I argue that the forest setting in *A Midsummer Night’s Dream* (a common and obvious example of Shakespeare’s use of the green world) alludes to the feminine nature in the play and actively symbolizes the masculine fascination with the wild and mystery of the feminine; it draws attention to the patriarchal obsession with taming that very feminine wild and mystery, so as to place it within the courtly conventions of a male-dominated structure.

In her work,¹ scholar Jeanne Addison Roberts makes a very similar argument in which she directly relates the feminine presence in Shakespeare’s plays to the presence of nature, though it is more generalized to apply to a greater number of Shakespeare’s works and not limited to the comedies. I expand upon her work by focusing primarily on *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, specifically examining a few of the female characters and exploring their roles in the green world, as opposed to their roles in the Athenian city setting. The female characters

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¹ See Roberts, *The Shakespeare Wild: Geography, Genus, and Gender.*
Hippolyta and Titania, in their relations with male characters and their position within the natural world, emphasize this male-to-female and male-to-nature confrontation.

The audience’s knowledge of the “green world” within this particular play stems from the forest setting introduced in the second act. The faeries that live in the forest, particularly Oberon and Titania, are perhaps characters most closely associated with the natural world. As Frye writes, these faeries are “spirits of the elements, and as such they are part of the cyclical processes of nature: when Oberon and Titania quarrel their dissensions are reflected in bad weather” (214). Through their manipulation of the natural elements and clear comfort in the forest setting—a setting unfamiliar to the Athenian characters—Oberon and Titania act as metaphorical links to the strange and very un-Athenian Wild that becomes the basis for the play’s conflict. Tradition has dictated that in most performances, the roles of Hippolyta and Titania are double-cast. By making this choice, the director and cast heighten a pre-existing (if subtle) parallel between the two characters and their positions. As Hippolyta, Queen of the Amazons, faces the loss in her culture and nation, so too does Titania, Queen of the Faeries, later face the fear of loss: an Indian boy that she has vowed to raise is in danger of being taken.

Each of the women also experiences a form of defeat in the relationship with her husband. As Shakespeare scholar and expert on Amazonian myth in the Renaissance, Geraldo U. de Sousa, writes, “both Titania and Hippolyta eventually have to submit themselves to males: one tricked by a patriarch; the other, overpowered by one” (28-29). He even goes so far as to suggest that the play “splits the role of the Amazon into two parts that never interact with each other: the momentarily defiant Titania and the submissive Hippolyta” (28). The

Frye even argues that all elements in the green world exist to symbolize the natural world, “the word natural here referring to the original human society which is the proper home of man, not the physical world he now lives in but the ‘golden world’ he is trying to regain. This natural society is associated with things which in the context of the ordinary world seem unnatural, but which are in fact attributes of nature as a miraculous and irresistible reviving power” (142).

Here I refer to his book, Shakespeare’s Cross-Cultural Encounters.

While Roberts argues for the Amazonian nature of both women in their roles of strength and power, Aidan Day, like Sousa, links them by the way their Amazonian powers are upset. In her essay “Angela Carter’s Fairy Orientalism: ‘Overture and Incidental Music for A Midsummer Night’s Dream,’” Day suggests that Titania’s Amazonian tendencies manifest themselves in her drug-induced adoration for Bottom. She writes: “To the extent that [Titania] dominates Bottom, a man with the head of an ass, Titania is already in the process of being brought under control by Oberon, who has caused her to desire what is no more than a parody of a man. Bottom, with an ass’s head, is a dark grotesque, not to be taken seriously as a man, just as Titania’s ‘patriarchal’ domination of him is a delusion engendered by Oberon, the man who is reestablishing control over her” (13). She continues to discuss the role of the Indian boy and Oberon’s wants, noting that he wishes not only for control over the boy, but for “a restoration of his authority over Titania” (14). We can compare him in this light to Theseus. Carter argues that this power exchange between Titania and Oberon is a reflection of that unseen defeat of the Amazons, of which the audience
long-held tradition of double-casting these two characters in the performance of this play invites comparisons of the two women and their relationships with their respective husbands.

The similar unsettling relations between these two couples, the clear parallels in these women’s experience with loss, and the long-held tradition of double-casting these characters on the stage all lead to link Hippolyta with Titania, and therefore with the forest and the natural Wild, opening the space to explore the smaller role that Hippolyta plays in the green world (in comparison with that larger role of Titania) and its relation to her place in a male-dominated culture. While Roberts is more interested in cataloging and analyzing the different types of femininity the female characters exhibit within the “green world,” I choose to expand further on the specific connection between that green world and Hippolyta’s character. I believe it is most evident in her relationship with Theseus, her husband and the acting symbol for the conventional court and patriarchal society of Athens.

The audience is immediately informed of the male-to-female relationship from the moment the show begins. Hippolyta is one of the first two characters presented to the audience in the play; the other is Theseus. He speaks the first line of Act I, setting up the male position for the rest of the play: “Now, fair Hippolyta, our nuptial hour / Draws on apace. Four happy days bring in / Another moon—but O, me thinks how slow / this old moon wanes!” (I.i.5-6). She speaks the second line, in response to his words: “Four days will quickly steep themselves in night, / Four nights will quickly dream away the time” (I.i.7-8). Immediately, the audience is presented with a situation that forces a comparison between Hippolyta and Theseus, suggesting that we must understand her in relation to him. The conversation focuses on his impatience and his experiences and gains in conquering the Amazonians. Hippolyta’s character is only introduced in relation to Theseus. Therefore, their relationship becomes critical to defining and understanding Hippolyta’s role in the play.

Her response, appeasing Theseus’s impatience, suggests one of two things, depending upon the interpretation: she is resigned to her capture and defeat, embraces her new life as Theseus’s queen, and is heartfelt in her response; or she is bitter, and shows this by responding in a sarcastic or mocking tone. Both give different and interesting introductions to Hippolyta’s character and both can be considered slightly disturbing, particularly to a modern, feminist-minded audience.

Hippolyta’s attitude gives the audience insight into her character. She, Titania, and all the characters in this play are first and foremost defined by their only gets the slightest recount in the play’s first act. From this perspective, “the fairy plot . . . rehearses what goes on in the framing plot: the reinstatement of ‘authentic’ masculine power over a female usurper of such power” (14).
relationships to each other; their roles are defined more clearly when they act in response and in opposition to one another. Hippolyta, by nature, is representative of the exotic and unknown. De Sousa examines this label of the exotic and describes the myth surrounding the Amazons by referencing the words of the scholar Gail Paster; de Sousa contends that the Amazons “differ from the Renaissance ideals of womanhood in their ‘complete uninterest in an erotic appeal governed by male desire’ and in their ‘emotional distance from or refusal to become absorbed into the personal and maternal gratifications, the social rewards, of nurture” (Pastor qtd. in Sousa 12). This view certainly brings a note of skepticism into Hippolyta’s apparent acceptance of her defeat in the first scene of Act I.

The Renaissance ideal of the Amazon also plays a significant part in the critique and de Sousa also explores the myth of the Amazonian woman and her personality, writing “as it came down to Shakespeare, [the myth] consists of a cluster of contradicting elements. Amazons conjure up images of spectacular female defiance, subversion, or ‘aggressive, self-determining desire.”’ (12). Queen of the Amazons, Hippolyta is the embodiment of an Athenian, patriarchal, and arguably Shakespearean, fear. The Athenian life in *A Midsummer Night’s Dream* depends upon a structure that she, as the former leader of a matriarchal society, alarmingly uproots in the minds of Athenian men. It is this fear that inspires Shakespeare’s patriarchal men, such as Theseus, to attempt to control, tame, and mold women (along with all of the wild and mystery they embody) so that they may fit within the male-dominated structure.

Our first impression of Theseus in the play is as a conqueror who has entered the wild (the Amazon) and returned to his city homeland, victorious: “Hippolyta, I woo’d thee with my sword, / And won thy love doing thee injuries” (I.i.16-17). Roberts argues that, for Shakespeare, “the Wild is the locale for the male’s necessary, seductive, and terrifying confrontation with the female, his braving of the perils of maternal regression and destructive erotic abandon in order to annex a woman into his Cultural context” (24-25). Roberts continues:

> From Aristotle on, philosophers have seen women as formless matter upon which men must imprint their shape, even as Nature was the raw material from which . . . Culture [was] to be constructed. . . . Women were seen as closer than men to animals in the Great Chain of Being, barely rational and being dominated by passion and appetite. . . . Like Nature, the female was fixed and given, if chaotic and shapeless, whereas the male, like Culture, belonged to the intellectual world of becoming. . . . Although Nature and the female are clearly linked in Shakespeare, it would be folly to try to set up a system of exact equivalence between man and Culture and woman and Nature. (25-26)

Certainly, Roberts makes a good point in rejecting the attempt to create a systematic and exact definition to describe relations between women and nature,
but she also opens up the space for discussion about Theseus’s awareness of himself within the culturally-constructed, patriarchal social structure. By acknowledging that there is an undeniable link between woman and nature, she allows for the exploration to establish the mirroring connection between the male and the “intellectual world.” Theseus’s understanding of his own place in society, as a controlling and authoritative patriarchal figure, defines Hippolyta’s role as a “wild” woman, in conjunction with all that must be tamed and controlled, compacted and confined, to the courtly conventions.

Theseus, perhaps representative of all men in a patriarchal society, projects his own socially constructed culture onto his experiences, and in turn, represses and oppresses that which does not conform to his understanding. He is quick to uphold patriarchal attitudes and tradition. This trait is evident to the audience in the first scene of the play when Theseus advises Hermia to honor her father’s wishes: “To you your father should be as a god, / One that composed your beauties, yea, and one / To whom you are but as a form in wax, / By him imprinted, and within his power / To leave the figure or disfigure it.” (I.i.47-51). Once more, Theseus asserts his authority in his words and his relationships to others. He encourages patriarchy within the family structure—showing evidence that he believes it is as necessary to the family structure as it is to the structure of the greater community.

One of the best examples of Theseus’s self-orientation is found in the final act. The scholar Howard Nemerov critically analyzes and compares Theseus’s and Hippolyta’s responses to the play put on by the rude mechanicals, using the play as a tool to understand their relationship and each of their motives. While Nemerov argues primarily for the presence of paradox within their marriage, he also presents a strong argument for Theseus’s understanding of his own place within society and I believe it has great relevance to Roberts’s proposed link between “man and Culture.” Theseus’s commentary of the mechanicals’ Pyramus and Thisbe “has in it something at least ‘administrative,’ probably priggish” (636). Theseus, despite Philostrate’s protests, decides to hear the mechanicals’ play: “I will hear that play; / For never anything can be amiss, / When simpleness and duty tender to it” (V.i.82-84). He defends his choice: “Trust me, sweet, / Out of this silence yet I picked a welcome; / And in the modesty of fearful duty / I read as much as from the rattling tongue / Of saucy and audacious eloquence” (V.i.99-104). By saying this and even by making sport at the mechanicals’ expense he further illustrates for the audience the lens through which he sees the world.

Theseus views the world as one of order; anything that upsets order only exists to demonstrate the necessity of patriarchal structure. Nemerov summarizes

5 From his essay, “The Marriage of Theseus and Hippolyta.”
his own textual analysis of Theseus’s words in this scene with the mechanicals: “The components of this attitude are these: none of this is real, none of it matters; whether it is well or badly brought off does not matter; the performance of the plays, however, is a sign of order in society, it is ‘done’; what one looks for is not intellectual delight, so much as an assurance of one’s own authority in a rationally stabilized commonwealth” (636). Theseus’s focus is on maintaining social order and continuing tradition. In this case, that tradition is the social structure of patriarchy.

One must also consider Theseus’s response to finding the four lovers. Hippolyta’s words allow for mystery whereas Theseus’s words are dismissive. Though her lines are limited, they are significant in establishing her connection with the forest and its mysteries. When Hippolyta remarks upon the strangeness of the lovers’ story, Theseus replies, “More strange than true. I never may believe / These antique fables, nor these fairy toys. / Lovers and madmen have such seething brains, / Such shaping fantasies, that apprehend / More than cool reason ever comprehends” (V.i.2-6). His dismissal of their story can be contrasted with Hippolyta’s response: “all their minds transfigured so together, / More witnesseth than fancy’s images, / And grows to something of great constancy; / But howsoever, strange and admirable” (V.i.24-27). There is more invitation in Hippolyta’s words than in those of Theseus, as well as possible understanding. The connection with the green world is evident in her speech as well as her parallel storyline with Titania.

Nemerov continues on to examine the determined nature of Theseus’s rhetoric: “The poetry of Theseus is rational, civic-minded, discursive, and tends constantly to approach prose” (641). He compares it to the rhetoric of Hippolyta’s commentary, calling her words “magical, fabulous, dramatic, and constantly [approaching] music. The excess of Theseus is to declare that art is entertainment” (641). The contrast between the lines of these two married characters encourages the audience to compare their roles: by identifying Hippolyta as a symbol for the “Wild” through her relationship with Theseus, and consequently linking that “Wild” with her role as a woman in the play, we are able to find greater significance in Shakespeare’s forest setting.

The link between femininity and the “green world” extends beyond the so-called “green world comedies.” Frye’s terminology, while greatly insightful, limits that analytical lens to comedies alone. This conversation can be continued. Roberts certainly explores the presence of females within the “Shakespearean Wild” and her research could prove insightful for any further examinations of the tragedies and their links to the feminine wild.

Moreover, the comedies are not the only place where the feminine wild is threatened by a male-dominated social structure. Hippolyta and Titania have been overpowered because of the patriarchal interests of their husbands, who tame and control their wives, and Hippolyta, an Amazon woman, loses her virginity to
Theseus.⁶ Lavinia of Titus Andronicus is likewise defeated: stripped of autonomy, speech, communication, and her virginity, all in the deep of the forest. Titania asserts what power she has in the forest (primarily through her sexuality) and struggles in the interest of keeping a child of another race only to have it manipulated and stolen, just as Tamora (also a Queen of a defeated nation), uses her own adulterous sexuality as a form of power in the forest, and is responsible for the birth of her racially foreign child, fathered by Aaron the Moor. With parallels between tragedies such as Titus Andronicus and comedies such as A Midsummer Night's Dream, we cannot disregard the role of femininity within the Shakespearean Wild. The connections in Shakespeare’s plays may prove to be more significant (and more common) than Northrop Frye might have originally considered when he began exploring Shakespeare’s green world.

Works Cited


About the Author

Katherine Colborn (Class of 2014) earned a B.A. in art and English, with a minor in gender & diversity studies. As a student, she worked as the managing editor.

⁶ Sousa writes in detail about the Amazonian nature of same-sex partnership, a common sisterhood and lesbian culture present in the Amazon society. Sousa suggests that the patriarchal Athenian society suppresses Hippolyta not only “on the repression of part of the Amazonian nature,” but through the “suppression of the Amazons’ same-sex partnership” (29), indicating sexual oppression that Theseus may have forced upon Hippolyta on their wedding night.
for Xavier University's weekly paper, the *Newswire*, and also served as President and Editor-in-Chief of the Xavier *Athenaeum*, the university's annual literary magazine. She has presented her artwork and research at national conferences, and plans to continue her art education in the near future. "Attempts to Control Nature: A Study of the Feminine Wild and Resistance to Courtly Conventions in A Midsummer Night's Dream" was presented at the Ohio Valley Shakespeare Conference 2013 and was sponsored by Dr. Niamh O'Leary, professor of English.