

QuaesitUM

The Undergraduate Research Journal of The University of Memphis

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QuaesitUM is a peer-reviewed annual publication that provides an academic forum where University of Memphis undergraduate students can showcase research from all disciplines.

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Letter from Dr. Shannon L. Blanton, Vice Provost for Undergraduate Programs & Professor of Political Science

It is my pleasure to introduce you to our inaugural issue of *QuaesitUM*, the University of Memphis' new undergraduate research journal. Related to the Latin term "quaerere" which means to seek or ask, the word "quaesitum" connotes that which is sought. As such, it reflects the heart of the research endeavor. Anthropologist and author Zora Neale Hurston summarized this well, saying "Research is formalized curiosity. It is poking and prying with a purpose."

As one of America's great metropolitan research universities, the University of Memphis is strongly committed to integrating research into our undergraduate students' academic experience. For undergraduate students, the research process enables a deeper investigation of questions of keen interest; on a more personal level, it also facilitates collaboration between students and faculty. It builds upon the true intent of higher education as an intellectual process through which one develops not only substantive knowledge but also analytic tools and the capacity for critical thinking so as to better explore and evaluate new topics of inquiry.

This inaugural issue is the culmination of a process that dates back to the fall of 2012, when we first began to discuss how a research journal might provide a way to recognize the work of outstanding undergraduate scholars and further encourage our students to engage in research. While it began as an extension of our efforts to nurture greater research opportunities within our rapidly-growing honors program, we quickly recognized that it would be a valuable opportunity to promote undergraduate research

writ large. Thus, this journal is intended for all students across all disciplines – as both readers and potential authors – who seek to better understand some aspect of the world around us. As a forum for undergraduate research, this journal enables us to appreciate the diversity of intellectual puzzles and knowledge across our campus, and to recognize the contributions of our undergraduate scholars who have made the journey from being solely consumers of the research of others to producers of original research that helps us to see things more clearly.

The University of Memphis’ motto is “Dreamers, Thinkers, Doers” and undergraduate research draws on these three key components of the university experience. Research calls for us to be dreamers as we must first identify and ask a question; it requires us to be thinkers as we must deeply consider the theoretical and empirical underpinnings of our research question; and it enables us to be doers as we rigorously assess and examine the issues that we view as important so that our insights and solutions can be put into action. The student scholarship within these pages reflects these ideals, and provides an exemplary foundation for the launch of QuaesitUM.

I extend my sincere congratulations to these undergraduate researchers, and offer my deepest appreciation to all who made publication of this inaugural issue a reality. I am particularly grateful to Dr. Sage Graham for her commitment and effectiveness as Faculty Editor/Advisor, and Dr. Melinda Jones for her leadership in guiding this idea into fruition. I would also like to recognize Interim President Brad Martin and Provost David Rudd for their commitment to the success of our undergraduate students. Finally, I enthusiastically encourage others to pursue their research interests for inclusion in future issues.

To our readers:

Our vision was to include rigorous research that provides something new – a new perspective, a new experimental design, a new tested result. This is the heart of scholarship – asking new questions. Thus, the name of the journal – QuaesitUM: to seek or to ask. This volume of selected undergraduate research papers is the embodiment of what we would like the University of Memphis to represent – quality scholarly work that emerges from asking questions and exploring new perspectives.

This journal aims to represent the breadth of research that is ongoing at the University of Memphis. While each of us engages in research in our own disciplines, projects such as this one foster greater awareness of the type of exploration that is taking place in other areas of the University. Through making ourselves more conscious of the research taking place on the other side of campus, we can recognize the broader mission of the University and truly become “Thinkers.”

Any enterprise such as this one is daunting, and takes the commitment and teamwork of a large number of people to come to fruition.

I must therefore offer my sincerest thanks to the Graduate Editor, Baxter Buck, and the Director of the Helen Hardin Honors Program, Dr. Melinda Jones. Without their hard work and creativity this project would never have come to fruition.

The three of us would like to thank the Vice Provost for Undergraduate Programs, Dr. Shannon Blanton, for the original vision for the project and for lending support at the Administrative level as QuaesitUM has grown and taken shape.

We are also extremely grateful to the faculty volunteers who served as reviewers and consultants: Dr. James Campbell, Ms. Cathy Dice, Dr. David Dwiggins, Dr. Don Franceschetti, Dr. Michail Gkolias, Dr. Mark Kaplowitz, Mr. Steven Knowlton, Dr. Abby Parrill, Ms. Rhonda Powers, Ms. Jennifer Schnabel, Dr. Kevin Smith, and Dr. Jin Yang. Their excitement about this project and the opportunities it presents to students is a testament to their commitment to the growth and development of our academic community.

Thanks also go to the Assistant Vice President for Technology Transfer, Dr. Kevin Boggs for donating funds for individual paper awards and the journal naming contest, Dr. Gary Golightly for the cover design and layout, and Jefferson Carman for proposing the name QuaesitUM.

Further, we would like to acknowledge the faculty mentors who sponsored their students' papers. Without them to provide encouragement and feedback, these students would have never embarked on their research projects in the first place.

Finally, we would like to thank the students themselves for their contributions. Subjecting one's academic work to scrutiny can be a frightening thing, but it is for them that this project was begun and we hope that they will benefit from it both now and down the road.

As we continue to expand and grow, it is our hope that QuaesitUM will serve as not only a venue for our most accomplished undergraduates to showcase their work, but also provide a vision to inspire our future students.

Dr. Sage Lambert Graham
Editor-in-Chief

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Harrison Chapman graduated from the University of Memphis in December 2013, obtaining a Bachelor's of Arts with a major in Philosophy and a minor in Religious Studies. Interests include epistemology, metaphysics and philosophy of religion. He will attend Mercer University in the fall of 2014 where he will work as a Graduate Hall Director for their Residence Life while earning a Masters of Education in Higher Education Leadership. Harrison's career objective is to enter into Student Affairs and Higher Education.

Harrison Chapman

Sacrifice and Terrorism: Symbolic Connections

Faculty Sponsor

Dr. Mark A. Kaplowitz

I. Introduction

On November 25, 1975, thirty-four year old Francis Crossan walked out of the Holy Cross Bowling Club in Belfast. He had enjoyed an evening of drinking with friends, and as it was shortly past midnight transportation was scarce. Rather than waiting for a taxi, he headed towards the City Centre. Crossan knew these roads well, as his family had lived near this area before conditions forced them elsewhere. While walking, a taxi drove past Crossan and stopped. Three men stepped from the taxi, and without warning, one of the men hit Crossan across the head with a lug wrench. Two other men dragged Crossan's body into the taxi. Inside the taxi, the men continued to beat Crossan with their fists and the lug wrench. As the beating continued, Crossan was unable to defend himself and by the time the taxi arrived at its destination, the taxi was covered in Crossan's blood.

Francis Crossan's mutilated body was found in an alley the next day. Still connected in the back, his head had been hacked by a butcher knife and laid almost at a ninety degree angle from the body. Police confirmed his death was ultimately caused by hemorrhaging from the neck wound.

The group committing these horrendous acts of violence surfaced as the Shankill Butchers, who were a subgroup of the Ulster Volunteer Force, outspoken anti-Catholic Protestants. Lenny Murphy, who severed Crossan's head, was the leader of the Butchers. Why Crossan falls victim to the Butchers, killers of at least 23 people, ultimately boils down to unfortunate circumstance, chance, and religious differences. The killing of Crossan was not personal; political-religious reasoning led Murphy to attack Crossan. Murphy attempted to strike fear into the Catholic Community in Northern Ireland.

Although, religion, society, and politics are so closely intertwined that an analysis of one invariably relates to the others, this paper aims, as much as possible, to strip away the social and political elements, and examine religious violence in isolation. The foundation of religious violence is sacrifice, a form of ritual violence embedded in a system of symbolism. Although historical sacrifice is not directly responsible for modern terrorism, a significant and undeniable correlation between the two acts exists.

Both the violence of sacrifice and terrorism serve a system of intelligible symbolisms.

By its very nature, religion cannot help but be symbolic and, as a social phenomenon, theatrical. Because violence is not ordinarily a part of regular social organization, the justifications for religious violence must somehow exceed moral consideration, or at least suspend ordinary morality for the individual. This paper's thesis is that religious violence, as symbolic expression through the theatrical, is justifiable only through a Kierkegaardian ethical interpretation. The paper analyzes religious violence through sacrifice, terrorism, symbolism, theatre, and teleological suspension of the ethical, from which a conclusion follows. These sections on sacrifice and terrorism also include case studies. Through this analysis, I will develop the connections between the violence of religious sacrifice and terrorism.

II. Literature Review

A. Hubert and Mauss on Sacrifice

Sacrifice is intimately tied to religion. Today, multiple religions continue to practice some form of it, even if what is offered is understood in a more figurative way than at its origins. The Christian Eucharist exemplifies this modern practice; with the blessing of the priest, the unleavened bread and wine are consecrated and “transformed” into the body and blood of Christ. The transubstantiation highlights not only a form of sacrifice, but cannibalism as well. While not all denominations of Christianity practice this, the cannibalism is completely symbolic. Though not literally eating the body and drinking the blood of Christ, if the transubstantiation truly changes the bread and wine, then the followers believe that it represents Christ. So when they receive the bread and wine, they are symbolically receiving Christ. Christ again sacrifices himself.

Henri Hubert and Marcel Mauss define sacrifice as “a religious act, which, through the consecration of a victim, modifies the condition of the moral person who accomplishes it or that of certain objects with which he is concerned.” They further distinguish between personal and objective sacrifice. In personal sacrifice, “the personality of the sacrificer is directly affected by the sacrifice.” In objective sacrifice “objects, real or ideal, receive directly the sacrificial action” (Hubert and Mauss 13). In other words, Hubert and Mauss claim that the identity of either the person

offering the sacrifice or of the presumed recipient of the sacrifice are changed through the religious action.

B. Geertz and Religious Symbolism

Religion, in itself, is symbolic. The deities do not appear, revealing the absolute “truth”; religion requires of its followers a leap of faith. Human understanding limits what we can know. Even if the adherents of religion divinely receive information, “truth” requires faith. There is no sufficient way to ground religious knowledge outside of faith. We believe because we put our hope, our self in it. Due to this limitation, religion is symbolic. If I believe in a religious doctrine, I recognize its symbolism as truth.

Clifford Geertz writes on the impact society and culture has on an action’s meaning. After discussing the different interpretations of a wink, Geertz remarks on it as, “a stratified hierarchy of meaningful structures in terms of which twitches, winks, fake-winks, parodies, rehearsals of parodies are produced, perceived, and interpreted, and without which they would not in fact exist, no matter what anyone did or didn’t do with his eyelids” (313).

Though he uses winking as an example, he intends to supply us an understanding of how social communication is made in general. Since religion is communally and socially based, his analysis of winking applies to the religious context as a way to understand these symbolisms. We communicate symbolisms in very special ways, which Geertz analyzes as, “(1) deliberately, (2) to someone in particular, (3) to impart a particular message, (4) according to a socially established code, and (5) without cognizance of the rest of the company” (Geertz 312). His five aspects emphasize what religion intends to provide in its symbolic messages. Religious symbolisms deliberately express, to a particular person or group, a certain message, in support of a religious code, and are not aiming to communicate to outsiders. Ultimately, Geertz is telling us the significance of the religious symbolism rest in the interpretation of those who intend to get the message.

Geertz further remarks, “Culture is public because meaning is” (Geertz 315). Since religion is a cultural function, his remark applies to the religious experience; in other words, religion is public because its meaning is. Finally, Geertz claims that the aim of analyzing anything “makes available to us answers that others have given, and thus to include them in the

consultable record of what man has said” (Geertz 323). Religious symbolisms are answers given by others. We attempt to analyze them, so that we may relate or understand the specific message. Thus, we can understand religious violence as symbolic, because it conveys additional meaning.

C. Juergensmeyer on Terrorism as Dramatic Performances

Typically, we limit our thoughts on terrorism by only acknowledging the person or groups who express their beliefs through terror. Often neglected are the witnesses. Juergensmeyer claims, “The definition of a terrorist act is provided by us, the witness - the ones terrified- and not by the party committing the act.” (5). For terrorism to be fully effective, the act requires both the perpetrators and the witnesses to view it as such. The religious perpetrators that commit these acts intend to cause terror and fear but this is only accomplished if the witnesses act accordingly. Yet, Seung-Hui Cho, the shooter of the Virginia Tech Massacre, also caused fear on the campus; so what distinguishes Cho from a group like the Butchers? While Cho causes terror, there is no religious connotation in his act (Hauser and O’Connor). Murphy killed to protect his Protestant faith in Ireland at the time. Thus, what separates religious terrorism from any other form of terror is exactly the religious message it sends. For religious terrorism the emotion of terror is secondary or only using to press for meaning. The terror and fear are significant in the action but the primary meaning must remain religious or the action only causes terror, as in the case of Cho.

Though I emphasize the religious significance in terror, terrorism remains prominent because of its effects on victims and their society. Terrorism does not succeed from the number of casualties it generates, but from the psychological turmoil it produces for a society. Once the initial attack ends, the resulting fear comes not from the terrorist organization, but from “hysterical rhetoric from political leaders, alarmist, and the breathless coverage from journalists” (Munson 78). The result of the hysterical rhetoric incites terrorists to continue with their violence. Though we typically perceive the terrorist as deranged or mentally unstable, terrorism results as an action from a more purposeful ideology. Munson explains that terrorism starts “because the terrorists believe it will help them gain recognition, highlight issues they perceive as being ignored, force concessions from existing power holders, or solidify the allegiance of supporters. It is often a publicly declared campaign opposing the status quo” (78). While the victims view them as murderers, terrorists view themselves as

revolutionaries, protecting their rights and religion.

Religious sacrifice and terrorism connect through the concept of drama. Religion, itself, is not inherently theatrical. When God demanded that Abraham sacrifice Isaac, the command was not theatrical. The theatrics surface only as Abraham lived through the actions. God watches him and we watch Abraham through the story. It becomes theatrical as the audience watches. In the Aztec creation story, the gods created the sun and moon, because they no longer wanted to remain in darkness. However, no human witnessed this event. The Aztec gods did not do this as a performance to show man their omnipotence. They only created out of self-interest; they were their own audience. The Aztecs, believing that the gods created the moon and sun, constructed their own religion from which they drew symbolic meaning in life. Thus, to explain man's existence, we superimpose symbolism in nature, through the divine.

In an interview, Mahmud Abouhalima (who was part of a group of Muslims, living in the outskirts of Queens, New York, who followed Sheik Omar Abdul Rahman [62]) tells Juergensmeyer that the attacks of public buildings had a "long-range strategic value" (123). Understandably, Juergensmeyer hesitates committing entirely to violence as extensively "strategic." However, he indicates that "acts of terrorism are usually the products of an internal logic and not of random or crazy thinking" (Juergensmeyer 123). This "internal logic" is suggestive and important. The internal logic of a religious group affirms their aggression as justified by a strategic religious conviction. Through this internal logic, the religious group creates a pseudo strategy. Juergensmeyer explains that "Strategy implies a degree of calculation and an expectation of accomplishing a clear objective that does not jibe with such dramatic displays of power" (123). Religious violence does not imply a precise strategy, as some of the perpetrators intend; there is no clear, concise strategy to the violence. Symbolism is an authentic intention in religious violence. Juergensmeyer suggests, "Such explosive scenarios are not tactics directed toward an immediate, earthly, or strategic goal, but dramatic events intended to impress for their symbolic significance. As such, they can be analyzed as one would any other symbol, ritual, or sacred drama" (123). Each action contains a meaning that goes beyond mere extra-realities.

Since Juergensmeyer asserts strategy in religious violence, he explains analogously that these assaults are a model of performance violence. This is not a claim to be taken lightly, instead, what he alludes

by this is “like religious ritual or street theater, they are dramas designed to have an impact on the several audiences that they affect. The symbolic significance of such events is multifaceted; they mean different things to different observers” (124). Juergensmeyer differentiates between two parts of the performance: performance events and performative acts. Performance events intend to make a symbolic statement; performative acts aim to change the nature of things.

Additionally, the assailants designate a certain audience and a certain setting for the attack. Any form of religious violence promotes or legitimizes an underlining ideology. But as Juergensmeyer notes, “whether the power and legitimacy implicit in acts of terrorism are like play-acted marriage vows or are the real thing depends in part on how the acts are perceived, on whether their significance is believed” (125). Thus, performative acts accomplish their function only if given credibility through their social context and impact, as Geertz notes generally on interpreting symbolisms. The transformation of an object in sacrifice is not authenticated, unless the witnesses of the sacrifice believe it; terrorism requires the same type of authentication. Though the religious practitioners of violence intend a certain meaning in the action, the audience may not view it as such. The symbolic meaning of religious violence is acknowledged accurately only if the audience perceives the correct meaning.

III. Methodology

Before analyzing the results, the methodology deserves a brief discussion of why each case study was chosen and studied. The binding of Isaac and the Aztec sacrifices were selected because they emphasize well-known cases of human sacrifices. Initially, the Shankill Butchers and Aum have similarities in case studies relating to Juergensmeyer’s research. But more importantly, I choose the Shankill Butchers as an extreme case that tie closely with politics. If they are to be tied to religious violence (and not just politics), there must be something sacrificed. The Butchers morality is sacrificed during their killings, and thus, connects them with sacrifice through the Kierkegaardian suspension of the ethical, which will be discussed in the following section. Aum Shinrikyō also has the same dilemma and was chosen to highlight this symbolic connection. I also aim to include analysis of both Western and non-Western cases. The analysis of the Akedah relies solely upon Biblical accounts in a Kierkegaardian interpretation. The results are four case studies; each one concluding with

my synthetic reflections from the previous symbolism and theater sections.

IV. Religious Violence Case Studies

A. The *Akedah*

The *Akedah* is one of the most profound stories of human sacrifice in Western religion. After years of empty promises, God finally rewards Abraham with a son, Isaac, by his wife Sarah. Then, God commands Abraham to sacrifice his beloved son, Isaac. Accompanied by two servants and Isaac, Abraham departs for Mountain Moriah, as God demands. Unable to disclose the truth, Abraham easily lies to Isaac. Isaac asks, “Where is the ram for the burnt offering” and Abraham replies, “God will see to the ram for the burnt offering” (*NSRV* Gn. 22 7-8). Before ascending Mt. Moriah, Abraham tells his two servants to wait for them. Atop the mountain, Abraham binds Isaac for the burnt offering. Before killing his son, an angel appears, and rewards Abraham for his faith. A ram replaces Isaac and Abraham receives his son again. However, Abraham knows full well what nearly took place. He fully prepares to sacrifice his most precious possession, not only his son, but also the descendants that he had long been promised.

B. The Aztecs

Although many religions have practiced human sacrifice, no culture or religion has performed such extensive sacrifices with such intensity as the Mesoamerican Aztecs. We know about Aztec sacrifices from both archeological record and from Spanish accounts of the early 1500s. Depending on the festival or time of the year, the Aztecs performed different sacrifices to give homage to their gods. Children are used as offerings to the rain god, Tlaloc (Anawalt 44). If the children cry heavily during the sacrifice, then the Aztecs believe this was a sign of a plentiful season of rain.

One of the most prominent sacrifices was the offering to the Aztec sun god. With all the inhabitants attending the spectacle, the offering climbed the steps of the temple. Reaching the pinnacle of the temple, he saw five priests patiently waiting for him. Four of the priests grabbed the man, and threw him down on the sacrificial stone. With the victim’s extremities bound by the four priests, the fifth priest, with a flint knife in hand, would cut open the chest of the still conscious offering (Carrasco, 109). Then, the priest violently pulled out the beating heart of the victim,

and held it towards the sun as an offering to the sun god. After the offering, the priest placed the heart into a bowl, called *cuauhxicalli*. Different accounts explain what became of the victim's body. At times, the Aztecs threw the body down the temple stairs. They sometimes decapitated the victim and displayed the head in public. More disturbing though is the cannibalistic practices that took place after the sacrifice. The Aztecs divided the remains of the victim; the Emperor received a thigh. The rest of the body was then given to the original family or captor who offered the victim. Then, the blood relatives partook in a ritual feast. The main course of the meal was a stew "made of dried maize and beans, to which strips of human flesh were added," called *Tlacatlolli* (Carrasco 190).

The Aztec sacrifices generally reenact their cosmic creation stories. As Michel Graulich states,

Reenacting the founding myths implied the ritual killing of victims impersonating dema and other deities whose death in primeval times had made the earth, the sun, the stars, the maize and other useful plants appear. Helping the universe to function sometimes called for sacrifice in which deities were rejuvenated or revitalized through their own death (via impersonators) or through oblations of human blood (354).

The Aztecs perform their sacrifices in the name of their gods. Their sacrifices are multifaceted, and convey an array of meanings. This ranges from revitalizing gods, to placating deities to abstain from an action, to consecrating certain places, to "expiating transgressions or sins to win a glorious or happy afterlife" (Graulich 354).

Returning to Hubert and Mauss, the *Akedah* is an example of personal sacrifice because Abraham is changed -- not God. Abraham was forever changed when he fully prepared himself to kill Isaac. Among the Aztecs, the sacrifice to the sun god is also a personal sacrifice because the offering alleviated the sins of the sacrificer, changing their personality. However, this sacrifice bears a closer resemblance to an objective sacrifice because the primary function of holding the heart towards the sun was to rejuvenate the god. Thus while we may distinguish between personal and objective sacrifice as different, Hubert and Mauss' types of sacrifice may overlap in one sacrifice, functioning in two ways.

C. The Shankill Butchers

The Shankill Butchers, already mentioned, formed out of the political distress intimately linked to a religious struggle. The violence in Northern Ireland stems from the political divide that roughly maps onto

the identity of two religious sects. The Catholic denominations are considered the original inhabitants of Northern Ireland, dating back to the late twelfth century. The Protestant community emerged around the seventeenth century when,

English monarchs, frustrated by generations of Irish resistance, decided to build a loyal (to the Crown) community in Ireland which, it was thought, would facilitate control of the native population. Thus, Protestants from Britain entered a cauldron which seethes to this day a united Ireland, as a threat not only to their group identity but also to their physical survival (Butler 49).

Established in 1966, the Ulster Volunteer Force primarily consists of Protestants and is a Loyalist “terrorist” group. The Provisional Republican Army opposes the UVF. *Combat*, a UVF magazine, licenses younger members to use any measures necessary to fight the Catholic Republicans. In one issue, the magazine claims that the group was forced into war, and the members must take arms. But more importantly, it states, “There are no humane methods of warfare, there is no such thing as civilized warfare; all warfare is inhuman, all warfare is barbaric; the first blast of the bugles of war sounds for the time being the funeral knell of human progress” (Dillon 39). This battle cry gives the authority for a person like Lenny Murphy to be “barbarically religious.” Murphy interpreted the magazine’s claim as a validation for his sadistic crimes. If all warfare is inhuman, then his butcherings were justified as valid forms of killing in the name of the UVF.

With Murphy working diligently to place himself in leadership, his dedication, not only to the cause, but to violence in particular did not go unnoticed. A few higher ranking UVF members expressed concern about Murphy’s sadism; however, they were silent out of fear of what might happen to them. Seeing how eager Murphy was to kill, UVF member, Long Kesh, outlined what an enemy constituted. He stated that UVF does not “wish to wage war on anyone except armed Republicans determined to overthrow Ulster in order to force us into an Irish Republic” (Dillon 53). Unlike Kesh, Murphy thought that any Catholic deserved to die; they all opposed the UVF’s causes. Kesh realized the power the UVF’s magazine gave to a person like Murphy and challenged the sadistic killings in his statement. However, he was unsuccessful and could not stop the eager Murphy from his violent crimes.

When finally forming the Shankill Butchers, Murphy kept that knowledge from the UVF at large. In order to avoid attention, the group

agreed not to carry firearms. Instead, they used knives, particularly butcher knives to kill their victims. Because one of the Butchers worked at a meat plant, they would claim he accidentally brought the knife with him if they were stopped. The Butchers drove a taxi cab, so that if the police pulled the car over, Murphy could claim he was merely transporting his customers. Murphy was careful in his planning, making sure that they were never on the streets more than 10 minutes in the taxi, so as not to get caught. As Dillon notes, Murphy chose his route for many reasons, but “more importantly, any person in the vicinity of the lower Antrim Road and Clifton Street was likely to be a Catholic” (55). The person chosen for the brutal event did not matter; as long as the person was a Catholic, they were an acceptable substitute for the actual members of the IRA. With everything in place, Murphy and his Butchers launched their barbaric violence.

D. Aum Shinrikyō

On March 20, 1995, five men boarded different trains in the Tokyo subway system. These five men had carried with them bags of liquid sarin. While on the trains, they dropped the bag of poison on the floor and each poked holes in the bags with an umbrella whose point had been sharpened. Before the sarin vaporized into a gaseous state, the five men exited the trains, and escaped. The five trains, where the sarin gas was released, arrived at approximately the same time at the Kasumigaseki station, which was “the nerve-centre serving numerous government offices including the National Police Agencies Headquarters” (Reader, *Religious Violence* 214-215). According to the reports, twelve people were confirmed dead, and the effects of the poison severely injured thousands of others.

Aum Shinrikyō, who was part of the “New New Religions that have emerged since the 1970s,” was assigned responsibility for this terrorist attack (Metraux 1140). Matsumoto Chizuo, the founder of a religious order named for Aum Shinrikyō was born in Kumamoto in the southern island of Kyūshū in 1955. Chizuo moved to Tokyo in 1977. During his time there, Chizuo’s interest in spirituality grew, particularly in herbal medicine and new new religions (Reader, *A Poisonous Cocktail?* 19-20). His new admiration for the contemporary religious movements provides the motivation and knowledge for Chizuo to establish his own religion. Through Matsumoto’s charismatic nature, he drew to this religion young Japanese men and women, who were looking for an alternative to hard scientific materialism. Many young adults at the time in Japan were waiting for a

leader to present an alternative to hard, scientific materialism. Matsumoto, already intensely devoted to religious knowledge, saw an opportunity. Matsumoto give the young adults a new metaphysical and epistemological approach to life, to nature, to the human experience.

Matsumoto Chizuo changed his name to Asahara Shōkō in 1987 (Reader, *A Poisonous Cocktail?* 19). He formed Aum Shinrikyō out of a mixture of pre-existing religious doctrines. “The name is a mixture of Indian and Japanese themes: Aum comes from the Sanskrit and refers to the powers of destruction and creation in the universe, while the Japanese Shinrikyō means ‘teaching of supreme truth’” (Reader, *A Poisonous Cocktail?* 15). Aum emphasizes both Hindu and esoteric Buddhist practices and cosmology. Additionally, Aum requires of its adherents renunciation from the modern world. Additionally, *The Christian Revelations of St. John* influences Asahara’s interest in millennialism. He proclaims the imminency of an Armageddon and an apocalyptic world. Asahara claims that he is the savior, foretold by Nostradamus, and “identifies himself as the Christ, who has come to save the world or, as he also at times prophesizes, to be sacrificed in order that the world might be saved” (Reader, *A Poisonous Cocktail?* 18).

In 1989 the Tokyo Metropolitan Government officially announced Aum Shinrikyō as a religious corporation. As an act of renunciation of the modern world, Aum’s followers live as a commune. However, Asahara’s commune has a very intricate and organized hierarchy and resembles a form of self-government. Yamaori Tetsuo “divides members of Aum into three tiers. ‘At the top are the leaders- Asahara’s closest advisors and friends; next come the upper-level authorities, who are extremely knowledgeable about science and highly skilled in the use of advanced technology and information equipment; below them are the true believers who have taken the tonsure and abandoned normal life to seek salvation in their master’” (Metraux 1147-1148). Without acquiring the upper-level intellectuals, Asahara would lack the capabilities to produce his mass violence. These scientist and engineers create the necessary weapons for Aum, particularly the sarin produced and released on the Tokyo subway.

In the spring of 1993, Aum campaigns to acquire vast amounts of weapons, and technologies. In 1994, Asahara’s preaching focused entirely on apocalyptic themes, millennialism and the inevitable war. Using Christian symbolism, he claims Aum followers are “slaughtered lambs,” used to signify sacrifice, and persecution. Asahara proclaims “spiritual value

in killing for salvation” (Reader, *Religious Violence* 196). He made it the duty, the right of every disciple of Aum to carry out the cosmic war. Aum declares destruction to their opposition in the name of “vengeance to the concomitant theme of karmic retribution” (Reader, *Religious Violence* 196). In March 1994, Asahara told his disciples that Shiva, herself, came down and spoke to him. She informs the time for war is now and Asahara is the only one “who could purify this polluted world.” Having this divine command, Asahara tells his disciples the need for sacred war, and to “poa” the forces of evil. The disciples practice many rituals and chants to prepare for the final war. The Varajyāna Ketsui chant prepares “the practitioner to ascend to higher spiritual realms, pledged commitment to ‘poa’ the forces of evil, that Armageddon, as prophesized in the Bible, was close at hand, and the practitioner would without fail join the sacred army” (Reader, *Religious Violence* 200). Other religions and government officials then began scrutinizing Aum. Asahara and his followers felt pressure to respond, and if the Armageddon would not come naturally, they would ignite it through their violence.

With the sarin gas created in his laboratories and with the practitioners willing to sacrifice their body in the name of Aum, the sarin gas was released in Tokyo subway station on March 20, 1995. The sarin attack led police to heavily raid Aum’s facilities. They slowly captured and deprogrammed (as much as possible) the Aum army. However, it was not until May 16, 1995 that the police finally apprehended Asahara Shōkō.

E. The Kierkegaardian Suspension of the Ethical

Faith is just this paradox, that the individual as the particular is higher than the universal, is justified before the latter, not as subordinate but superior, though in such a way... that the individual who, having been subordinate to the universal as the particular, now by means of the universal becomes that individual who, as the particular, stands in an absolute relation to the absolute (Kierkegaard and Hannay 84-85).

In *Fear and Trembling*, Søren Kierkegaard analyzes the dilemma Abraham faces in sacrificing his son Isaac: namely, how is Abraham not a murderer? Kierkegaard’s interest lies in a Judeo-Christian consideration; however, his question applies to a broader range of religious violence. How can the proponents of religious violence not consider themselves murderers? Kierkegaard indirectly analyzes this dilemma in his teleological suspension of the ethical.

The ethical is its own telos; it considers no end purpose outside

of itself. It is “the telos for everything outside and has no further to go” (Kierkegaard and Hannay 83). The individual dissolves his own interest to adhere to the universal. Kierkegaard considers the telos of the individual should express the universal, which is the ethical. If this is the case, then to oppose the universal is to sin. If universal ethics are the highest goal, then the violently religious remain as murderers. If they are not to remain murderers, then the ethical must suspend or cease all together.

Kierkegaard considers faith to be in a paradox, where the individual goes beyond the ethical in relation to the divine. We mediate the ethical judgments, which rely on universality. However, faith is absurd, and cannot be universally understood; faith explains itself by the particular experiences of the individual. Kierkegaard considers faith as subjective, and why it cannot be mediated. Thus, faith cannot be understood by all; therefore, it remains outside of the universal, implying that faith is excluded from the ethical. Faith is the highest of passions a human reaches. It does not build from past generations; its experience lies in the individual. Faith allows the individual a relationship with the divine, and by virtue of that relation the individual exceeds the ethical.

Even if they do not realize this, the violent perpetrators build within themselves an individual relation with what they hold divine. In a leap of faith, the ethical becomes their temptation. For most sacred texts require tranquility, and not to kill, but the divine may call for them to sacrifice themselves, or innocent people. In this paradox, the individual stands alone, and belief reveals their absolute duty to the divine, which suspends the ethical. The religious zealots must consider themselves beyond ethical consideration. But, they are not just beyond consideration; the ethical becomes their temptation. But what if the divine requires you to sacrifice your son, as God does to Abraham? Ethics demands that the father loves his son more than himself. Abraham’s temptation is his love for his son. However, the duty to the divine is an absolute relation to the particular. So when required to sacrifice his son, in the absurdity and passion of faith, he must fulfil his duty to the divine and sacrifice his son unconditionally. Kierkegaard considers Abraham the father of faith precisely because of this paradox. In absolute faith, Abraham suspends the ethical by offering God his beloved son. However, God rewards Abraham’s devotion by supplying a ram, right before the sacrifice; and thus, Abraham receives his son once again. Though not explicitly stated in all of religious violence, the teleological suspension of the ethical applies to violent religious actions. If the

teleological suspension of the ethical does not occur, then these people remain murderers, and not “knights of faith.”

The suspension of the ethical functions as a symbolic transformation and applies to religious sacrifice and terrorism. The Aum and Butchers sacrifice a completely internal phenomenon, their morality. The minute that the Butchers kill Crossan, and the Aums release the gas, conventional morality is sacrificed. The perpetrators may not consciously realize this but morality suspends or ceases completely in their transformation and this movement can only be done under the pretenses of the religious experience. In their moments of terror and violence, the followers of Aum and the Butchers sacrifice what holds them intimately to society, namely their morality. If this offering of morality does not take place in the individuals, then they remain outside the religious realm and can only be said to be politically or egotistically motivated for their violence.

Sacrifice also suspends morality and is found in the Aztec human sacrifices and the *Akedah*. The gods require homage, and energy, from the Aztecs and to receive that rejuvenation, they allow for the priests to kill. This final connection bridges sacrifice and terrorism under religious violence. Each act of religious violence “modifies the condition of the moral person who accomplishes it or that of certain objects with which he is concerned” (Hubert and Mauss 13). The ethical suspension is the final and a significant connection between religious terrorism and sacrifice. Religious terror is a form of sacrifice because of what engaging with violent dramatic symbolism does to the ethical self. In religious violence, the ethical self is sacrificed.

Thus we see that the followers of Aum released the sarin gas, because of the impending apocalypse. Murphy and his Butchers killed Catholics for not only political reasons, but in defense of their Protestant faith. The Aztecs offered sacrifices to give energy to their sun god. But before the any of these events took place, the symbolisms preceded the movement. Each had their specific symbolic meaning, as shown, but they all relate together, insofar as they appeal to a religious symbolism.

When the five followers of Aum released the gas, it was not for them alone. They aimed to send their symbolic message to the masses, namely that the end has come. The Butchers struck fear in the Catholic community by violently killing any Catholic, innocent or guilty. The Aztec priest holding the sacrificial heart to the sun is already symbolic, for the priest could perform this by himself, and it would have some meaning,

but if he were to do it alone, it would not be as dramatic. But in front of thousands of Aztecan people, it is staged and no longer only symbolically theatrical, but now dramatic. The meaning is no longer dependent on one viewer, but is now dependent on how the society perceives it. They performed a spectacle for their community.

V. Conclusion

Violence, in itself, is neither symbolic nor theatrical. A person might simply kill for pleasure. Both symbolism and theatrics may depart from nonreligious violence as well. The death penalty is both symbolic and theatrical. The justice system operates in full public view so that the executions of the criminal will serve as a deterrent and symbolically represent the restoration of social order avenging the losses suffered by the victims of crime. Yet, this type of violence remains outside the realm of religion. Violence becomes religious when the audience perceives the actions as such. The movement for violence to become religious begins with understanding that faith is uncertain and that belief requires a leap of faith. This leads individuals or groups to engage in extreme actions on a public stage to convince themselves and others of the symbolic efficacy of their faith. But before any individual engages in the violence, conventional morality suspends or ceases as the first offering.

Religious symbolisms and theatrics depend on an audience's interpretation of the religious action. For man to express the religious, Juergensmeyer remarks that terrorism, and for that matter sacrifice, "are not tactics directed toward an immediate, earthly, or strategic goal, but dramatic events intended to impress for their symbolic significance" (123). The Butchers brutally murder Crossan, the Aum followers aim to kill hundreds of people with sarin gas, and the Aztecs stage a gruesome sacrifice in order to "impress for their symbolic significance." My analysis of religious violence contains a general form with two separate categories - sacrifice and terrorism. Though I discuss them as distinct categories of religious violence, they connect in various ways. "The definition of a terrorist act is provided by us, the witness - the ones terrified- and not by the party committing the act" (Juergensmeyer 5). Sacrifice depends on this function as well. The transformation of a person depends on whether the observer perceives it to carry out this function. Thus when the Aztec priest offers the heart to the sun, the observers must believe this gives the sun god the necessary energy to persist, or the sacrifice is ineffective. The performance

events intend to make a symbolic statement, the performative acts intend to change the nature of things (Juergensmeyer 124). When the Butchers killed Crossan, the transformation is internal; they sacrifice their morality. Thus, this internal transformation for the Butchers functions as a performative act, as their nature changed, and as a personal sacrifice, as “the personality of the sacrifice is directly affected” (Hubert and Mauss 13). In objective sacrifice, the object directly receives the sacrificial action. This sacrificial action is symbolic, as in the Aztec sacrifice, which makes a symbolic statement as in performance events. Therefore, we may bridge Juergensmeyer’s and Hubert and Mauss’ theory of religious violence by assessing performative acts with personal sacrifice and performance events with objective sacrifice.

No religion can provide compelling evidence of its superiority to all other religions, therefore all particular religions require their adherents to take a Kierkegaardian leap of faith. This super-rational commitment leads to two types of religious violence - sacrifice and terrorism. Even though we consider them as separate categories, an analysis of arguments by Juergensmeyer and by Hubert and Mauss shows that many similarities connect them. The symbolic nature of religion renders both theatrical actions whose significance creates theatrical dramas, where the exact meaning of the violence depends upon the audience that perceives it. Sacrifice typically affects the inner community; while terrorism typically affects a broader demographic. However, both produce either external or internal transformations of a person. This paper argues that prior to all instances of religious violence morality is the first sacrificial victim.

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Caitlin Denny is an undergraduate senior at the University of Memphis. She is pursuing a degree in English with a concentration in Professional Writing, and won the STC scholarship (Society for Technical Communication) award in 2013. Currently, her future plans include working as a freelance writer and publishing a YA novel.

Caitlin Denny
Helping Students Help Themselves

Faculty Sponsor
Dr. Loel Kim

In higher education today, there is a battle raging, a battle between students and university administrations (Brown & Churchill). The source of the tension is a disconnection between what universities want to offer and what today's student consumers want to buy. After analyzing the position of each side, two things will be seen as paramount. First, that while student consumers have the right to purchase whatever they would like, universities also have the right to offer the programs that they feel best fulfill their mission. This understanding will account for the new type of "for profit" higher-education institutions cropping up today. Secondly, it will be evident that universities have an obligation to make clear the intent of their offerings, the full cost to the student in terms of both time and financial resources, and what the meaning of a conferred degree is.

The purpose of a university is to broaden students' critical thinking about the world around them. The origin of the word "university" from the Latin *universitas* suggests a "whole" and "unifying" process. A university teaches students the many areas of inquiry about life, both the material world and the philosophical world comprising a broader area of learning than just a few classes in a core division (Merriam Webster). The message of a well rounded education is typically found in every university's Mission Statement. The University of Memphis's College of Communication Sciences and Disorders has published a statement which says, "The University of Memphis is a learner-centered metropolitan research university providing high quality educational experiences while pursuing new knowledge through research, artistic expression, and interdisciplinary and engaged scholarship" (The University of Memphis). The purpose of a university then, has a far better and loftier goal than simply pumping people out of school to get jobs. Achieving a Bachelor of Arts degree does not simply encompass a few writing courses, but rather, speaks to the student's education as a whole. A student who has earned a Bachelor of Arts in English will have taken other courses in addition to literature courses, for example, languages, biology, philosophy, history, etc. So whether a student is studying science, art, or mathematics, a university's goal of higher education is to teach him or her about not just one field, but about an entire philosophy of thinking based on a broad course of study (Heartly and Saltmarsh).

Although education itself is not a "product" to be bought and sold, an educational program might be. Putting together an educational

program involves an understanding of the topic which requires in-depth academic work and research. Each educational program is unique to its institution and that is what gives each institution the right to offer it like a product. This being the case, universities and students alike need to protect themselves from being taken advantage of since money is involved in the equation. Thus, when offering their education programs, colleges and universities need to think like businesses and clearly define the expectations and costs of their academic programs. Defining the programs will make it easier for the recipient, the student, to understand what is being offered and how much it will cost total. But universities do have the right to design and offer their particular educational program however they want; just as any business has the right to design the products they offer. For example, Delta Airlines is free to offer whatever flights it wants. McDonald's is free to sell whatever types of sandwiches it wants. Apple is free to make whatever types of computers it wants.

A university is free to offer whatever programs it wants. Unfortunately, students today are attempting to demand changes in the university programs they are enrolled in based on consumerist expectations (Delucchi and Korgen). But a student cannot claim the right to change a product they have already bought. In other words a student does not have the right to purchase into an educational program as it is offered, and then afterwards insist that the university change what they have offered. This would be like a customer asking Apple to change a computer they bought because they want it to serve a different purpose than what it was made for. Now, customers can give Apple feedback. They can suggest changes to a product before it is put in the market, but Apple as the creator is the one who has to make the final decision to change or not change their product line.

In the same way, once students have enrolled in an institution they cannot ask for alterations to their program to suit their individual needs because enrolling in their courses was an act of agreeing to the university's existing policies and procedures (*The Business Journals*). Because of this, it is very important that colleges and universities clearly explain their product and its full cost upfront (Nemko). This is not only considerate of the significant amount of time, effort, and money that college students invest in their education, but it also prevents problems from occurring later on. Institutions of higher learning have an obligation to fully disclose both what students get for their investment (a well-rounded liberal arts educa-

tion, for example, which will include a specified number of classes outside the focus of their major) and what it will cost them (hours of class time and expected hours of work outside of class). Honesty therefore proves to be the best policy. All universities and colleges are responsible for representing themselves and their goals and costs fairly—this benefits both the institution and the student.

The responsibility of students then is to decide for themselves what they see as valuable for them as individuals (Nemko). Before seeking higher education, students need to fully understand what they want out of it. If a student is interested in education for education's sake, then a college or university degree is probably the right choice. Entrance into a university or college is an opportunity to learn, and to obtain a degree that affirms learned concepts. But since this does not translate perfectly into the work force, students are becoming confused about the purpose of a degree (Cain, Romanelli & Smith). If students are only interested in how higher education will help them gain bread-earning employment in the work force, their decision should probably be to enter a vocational school or perhaps even a for-profit university operating for that purpose (Ruch). While most higher education institutions have some interest in the commercial value of their degrees, commercial value is only one of the considerations for universities (Porter). Others include critical thinking, a sense of community, and increased cultural as well as specialized knowledge.

A for-profit university's mission statement looks quite different from a traditional university's mission statement. For example, one of the most well known for-profit universities today is the University of Phoenix, based in Arizona. Their mission statement reads as follows: "University of Phoenix provides access to higher education opportunities that enable students to develop knowledge and skills necessary to achieve their professional goals, improve the productivity of their organizations and provide leadership and service to their communities" (University of Phoenix). Contrasted with the University of Memphis's statement above we see several differences. Memphis says "pursuing new knowledge" while Phoenix says "achieve their professional goals" which shows the difference between a research-based institution and a for-profit institution. The University of Memphis also focuses on pursuing new knowledge "through research, artistic expression, and interdisciplinary and engaged scholarship" while Phoenix focuses on improving "the productivity of their

organizations” and providing “leadership and service to their communities.” These statements show the differences in each institution’s goals.

So a student only interested in how to enter the job market may do better at a university that is designed to prepare them with a degree which translates easily into the working world. Whatever students consider a wise investment of time and money, and whatever students consider to have the most valuable return, it is their responsibly to know what they are looking for, and to be fully aware of what higher education institutions are offering them. Life in the twenty-first century is complicated, moves fast, and from many reports, leaves people feeling more isolated (Frey and Stutzer). Coming to grips with life’s big questions and being able to create a life that fits individuals with different talents and inclinations is just as important as earning a living (Frey and Stutzer).

An article from 2012 reports a case in which former law students sued several law schools. The students claimed the university was guilty of the “misleading use of salary and employment data,” (*The Business Journals*). Robert B. Smith, an education attorney for the national law firm LeClairRyan, was interviewed about the issue. Smith had a very anti-consumer stance on the subject. He stated that consumer protection suits cannot even be applied to education because a “consumerist paradigm” (that is, a consumerist mentality and way of doing things) cannot coexist with education. When asked for his reasoning Smith said:

Why? Because the consumerist paradigm does not fit higher education. Just as law degrees should not come with guarantees of ‘gainful employment or your money back,’ law students should not regard themselves as consumers entitled to the same. After all, they are individuals with varying degrees of talent, motivation, discipline and intelligence. Their futures are their own responsibilities. (*The Business Journals*).

Elayne Clift is a college professor who wrote about another case in which she was involved personally. In one of her graduate classes, students argued for the right to change a class curriculum by verbal protests and passive aggression. In her article titled, “From Students, a Misplaced Sense of Entitlement,” she writes about her class’s appalling attitude and even anger when she maintained a teacher’s right to determine her class’s depth level. The graduate students complained on the first day of the semester that her coursework was too difficult. When she explained to her students that she had not changed the coursework, but that it was “premised on previous syllabi for the same course at the same institution,” her students continued to protest (Clift). They complained in class, dis-

played resentful behaviors, and some registered complaints online which caught the attention of Clift's administrators. Eventually quite a few of the students dropped out of the class. Many of those who stayed continued to exhibit aggressive behaviors. Ms. Clift attributes the student's inappropriate demands to an entitlement mentality students have acquired that makes them see themselves as consumers.

A decrease in academic performance is slowly beginning to show up as a side effect of the consumerist view in more than Ms. Clift's classroom. In 2012, the *American Journal of Pharmaceutical Education* published an article on the subject. The article speaks about how pressures, both personal and societal, escalate to a consumerist attitude about college education. "Grade inflation, student incivility, altered classroom practices, and decreased faculty morale are all potential aftereffects of teaching students who hold academic entitlement beliefs" (Cain, Romanelli, and Smith). A consumer-minded student will see his or her goal as passing classes to earn credits, to finish course work, to complete his or her major, to graduate school, to get a job. Students will expect to be catered to instead of taking the responsibility of learning upon themselves (Cain, Romanelli, and Smith). Studies increasingly indicate that there are more students attending college "to make money" than there are students attending "to gain a well-rounded education and to formulate their values and goals," (Delucchi and Korgen).

The student acting as a consumer in a traditional university setting needs to be addressed and changed. Our students have the responsibility to determine what they are looking for before enrolling in a higher education institution. To help students and help themselves, colleges and universities need to clearly define their goals and purposes to their American, consumer-minded nation. The option of a vocational institution like the University of Phoenix is an alternative for practically-minded employed students looking for education that is designed specifically to get them a promotion or to improve job-related skills. It is imperative that traditional universities and colleges make their purposes and goals crystal clear to prospective students. It is not the universities' job to babysit students through college and ensure that they earn their diploma. Successful completion of college depends completely on the attitude, talent and perseverance of the student. But today's consumerist ideology has propelled students into a fast-paced run to check college off their to-do list.

Institutions of higher education of all types need to defend their right to offer an education program ranging from a humanities-based undergraduate experience to a more professionalizing or vocational education.

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Delaney Cecil Page will graduate from the University of Memphis in the spring of 2014. He takes pride in belonging to the English Honors Program and the Philosophy Honors Program as well as in preparing to graduate summa cum laude with University Honors with Thesis. His academic studies have become his hobbies; he is most interested in literary theory and its connections with aesthetic and continental philosophy. In an attempt to combine these passions, he wrote “The Soul that Vexes Itself: The Philosophy of Poe’s Perverseness” in the fall of 2013. This essay explores the relationship among religion, self-awareness, and the ability to choose to do wrong in Edgar Allan Poe’s short stories, particularly “The Black Cat” and “The Imp of the Perverse.” He is currently working on a second thesis project that addresses a similar issue in Fyodor Dostoyevsky’s *Notes from Underground*.

Delaney Page was awarded the prize for best paper in the Humanities category.

Delaney Page

The Soul that Vexes Itself: The Philosophy of Poe's Perverseness

Faculty Sponsor

Dr. Donal Harris

“Oh, tell me, who first announced, who was the first to proclaim that man does dirty only because he doesn’t know his real interests; and that were he to be enlightened, were his eyes to be opened to his real, normal interests, man would immediately stop doing dirty, would immediately become good and noble, because, being enlightened and understanding his real profit, he would see his real profit precisely in the good, and it’s common knowledge that no man can act knowingly against his own profit, consequently, out of necessity, so to speak, he would start doing good? Oh, the babe! oh, the pure, innocent child!”

Fyodor Dostoyevsky, *Notes from Underground*

Edgar Allan Poe’s recurring use of unreliable, even insane, first-person narrators has attracted such attention as to become a leading signifier of his style. J. Gerald Kennedy says, “Poe was... the first important American writer to foreground violence and to probe its psychological origins. Especially in stories like ‘The Tell-Tale Heart’ and ‘The Black Cat,’ he portrayed brutality from the subject position of the perpetrator, fetishizing the desire for power or ‘ascendancy’ over an adversary” (4). Kennedy claims that this first-person account of derangement, in which Poe puts the reader behind the eyes of a madman, is a primary reason for Poe’s continued popularity into the twenty-first century. The speakers in some of Poe’s most popular stories intrigue readers by questioning their own sanity. “Mad indeed would I be” to expect the reader’s belief in the coming tale, says the narrator of “The Black Cat” in his opening paragraph, “[y]et mad am I not” (348-349). Rather, he considers himself awestruck, and he seems hopeful in suggesting, “Hereafter, perhaps, some intellect may be found which will reduce my phantasm to the common place—some intellect more calm, more logical, and far less excitable than my own,” a mind that will be able to attribute his ghastly story to “an ordinary succession of very natural causes and effects” (349). Reading Poe’s work becomes an active process of deduction because the reader must constantly evaluate the reliability of the storyteller.

Perhaps because Poe’s narrators are so frequently insane, critics tend to investigate these characters as psychological case studies. In her extensive psychoanalytic interpretation of Poe and his writings, Marie Bonaparte, student of Sigmund Freud, diagnoses the speaker of “The Black Cat” as a sadist and masochist with an intense fear of castration that she relates back to the author. For David Leverenz, Poe’s speakers seek the pleasure and pain of sensations in order to experience the relief of submission as the author inverts social hierarchies. Most commonly, critics

explain the skewed morality of Poe's fictional worlds as a result of his characters' mental abnormalities. For example, Susan Amper and James W. Gargano insist that the narrator of "The Black Cat" must be a liar, seeking to fool either his prosecutors or himself and allay his guilt by identifying as a victim of what Poe calls "perverseness," or the inexplicable urge to do wrong for its own sake.¹

This essay argues that the dominant mode of reading Poe's fiction through a psychological framework overlooks the philosophical problems that his texts raise, particularly regarding perverseness, a concept Poe intends as a philosophical question rather than a psychological malady. Perverseness surfaces as a guiding problem in many of Poe's tales, and in order to prove that he intends to make an ethical claim about it, this article will analyze the two stories in which Poe defines the sentiment and in which it plays an explicit role in characters' decisions: "The Black Cat" and "The Imp of the Perverse." In an attempt to distinguish the philosophical implications of perverseness from those of a psychological exemption from guilt, this analysis will focus particularly on the role of authority as it exists as moral guidance in these pieces, mainly through reverence to God, serving at least as a threat of punishment for wrongdoing. This essay will evaluate Poe's perverseness as it is described by his narrators—that is, unlike the work of most of Poe's critics, it will trust these narrators at least in their fundamental claims—and under this condition, perverseness will be shown to represent an authentic philosophical question regarding the possibility of knowingly doing a wrong or evil action. It is in this sense that perverseness is most valuable as an ethical concept.² This article aims to expose the limitations of psychological readings of Poe—specifically, the phenomenon that he details in "The Black Cat" and "The Imp of the Perverse" has a universal quality that psychology struggles to incorporate. While psychology may attempt to preserve understanding by explaining perverseness as deviant, philosophy will try to systematize it as a universal component of humankind's ethical decisions. This essay will conclude by examining the relationship between perverseness and self-consciousness as Poe promotes it in "The Philosophy of Composition," an essay concerning his aesthetic theory of writing.

1. Poe's Perverseness in Philosophical History

Poe utilizes both theme and form to alert the reader to the importance of perverseness. In "The Black Cat," he relays the first-person

account of a struggling alcoholic who, overcome by a mysterious desire to do wrong, kills his once-loved pet, an enormous black cat named Pluto, before eventually murdering his wife in a rage provoked by a second black cat adopted as Pluto's replacement. Published in 1843, the tale includes Poe's first explicit explanation of perverseness. Rather than attempt a full psychological analysis of a character developed in such a short piece—despite being one of Poe's masterworks, the story can now be anthologized in a mere seven pages—this reading will focus on the narrator's claim that he is a victim of perverseness and will, for the most part, assume that the narrator means to and is capable of telling the truth.

The speaker first notices the feeling of perverseness after he drunkenly cuts out one of Pluto's eyes. As the cat begins to avoid him thereafter, he claims, "I had so much of my old heart left, as to be at first grieved by this evident dislike on the part of a creature which had once loved me. But this feeling soon gave place to irritation. And then came, as if to my final and irrevocable overthrow, the spirit of *perverseness*" (350 emphasis in original). The narrator imagines perverseness as a spirit, as some entity with a will apart from his own, that is the culmination of a painful process beginning with grief and continuing through irritation. This spirit leads him to kill Pluto, to hang him from a tree limb, solely for the sake of doing evil by completing his assault on the animal. He seems to attribute the original maiming to his intemperance, but perhaps this initial violence can be attributed as much to perverseness as his following act.

Then, Poe shifts the verb tense to suggest that perverseness exists outside the psyche of the individual storyteller. A narrative of recent events, the story is naturally told in the past tense, but here, in his explanation of perverseness, the speaker slips into the present tense as if making a timeless philosophical argument. He emphasizes this connection to philosophy, claiming, "Of this spirit philosophy takes no account," before immediately changing his tack and interpreting perverseness as part of humankind's essence rather than an invasive spirit: "Yet I am not more sure that my soul lives, than I am that perverseness is one of the primitive impulses of the human heart—one of the indivisible primary faculties, or sentiments, which give direction to the character of Man" (350). So while perverseness feels like a foreign force, perhaps particularly at its onset, Poe's speaker is sure that it is a faculty or sentiment that arises out of human nature.

Two years after the publication of "The Black Cat," Poe would

take up perverseness in even more explicit detail in “The Imp of the Perverse,” another brief piece of philosophical fiction that will aid in the analysis of perverseness as a moral concept. The plot of the second story is similar to that of the first: again, a man scheduled to hang for murder tries to justify to his reader the seemingly incomprehensible reasons for his actions. In the later piece, however, Poe aligns perverseness not with the crime itself but rather self-condemning confession. This essay will trust the second narrator’s account, including the claim that he feels no guilt for his crime and thinks that confessing will do him harm. Before discussing his crime, the speaker of “The Imp of the Perverse” explains perverseness in a philosophically styled disquisition that, as in “The Black Cat,” relies on the present tense for emphasis. Here, he focuses especially on his recognition of perverseness as a universal phenomenon.

The narrator of “The Imp of the Perverse” claims in the opening passage of his story, “In the consideration of the faculties and impulses—of the *prima mobilia* of the human soul, the phrenologists have failed to make room for a propensity which, although obviously existing as a radical, primitive, irreducible sentiment, has been equally overlooked by the moralists who have preceded them” (402 emphasis in original). The language here—“a radical, primitive, irreducible sentiment”—reinforces the claims in “The Black Cat” that cast perverseness as an essential quality of humankind, rather than a pathology reducible to individual psychology. Based on this early evidence, and many other relevant similarities, Poe is certainly dealing with the same phenomenon, the same perverseness, in both of these stories. Again, the speaker of the second tale echoes his counterpart by insisting that perverseness has yet to be considered by phrenologists—nineteenth-century doctors who thought that the shape of one’s skull could be analyzed to reveal information about the brain and mental capacities—and of course moralists, the practitioners of philosophy as it is referenced in “The Black Cat.” As is often the case, Poe is a bit more elaborate in the later story. “Its idea has not occurred to us, simply because of its seeming supererogation. We saw no *need* for the propensity in question. We could not perceive its necessity,” says the narrator of “The Imp of the Perverse” (402 emphasis in original). Perverseness has remained unaccounted for because humankind has assumed that it understands itself and its motives; the theory that these characters are presenting, that one might harm oneself by choosing wrong merely for the sake of choosing wrong, seems superfluous, or unnecessary— or perhaps, because

of humankind's naivety, always obsolete. Poe undermines psychological inquiries into perverseness, questioning one's ability to truly understand oneself. However, his narrators are driven to expose and accredit perverseness within a moral framework.

With his simplified claim in "The Black Cat" that "philosophy takes no account" of perverseness, Poe is incorrect, likely intentionally incorrect in order to draw attention to his own philosophical theorizing. By denying that philosophy has yet to take appropriate notice of perverseness, Poe is announcing that he is about to write some philosophy of his own. In fact, the passage is studded with philosophical language: the certainty of one's own being, or the knowledge of the existence of one's soul, echoes Descartes's "cogito ergo sum"; and the interest of determining those faculties that define humankind's character, its essence or function, has occupied many Western thinkers, notably Plato and Aristotle. The descriptions of perverseness as "one of the primitive impulses" and "one of the indivisible primary faculties" of human beings lead Gargano to determine that Poe cannot be intending a true philosophical argument, because belief in an irreducible urge to do wrong would undermine any theory of common-sense morals.³ However, in his stories that feature perverseness, Poe does not seem concerned with consequences or overturning moral order—his perverse narrators are headed to the gallows to pay for their gruesome deeds. Rather, he is interested in the foundations of ethics, that is, why and how moral decisions are made and what effect that has on how right and wrong are conceived. His ethical claims are descriptive, in that they aim to explain how humans actually function in moral scenarios—not normative, or prescriptive as to how humans ought to act—and therefore offer little incentive to change standards of morality.

Again, Poe was not the first to entertain the possibility of knowingly doing wrong, or doing wrong for wrong's sake; a similar ethical theme puzzled the early Greek philosophers. Socrates claims that virtue can be understood like a craft that promotes one's own good, or happiness; virtue, for him, depends only on having the knowledge of what will produce that happiness. To maintain that being virtuous requires only knowledge, Socrates denies the possibility of acting against one's knowledge, a condition deemed *incontinence* or *weakness of will*, the Greek *akrasia* (Irwin, "Virtue and Knowledge" 283-284).⁴ He therefore implies that it is impossible to choose what would be bad for oneself, the wrong or evil.⁵

Socrates determines that when one chooses to do what one knows

is wrong, one temporarily, at least, confuses that wrong action with what is right and justifies it to oneself as such, therefore never acting against one's knowledge of what is right and will promote one's happiness. One cannot choose what one knows to be wrong because one cannot act in a way that one knows will cause oneself harm. Incontinence, then, stems from an ignorance of comparative benefits between short and long-term effects (Irwin, "Virtue and Knowledge" 283-284). Socrates's claim that one cannot knowingly choose what is wrong opposes the perverseness that Poe later explains in "The Black Cat" and "The Imp of the Perverse" so directly that Poe must certainly have had this ethical question, if not Socrates's specific formulation, in mind when constructing this theme.

The goal here is to show the similarities between weakness of will and perverseness and to contend that Poe's conception ought to be considered philosophically. In light of the claims of Socrates—which illustrate how philosophy is primarily interested in the fundamental or the universal, that is, what is generally true or possible of humanity and its connection to the world—Poe's philosophy of perverseness recalls an ancient ethical question about the relationship of knowledge and action to conceptions of right and wrong. Rather than trying to explain away traditional notions of right and wrong, Poe appears to be examining the functioning of these moral ideas.

In "The Black Cat," his explanation of perverseness grounds the phenomenon in questions of ethical knowledge. "Who has not," the speaker asks, "a hundred times, found himself committing a vile or a silly action, for no other reason than because he knows he should *not*?" (350 emphasis in original). This question also works to make perverseness philosophically universal. The litotes "who has not" implies that *everyone has*, in fact, countless times acted against his or her knowledge of what is best. Furthering his refutation of Socrates's view of incontinence, Poe not only claims that humankind can act against his knowledge of virtue, but that humans do frequently act in opposition to this knowledge, and for no logical reason; everyone occasionally acts in ways "he knows he should not." Poe's narrator continues, "Have we not a perpetual inclination, in the teeth of our best judgment, to violate that which is *Law*, merely because we understand it to be such?" (350 emphasis in original). Perverseness constantly frustrates judgment and understanding, and by incorporating and emphasizing another major philosophical idea, the Law, Poe intimates the ethical connection between the individual and society. At the

same time, the use of the first-person plural “we” and “our,” as well as the rhetorical questioning, implicates the reader, a technique that Poe expands in “The Imp of the Perverse.”

The speaker of the second story explains the connection between knowledge and evil in this way: “In the sense I intend, [perverseness] is, in fact, a *mobile* without motive—a motive not *motiviri*” (403 emphasis in original). He first defines perverseness as consisting of motiveless actions, and then offers another understanding that may be more accessible and links it more directly to ethical knowledge. He says, “Through its promptings we act without comprehensible object. Or if this shall be understood as a contradiction of terms, we may so far modify the proposition as to say that through its promptings we act for the reason that we should *not*” (403 emphasis in original). Rather than join these last two sentences with a comma and make for smoother reading, Poe uses a period to induce a hard stop, and he begins the second thought a bit unnaturally with a conjunction. For this reason, and because the speaker admits to a slight modification for the sake of logic, the second sentence feels less like a renaming and more like a derivation—a conclusion based on the first. If one can act without motive or object then one can choose to do what one should not, what is wrong and ultimately bad. In order to act for the reason that one should not, one must know what one should not do—kill an innocent animal or confess to a crime for which no remorse is felt—and one must act against this prohibitive knowledge.

“This spirit of perverseness, I say, came to my final overthrow,” the speaker of “The Black Cat” decides, returning to narration and the past tense. “It was this unfathomable longing of the soul *to vex itself*—to offer violence to its own nature—to do wrong for wrong’s sake only—that urged me to continue and finally to consummate the injury I had inflicted upon the unoffending brute” (350 emphasis in original). Here, Poe offers his most fulfilling explanation for the incontinence he seems to promote: one does wrong, his narrator says, in order to foil oneself. The object of one’s action—here, Pluto—is innocent. The soul desires to confuse itself in a way that it cannot comprehend. Perverseness serves to further humankind’s lack of self-understanding. Wrong is done for its own sake—as an end in itself—and for proof, the storyteller suggests, with “who has not,” that his reader consider his or her own actions alongside those encountered in the tale.

Similarly, the narrator of “The Imp of the Perverse” asks his reader

to examine his or her own relationship to perverseness, saying, “An appeal to one’s own heart is, after all, the best reply to the sophistry just noticed” (403). The speaker half-jokingly labels his own claims as *sophistry*, or insincere philosophy practiced more for the practical benefit of the instructor than the student—a charge sometimes leveled against Socrates. He then tries to provide situations, that are less severe than murder or confessing to murder, which might allow the reader to relate to and better understand the feelings of perverseness: circumlocution, procrastination, and, at greatest length, suicide. With these examples, he wants to gain the reader’s sympathy by detailing the onset of an attack of perverseness.

In fact, establishing a connection with the reader appears to be the main goal of the later piece. The speaker describes the approach of perverseness as gradual yet irresistible. His most powerful example has the reader imagining that he or she is standing on the edge of a cliff and looking over. “By slow degrees our sickness, and dizziness, and horror, become merged in a cloud of unnameable feeling,” he claims, before insisting that at the culmination of this process, *we* are left unable to refuse the yearning for the experience of jumping into the abyss (404). “And this fall—this rushing annihilation—for the very reason that it involves that one most ghastly and loathsome of all the most ghastly and loathsome images of death and suffering which have ever presented themselves to our imagination,” the speaker says, “—*for this very cause* do we now the most impetuously desire it” (404 emphasis in original). Again, Poe emphasizes the seeming senselessness of perverseness, one’s desire to do what one understands as wrong for its own sake and to foil oneself.

These three illustrations serve to implicate the reader and universalize perverseness, pushing it into the realm of ethics. Furthering his “who has not” claim from “The Black Cat,” Poe writes in “The Imp of the Perverse,” “*No one* who trustingly consults his own soul will be disposed to deny the entire radicalness of the propensity in question” and, regarding his first example, “There lives *no man* who, at some period, has not been tormented, for example, by an earnest desire to tantalize a listener by circumlocution” (403 emphasis added). Perverseness, as it is described, exists not only in the minds of the deranged, but is at least possible, if not necessary, in the minds of everyone. In his example of circumlocution, or conversational rambling, Poe uses a third-person subject, “the speaker,” and the singular pronoun “he” (403-04). In the second and third cases, though, those of procrastination—“We have a task before us which must

be speedily performed. We know that it will be ruinous to make delay... It must—it shall be undertaken to-day—and yet we put it off until to-morrow” (404)—and suicide, in the cliff example already considered, he smoothly adopts the first-person plural subject “we” in order to force the reader to evaluate his or her own encounters with perverseness.

Finally, the narrator of the second piece tells of his confrontation with the implacable imp after which his story is named. At the onset of a fit of perverseness, he recalls similar experiences from his childhood and notes, “I remembered that in no instance had I successfully resisted their attacks” (406). Once recognized, the imp is inescapable, yet the speaker tries to outrun the “cat-like” (406) phantom that he admittedly imagines following him through the streets he had been wandering. He fears confronting the imp, or even acknowledging it in his thoughts. By describing this process, Poe’s narrator begs his reader to entertain the idea that perverseness exists as a universal sentiment that may be responsible for bouts with circumlocution, procrastination, suicidal thoughts, and unqualified confession, among other more seriously self-detrimental acts, like the murder of “The Black Cat.”

2. An Ethic of Perverseness

In this reading of perverseness as a philosophical concept, Poe rather surprisingly emerges as a kind of ethical philosopher. Yet the legitimacy of his ethics depends in part on the sincerity of his fictional characters. Poe establishes his speakers’ genuineness by having them appeal to moral authority throughout the stories. After trying to explain perverseness, the narrator of “The Black Cat” tells how and why he killed his first cat: “I...hung it *because* I knew that it had loved me, and *because* I felt it had given me no reason of offense” (351 emphasis in original). Accentuating the word “because,” Poe again conveys the incomprehensible, paradoxical nature of perverseness, this time in the context of his story. Most vividly, the speaker claims, “I...hung it *because* I knew that in so doing I was committing a sin—a deadly sin that would so jeopardize my immortal soul as to place it—if such a thing were possible— even beyond the reach of the infinite mercy of the Most Merciful and Most Terrible God” (351 emphasis in original). The descriptiveness of this language is enough to guarantee its sincerity; referring to these lines, Bonaparte claims, “A son who had murdered his mother could hardly speak more strongly” (464). At the end of perhaps the weightiest section of the tale, Poe makes it clear

that his speaker believes not only in the irreducible spirit of perverseness but also in an omnipotent yet merciful God to whom he is responsible for his evil deeds.

Poe's attention to religion as a source of moral authority, if only the threat of condemnation in the afterlife, pervades the entire work. At the beginning of the story, the narrator displays great interest in animals as they function in a master-pet relationship. As the piece progresses, though, he is more likely to refer to Pluto or his replacement as a beast or creature, rather than a pet. Though once a "playmate" (349), Pluto becomes a creature—"a creature which had once so loved me" (350)—after the speaker cuts out the animal's eye. The second cat is a creature from its first appearance—"the very creature of which I was in search" (352). The narrator becomes attentive to the existence of the cats as creations of God, and though once enamored by house pets of all kinds, he is now frightfully reminded by these two of his relationship to religious and moral authority. His interactions with the animals, though, deflower them of this original status; eventually, they inspire within him "[t]he fury of a demon," "a more than fiendish malevolence" (350), and later, "a rage more than demoniacal" (353). Whether as works of God or tools of evil, the two black cats represent to the narrator religious symbols that he takes seriously.

The speaker of "The Black Cat" is worried about the safety of his eternal soul. He admits, "I blush, I burn, I shudder, while I pen the damnable atrocity" (350). He is uncomfortable reliving the events with his reader. In the presence of the police, he notes, "I *burned* to say but one word, by way of triumph, and to render doubly sure their assurance of my guiltlessness" (355 emphasis added). While he experiences mixed feelings regarding the guilt of his deeds, the narrator is certainly worried about the consequences he will face in the afterlife. The most convincing evidence comes in the story's penultimate paragraph, when the speaker's wrap on the wall is answered by a screech from the cat which he accidentally entombed with his murdered wife. Leverenz says, "[T]he beast's voice now seems the narrator's maker, witness, and judge, a three-in-one God" (119). Condemned at last, the narrator pleads, "But may God shield and deliver me from the fangs of the Arch-Fiend!" (355). He dreads suffering in hell for his sins, imagining the pain to be sharp and inescapable like the fangs of a cat. Placed at strategically dramatic points in the story, his appeals to God demonstrate the legitimacy of his guilt and suggest that perverseness be read in the sense that the narrator presents it—foremost, as

a questioning of the role of knowledge in sin.

In “The Imp of the Perverse,” Poe also employs a religious tone, even in his most descriptive, philosophical passages. In his introduction to perverseness, the introduction to the piece as a whole, the speaker says, “It cannot be denied that all metaphysicianism has been concocted *á priori*. The intellectual or logical man, rather than the understanding or observant man, set himself to imagine designs—to dictate purposes to God” (402 emphasis in original). The narrator argues that the study of metaphysics has been undertaken primarily on the basis of *á priori* knowledge, or theoretical knowledge derived from definitions and logic. This type of understanding often has at its roots the will of a higher power—for Poe, God’s purposes. While the speaker of “The Imp of the Perverse” will promote a different source of knowledge, he retains a prestigious place for God.

“It would have been safer,” he claims, “—if classify we must—to classify upon the basis of what man usually or occasionally did, and was always occasionally doing, rather than upon the basis of what we took it for granted the Deity intended him to do” (403). Through his narrator, Poe is promoting a different foundation for metaphysical knowledge. It is this *á posteriori* knowledge, or practical knowledge based on observation and extrapolation, that leads to the discovery of perverseness. The incomprehensibility of perverseness, its seeming senselessness, makes it invisible from a strictly *á priori* point of view, but the speaker insists that its existence is strikingly obvious if considered *á posteriori*, as it is common for humans to act outside of what they perceive to be their best interest. However, rather than dismiss God, he places him on a pedestal beyond the understanding of humankind. Again relying on humanity’s limited intellectual capacities, the speaker asks, “If we cannot comprehend God in his visible works, how then in his inconceivable thoughts that call the works into being? If we cannot understand him in his objective creatures, how then in his substantive moods and phases of creation?” (403).⁶ God, then, in this story, is humankind’s creator, but is mystical beyond humanity’s understanding and authoritative solely through his presence.

Despite losing favor as a source of philosophical knowledge, God exists in “The Imp of the Perverse,” as in the earlier story, as a basis for moral authority—as humankind’s judge—through the threat of eternal condemnation. At the end of the piece, the speaker describes his confession as “brief but pregnant sentences that consigned me to the hangman and to Hell” (406). The words swell inside of him like a developing life

before bursting out and determining his fate. Like in “The Black Cat,” the narrator mentions his sojourn to hell in his parting words, a strategy that makes these claims particularly dramatic and memorable.⁷ Attention to the religious components of these tales helps to clarify Poe’s endeavor into ethics; his work cannot seek to undercut morality as a whole, because belief in an omnipotent God entails belief in the inherent value of certain ethical virtues. Also, the narrators’ reverence to God, as a moral authority, eliminates a certain psychological reading of “The Black Cat”—and likely “The Imp of the Perverse” by extension—that makes perverseness into a delusion or self-deception, for with their pleas to God, the speakers are undoubtedly accepting the guilt and consequences of their perverse actions.

3. Perverse Consciousness and “The Philosophy of Composition”

So far this article has explained how a philosophical interpretation of perverseness draws attention to several formal and thematic issues in “The Black Cat” and “The Imp of the Perverse,” particularly as they suggest Poe’s interest in a deistic ethics. This focus on philosophy, rather than psychology, might also promote ethical readings of Poe’s other tales, such as “The Fall of the House of Usher,” “William Wilson,” and “The Tell-Tale Heart,” in which characters seem to intentionally choose to do wrong. More importantly, though, it also suggests a new complexity for “The Philosophy of Composition,” the author’s 1846 essay on the aesthetic theory of writing. In this piece, Poe claims to recount the wholly rational process by which he composed his successful poem “The Raven”: “It is my design to render it manifest that no one point in [the poem’s] composition is referrible either to accident or intuition—that the work proceeded, step by step, to its completion with the precision and rigid consequence of a mathematical problem” (676-677). T. S. Eliot summarizes Poe’s theory of composition as being “as conscious and deliberate as possible” and insisting that “the poet should observe himself in the act of composition” (28). Through Eliot, this ideal would become one of Poe’s lasting contributions to aesthetic theory.⁸

Assuming that Poe supports a belief in the philosophical perverseness that he develops in his stories—that is, that he is not satirizing the possibility in the vein of Socrates—an inference that can be made based on the author’s personal encounters with self-destructive perverseness,⁹

the complete self-consciousness that he suggests of writers may appear quite frightening. In “The Imp of the Perverse,” his speaker asserts, “With certain minds, under certain circumstances, [perverseness] becomes absolutely irresistible” (403). When describing the contemplation of leaping from a precipice and the sensations that would accompany one’s impending death, the narrator says, “To indulge, even for a moment, in any attempt at *thought*, is to be inevitably lost” (405 emphasis in original). And finally, when fleeing from the shadow of the imp, he claims, “Every succeeding wave of thought overwhelmed me with a new terror—for alas! I understood too well that to *think*, in my condition, was to be undone” (406 emphasis in original). Poe supports writers’ self-awareness in “The Philosophy of Composition,” when in fact it is this type of deep thought that most readily induces perverseness.

The process of writing, then, might be conceived to foster the urge to do what one knows is wrong. At the least, an author is more susceptible to perverseness when he or she is lost in the contemplation of *beauty*, the “intense and pure elevation of *soul*” and “the sole legitimate province of the poem,” according to Poe (“The Philosophy of Composition” 678 emphasis in original).¹⁰ Perhaps the author used—or constructed—this connection to justify his own perverse behavior, which adversely affected his health, his career, and the financial stability of his family. Or perhaps this relationship led him to question the true value of self-awareness to the writer, because in 1848, near the end of his life, Poe composed and delivered as a lecture another work of aesthetic theory, “The Poetic Principle,” in which he abandons the mechanical approach to composition in favor of ideals like genius and inspiration, derived from the Romantic tradition and intimating a very different appeal to higher power than the one that premises the sincerity of “The Black Cat” and “The Imp of the Perverse.” Whatever the case, Poe’s philosophy of perverseness suggests that his doctrines on writing share the same skepticism of total self-awareness as is found inside his fictional worlds.

Notes

1. For psychological interpretations of “The Black Cat” that cast perverseness as either conscious or unconscious deception towards the end of self-preservation, see Amper and Gargano, respectively.
2. For an interpretation of perverseness through legal history, see Cleman.
3. See Gargano, p. 172.
4. For Classical accounts that may support incontinence, see Plato, Republic 439A-441C; Aristotle, Nicomachean Ethics 1144b35-1147b17; Irwin, “Aristotle” and “Weakness of Will.”
5. See Plato, Meno 77B-78B.
6. See also Poe, Eureka, p.571-572.
7. Compare the dying words of Poe himself: “Lord help my poor Soul.” See Meyers p. 255.
8. For Poe’s influence on aesthetic theory, see Polonsky, especially p. 42-46.
9. Especially through his alcoholism. See Thompson, p. xxxv.
10. Poe considers the aesthetics of poetry, and evinces his preference for the effect of beauty in both “The Philosophy of Composition” and “The Poetic Principle.” He considers the aesthetics of short fiction more directly in “Nathaniel Hawthorne,” a review of two of Hawthorne’s short story collections.

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Christopher B. Storey was born in Oklahoma City but moved to Memphis as a young child. He grew up in the construction industry and has owned and operated a concrete company for the past seven years. Always having a dream of becoming an engineer, he decided to head back to the classroom at the age of 30 in order to pursue a structural engineering degree from the University of Memphis. Since enrolling he has excelled in all areas of his studies, maintaining a 4.0 GPA and making the Dean's List each semester. He is also a member of the Helen Hardin Honors Program as well as the national honor society, Alpha Lambda Delta. He enjoys spending time with his lovely wife, Amber, and his three beautiful children, Brody, Savannah, and Owen. All of the achievements he has accomplished has been a direct result of their unwavering dedication and support.

Chris Storey was awarded the prize for best paper in the Engineering Sciences category.

Chris Storey

Concrete Beam Analysis

Faculty Sponsor
Dr. Charles Camp

Introduction

Upon experimentation of four reinforced concrete beam sets, with two beams of identical specifications per set, it is the goal of this report to outline research and documentation in efforts to assist in the design of cost-effective, lightweight, and high-strength concrete beam configurations for the betterment of the construction industries. Furthermore, we are testing the effects of concrete reinforcement and the ideal balance between rebar in tension, shear, and compressive strength of the concrete mix. The outcome of each beam design is measured by the strength-to-weight ratio (SWR) and provides an easy interpretation and comparison from beam to beam. Based on the total cost of each individual beam, an adjusted strength-to-weight ratio ($SWR_{Adjusted}$) was calculated. The maximum cost without penalty was \$4.00 per beam. The SWR takes into account the beam's weight, cost, and tested strength. Strengths were observed by an applied load in the laboratory and recorded (shown in Figure 1).

Methods and Procedures

The following section will discuss predictive strength models, including Whitney Rectangular Stress Distribution, cost modeling, and calculation for $SWR_{Adjusted}$.

Design Constraints

When designing reinforced concrete beams, one may consider the use of admixtures, various types of reinforcement, numerous types of cements and aggregates, and non-rectangular cross-sections. The construction of a reinforced concrete beam required the selection of an appropriate concrete mix as well as evaluation of the role of reinforcement in the flexural behavior of the beam. Figure 1 shows the method of testing used to determine the strength of each beam.

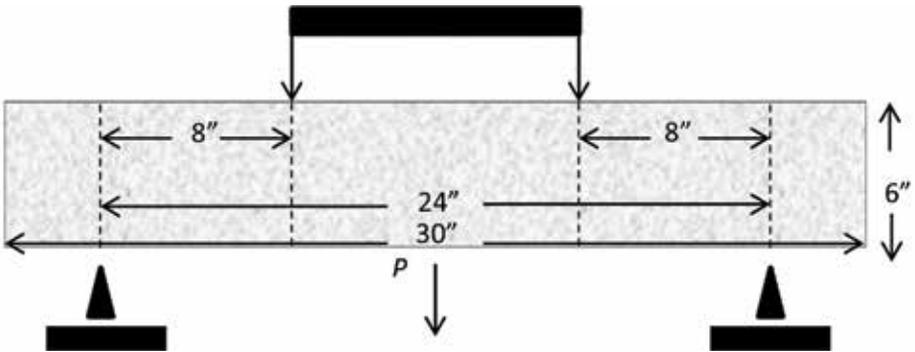


Figure 1. Geometric Loading Configurations for Reinforced Concrete Beam

As shown in Figure 1 each concrete beam was required to have a length of 30 inches, a height of 6 inches, and have a prismatic cross-section with a maximum width of 8 inches.

Each eight-inch-wide increment along the beam represents a zone for possible failure of the concrete beam. The two labeled 8 inch zones represent areas that are very susceptible to shear failure. The maximum moment occurs at the bottom middle 8 inches of the beam, resulting in tension failure. The top middle 8 inches of the beam is where compression failure is likely to occur.

Any curing method in order to increase the overall strength of the concrete beams was permissible. Once the concrete beams were created, they were cured for a 7 day period. This was followed by weighing the beams and testing the strength.

Reinforced Strength Models

In order to maximize efficiency, a reinforced strength model was developed by Charles S. Whitney (1892-1959) that allows engineers to predict the amount of force a structure can withstand as well as predict the failure type and force required for fracture.

Whitney Rectangular Stress Distribution

The computation of flexural strength M_n based on the approximate parabolic stress distribution, shown in Figure 2, may be performed using given values of $k_2 / (k_1 k_3)$, which provide a ratio of depth of neutral axis to depth d , defined as the height from the top of the reinforced beam to the center of the rebar in tension.

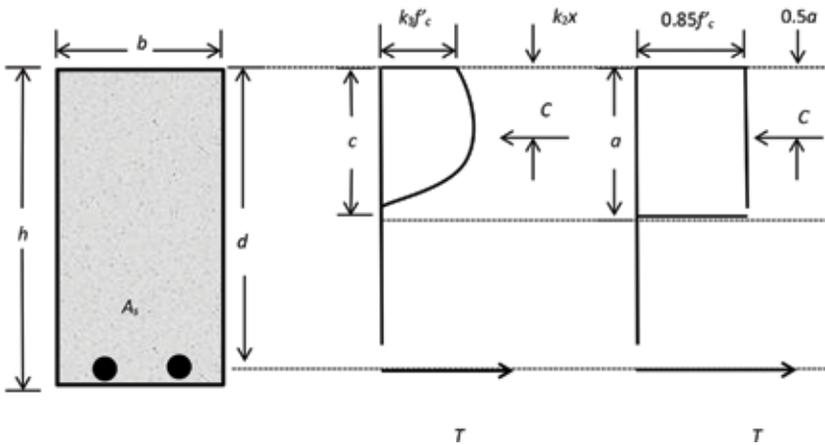


Figure 2. Definition of Whitney Rectangular Stress Distribution

In the 1930's, Whitney (1937) proposed the use of a rectangular compressive stress distribution to replace the parabolic stress distribution. As shown in Figure 2, an average stress of $0.85 f'_c$ (unit stress in concrete) is used with a rectangle of depth $a = \beta_1 c$. Whitney determined that β_1 should be 0.85 for concrete with $f'_c > 4,000$ psi, and 0.05 less for each 1,000 psi of f'_c in excess of 4,000 psi. The value of β_1 may not be taken less than 0.65 (American Concrete Institute 2011). The values of β_1 were determined by Mr. Whitney and are coefficients that compensate for the fact that we do not use the entire portion of concrete that is in compression. Furthermore, the concrete below the neutral axis is ignored and the total tension force, T , is due to the reinforcing. The Whitney stress block is used to estimate the compression force, C .

The bending strength, M_n , using the equivalent rectangle is obtained from Figure 2 as follows:

$$C = 0.85f'_c ba \quad (1)$$

$$T = A_s f_y \quad (2)$$

where f_y is the yield stress of steel reinforcement, b is the width of the concrete beam, A_s is the area of steel, and f'_c is the unit stress in concrete measured in pounds per square inch. Equating $C = T$ gives:

$$a = \frac{A_s f_y}{0.85f'_c b} \quad (3)$$

The bending strength is computed as the tensile force multiplied by the distance between the forces, or:

$$M_n = A_s f_y \left(d - \frac{a}{2} \right) \quad (4)$$

where d is the net depth of the beam. Combining the above equations gives:

$$M_n = A_s f_y \left(d - 0.59 \frac{A_s f_y}{f'_c b} \right) \quad (5)$$

The ACI code explicitly accepts the Whitney rectangle (American Concrete Institute 2011). For the loading conditions in this reinforced concrete beam competition, the ultimate force due to tensile would be:

$$P_{tension} = \frac{A_s f_y}{4} \left(d - 0.59 \frac{A_s f_y}{f'_c b} \right) \quad (6)$$

Shear Failure Model

The design of shear reinforcement is based on the assumption that the shear force must not exceed the total shear capacity of the beam (American Concrete Institute 2011). When shear reinforcement is used, the shear capacity of a beam cross-section can be estimated as:

$$V_n = V_s + V_c \quad (7)$$

where V_n is the shear force in the beam, V_s is the shear capacity supplied by the reinforcement, and V_c is the shear strength of the concrete.

The shear force in the beam, which is assumed uniformly spaced across the diagonal crack, is:

$$V_n = \frac{A_v f_y d}{s} + 2\sqrt{f_c} b d \quad (8)$$

where A_v is the area of steel reinforcement in shear for each stirrup crossing the diagonal crack and s is spacing of the stirrups. For the loading conditions in the reinforced concrete beam competition, the ultimate force due to shear would be:

$$P_{shear} = 2 \left(\frac{A_v f_y d}{s} + 2\sqrt{f_c} b d \right) \quad (9)$$

Reinforcement Ratio for Rectangular Beams

The reinforcement ratio, ρ (often called reinforcement percentage), may be conveniently used to represent the relative amount of tension reinforcement in a beam. Thus using the dimensions in Figure 1, the reinforcement ratio is:

$$\rho = \frac{A_s}{bd} \quad (10)$$

Rewriting Equation (3) expresses the reinforcement ratio in terms of the c/d ratio.

$$\rho = 0.85\beta_1 \frac{c f_c}{d f_y} \quad (11)$$

For beams controlled by tension failure, $c/d < 0.375$ (American Concrete Institute 2011).

Compression Failure Model

If $c/d > 0.60$ the beam failure is controlled by compression (American Concrete Institute 2011). For an overly reinforced beam, the stress in the tensile steel f_{steel} when the concrete reaches its ultimate strain is:

$$f_{steel} = 87,000 \text{ psi} \left(\frac{d-c}{c} \right) \quad (12)$$

If $f_{steel} < f_y$ or $c/d > 0.60$, then the maximum moment in compression is:

$$M_{compression} = A_s \left(\frac{d-c}{c} \right) \left(d - \frac{a}{2} \right) 87,000 \text{ psi} \quad (13)$$

For the loading conditions in this reinforced concrete beam competition, the ultimate force due to compression would be:

$$P_{compression} = \frac{A_s}{4} \left(\frac{d-c}{c} \right) \left(d - \frac{a}{2} \right) 87,000 \text{ psi} \quad (14)$$

Estimation of the Ultimate Beam Strength

The ultimate strength, S , of the reinforced concrete beam may be estimated based on the value of c/d as follows (American Concrete Institute 2011):

$$\begin{aligned} \text{If } \frac{c}{d} \leq 0.375 & \quad S = \text{Minimum}(P_{tensile}, P_{shear}) \\ 0.375 \leq \frac{c}{d} \leq 0.60 & \quad S = \text{minimum}(P_{tensile}, P_{shear}, P_{compression}) \\ \frac{c}{d} \geq 0.60 & \quad S = \text{minimum}(P_{compression}, P_{shear}) \end{aligned} \quad (15)$$

Estimation of Beam Weight and Cost

The estimated weight, W , of a simply reinforced rectangular concrete beam is:

$$W = V_{beam} \gamma_{concrete} + A_s L (\gamma_{steel} - \gamma_{concrete}) \quad (16)$$

where V_{beam} is the volume of the beam, L is the length of the beam, $\gamma_{concrete}$ is the unit weight of concrete (typically 145 lb./ft.³), and γ_{steel} is the unit weight of steel (typically 490 lb./ft.³).

The total cost estimate for a reinforced concrete beam C_{beam} is:

$$C_{beam} = C_{concrete} + C_{steel} \quad (17)$$

where C_{steel} is the cost of steel reinforcement and $C_{concrete}$ is the cost of the concrete. Table 1 lists the unit cost for a reinforced concrete beam for this competition.

Table 1. Reinforced Concrete Material Cost

Material	Cost
Portland Type I Cement	\$106/ton
Course Aggregate	\$14/ton
Fine Aggregate	\$7/ton
Steel Reinforcement	\$980/ton
Admixtures – water reducer	\$15/gal
Admixture – silica fume	\$500/ton

To compute the cost of a reinforced concrete beam using the information in Table 1, use the following estimates (there is no cost associated with shear reinforcement).

The cost of steel, C_{steel} , may be estimated as:

$$C_{steel} = A_s L \left(490 \frac{\text{lbs.}}{\text{ft.}^3} \right) \left(\frac{\$980}{2,000 \text{ lbs.}} \right) \quad (18)$$

The total cost of concrete, $C_{concrete}$, is estimated from the mix design as:

$$C_{concrete} = C_{cement} + C_{CA} + C_{FA}$$

$$C_{concrete} = C_{cement} + C_{CA} + C_{FA} \quad (19)$$

where C_{cement} is the cost of cement, C_{CA} is the cost of course aggregate, and C_{FA} is the cost of fine aggregate. The cost of each of these components can be computed as:

$$C_{cement} = V_{beam} \left(W_{cement} \frac{\text{lbs.}}{\text{ft.}^3} \right) \left(\frac{\$106}{2,000 \text{ lbs.}} \right) \quad (20)$$

$$C_{CA} = V_{beam} \left(W_{CA} \frac{\text{lbs.}}{\text{ft.}^3} \right) \left(\frac{\$14}{2,000 \text{ lbs.}} \right) \quad (21)$$

$$C_{FA} = V_{beam} \left(W_{FA} \frac{\text{lbs.}}{\text{ft.}^3} \right) \left(\frac{\$7}{2,000 \text{ lbs.}} \right) \quad (22)$$

where W_{cement} is the weight of cement, W_{CA} is the weight of course aggregate, and W_{FA} is the weight of fine aggregate (each weight is per ft.^3 of concrete).

Estimation of Cost-Adjusted SWR

The predicted value of the cost-adjusted SWR ($SWR_{Adjusted}$) may be computed as:

$$\text{If cost} \leq \$4 \quad SWR_{Adjusted} = \frac{S}{W} \quad (23)$$

$$\text{If cost} \leq \$4 \quad SWR_{Adjusted} = \frac{S}{W} \quad (24)$$

Mix Design for Beam #1

It was decided to utilize the highest f'_c , 7,000 psi, as allowed by the ACI mix design table. This increase in f'_c would enable the concrete to increase to a higher strength over the 7 day period. A slump of 1 to 2 inches was selected for beam #1. Slump is indicative of the amount of water within the mix. The lower the slump, the less mixing water is used, and the less mixing water used, the higher the compressive strength of the concrete (Kosmatka, S., Kerhoff, B., and Paranes, W. 2008). Table 2 illustrates the weights of the mix design components and water-to-cement ratio (w/c). The mix utilized a make-sure-you-have-enough (MSYHE) factor of 1.5.

Table 2: Design Components for Week 2 Reinforced Concrete Beam

Component	Measurement
f'_c	7,000 psi
Slump	1 to 2 in.
Water	20.00 lbs.
Cement	69.25 lbs.
Course Aggregate	119.75 lbs.
Fine Aggregate	82.00 lbs.
w/c	0.33

Mix Design for Beam #2

In beam #2, a 7,000 psi f'_c was used, which is the maximum allowed by the ACI Mix Design Table. Due to the fact that the beam design changed from a rectangular beam to an I-beam, which will be discussed later in the report, the mix components also changed. Table 3 illustrates the weights of the mix design components, concrete slump, and w/c . The mix utilized a MSYHE factor of 1.5.

Table 3. Design Components for Week 3 Reinforced Concrete Beam

Component	Measurement
f'_c	7,000 psi
Slump	1 to 2 in.
Water	14.25 lbs.
Cement	50 lbs.
Course Aggregate	86.50 lbs.
Fine Aggregate	59 lbs.
w/c	0.33

Mix Design for Beam #3

In an effort to reduce the cost even further, it was decided to use an f'_c of 6,000 psi instead of the maximum 7,000 psi design as allowed in the ACI Mix Design table. In order to equate the final 7 day compressive strength, Type III High Early Strength cement was used. According to the PCA Manual, such a cement allows the concrete to reach a higher compressive strength that otherwise might be unattainable with a standard Type I cement (Kosmatka, S., Kerhoff, B., and Paranes, W. 2008). Due to the beams being tested after only 7 days, it was estimated that the compressive strength of the concrete would reach 75% of its strength, which is approximately 5,250 psi of a 7,000 psi mix. In order to prove that using Type III cement could yield the same test results after 7 days as Type I, concrete cylinders were tested. Two cylinders were taken, cured in the same environment, for the same amount of time. The two specimens

yielded an average f'_c of 6,775 psi which proved that the mix design with a f'_c of 6,000 psi and Type III cement could reach the same compressive strength as 7,000 psi Type I after the 7 day testing period. By reducing the f'_c from 7,000 psi to 6,000 psi; the concrete mix components varied greatly from the previous beam. Table 4 illustrates the weights of the mix design components, slump, and w/c. The mix utilized a MSYHE factor of 1.5.

Table 4. Design Components for Week 4 Reinforced Concrete Beam

Component	Measurement
f'_c	6,000 psi
Slump	1 to 2 in.
Water	14.25 lbs.
Cement	40.25 lbs.
Course Aggregate	86.50 lbs.
Fine Aggregate	67.50 lbs.
w/c	0.41

Mix Design for Beam #4

Since beam #3 yielded considerable results upon testing, it would have been ideal to further improve on the beam's structural and flexural strength gain from the use of Type III cement. Type III cement could not be acquired, however. Thus, the predicted strength of the concrete was adjusted back to 7,000 psi just as it was in beams #1 and #2. A water reducer, compliant to ASTM C 494 Type A applications, was added to the mix. According to the PCA Manual, various water reducers have different effects on the slump of the mix, hydration acceleration, and w/c. Superflo 2000 RM was added in a manageable sense for the purpose of using the entire \$4.00 cost limit. Since the Superflo 2000 RM water reducer had not yet been tested in previous trials, the component of f'_c was maintained at 7,000 psi to possibly yield higher results with the addition of this high-range water reducer in low-range water-reducing conditions. Procedure complied with the manufacturer's dosage for Type A applications since

the workability of the concrete was stable. The only needed result of the super plasticizer was strength gain and reduced probability of a bar pull-out (anchorage failure) since the bar spacing in tension was reduced from 1.375 inches in the previous week to 1.25 inches in beam #4 design. With the least amount of water reduction being 5% for Superflo 2000 RM and a dosage range of up to 3 fluid oz. per 100 lbs. of cement, the determined necessary mix proportions are shown in Table 5.

Table 5. Design Components for Final Week Reinforced Concrete Beam

Component	Measurement
f_c	7,000 psi
Slump	1 to 2 in.
Water	18.33 lbs.
Cement	62.50 lbs.
Super plasticizer	2.500 oz.
w/c	0.29
Coarse Aggregate	107.0 lbs.
Fine Aggregate	73.25 lbs.

With the cost of materials being held at \$3.61, there was a remaining \$0.39 to use for the acquired admixture. The weighted value and the cost of super plasticizer were derived from the following:

$$Volume_{super\ plasticizer} = Weight_{cement} * 5\%_{Water-reduction} * 29.6 \frac{ml.}{oz.} * 1.085 * \frac{\$1}{3,785.} \quad (25)$$

where 1.085 is the specific gravity of Superflo 2000 RM. The addition of super plasticizer results in the reduction of water and is shown as follows:

$$Water_{Adjusted} = Weight_{water} - (\%_{Water-reduction} * Weight_{Water}) \quad (26)$$

Beam #1 Design: Reinforcing and Shape

In beam #1, it was decided to replicate the shape and reinforcement in tension from beam used in the baseline test, which was three #4 bars in tension. As previously stated, each beam that contained reinforcement from the baseline failed in shear. It was determined that adding one #3 piece of rebar for shear spaced at 2.5 inches within the failure zones, which is shown in Figure 1, would greatly reduce the chances of a low shear failure that was seen in the previous week's result. Figure 3 shows a cross-sectional diagram and provides a visual aid in showing the reinforcement spacing, concrete cover, and calculations of b and d .

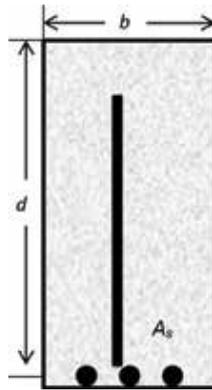


Figure 3. Cross-Sectional Diagram for Week 2

As shown in Figure 3, b and d can be calculated as follows:

$$b = (D_{tension} * n) + (C_{cover} * n) + (D_{shear} * n) + S_{tension} \quad (27)$$

where b is the width of the beam, $D_{tension}$ is the diameter of the rebar in tension, n is the quantity of concrete cover determined by the number of rebar in tension or shear, C_{cover} is the minimum concrete cover, D_{shear} is the diameter of the rebar in tension, and $S_{tension}$ is the spacing between the rebar in tension.

$$d = h - \left(\frac{D_{tension}}{2} \right) - C_{cover} \quad (28)$$

Where d is the height from top of beam to the center of rebar in tension, h is the overall height of the beam, $D_{tension}$ is the diameter of the rebar in tension, and C_{cover} is the minimum concrete cover.

Table 6 below shows the b and d values used in the construction and predicted failure calculations for the reinforced concrete beam #1.

Table 6. Values for b and d in Week 2.

Value	Calculation	Dimension
b	$b \geq (0.500 \text{ in.} * 3) + (1 \text{ in.} * 2) + (0.375 \text{ in.} * 1) + (1 \text{ in.} * 2)$	6.00 in.
d	$d = 6 \text{ in.} - \left(\frac{0.500 \text{ in.}}{2} \right) - 1 \text{ in.}$	4.75 in.

Beam #2 Design: Reinforcing and Shape

After using a rectangular for beam #1, it was decided to use an I-beam design for the second beam. According to the Equations (1) – (24) and the reinforced strength models, an I-beam would yield acceptable results while reducing the weight of the beams. This directly affected the $SWR_{Adjusted}$ from Equations (23) and (24). According to the National Academy Press, in addition to the reduced weight, I-beam designs are used in the majority of construction projects to accommodate a great deal of bending loads, axial tensile, and compressive loads. As the core of the concrete material simulates a sustainable webbing design between the aggregates and admixtures, the bond line between the shear and compressive forces efficiently transfers the stress from the face sheets of the I-beam to the inner core. With an effective design and proper material selection, the form of the I-beam construction can adequately offer minimum weight for structural configuration. In regards to reinforcement, there were three reinforcing bars used in tension based on results from beam #1. However, the reinforcement size was changed to incorporate two #5 bars on the outer edges and one #3 rebar in the center. This configuration showed an increase in $SWR_{Adjusted}$ by utilizing such a configuration in comparison to the previous rebar configuration in beam #2. Figure 4 shows a cross-sectional diagram and provides a visual aid in the reinforcement spacing, concrete cover, and calculations of b and d .

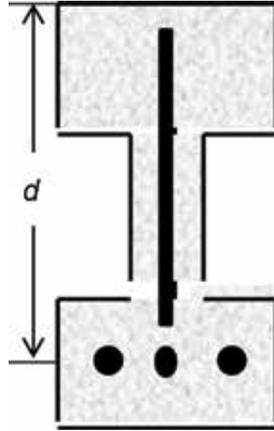


Figure 4. Cross-Sectional Diagram for Week 3

Utilizing Equations (25) and (26), the values of b and d are shown in Table 7.

Table 7. Values for b and d in Week 3

Value	Calculation	Dimension
b	$b \geq (0.625 \text{ in.} * 2) + (0.75 \text{ in.} * 2) + (0.375 \text{ in.} * 1) + (0.75 \text{ in.} * 2)$	5.00 in.
d	$d = 6 \text{ in.} - \left(\frac{0.625 \text{ in.}}{2} \right) - 0.75 \text{ in.}$	4.94 in.

Beam #3 Design: Reinforcing and Shape

In determining the design for beam #3, it was decided that the I-beam shape would continue to yield the best results while maintaining a low weight, which in turn directly affects the $SWR_{Adjusted}$, as shown in Equations (23) and (24). The reinforcing bars in tension varied from the previous beam design, in which a total of two #5 bars were used, eliminating one #3 rebar from tension. The predicted failures based on beam #2 experimental results show that making this reduction in tension reinforcement would still provide acceptable results when compared to predicted shear and compressive failure. In addition, the results from the baseline data, which are shown in Figure 7, proved that an increase from the use of two rebar in tension to three rebar in tension only slightly increases the $SWR_{Adjusted}$. Because of this, it was decided to eliminate the third rebar in

tension. As previously mentioned, the beam shape for beam #3 was an I-beam and the beam width, b , is shown below in Figure 5.

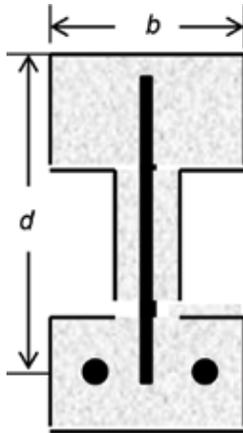


Figure 5. Cross-Sectional Diagram for Week 4

Table 8 shows the b and d values used in the construction and predicted failure calculations for the reinforced concrete beam #3.

Table 8. Values for b and d in Week 4.

Value	Calculation	Dimension
b	$b \geq (0.625 \text{ in.} \cdot 2) + (1 \text{ in.} \cdot 2) + (0.375 \text{ in.} \cdot 1) + (1.375 \text{ in.})$	5.00 in.
d	$d = 6 \text{ in.} - \left(\frac{0.625 \text{ in.}}{2} \right) - 1 \text{ in.}$	4.69 in.

Beam #4 Design: Reinforcing and Shape

In determining the design for beam #4, it was decided to use the same dimensions of the I-beam shape used in beam #3. Among these dimensions, width being 5 inches, height being 6 inches, and length being 30 inches, the I-beam still maintained a moderate weight, which directly affects the $SWR_{Adjusted}$, as shown in Equations (23) and (24). The previous beam, beam #3, failed in shear, further implementing more strength gain to that section of the beam with the remaining cost that had not exceeded the \$4.00 limit. Instead of the #3 rebar, with a diameter of 0.375 in., #4 rebar, with a diameter 0.5 in., was used for shear reinforcement. This was done in an effort to further enhance the predicted strength failures among the shear models. To test in further detail, cylinders were also made to prove the

effectiveness of super plasticizer among the compression model. The test trials proved that the cylinders were able to obtain 75% of the strength from a 28-day predictive model. Results showed an average of the two cylinder breaks came to be 6,111 psi, which is roughly 850 psi over the 75% of the predicted 7,000-psi mix. The gathered data produced the rationale for the use of Superflo 2000 RM.

Figure 6 shows a cross-sectional diagram and provides a visual aid in showing the reinforcement spacing, concrete cover, and calculations of b and d .

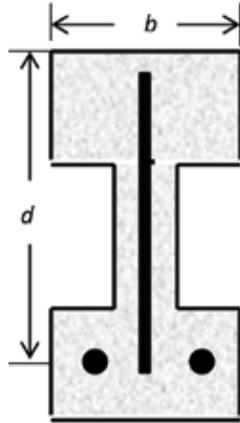


Figure 6. Cross-Sectional Diagram for Final Week

Using Equations (25) and (26), Table 9 shows the b and d values used in the construction and predicted failure calculations for the reinforced concrete beam #4.

Table 9. Values for b and d in the Final Week.

Value	Calculation	Dimension
b	$b \geq (0.625 \text{ in.} * 2) + (1 \text{ in.} * 2) + (0.5 \text{ in.} * 1) + (1.25 \text{ in.})$	5.00 in.
d	$d = 6 \text{ in.} - \left(\frac{0.625 \text{ in.}}{2} \right) - 1 \text{ in.}$	4.69 in.

Prediction of SWR_{Adjusted} for Beam #1

The predictive model outlined in Equations (1) – (24) proved extremely useful in designing each reinforced concrete beam. It provided estimated values for failure, failure type, cost, SWR , and SWR_{Adjusted} .

The information allowed for the experimentation with different beam designs in efforts to effectively construct a structurally-sound, cost-effective reinforced beam. The predicted values for beam #1 are shown in Table 10.

Table 10. Predictions for Week 2 Reinforced Concrete Beam

	Weight	Failure Strength	SWR	Cost	SWR _{Adjusted}
Predicted Value	93.84 lbs.	32,831 (T)	350	4.02	348

Prediction of SWR_{Adjusted} for Beams #2 and #3

As previously mentioned, different beam designs were studied in an effort to decide which would produce the highest SWR_{Adjusted}. Table 11 shows the predicted values of beam #2. Table 12 shows the predicted values of beam #3.

Table 11. Predictions for Week 3 Reinforced Concrete Beam

	Weight	Failure Strength	SWR	Cost	SWR _{Adjusted}
Predicted Value	64.51 lbs.	33,132 lbs. (S)	514	\$4.07	505

Table 12. Predictions for Week 4 Reinforced Concrete Beam

	Weight	Failure Strength	SWR	Cost	SWR _{Adjusted}
Predicted Value	93.84 lbs.	32,831 (T)	350	4.02	348

Prediction of SWR_{Adjusted} for Beam #4

The predictive model of concrete strength proved to be the most valuable asset in the reinforced concrete beam project. Providing the needed estimated values while utilizing Equations (1) – (23) in the Whitney Stress Distribution Model would lead to the successive rationale used in the fourth and final beam. The predicted values of weight, failure strength, cost, SWR, and SWR_{Adjusted} are shown in Table 13.

Table 13. Predictions for the Final Week Reinforced Concrete Beam

	Weight	Failure Strength	SWR	Cost	SWR _{Adjusted}
Predicted Value	64.89 lbs.	29,850 lbs. (T)	460	\$3.61	460

Curing Method for Beam #1

In order to obtain a higher strength in 7 days, rather than the normal 28 days that it takes to achieve concrete's maximum potential strength, special curing methods are required. The method of curing is extremely important in early strength gain. Curing is done to ensure there is an adequate amount of moisture and proper temperature in the concrete so that certain properties can develop. Curing ensures that hydration, or setting, will continue, which influences the strength of the concrete (Kosmatka, S., Kerhoff, B., and Paranes, W. 2008).

The curing environment selected for these beams was a steam box with a temperature of 60 degrees Celsius. This form of curing is ideal when early strength gain is important. A steam curing cycle called for an initial delay of 5 hours after production of beams, a holding period of 15 hours in the steam enclosure, after which the beams are removed and allowed to cool to room temperature (Kosmatka, S., Kerhoff, B., and Paranes, W. 2008). Upon completion of steam curing, the beams were submerged in water for a period of 5 days. By doing so, the water tank prevents moisture from evaporating and escaping the beams; this also accelerates strength gain (Kosmatka, S., Kerhoff, B., and Paranes, W. 2008).

Curing Method for Beams #2, #3, and #4

The curing methods for beams #2, #3, and #4 included insertion into a temperature controlled steam box 5 hours after hydration began, where both remained for 15 hours. Once the beams were removed from the steam box, both were then submerged in water for a period of 5 days. Finally, the beams were removed from the water tank 1 day prior to breaking to allow for sufficient air drying time.

Collected Beam Data

Prior to designing and implementing test beams, a baseline was determined by constructing and testing an initial set of beams with minimal specifications. All components and parameters for these beams were chosen to provide direction by which all future designs would be predicated. Beams were constructed to be 30 inches long, 6 inches wide, and 6 inches tall containing either zero, one, two, or three pieces of #4 rebar for

tensile reinforcement. For this beam, an f'_c of 4,000 psi was chosen. Shear reinforcement was not used in the initial beams. In order for the amount of rebar to be the only varying parameter, all beams were cured at room temperature for 7 days. After the 7 day period, the beams were broken and the weights, cost, failure strengths (P), and $SWR_{Adjusted}$ were recorded for each beam, these results are shown in Table 14.

Table 14. Week 1 Data

# of Bars	Bar Size	d (in.)	f'_c	Predicted wt. (lbs.)	Actual wt. (lbs.)	Predicted P (tension)	Predicted P (shear)	Actual P	$SWR_{Adjusted}$
0	4	5	4,500	90.63	92.00	0	8,050	5,245	57
1	4	5	4,500	91.82	91.50	14,213	8,050	14,240	156
2	4	5	4,500	93.02	91.50	26,853	8,050	19,965	218
3	4	5	4,500	94.22	95.75	37,920	8,050	22,350	233

# of Bars	Bar Size	d (in.)	f'_c	Predicted wt. (lbs.)	Actual wt. (lbs.)	Predicted P (tension)	Predicted P (shear)	Actual P	$SWR_{Adjusted}$
1	4	5	4,500	91.82	89.63	14,213	8,050	10,360	116
2	4	5	4,500	93.02	96.75	26,853	8,050	22,850	236
3	4	5	4,500	94.22	96.38	37,920	8,050	24,750	257

# of Bars	Bar Size	d (in.)	f'_c	Predicted wt. (lbs.)	Actual wt. (lbs.)	Predicted P (tension)	Predicted P (shear)	Actual P	$SWR_{Adjusted}$
0	4	5	4,500	90.63	96.00	0	8,050	5,685	59
1	4	5	4,500	91.82	95.00	14,213	8,050	14,615	154
2	4	5	4,500	93.02	95.00	26,853	8,050	23,950	252
3	4	5	4,500	94.22	93.25	37,920	8,050	20,105	216

The relationship between the amount of reinforcement in tension and the $SWR_{Adjusted}$ is shown in Figure 7.

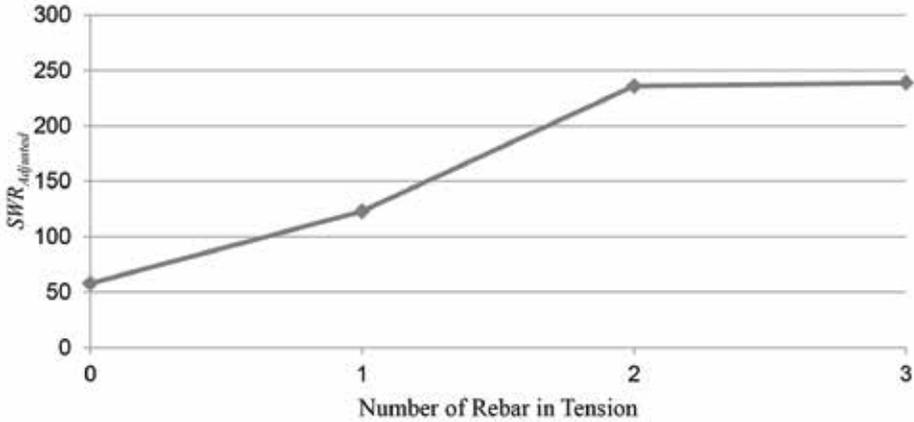


Figure 7. Relationship Between Rebar in Tension and $SWR_{Adjusted}$

This data was then analyzed to determine which amount of rebar would be used in tension for beam #1. As shown in Figure 7, beams designed with three ½” diameter (#4) rebar proved to have a slightly higher average $SWR_{Adjusted}$. The beams that had no rebar in tension, failed in tension; while the beams with between one and three rebar in tension, failed in shear. These baseline results led to a future design in test beam #1 with three #4 rebar in tension as result of the aforementioned data. The data collected from designed beams #1, #2, #3, and #4 are shown in tables 15, 16, 17, and 18 respectively.

Table 15. Week 2 Data

	Weight	Failure Strength	Cost	Failure Type	$SWR_{Adjusted}$
Beam 1	97.00 lbs.	37,000 lbs.	\$4.13	Shear	369
Beam 2	97.00 lbs.	30,900 lbs.	\$4.13	Shear	309

Table 16. Week 3 Data

	Weight	Failure Strength	Cost	Failure Type	ASWR
Beam 1	65.50 lbs.	20,100 lbs.	\$4.07	Shear	302
Beam 2	63.75 lbs.	19,050 lbs.	\$4.07	Shear	294

Table 17. Week 4 Data

	Weight	Failure Strength	Cost	Failure Type	<i>SWR_{Adjusted}</i>
Beam 1	74.75 lbs.	8,090 lbs.	\$3.47	Shear	108
Beam 2	70.50 lbs.	26,200 lbs.	\$3.47	Shear	372

Table 18. Final Design Data

	Weight	Failure Strength	Cost	Failure Type	<i>SWR_{Adjusted}</i>
Beam 1	65.0 lbs.	19,470 lbs.	\$4.00	Shear	300
Beam 2	64.5 lbs.	24,400 lbs.	\$4.00	Shear	378

Strengths and Weaknesses for Beam #1

It is imperative to discuss the strengths and weaknesses of the beams in order to produce more efficient results when making future beams. Strengths from beam #1 included the use of shear reinforcement which increased the failure point. By utilizing this design, we were able to once again test the results of three #4 rebar in tension, as well as observe the effects of #3 rebar for shear reinforcement.

Although these strengths are good, the weaknesses of a beam are more indicative and useful when designing future beams. The weaknesses of beam #1 were the extremely high weights of the beams. The weights have a direct effect on the final *SWR_{Adjusted}* and as such must be minimized. Efforts were made in beam #3 to reduce the weights. Beam #1 also proved to be costly. At \$4.13, this beam violated the design constraints which reduced the *SWR_{Adjusted}*.

Strengths and Weaknesses for Beam #2

As earlier stated, an I-beam design was first implemented on beam #2. There were a few weaknesses to this design. When tested, the beam had low $SWR_{Adjusted}$ value and lower overall strength than the previous week. Not only were these values disappointing, but also the spending cap was broken by \$0.07. Human error played a major role in the weaknesses of this design. In order to create the I-beam mold, Styrofoam strips 1.5 inches wide, 0.5 inches tall, and 30 inches long were used to eliminate concrete on both sides of the beam. As a result of the strips being only 0.5 inches tall, these strips had to be individually cut and stacked upon one another in order to achieve the 1.5 inches wide, 2 inches tall, and 30 inches long mold block-out. As a result, the mold was inconsistent. Figure 8 illustrates the mold construction.

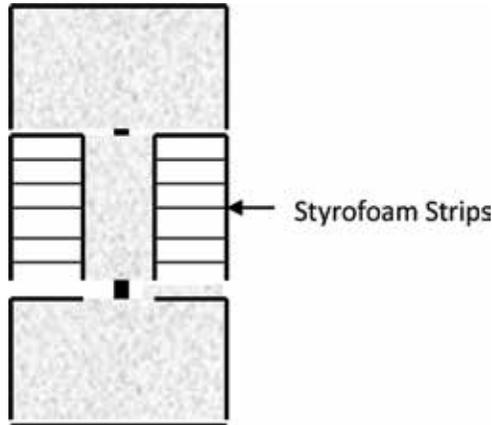


Figure 8. Construction of I-Beam Mold in Week 3

Although there were many weaknesses, there were strengths as well. The weight of the beam was significantly reduced by implementing the I-beam design.

Strengths and Weaknesses for Beam #3

Though this beam disappointed in performance, many things were learned in efforts to make the necessary corrections. An apparent weakness was the availability of additional funds that remained unused in designing

this particular beam. The final cost was \$3.47 which allowed an additional \$0.53 to be used, without penalty, to further strengthen the beam. Another weakness that was discovered was the top of the beam was slanted, similar to beam #3. Because the top was slightly slanted to one side, the testing machine put more force on one side of the beam which caused premature failure, with Beam 1 of this set in particular. As a result of the slanted top, Beam 1 broke at 8,090 lbs. of pressure and appeared to break in shear, though it was not readily identifiable. Beam 2 of this set gave a more definitive answer as to failure type and broke at 26,200 lbs. This beam failed in shear and necessary corrections were made in the final beam design, which involved increasing the shear reinforcement from #3 rebar to #4 rebar.

Although the weaknesses of this particular design outweighed the strengths, there were still aspects that were considered positive. The beam shape, an I-beam, allowed us to maintain the overall weight of the beams. However, the most significant strength that was determined in the construction of this beam was the fact that, through cylinder testing, a concrete mix with a 28 day f'_c of 7,000 psi with Type I cement is equivalent to a 6,000 psi mix with Type III cement. This reduced the overall cost of our beam, allowing the option to utilize other reinforcement materials in future beam designs.

Strengths and Weaknesses for Beam #4

Among four of the trials being outlined for strengths and weaknesses, beam #4 could have used hands-on improvement. Though timely calculations were made to implement possible strength gain with use of the entire \$4.00 cost limit, the weight of beam #4 was the major weakness among this project. If the weight had been reduced to keep up with the break strengths that were performed, a higher $SWR_{Adjusted}$ would have been achieved along with a higher ranking in the competition. Another weakness that was discovered was the effect of having the top of the beam out-of-level. Even though a torpedo level was used throughout the finishing consolidation of the mold, by the time the beams were released from the curing environment, the tops of the beams lacking in a mold cover had taken on a sloped finish. Similar to previous beams, again the machine put more force on one side of the beam causing premature failure. As a result of the slanted top, beam #1 of this set broke at 19,470 lbs. of pressure and appeared to break in shear. Beam #2 of this final set gave a more definitive

answer as to failure type and broke at 24,400 lbs. This beam failed in shear also, which implies that the overall design of the beam may have been flawed since shear failure occurred along every beam in each test trial.

The strength of beam #4 was that necessary strategies were implemented to achieve easy consolidation within the molds. With the use of a super plasticizer at the dosage implemented to beam #4, a hydration acceleration time of at least 20 minutes was attained from the Manufacturer's referral (RussTech Inc. 2011). This, in turn, was an overall strength gain with the addition of the curing environment that the beams were placed in.

The results for beam #4 lacked the substantial improvement that was expected in the $SWR_{Adjusted}$ when looking back at the results from beam #3. Between beam #1 and beam #2 of the final set of tested beams, there was a significant difference in failure strength, and this is because beam #1 was not properly constructed and when the load was placed on top of the beam during testing, the weight and pressure were distributed on one side of the beam. This caused the beam to fail at a considerably lower strength. The average $SWR_{Adjusted}$ for the beam #4 was 339.

Research Conclusions

It was the goal of this experiment to determine methods of concrete beam design which would provide the user with adequate information to find a cost effective balance in the amount of rebar used in tension, in shear, the compressive strength of the concrete, and the types of admixtures used. After meticulous research and experimentation, it was determined that the use of a super plasticizer (Superflo 2000 in this case), one #4 rebar in shear, two #4 rebar in tension, and a concrete mix design of 7,000 psi provided the most favorable results with a load capacity of 24,400 pounds and a cost of \$4.00 per beam. In the construction and engineering industries, a balance must be met between safety for our communities and cost effectiveness for our clients. We hoped to prove that balance in the design and manufacturing of concrete beams depends heavily upon the research done by its members.

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Clayton Scruggs was awarded the prize for best paper in the Physical & Applied Sciences category.

Clayton Scruggs

A Quantitative Comparison of Three Cost-Effective Thioacetate Deacetylation Reactions

Faculty Sponsor

Dr. William Alexander

Twenty-seven thiols (nine unique) were synthesized from their corresponding thioacetates using three different deacetylation methods utilizing NaOH, HCl, and hydroxylamine as hydrolyzing agents. These thioacetate deacetylations were analyzed for their respective percent yields using UV/Vis. Results from UV/Vis showed generally reasonable yields (50-75%) for the reactions using NaOH and HCl, while the hydroxylamine reactions typically had poor yields. Thiols produced in this fashion may be suitable as cheap and easy alternatives to much higher priced, unstable thiols purchased directly.

1. Introduction

Within the past two decades, the field of self-assembled monolayers (SAMs) has exploded with growth and new developments. [3-6, 8, 10] The first recognized SAMs were developed at Bell Laboratories in 1983[1,2]; these SAMs were comprised of organic molecules adsorbed on cleaned metal surfaces. A major disadvantage was quickly noticed: the organic molecules were moisture sensitive, and thus a requirement for a new surfactant arose. This requirement was met again in 1983 at Bell Laboratories when Allara and Nuzzo demonstrated the SAM-forming capability of dialkyl disulfides by adsorption onto gold surfaces. [2]

Since the 1983 discovery of SAM formation utilizing sulfur-containing functional groups, many different headgroups have been studied and found to be useful in the formation of SAMs. More refined methods of SAM formation, as well as more comprehensive techniques for their characterization, have been established since the initial work at Bell Laboratories [3-6] with alkylthiols remaining the most studied [7-9]. Recently, however, there has been a growing concern among SAM researchers about the reactivity of the sulfhydryl group.

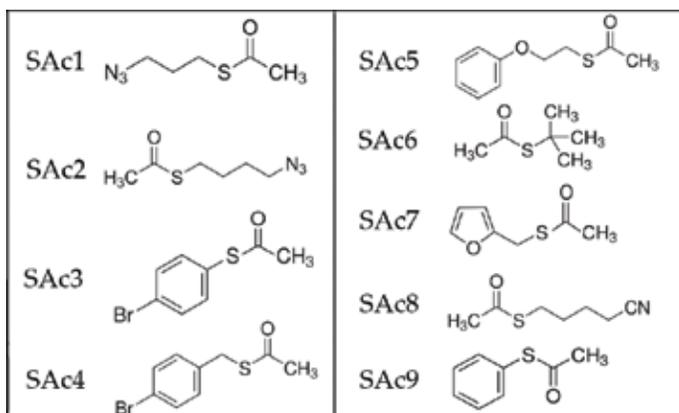
Free thiols can react through various pathways, including intramolecular cyclization, intermolecular polymerization, and the thiol-ene click reactions, all of which can prove to be detrimental for SAM formation and stability. [10,11] There have been recent efforts to protect the free thiol group to prevent these harsh effects. [11] A number of approaches have been developed for this purpose, including using sulfides, disulfides, thiocyanates, and thials. [10-13] However, a more recently-developed and less-studied functional group is being used more frequently: thioacetates. [13] Previous research has determined that thioacetates have slower SAM

formation kinetics and form less ordered, less densely packed SAMs. This leads to SAMs which are consistently less thick than the analogous thiol SAMs. [12] In spite of these facts, thioacetates are more shelf-stable, are typically more cost-effective, and are far less prone to the previously mentioned detrimental side reactions which free thiol groups are susceptible to. [10,12] This leads to a consequent need for the development of a method of SAM formation to bypass all of these shortcomings.

In this paper, we describe three simple synthesis methods for the formation of thiols from their corresponding thioacetates. These methods exploit not only the lower cost of the starting material, but also both the chemical and shelf-stability of molecules with a thioacetate headgroup which possesses the ability to form free thiol molecules for potential use in forming densely packed, well-ordered monolayer surfaces. A number of thioacetates are deacetylated to their complimentary thiol. Following this, the resulting product is characterized by ultraviolet/visible spectrometry to determine the effectiveness of these various methods. We then attempt to provide a general, overarching pattern seen among these assorted alkylthiol products for the effectiveness of their synthesis.

2. Experimental Section

2.1 Materials. S-(-3-azidopropyl) thioacetate (SAc1, 95%), S-(-4-azidobutyl) thioacetate (SAc2, 97%), 4-bromophenyl thioacetate (SAc3, 97%), 4-bromo- α -toluene thioacetate (SAc4, 97%), S-(-2-phenoxy-ethyl) thioacetate (SAc5, 98%), S-tert-butyl thioacetate (SAc6, 98%), S-furfuryl thioacetate (SAc7, 99%), S-(-4-cyanobutyl) thioacetate (SAc8, 97%), S-phenyl thioacetate (SAc9, 98%) and 5,5'-dithiobis-(2-nitrobenzoic acid) (Ellman's Reagent) ($\geq 98\%$) were all obtained from Sigma Aldrich and were used as obtained. The structure for the thioacetates are shown in Scheme 1.



Scheme 1. The structures of the various thioacetates used in the deacetylation reactions.

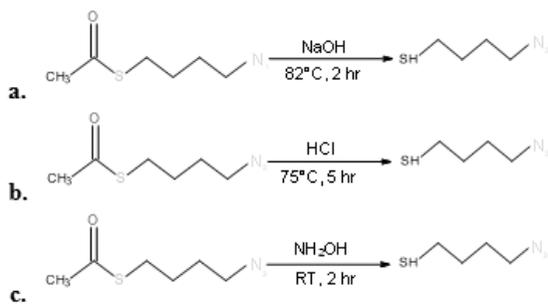
2.2 Synthesis of Thiols. All thiols were synthesized in one step from their corresponding thioacetates using either NaOH, HCl, or hydroxylamine as a hydrolyzing agent. A general reaction scheme for each of these reactions is provided below in Figure 2.

The following reactions are the general procedures used for all of the previously mentioned thioacetates with their respective yields shown in Table 1.

Base-Promoted (NaOH) Deacetylation of Thioacetates. The thioacetate (1.2mmol) was placed in ethanol (10mL) and stirred until fully dissolved. To this solution, 0.5M NaOH/H₂O was added (4mL) and refluxed at 82°C for 2 h. The solution was then washed with hexanes (3x15mL), dried over sodium sulfate and decanted.

Acid-Catalyzed (HCl) Deacetylation of Thioacetates. The thioacetate (1.2mmol) was placed in methanol (15mL) and stirred until fully dissolved. To this solution, concentrated HCl was added (1mL) and the resulting solution was refluxed at 77°C for 5 h. The solution was then washed with hexanes (3x15mL), dried over sodium sulfate and decanted.

Hydroxylamine Catalyzed Deprotection of Thioacetates. Each thioacetate (1.2mmol) was dissolved in ethanol (10mL) and allowed to fully dissolve. Hydroxylamine (1.4mmol) was weighed and placed in this solution, which was then reacted for 2 h at room temperature with vigorous stirring. The solution was washed with hexanes (3x15mL), dried over sodium sulfate and decanted.



Scheme 2. General reaction schemes for: a. NaOH-promoted deprotection, b. HCl-catalyzed and c. hydroxylamine-catalyzed deprotection.

2.3 Characterization of Thiol Yield. Ellman's reagent was employed to quantify the concentration of free thiols. A buffer solution was made using a 95:5 ethanol:deionized water solution which was brought to a pH of around 8 using a 0.1M NaOH solution, with the pH being measured by litmus papers. 25mg of Ellman's reagent was then added to this solution and it was allowed to equilibrate for 10 minutes until the solution possessed a very faint yellow color. Following this, a 4mL aliquot of a single reaction's recovered hexane layer was placed in a 100mL volumetric flask along with 6mL ethanol and the flask was filled to the line with the Ellman's buffer solution and the volumetric flask was shaken for 5 minutes at room temperature. A cuvette was then filled with the resulting solution and was immediately characterized by UV/Vis spectroscopy on an Ocean Optics spectrophotometer. The samples were immediately characterized due to an unknown source of frosting on each plastic cuvette that appeared over time if the solution was allowed to remain in the cuvette.

2.4 UV-Visible Spectroscopy (UV/Vis). An Ocean Optics UV/Vis spectrophotometer was employed to obtain UV/Vis spectra to determine the concentration of free thiols in solution. Free thiol concentrations were calibrated relative to standard Ellman's reagent/1-undecanethiol solutions (11.2 μ M, 25.68 μ M, 56 μ M, 97.6 μ M) and absorbances were measured at 425nm. A solvent shift from the typical wavelength used for quantification employing Ellman's reagent, 412nm, was noted. Calculated concentrations were determined using the equation for the line of best fit for the calibration curve.

3. Results

3.1 Deacetylation Synthesis Yield. The percent yield for each deacetylation reaction was determined from measurements taken on a UV/Vis spectrophotometer using a calibration plot made from known standard solutions of Ellman's reagent reacted with 1-undecanethiol. Table 1 shows the yields for deacetylation using NaOH, HCl and hydroxylamine for each thioacetate species.

3.2 Ellman's reagent calibration curve and representative spectrum. Figure 1 shows the data obtained from the calibration curve using octadecanethiol reacted with Ellman's reagent as a calibration standard. Figure 2 shows a sample spectra obtained from the product S10 resulting from the deacetylation of SAc10.

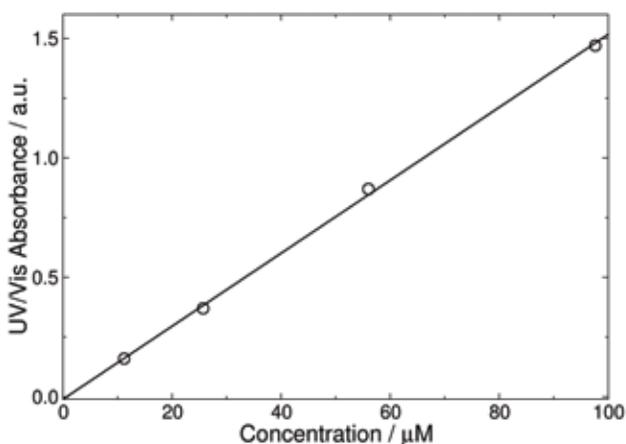


Figure 1. Calibration curve obtained from octadecanethiol reaction with Ellman's reagent

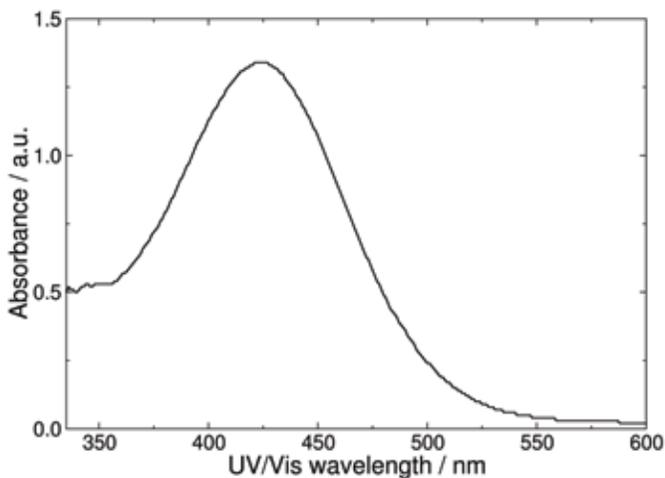


Figure 2. Sample UV/Vis spectra of a reaction product S10 after reaction with Ellman's reagent

Table 1. Percent yield for Deacetylations of Thioacetates

Compound	Yield1	Yield2	Yield3
S1	*	<15%	<15%
S2	37.00%	68.00%	15.00%
S3	<15%	69.00%	<15%
S4	43.00%	39.00%	<15%
S5	68.00%	66.00%	18.00%
S6	25.00%	<15%	*
S7	73.00%	75.00%	76.00%
S8	76.00%	76.00%	<15%
S9	50.00%	72.00%	35.00%

Yield1-percent yield for NaOH hydrolysis. Yield2-percent yield for HCl hydrolysis. Yield3-percent yield for hydroxylamine deprotection. * denotes an inability to obtain quality yield data.

4. Discussion

The calibration curve obtained from octadecanethiol reacted with Ellman's reagent demonstrated a good correlation, with $R^2 = 0.9991$. This allowed for an accurate determination of yields based on the equation of the line of best fit of these points.

Overall, yields for the NaOH and HCl reactions were reasonable, while yields for the hydroxylamine reactions were relatively poor, with most percent yields for similar reactions being between 85-100% [14], [15], [16]. Low yields for hydroxylamine reactions are thought to be primarily due to side reactions. This can be seen throughout nearly every reaction, sans S7 and S9.

Less than expected yields for both the NaOH and HCl hydrolysis reactions are believed to be caused by the synthetic constraints we put in place for the reactions; specifically, forgoing an inert and water-free atmosphere. Although yields calculated may appear to be acceptable overall, it is possible that side reactions may have occurred on the functional groups of a number of the compounds, specifically bromo- and cyano-functionalized compounds. Relevant factors might be the fact that bromine-terminated compounds may react with the newly formed thiols to form a thioether, which also cleaves the bromine from the compound. Cyano groups are also at risk of side reactions; HCl can hydrolyze these nitrile groups, while NaOH may assist in the nucleophilic addition of ethanol onto the nitrile group.

However, these reactions may still go on to deacetylate the thioacetate. Therefore, using Ellman's reagent as a method of quantification will provide good cursory data on the percent yield of the deacetylation of the thioacetates, but it cannot provide data on the structures of the resulting species. Further investigation is therefore needed using NMR to confirm side reactions as well as structures of important products.

5. Conclusion

In this paper, we have shown that our thiol syntheses, in general, were successful and resulted in reasonable yields for NaOH promoted and HCl catalyzed reactions, given our self-induced constraints.

Yields for the hydroxylamine reactions ranged from poor to abysmal, this being theorized as a result of possible side reactions with hydroxylamine and the functional group of the specific compound. NaOH and HCl hydrolysis reactions may also be susceptible to side reactions.

For future experiments many steps may be taken to increase yields and purity of the product, including: further purification of the product or reactant if necessary, performing NMR analysis to verify any potential side reactions, investigating unwanted solvent effects from ethanol or methanol, and performing the syntheses in an inert, water-free environment.

Our products from these reactions have been saved for SAM formation and analysis in the future to determine the quality of the SAMs that can be made from these thiols. If the SAM produced from these solutions is deemed to be of high quality, the methods detailed in this paper will provide a cheap and simple alternative to much more expensive thiols currently used in research involving SAMs.

Acknowledgement

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Nicholas Mastron is a senior Political Science, Economics, International Studies, and History major, with minors in Spanish and Legal Thought/Liberal Arts from Memphis, Tennessee. Having always been dedicated to improving communities, he has participated in community and civic duties, ranging from nonprofit organizations like Operation Broken Silence and the Memphis Area Women's Council to political activities such as Cohen for Congress, the Tennessee Intercollegiate State Legislature, and Model United Nations. His focus on academics, as evidenced through his voluminous awards, fellowships, and accolades, supports his motto "Study hard." Other activities that he enjoys include managing local bands on the world-renowned Beale Street, writing poetry, and playing baseball. His immediate plans are to attend George Washington University's Trachtenberg School for a Ph.D. in Public Policy and Administration with his concentration being in social policy, specializing in gender and discrimination policies.

Nicholas Mastron

The Swedish-Ukrainian Addiction: Sex Trafficking's History, Prevalence, and Potential Solutions

Faculty Sponsor

Dr. Robert Blanton

Introduction

The current estimate for those being trafficked internationally including both labor and sexual exploitation is approximately twenty-seven million persons (“The Promise of Freedom” 2012: 1). Countries attempt to craft national policies that specifically target sex trafficking to counter the illicit industry’s mobility and operational speed. Nonetheless, sex trafficking remains a shadow industry with a broad definition. This paper shall briefly summarize the development of international sex trafficking to provide contextual support that is crucial to comprehending the magnitude of more recent societal and political actions. Examining discourse about the issue, three factors emerge as leading to the exponential increase in sex trafficking in the last half-century. These are 1) integration of national and international markets, 2) the expansion of communication devices, and 3) the shortage of knowledgeable law enforcement, and can best be combatted through the political use of policy and issue framing. In developing the central argument of framing, the paper’s primary methodology consists of discourse analysis, so as to better contextualize both the histories and subsequent policy results.

Regarding framing as a governmental and societal mechanism, this paper uses the individual national laws in Sweden and Ukraine as its case study. Chiefly, policy framing will be the methodology used in assessing the strengths and weaknesses of each country’s policies, but issue framing will function to best elaborate on prior societal norms and discourse on the subject. The rationale for selecting these two cases centers on the fact that the two states are at opposite ends of the sex-trafficking spectrum. Sweden represents the modernized and more developed governments that possess all available resources to properly address this issue. Furthermore, Sweden also stands as the first state that utilized the women’s rights movement as impetus for crafting new policies to address sex trafficking, possibly suggesting a revolutionary tool that other developed economies could employ. A final reason for Sweden’s selection involves its protection of the sex industry’s women both physically and financially, which has subsequently been adopted by countries such as Germany and Canada. Ukraine represents the issue within a less developed economy and government. Moreover, Ukraine’s lack of economic opportunity for female employment constitutes the most common issue facing newer economies that cause women to emigrate to other countries, creating major susceptibility

to sex trafficking. Another facet to Ukraine that makes it an excellent case study is the prolific opposition to governmental actions that severely limit the effectiveness of any government policies. Sweden can be historically characterized as hosting an environment conducive to prostitution and the sex industry, whereas the Ukrainian government had not, until the predominance of a criminal subculture. As previously discussed, the industry's prevalence in each country constitutes major divergences.

Moreover, the rationale for selecting a national-level case study to address sex trafficking is based upon the classification of countries and their markets by participants in the illicit industry as either source or destination countries. The following national factors are indicative of a sex trafficking source country (listed in order of significance): government corruption, infant mortality rate, population under the age of fourteen, food production index, population density, and conflict and civil unrest (Bales 2007: 272-273). Several national factors also suggest a destination country: male population over the age of 60, governmental corruption, infant mortality rate, food production, and energy consumption (Bales 2007: 276).

What constitutes *sex trafficking* as opposed to *indigenous prostitution*? The best answer lies in international consensus, in this case the United Nations General Assembly's 1949 *Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and of the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others*. Correlating with Article One and Article Two of this convention, sex trafficking shall be defined within this paper as the unwarranted kidnapping, forced sexual commercial exploitation, and the shadow transportation of persons (1). Indigenous prostitution will be considered the willing participation of persons in acts of commercialized sex, in which the acting persons are compensated for services and retain those compensations individually. Distinction between these two forms of commercialized sex acts must be maintained with respect to the critical analysis of both Sweden and Ukraine.

So, what is the difference between *issue framing* and *policy framing*? Although closely related, issue framing refers to the methodologies and attitudes that the society at large has previously employed to address a given issue and the current communication between relevant actors on the given issue. In short, issue framing reflects the historical and current discourse on the issue itself. Conversely, policy framing is the methodology behind the creation, implementation, and communication of governmental

actions on the issue. For purposes of this paper, the issue frame is obviously sex trafficking and the policy frames are those actions of Sweden and Ukraine.

A Brief History of Sex Trafficking in Relation to the Case Study

Regarding the evolution of commercialized sex, the globalization of prostitution's traditional community-based courtesan structure was altered and constructed modern sex slavery. In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, governments adopted policies aimed at forcing women into sex as a mechanism of "progress." During the Second World War, for example, Japan forced 300,000 of its own women and children into military brothels for soldiers' pleasures. At the conclusion of World War II, an international trend developed that sought to reexamine existing forms of governance and structure, to reflect on what is best for states' individual citizens. Many persons felt as though nationalism had failed, that government should be held responsible. Additionally, economic isolationism became archaic, and global markets reopened. Furthermore, a radical shift in socio-economic thought occurred: that individual concern should trump that of community. Herein lies the duality trap that would eventually evolve into the proliferation of modern day sex slavery: first, a breakdown in community cohesion; second, a shift toward the individual and his or, in some cases, her rights. Sex became a worldwide-accepted commodity for the first time (Frank, et al. 2010: 870). The shift toward rights of the individual contributes to sex trafficking's rise because considering the individual constitutes the methodology for organizing societal structures. The groups promoting sex trafficking perverted this interpretation to isolate specific characteristics in women in identification of "perfect" slaves to trade. This shift from class distinction to individual assessment within society helped to make the pool of victims easily identifiable, a challenge earlier groups had faced. Sex had always been available as a domestic service to acquire, but now with this special emphasis of individual control prevailing, sex became a good, a human good, that could be as tradable and buyable as televisions or groceries.

Sex trafficking is and always has been a form of "hidden prostitution" (Laanemets: 7), but now it stands along with internet-based prostitution and escort services and is obscured further. Many different organizations, such as the CNN Freedom Project and the United Nations, have concluded through evaluation of trafficking statistics and patterns

of sexual enslavement that countries in which prostitution is legal tend to have higher populations of individual persons being sex trafficked and exploited. However, Sweden's semi-legalization appears to effectively defeat the industry, suggesting the need for deeper analysis into which causal mechanisms are being employed. Three identifiable economic factors promote the modern sex trade: a large supply of victims to be exploited in source countries, a seemingly endless demand in destination countries, and organized criminal enterprises that facilitate the trade itself (Bales 2007: 277-278).

As can be surmised from basic geographic locations, Sweden and Ukraine's relative proximity enable a potential economic relationship, including the shadow market relationship of sex trafficking. This potential sub-economy may facilitate a human trafficking relationship if policies fail to be enacted and adhered to by the citizens. To a certain extent, the illicit global political economy, like the legitimate economy, follows the standard neoclassical model, though this shadow market has no limitations as to prices, quantities supplied, or quantities demanded. Although these factors technically are dependent upon the others, there are massive deviations within the sex trade due to shifting legal and illegal markets and policies. In regards to Ukraine and Russia, "the territory is a major source of young women in a worldwide market and that the United Nations estimates that at between \$7-billion and \$12-billion annually" is made through sex trafficking (MacWilliams 2003: 2). Most individuals who become part of the international sex trade are tricked by both legitimate and illegitimate immigration services in the countries that serve as transit or source countries.

The Kingdom of Sweden is considered a destination, source, and transit country, based upon the U.S. State Department's 2012 Trafficking in Persons Report, while Ukraine is considered a source and transit country. However, for the purpose of analyzing the reasons for Sweden's proclaimed successes and Ukraine's policy failures, Sweden is seen predominantly to be a destination country, and Ukraine as a source country. Reasons for Sweden being considered a predominantly destination country include the small percentage of Swedish citizens that are trafficked, the few institutions active in Sweden that formalize victim identities, and the legal history of reflection periods being granted by Swedish governments. Reflection periods are legal time allowances that governments such as Sweden and Spain grant to women within the sex industry to encourage

psychological and financial recovery. Ukraine is considered a source country because of its high percentage of college students who enter into the trade, its lack of governmental oversight and enforcement, and the existence of a well-organized criminal enterprise that facilitates the trade.

However, one of the key problems with identifying the extent of human trafficking in any country is that *sex trafficking* and *forced prostitution* continue to be seen as two different variables by both nations, with forced prostitution being less punishable than trafficking. The argument for forced prostitution as a separate activity is founded in the view that women knowingly select to engage in prostitution to earn money that is then handed over to their controlling parties, under a supposed “repayment” plan for certain actions, that are then not reciprocated, constituting an economic disservice rather than necessarily a physical one. The argument against this notion, however, is that women are controlled throughout this entire process and have been violated through economic and physical manipulations.

The Issue’s Terminology and Approaches

Due to the complexities of sex trafficking and the multi-disciplinary approach one must take to fully engage this topic, this paper focuses on how each factor and country frame the outcome policies and measures of combatting sex trafficking. The impact that frames have upon the societal discourse regarding sex trafficking – and possibly systemic flows of successful public policy outcomes – changes through shifts in the discourse. Discourse analysis, as made popular by Michel Foucault in his *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, refers to the consultation of words to uncover a meaning that may then be manipulated and disseminated to a wider audience to convey a specific message or political stance. As Maarten A. Hajer states, discourse analysis refers to “the examination of argumentative structure in documents and other written or spoken statements as well as the practices through which these utterances are made” (Hajer 2006: 66). This type of analysis engages the present but varying perceptions as well as past public policies of a given societal issue while providing a background analytical framework for analysis that is independent of those societal perceptions and policies in order to fundamentally measure the true effectiveness for measuring the society’s addressing of that particular issue. One example of using discourse theory could be the current Syrian Civil War; the researcher would analyze (a) the war itself, (b) the political,

social, and economic context of the conflict both nationally and regionally, (c) the written and verbal agreements that preceded and are developing within the war's progression, (d) the communication aspects of both sides' efforts and propagandas, and (e) the instrumentalities that precipitate changes in the issue as well as the discourse (in this Syrian case, perhaps bombings or state seizure of communication networks).

Framing is a methodological approach suitable for examining policy agendas and possibly mobilizing a cause or public policy. As stated previously, this paper is primarily concerned with policy framing as opposed to issue framing. As explained by Daviter, "students of policy framing ask how frames influence the way issues are processed, how they affect which interests play a role during policy drafting and deliberation and what type of political conflicts and coalitions are likely to emerge as a result" (Daviter 2007: 654). So issue framing is used, within both the Ukrainian and Swedish case studies, as an approach to comparatively examine historical progression in order to provide clearer insights into aspects of sex trafficking as they relate to particular countries. The frames constructed allow the individual the ability to isolate key features that particularly distress the society in terms of the issue of sex trafficking and determine the rationale behind the policies enacted. For example, one frame used by Sweden is that of reframing the national issue from an economic problem to a human rights problem. By doing so, Sweden has seen drastic changes in the amount of human trafficking over the last decade, as its message of being a human rights issue resonated within its citizenry that often is praised for its high Human Development Index score. Conversely, Ukraine continues to exacerbate the problem through its public recognition of the issue at the national level as a major illicit industry. The presence, though, of a well-developed Ukrainian mafia and the abject poverty reduces the impact of governmental social initiatives severely. Later sections of the paper more closely analyze the styles of framing in both states as well as individual effectiveness.

In discussing the historical aspects of the issue in both Ukraine and Sweden, *issue framing* will be used to dissect the issue more broadly in the international and national context of discourse analysis, chiefly to provide relevant information that could aid in policy construction. However, to understand the effectiveness for which Sweden's laws and Ukraine's laws can be analyzed, a more precise definition of *policy framing* must be established. As indicated in the introduction, policy framing refers to the pro-

cess by which an individual or a society's perspective on issues is changed through the construction of key phrases that alter that entity's original understandings and associations with the issue(s) at hand. One example of effective policy framing is the European Union's decision-making process. Although the European Commission has a mandate to create and implement legislation for the European community, the perceived levels of openness within the European Union lessen the dissidence of citizens, enabling for a much more cohesive governing system (Daviter 2007: 655). Essentially, framing is more effective within this political structure because the frames themselves are now independent of direct citizen support, which in the case of illicit activities (including sex trafficking) may be opposed by certain regions—therefore citizens and assemblies directly—as it functions as an economic actor or even sub-economy in areas.

The analysis of policy framing in both Sweden and Ukraine examined here will focus on four key factors: The first will be governmental actors' perceptions of the issue; the proposed policies should be considered the immediate source of analysis, as their discourses during the policy implementation ultimately frame the subsequent sources of debate and discourse. Second, I will examine the media's perception of sex trafficking factors—a key role prior to policy action and post-policy actions—as this role is to provide widespread change and evaluation of the issue. A third focus is that of academic research and contextual positioning on the subject. This focus area factors into the initial proposition that exists within the populace. Finally, since human trafficking is a multilateral engagement, the international community's response to the policy is the fourth discourse considered.

Returning once again to the central argument, the push and pull factors that affect each country characterize their general ability to propose and implement policies. Push factors are those societal norms and environmental states that enable a country to exhibit tendencies to have mass emigration, while pull factors are those societal norms and environmental states that attract immigrants into their jurisdictional bounds, perhaps even illicitly. This “push and pull” as roughly identified by the Bales (2007) research, incorporates specific factors and variables. This paper's discussion of framing and discourse analysis will focus on the historical and policy implications of this issue in the Kingdom of Sweden and Ukraine. The independent variables are evaluated through those variables charted and recorded nature of aiding either the emigration or immigration of persons

within the sex trafficking industry.

If a country is identified through regression analysis to have multiple factors that push persons, that state is said to be a potential source country in terms of sex trafficking, and given Ukraine's tested variables and the prolific nature of the "Natasha trade," this paper has identified it as a source country. If a country is identified as having pull factors, then it is considered as a destination country. The Kingdom of Sweden, as shown in the case study has been identified as a destination country for the sex industry. Countries that experience both push and pull factors within the context of the sex industry are functioning most likely as transit countries.

Sweden's "Problem Prostitution"

In the regions of Scandinavia, social acknowledgement of "problem prostitution" has been in place since the 1500s (Laanemets: 2). The legal recognition of the prostitution industry can be traced to a 1734 law, which was the first penal law ever instituted within the country. The law prohibited sexual relations outside of marriage. Speculation on the reason that Sweden implemented this regulation of the prostitution industry varies, but most scholars agree that the regulation was created as a method of reducing the spread of various diseases rather than for moral or religious reasons. Furthermore, in 1812, the Kingdom of Sweden passed a law that allowed police to investigate and examine individuals who were suspected of having contracted a sexually transmitted disease. This early form of government intervention was rooted in the individual municipalities' actions of tracking prostitutes and suspected prostitutes to restrict the spread of venereal diseases such as gonorrhea and syphilis. Moreover, the emphasis upon the restriction of prostitution reflected merely a prevention of disease being spread rather than a disdain for prostitutes themselves, establishing a primitive form of what would eventually become an egalitarian policy.

Upon further looking into the 1812 law for foundations of issue framing, a major historical trend is laid within Sweden's objective in its regulating the sex industry. The police during this early period of Swedish regulatory systems examined women who they believed to be prostitutes and forced medical examinations and documentation to be archived to ensure a lessening of sexually transmitted diseases. This situation was unique in multiple ways: the women were controlled by the police rather than by any bureaucratic or governmental institution; second, there existed

a strong bond between the prostitutes, the police, and the medical workers de facto through the law's implementation. These simultaneous features would eventually lead to perhaps the most significant social law ever passed in Europe by the Swedish government.

In 1837, the Swedish government, in response to the movement to ban prostitution, opened a state-run brothel. This brothel was very short-lived, and there was a general trend to proceed to make brothels illegal throughout Sweden, shifting the discourse and issue frame to more conservative outlooks to commercialized sex. Most brothels were illegal by 1847, but they persisted under tolerance from the Swedish government and police (Svanström 2000: 142). Most municipalities subsequently adopted restrictions on prostitutes' clothes (Svanström 2000: 24), which were the first in a continuous grouping of gender-based laws against female prostitutes.

Additionally, two specific laws were introduced that dealt with the dual problem associated with the Swedish sex industry in the early 20th century. *Lex Veneris* was a law that addressed the public health concerns of prostitution. The Vagrancy Law of 1885 addressed the unemployment associated with prostitution. The law specifically defined a vagrant as an individual who moved consistently without any means of earning a living. The law additionally held a moral component in that those who did not earn an "honest" living were treated as vagrants, thereby creating a class rather than actually managing the unemployment factors (Svanström 2006: 144). Commissions within the Swedish legal system were established that first constructed prostitution as a psychological void that needed to be conditioned. Yet, by the 1950s and 1960s, the addressing of prostitution by various other commissions refocused prostitution as a social issue in society. In 1964, the process in changing this course of thought is evident by replacing the Vagrancy Law with the Antisocial Behavioral Law of 1964, shifting the issue frame as well as the policy frame to a slightly more liberal interpretation. These commissions and laws defined the issue frame and evolved into what would become known as the *Kvinnofrid* Law of 1999.

Sweden's Approach

What has now commonly been referred to as the *Kvinnofrid* Law, the Kingdom of Sweden passed in 1999 the first law that criminalized the purchasing of or attempting to purchase sexual favors, creating an entirely new policy frame. This abolitionist model is gender-neutral, which means

that buyers and sellers of those providing sexual services can be either male or female, incorporating a very egalitarian approach to combatting the Swedish demand side of the economics of the sex trade.

However, an interesting facet to this law is that these prostitutes, themselves, are not criminalized. Prostitution is legal in Sweden, but the purchase of sexual acts from prostitutes is illegal. Essentially, through this law, the government of Sweden is attempting to substantially decrease the consumption of sex through a policy focusing only on the demand of sex being sold. The effects of using this technique to counter the demand from a market standpoint are incredibly more profound than many models that attempt to regulate the supply side of the sex industry. These models construct legislation on the basis that the selling of prostitution should be the criminalized aspect of the industry. Despite many systematic efforts to curtail prostitution's predominance, these efforts actually are countered by a growth in the organized crime industries that enable further illegalities (Robertson 2012: 4). Yet, the effects of Sweden's approach are still being analyzed; the law and Swedish regulations roughly ignore the needs of trafficked women (Halley et al. 2006: 396).

Ukraine's More Recent Plight

Though having a long existence within the Ukraine, the sex industry and prostitution were never fully acknowledged by the state or its predecessor in the Soviet Union. Therefore, a substantive frame, whether issue or policy, was never fully established. This failure to establish a direct issue framework causes all the weight of combatting sex trafficking to fall upon new policy framework. A very early inkling as to the persistence of this underground sex industry is depicted in Maxim Gorky's drama *The Lower Depths* (1902). The play reveals the realities of Russian and Eastern European poverty, with multiple characters playing prostitutes.

Since the inception of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics by Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus in 1919, prostitution was formally illegal throughout all of the Soviet states, given the perception of female prostitutes as being an inferior workforce sector and a gendered profession (Shelley 2003: 233). Women were seen as egalitarian participants in the typical male occupations, those such as bridge construction, metallurgy, railroad industries, and infrastructural engineers. "Although the socialist ideology of equality for women existed as propaganda rather than an institutionalized reality, tremendous resources were invested to ensure equal

access to education for women and significant state funds were spent to guarantee childcare for working mothers” (Shelley 2003: 233). Therefore, the egalitarian commitment that Soviet women should provide for country rather than individual gain monetarily protected the predominance of the sex industry in the Soviet Union to a large extent. In short, the issue frame in this stage of Ukrainian development involved ignoring the issue for the progression of society.

In the Soviet Union, so in the Ukraine *de jure*, the state enabled social protections on women to a great degree from being trafficked. Again, though this belief does not reflect much of the reality, the protections granted through communism did provide assistance to women who needed to turn to the sex industry in order to survive. Furthermore, the limits on privatized industries enabled enforcement of many of the Soviet policies on an individual level. This facet, coupled with the equality of Soviet women to men, created a disincentive to propagate the sex industry.

Although the incentives were naturally weak to expand the sex industry, mafias within Ukraine developed during the Soviet Union era as a response to the state-controlled economy. The mafias originally facilitated basic market operations outside of Soviet regulation. The Ukrainian mafias were also stratified into three roles: black market criminals, market mafias, and political mafias. The multi-tiered effect of this structure enabled sex trafficking to begin in Ukraine.

The explosive rise of Eastern European and particularly Ukrainian prostitution as well as sex trafficking came through the decline and eventual fall of the Soviet Union. However, the method in which the explosion in the illegal industry came into being reflects a distinctive difference. The Soviet Union’s loss of control provided an international attraction to develop business opportunities in the former Soviet states. This increased international tourism then constituted a rise in the sex tourism industry. Given the weakening ability of the government to protect its populace directly from a perverse form of foreign direct investment, the infrastructure of the sex industry in both Russia and Ukraine saw a formidable stronghold by the actual time of the fall of the Soviet Union. Between 1991 and 1998, according to the International Organization for Migration, it is estimated that approximately 500,000 women were moved from Ukraine to Western Europe.

As a study by Donna Hughes demonstrates, many girls are recruited for “wedlock” through “marriage agencies,” with Ukrainian women

being second in recruitment behind the Russian Federation (Hughes 2004b: 52). These marriage agencies have a long history of falsifying information to women in order to force them into the sex trade. Through these agencies, Ukrainian women inadvertently entered into dependency on the provider of the service sought, who then manipulated the situation. Ultimately, the women lost their individual rights and became basic commodities for sex.

Now, in recent years the sex trafficking statistics seem to be declining, but most of the decline is due to women's acceptance of lost human rights and the adjustment to being career prostitutes. The most difficult aspect of containing the supply of sexually exploited Ukrainian women is that the women who have been dehumanized to a commodity are obscured by the prostitutes who willingly engage in being individual service providers. Many of the pimps in Ukraine are also quite friendly with law enforcement, so efforts in eradicating prostitution and sex trafficking are mostly left to charity workers (Shuster 2010: 2).

Another aspect of the rise of sex trafficking and prostitution in Ukraine is the explosion of HIV/AIDS cases. This historical increase demonstrates the continuation of disease contagion that has historically shown to accompany the increased proliferation of sex industries. The number of cases increased from 44 cases in 1994 to more than 15,000 in 1997, one of the world's largest increases ever ("AIDS cases jump in former Soviet Union" 1998: 1). It should also be noted that within this time frame, Ukraine began to employ much more accurate measurements of tracking HIV/AIDS cases.

Ukraine's Plague

In 1998, Ukraine was considered one of the largest suppliers of women into the sex industry. Coupled with the fall of the Soviet Union's protectionist social and economic policies, the sub-economy of sex provided an attractive prospect of potential economic ability to many women, who then proved to be fooled and were trapped. Of the approximately 500,000 Ukrainian women who migrated to Western Europe directly after the fall of the Soviet Union, more than 100,000 ended up as sexually trafficked slaves (Karpacheva 1998: 1). Moreover, according to Karpachera (1998), as high as 80 percent of the women who left Ukraine in hopes of pursuing greater economic interests and debt repayment plans had no idea that they could be forced into prostitution.

In 2005, attempts at increasing the penalties of sexual exploitation, trafficking, and prostitution were successful on the governmental scale, but the limited enforcement of such policies saw very little change in the successful prosecution of traffickers (U.S. State Department 2007: 1). In fact, the more common name for the Ukrainian sex trafficking industry is simply “the Natasha trade.” This discourse characterizes the industry’s reference to the high percentage of those young women involved within the trade both as commodities themselves or even suppliers. Approximately twenty-five percent to thirty-five percent of all those Ukrainian women involved in the sex trade are college students (MacWilliams 2003: 1). These elements suggest that the Ukrainian government, despite having passed the 2005 law increasing the penalties of sex trafficking, is relatively ineffective in its sovereign ability to better regulate the shadow industry’s promulgation.

Two major cities have been identified as supply hubs for the international industry, however, so the ability of international organizations and multilateral efforts to combat the Ukrainian sex trade is greatly enhanced. L’viv, a western Ukrainian city, operates as a sex trade supplier to Western Europe, the Adriatic regions of Europe, and the Middle East. The problem in the Ukrainian city does not derive from a lack of public knowledge about the sex industry. Bryon MacWilliams, a reporter for *The Chronicle*, writes, “L’viv Polytechnic National University even allots space in one of its buildings to Women’s Perspectives, perhaps the most active anti-trafficking nonprofit organization in the former Soviet Union.” The issue facing L’viv and the Ukrainian sex industry relates to the poverty of the entire country.

With an estimated 46 percent living below the national poverty line, the ability to combat the industry’s proliferation is inadequate (MacWilliams 2003: 5). This poverty, combined with the scams being thrust at collegiate students and recent graduates, exacerbates the effectiveness of government policies towards criminalization of the Ukrainian sex industry. MacWilliams states in his article that the average amount of debt incurred through educational pursuits creates an incentive to leave the country during the holiday months for work, but many return either broken through the industry’s enslavement or never return at all.

Arguably the most potent problem that strengthens the Ukrainian sex industry is the Russian connection within political and economic subcultures, chiefly the Eastern European mafias (Hughes 2000: 626).

The second city that solidifies the predominance of both the Ukrainian sex trade and the global sex industry is the city of Khabarovsk, located in one of the easternmost provinces of the Russian Federation. This city serves to transport many sexually trafficked women into Japan, South Korea, and other Asian locales (MacWilliams 2003: 2).

Case Study: Sweden's Feminist Approach

In the discussion of Sweden, a very different aspect of this global trade network is seen. Sweden's internal population is not nearly as at-risk as those of countries lacking in strong central governments, such as those states more similar to the Ukrainian model. Sweden did not experience a central authority collapse, and many factors indicate it is a leading economy. These factors serve the argument that Sweden is a destination country for trafficked persons. Furthermore, what promotes Sweden as being a sex trafficking destination country and as well as a transit country are neighboring states who either have legalized prostitution or who have inadequate legal restraints on trafficking. When countries fail to separate the issue of sex slavery from that of the sex industry, economically illicit areas and economies are formed, forging a more ingrained destination country. One of these countries is Denmark, where the international sex industry has its capital city in Copenhagen's red light district. By legalizing prostitution in 1999, the Danes increased the potential for Sweden, a neighbor just to the north, to become a major transit country for the Danish sex trade.

With the passage of the Kvinnofrid Law, the Kingdom of Sweden enacted the first law that attacked prostitution with a customer-demand side shock economically. What the law specifically did was make the buying of sexual services illegal, while allowing for the selling of sexual services. This effectively means that prostitution is legal but buying sexual services is illegal. Through this practice, the prostitutes, almost all of whom are female, are given the right to sell to criminal buyers, who are then potentially charged under this law. The prostitutes are given options of reflection periods, of cooperation with law enforcement, or of no interaction. These aspects constitute a feminist legal perspective. This law was passed in short to combat what Dr. Bales identifies as the second variable, an endless demand in destination countries. Sweden essentially linked prostitution and trafficking together as the same action. As identified by Halley et al., there were some issues through framing the two issues as

one, “Seeing prostitution and sex trafficking as one and the same delayed the treatment of trafficking as a separate phenomenon that requires special efforts and resources. Trafficking for the purpose of prostitution was criminalized as late as July 2002, and only in 2004 was a legislative amendment passed extending limited rights (residence permits, limited to the length of the trial, that include health care and some welfare rights) to trafficking victims willing to testify against their traffickers” (Halley et al. 2006: 396). Although the law seems to have been effective in curbing the amount of prostitution in existence in Sweden, the debate continues as to whether the sex trafficking industry is as curbed as forced prostitution. If a person is forcing others into prostitution, then some defense attorneys will plead that this is forced labor, which is prosecuted much less successfully and carries lower penalties than direct sex trafficking.

There are other variables that further distort the image that Sweden’s model should be adopted. Sweden’s approach, for instance, roughly ignores the needs of trafficked women (Halley et al. 2006: 396). The U.S. State Department’s 2012 Trafficking in Persons Report estimates that between four hundred and six hundred girls are still annually trafficked through the country.

Many aspects still have to be determined for there to exist conclusive evidence that the international sex trade is declining in the Kingdom of Sweden. Although the Kingdom of Sweden does comply with the international standards, often there is an absence of prosecution against those who are trafficking women and children. Sweden’s law, at least on the surface, has drastically cut down on the number of reported sex trafficking victims.

However, what many analysts are wary of is whether this decrease is merely that of framing this new policy approach regarding the sex trade within Sweden from sex trafficking into forced prostitution, which would fall under labor trafficking. The penalties and prosecution of those under labor trafficking are much less enforceable. Additionally, those 650 persons prosecuted under the Kvinnofrid Law before 2008 had not been sentenced to one day in prison, despite the possibilities of several years (Demstader 2012: 1).

Swedish Political Party Paradox

The success of the 1999 Kvinnofrid Law ushered in unique and noteworthy election cycles, both in 1998 just before the passage of this

legislation, and in 2002 during the immediate aftermath of the prescribed 2001 implementation. In 1998, the second largest gain in the total number of seats within the Swedish parliament was the Left Party, which gained 21 seats. The Social Democratic Party, the predominant party in Sweden since it has incorporated democracy, lost an astounding 30 seats during this same election. What this shows in terms of the nature of the political power behind this initiative is the gain in feminist perspectives and other human rights-oriented special interest groups reaching out to the populated areas of Sweden to gain power politically to change major social climates.

What is more fascinating, as discovered through Christine Demstader's article, is the story of Marianne Eriksson, the first representative to propose this criminalization of the buyer not the seller of sex. Eriksson, who proposed this law first in the mid-1990s, was ridiculed by the Swedish parliament and regaled for not having the foresight to protect women from being trafficked. Yet Eriksson and the feminist movement did not budge, and soon they were able to convince a more hospitable Swedish parliament to pass the bill, calling upon the majority party in the Social Democrats and Liberal People's Party to lead the charge in a major coalition attempt. So, the Swedish government did not usher in this new discourse. Rather, the media and the international community persuaded the issue-divided government to more readily adopt the proposed initiatives of the citizenry better Swedish society, which lends explanation to the drastic improvement of human trafficking accountability and elimination with the Swedish system.

Thirteen years later, the law has seen much success in decreasing the number of prostitutes on the streets, which has led to an inhospitable climate for sex traffickers. As Demstader writes, "Financial resources have also been ploughed into arranging seminars abroad in conjunction with Swedish embassies" (Demstader 2012: 1). Sweden's continued monetary emphasis on fighting this issue of sex trafficking reflects a major shift socially and politically, given that in the most recent elections, the Left Party and the Liberal Party have continued to diminish in their power positions. Yet, funding for a feminist policy has defeated the political opposition forces, which constitutes the shift. Sex trafficking and violence against women have been selected as issues to be studied closely and combated by the Swedish political realm.

Framing Swedish Policies to Produce Discourse and Change

What is so unique about the Swedish and their approach is that they produced an example of policy framing, as identified earlier in the introduction of methods. Through this uncharacteristic approach, the citizens of Sweden have more wholeheartedly accepted the law, lessening the supply, and eventually even the demand, of customers. Many originally thought the policy approach to be rather fruitless in actually affecting the supply of willing consumers. However, more than a decade after the policy has been enacted, many within the European Union are considering Sweden as a model for how to frame future policies for the whole of Europe. The question remains, however: is the policy actually working or is this an angle upon which the Swedish society rests its “progress” upon the issue?

Along those same lines, the main aim under the Kvinnofrid Law and its 2004 amendments was to reshape how individuals in Sweden perceive the act of purchasing sex from someone who may or may not be selling sex of his or her own volition. To harken back to earlier statements, the law empowers female prostitutes by not criminalizing the act of selling sexual acts but by criminalizing the act of buying sexual services. This governmental policy shift to criminalizing the men buying sex acts was originally predicted to be grossly ineffective, but it has enabled Sweden to experience a major decline in reported sex trafficking. This government-sponsored feminism won over the respect of most in Swedish society because of an egalitarian (more than revolutionary) undertone in which discussions were held about women’s rights and roles in Swedish society were held in response to passing the Kvinnofrid Law in 1999. By using this framing and this governmental policy shift simultaneously, the success of the law becomes evident. As Christine Demstader reports, “By 2008, nearly a decade after Sweden criminalized the buying of sex, the number of street prostitutes in both Norway and Denmark was estimated to be three times higher than in Sweden” (Demstader 2012: 2). Moreover, the Palermo Protocol of 2000 is a directly influenced international agreement to establish boundaries and methods for attacking sex trafficking that was strongly urged and supported by the Swedish government.

The Swedish and international media have made numerous comparisons to the transatlantic slave trade of past centuries publicly (Martin 2008: 1). By labeling this issue as modern-day slavery, most persons are

naturally repulsed and convinced about the negative societal and individual effects of buying forced sexual services. There is also an increase in monetary support, and given that the transatlantic trade was eventually dismantled, there is a better perceived chance of ending “modern-day slavery” than the “international sex industry.”

As a result, men who buy sex are increasingly seen as ostracized members of Swedish society. “They’re called a “cod,” a fish... We see it as a human right to have sexual integrity, physical integrity, and not to be forced to sell your body to strange men, 10 times a day. That’s human rights to us,” quotes Lise Tamm, a Swedish prosecutor of organized crime (Shubert 2011: 1). Women, at least publicly, are not considered as commoditized as before the passage of the law and the discourse that followed. This framing of the Kvinnofrid Law as an empowerment to women and a feminist approach in a somewhat feminist state reflects another major advantage that the Kingdom of Sweden has compared to Ukraine. The Swedish Government procured in 2009 a major publication that addressed many of the issues and concerns of trafficking, including the reintegration of former buyers within Swedish society through “groups [that] encourage potential and active purchasers of sexual services to change their behavior” (Sweden 2009: 12). This demonstrates another facet to the success of the Swedish frame.

Other countries that suffer from high numbers of trafficked persons globally, such as Cuba, have recently voiced their approval and stated an intent to manufacture their own versions of the Swedish frame. In *The Local*, an English newspaper for Swedish news stories, Mariela Castro, the daughter of President Raul Castro and the sexologist in charge of Cuban National Center for Sex Education, stated that the shift of punishment from women to men would provide an effective alternative to curbing the explosive trade that Cuba has witnessed since the fall of the Soviet Union (*The Local* 2011: 1). Norway and Iceland have since adopted laws, similar to the Kvinnofrid Law, that criminalize the purchase of sexual services. Summarizing the sex trafficking frames of Sweden, there are three distinct policy frames that effectively shift the issue frame. First, there is the legal criminalization and societal condemnation of the buyer of prostitution. The policy frame is criminalization through the Kvinnofrid Law, and the issue frame is the ostracizing of men who buy sex. Furthermore, the reintegration methods of former buyers are initially proving to have a profound benefit to Swedish society. Second, sex trafficking is seen as

the equivalent of both prostitution and brutal slavery. The Kvinnofrid Law itself treats the issue of sex slavery through the recognition of its direct correspondence with prostitution. Karen Bravo further analyzes the linkage between this policy framing through comparison to the trans-Atlantic Slave Trade, “The use of analogies is fundamental to human reasoning and analysis because it allows for the comparison of new experiences to old, categorization of the new, and decision making regarding how to deal with the newly encountered experience” (Bravo 2011: 562). And finally, these two frames become intertwined through the perception as a human rights issue rather than a “morality of work” issue. Sex trafficking violates an individual’s ability to choose a career as well as the security of the individual’s being. By arguing that both physical and economic enslavement of the women occurs, the society has acknowledged a sub-economy that could deride the legitimate public one. By creating this causal mechanism, the shift in public perception confirms the issue frame shift.

However, discourse analysis reveals noted shortcomings to this approach as judged by the success of the governmental action all together. For instance, there are many non-governmental organizations that operate within Swedish territory to provide assistance and reintegration into society for victims of sex trafficking, but the Swedish government itself, so often praised for its centralized structure, has yet to fully incorporate the history of human trafficking victims into its databases or adequately allow for functional programs that transcend different levels of government. So in essence, within the context of the Kvinnofrid Law of 1999, discourse analysis and framing act to sway the public’s perception of the issue, but not the total governmental implementation of prevention, protection, and prosecution methods in regards to Swedish sex workers. In this circumstance, discourse analysis is applied to obfuscate the true nature of sex trafficking in the Kingdom of Sweden. Changing the frame and even imposing stricter policies do not necessarily change the entire society, as each represents a stage in a causal mechanism that could remain inconclusive.

Granted, there has been a noted reduction in the numerical reports of those being trafficked, and public survey polls show that most Swedes are in agreement that the law should exist in its current form. “According to the Swedish justice ministry, more than 70% in recent polls supported the law” (Shubert 2011: 1). The amended law seems to show significant progress in curbing the “pull factors,” or the factors of opportunity that

attract sexual exploitation to destination countries (Bales 2007: 278). The major implication through the Kvinnofrid Law is that there has been such an increase in risk that the monetary gains that could potentially be had through the international trade into the Kingdom of Sweden are less than the incurred risk of the Swedish sex trade.

Furthermore, evidence of a changing nature in Sweden's actual prostitution industry may also be reducing the relative demand for trafficked women. According to a study released by the Swedish National Board for Youth Affairs in April of 2013, 2.1 percent of Swedish men ages 16 to 25 stated that they had engaged in prostitution, compared to only 0.8 percent of women (*The Local* 2012a). So, given this market demand shift caused by the supply side shock of the Kvinnofrid Law, there may be significant data to suggest that the law was indeed effective at changing the entire market structure enough to protect women better. In addition, another major change in the industry's foundation is the relative taxation changes that have recently taken place. In 2012, the Swedish Tax Agency stated in a report in *The Local*, that prostitutes are now offered sick pay through federal compensation benefits, given that prostitution itself is a legal enterprise (*The Local* 2012b). The incentive is once again created to protect women from perpetually being in a state of poverty and at risk for being trafficked either domestically or internationally.

However, worth noting is that of those who did report having prostituted themselves, 78 percent also stated that they had previously experienced sexual violence and assault (*The Local* 2012a). This leaves a significant factor still present in Swedish society that could foster the notion of sex trafficking, as it has been historically proven that societies in which violence towards women exists, there are more possibilities for capitalizing on the violence in a market-oriented structure.

So in reviewing the process of discourse analysis through various frames, there is a clear causation mechanism that can be established. First, each frame is created either directly through the policy or indirectly through the issue's prior and current discourse. Second, discourse supplements the issue frame and its effects politically, economically, and socially.

The final step is the assessment of progression and success that the policy frames are intended to focus on more broadly.

Case Study: Ukraine's Stagnant Progress

In recent years the Ukrainian statistics show that sex trafficking seems to be declining, due ironically to the women's acceptance of the lost human rights and the adjustment to being career prostitutes. Ukraine is considered by the U.S. State Department to be a Tier 2 country in terms of persons trafficked in a 2012 report. This system of ranking attempts to simplify the problems of trafficking globally by categorizing groups based upon their overall likelihood to experience either sex or labor trafficking within their societies. Tier 1 countries, such as the Kingdom of Sweden and most Western states, have a reduced risk of trafficking present. Tier 3 countries, such as Cuba, Algeria, and Sudan, are states where trafficking is not only prevalent but is a societal and cultural norm. Most of the Tier 3 countries incorporate labor trafficking as their primary method of trafficking.

This ranking indicates that globally, Ukrainian sexual and labor exploitation ranks in the middle range. The most difficult aspect in containing the supply of sexually exploited Ukrainian women is that the women who have been dehumanized to a commodity are obscured by the prostitutes who willingly engage in being individual service providers. Many of the control figures in Ukraine are also quite friendly with law enforcement, so efforts in eradicating prostitution and sex trafficking are mostly left to charity workers (Shuster 2010: 2). Furthermore, the longer individuals are enmeshed in international sexual trafficking, the less likely they are to seek aid. Additionally, they are more likely with each year to accept this lifestyle and even promote the illegal sex trade.

Ukraine's most basic issue in their fight against the sex industry is that most of the progress made is not seen as governmental policy effectiveness. Although the government can afford to combat some aspects of human trafficking, the mafia within Ukraine has a larger money pool to continue facilitating than the government does in deconstructing the sex trade. Given the fact that Ukraine has a high poverty rate, currently an astounding forty-six percent living below the national poverty line (MacWilliams 2003: 5), the government's primary aims reflect self-preservation and economic sustainability rather than social activism and human rights. This lack of governmental concern leaves charities and non-profit organizations the chief agents reducing the supply of young women and children

through programs funded by donors from abroad. This destitution, specifically as women are lesser economic players in Ukraine, acts as a push factor, as discussed in the introduction section of this paper.

In 2005, attempts at increasing the penalties of sexual exploitation, trafficking, and prostitution were successful on the governmental scale, but the limited enforcement of such policies saw very little change in the successful prosecution of traffickers (U.S. State Department 2005: 1). The penalty, however, for selling sex is a very light fine, so this presents a second problem in enforcement: too little cost per individual in a cost-benefit analysis. A third issue within the definition of the law itself is that an age of sexual contact is established at 18, which is improbable and unenforceable by almost any government, let alone a corrupt Ukrainian one. The retention of policy further encourages citizens to not obey the government's mandates in attempting to regulate sexual intercourse through age constraints as high as 18. In short, Ukraine virtually ignored framing this policy to its citizens and just passed it as a mere acknowledgement of another societal issue that needs further funding and implementation, yet without significant Ukrainian tax dollars.

The Ukrainian sex trafficking industry is so prolific and affects so many young women that it is simply referred to as "the Natasha trade." This epithet reflects a failure in shifting the discourse within the sex trade. Once a person has been subjected to commoditization, there is nothing that framed policies can truly accomplish in prevention; only through recovery and reintegration can the government help. So, there exists a singular splintered frame that dictates the current Ukrainian societal response to sex trafficking. Prostitution is inevitable both economically and socially given the circumstances surrounding Ukrainian society. Furthermore, there is an absent linkage between sex slavery and the violation of human rights.

One approach that has to be implemented for Ukraine to reduce sex trafficking is a shift from a policy frame to an issue frame. By specifically attacking the "the Natasha trade" as an enabling device for continued national poverty rather than a pseudonym for an illegal and inhumane economic activity, Ukraine could empower its governmental authority on this issue by changing merely its legislative and executive representatives' attitudes towards women's rights in this area.

Given that there still exists a great amount of corruption within the Ukrainian government, individual citizens are less likely to accept the government's actions or its policy recommendations until the government

initiates the change that would shift the issue frame. The exact method in which this shift should be described, and essentially sold, to the public ultimately will define the success of the policy approach. One approach that has been successful because of the methodic presentation of the governmental policy shift is the Kingdom of Sweden's Kvinnofold Law, but given the lack of perceived governmental legitimacy, implementing this same measure would most likely not prove effective in Ukraine.

Push Factors Plague Ukrainian Progress

Despite the January 2005 law that stiffened the already existing laws against prostitution, Ukraine remains a major hub of organized sexual exploitation and trafficking in the world. What Ukraine suffers from the most is a surplus of what Seo-Young Cho identifies as "push factors" or societal norms and actions that encourage the young women to take riskier ventures that often lead to sexual exploitation abroad (2012: 3). Reasons for policy failure involve 1) the lack of true governmental organization and 2) political corruption. However, these two push factors pale in comparison to the economic opportunities that the women are tricked into perceiving an opportunity abroad. As MacWilliams notes, many Ukrainian women are trying to fund their own educational pursuits in Ukraine, so when they hear of financial opportunities in neighboring northern European countries they naturally want to pursue them. "A student typically becomes ensnared after responding to an ad in which she is offered work abroad as a hostess, a model, an exotic dancer, or even as a caretaker for the elderly or a nanny" (MacWilliams 2003: 2). However, these advertisements are identified as false too late. The immigration company constructs the appropriate documentation for immigration, and once the transportation has occurred, it immediately demands compensation for the documents, despite whether a job actually exists or not. The company then identifies those who have not paid, and notifies the branches of enforceable gangs to use the girl as collateral until its services (and the gang's services) are adequately paid for through sexual services.

In comparing the major factors that Bales identifies that enable a country to be labeled as a source country for sexual exploitation, Ukraine does not fare well. Government corruption plagues the current state. Ukraine's food production index, although comparatively high in global standards, is merely average for the region, which could lead to the want of women to travel further from their Ukrainian homes, incurring more

risk of being sold into the global sex trafficking industry. Population density also remains fairly high within Ukraine, perhaps aiding the sex trade. In terms of conflict and civil unrest, Ukraine suffers from a large number of organized enterprises that facilitate sex trade transit across borders.

However, the infant mortality rate of Ukraine is relatively low, which remains a shining thread of hope in combating this issue. The population percentage under the age of 15 is also fairly low at only fourteen percent (The Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation 2012: 1). These two factors, coupled with other recommendations could change the discourse about the issue in Ukraine. The nature of framing a new policy that would effectively shift political and social discourse on the issue of sex trafficking would most likely not take a feminist approach like Sweden, but rather an economic empowerment away from market-dominated oppression.

I argue that it would be disastrous to implement the same type of policy initiatives in Ukraine as there are in Sweden simply because the infrastructure of the Ukrainian political sphere is weak. The Ukrainian economy is infant capitalism, or capitalism that has yet to fully recognize societal boundaries and market construction. Ukrainian society has had to adjust to the dissolution of the Soviet Union and is still in the process of defining a new identity. In order to create an optimal recommendation for Ukraine to eliminate sex trafficking, the analysis of a singular event must be undertaken.

So, in returning to the discussion of linking frames with discourse, Ukraine's push factors actually define the government's policy frame, which is a recognition of the issue as existing but unavoidable and beyond the powers of the national government to address. The frame is enmeshed in discourse from both international and national media sources that seek to further alienate Ukraine from the world at large. In a statement about the Euro Cup, Prime Minister Mykola Azarov stated, "“They were creating an atmosphere that Ukraine - a country where thrives racism, crime, prostitution - so much dirt poured on us, but all the same, people are coming to us and with one's own eyes see that Ukraine - a beautiful country, and their myths are crashing against our reality” (Azarov 2012: 1). So, there does exist evidence that a link is present between the frame of impossibility and the discourse of Ukraine's stagnant country on the issue of sex trafficking. In order for progression on the issue to occur, there would have to be positive reinforcement of both frames and discourse, and given that both the frame is dysfunctional and the discourse considered

antagonistic toward producing results, there is a failure of policy on sex trafficking.

2012 Euro Cup: A Primitive Issue Frame for Ukraine?

In 2012, Ukraine was selected as one of the host cities for the Euro Cup, the European continental championship competition. As with major sporting events, many girls are bought and sold during these events, which causes the sex trade to explode periodically in these areas. Such was the case with Ukraine. However, there were several protest groups drawing attention to the issue of sex trafficking.

In an article by Richard Balmforth of *The Daily Maverick*, there were many groups of women who were protesting women's enslavement, most notably FEMEN (Balmforth 2012: 1). FEMEN is regarded as a feminist special interest group in Ukraine, and they are best known for their nude protests. Many have argued that this group really does not constitute a significant call for reform because the group does not implement successful strategies of political sphere shifting or any type of consolidated stance. They promote riots and do not hold much clout with the actual citizens of Ukraine in terms of effecting a true change in the treatment and status of women. Because they act in this destructive manner, they present a major obstacle in gaining women's rights and women's protection of violence in Ukraine.

Balmforth goes on to further state that the sheer number of Ukrainians predicted to play a part in the sex industry is staggering: roughly "1.5 million Ukrainians are involved in the sex industry and 20 percent of them are under 18, the legal age for sexual contact in Ukraine" (Balmforth 2012: 2). This fact again signifies the statistics compiled by Bales and Cho as a major indicator of the source nature of Ukraine.

In order to change the climate in Ukraine, there must be another major government response to the 2005 legislation, whether pressured by the international community through the United Nations or, more likely, the United States State Department. The framing of this future reform needs to be a major ad campaign, similar to that of Sweden, but beginning years before the actual legislation is proposed, so as to create within Ukrainian society a sense of necessity on this issue.

What needs to be simultaneously incorporated into this movement is an icon that Ukrainian men and women can memorialize and fixate upon that reflects the trafficked Ukrainian woman. The creation of this

image must counter that of the commodification picture of “Natasha” and those of self-centered egoism from FEMEN. This image must be readily adopted by not only the citizenship, but also by the political party leaders as a rallying cry for stability. This latter part will most likely prove to be the most contentious, given that most Ukrainian political organizations do not currently allocate it to women’s rights. If achieved, this information, which is being nationally sponsored by government revenue, would build trust among citizens towards the government. The process of stabilizing government begins with the sponsored de-commoditization of Ukrainian women, and during this time a major law should be proposed that bans buying prostitution and carries realistic penalties.

Through the alienation of FEMEN, women’s rights can now be seen as legitimate concerns, and particularly the lack of safety afforded to women can grow as a national concern. More political savvy organizations can be founded, and most likely, these groups might join the government’s efforts and multinational corporations in eradicating the sex trafficking industry within Ukraine. Furthermore, more business-oriented groups can argue that prostitutes should be able to receive the same rights as every other type of worker. In this sense, as is now the case for Sweden, women can potentially equal men legally.

So in relating this major event to Ukrainian sex trafficking policies, the international shaming placed upon Ukraine is a new characteristic in this issue’s history, suggesting the possible construction of an issue frame. Given that Ukraine’s neighbors not only supplement the continuation of sex slavery in the country but also obscure international pressure in most circumstances, the international attention given to Ukraine during the World Cup may cause an increase in governmental action, as noted by the reactionary response of Prime Minister Azarov. One of the contributing discourse factors on this issue is the discourse of illicit actors that were highlighted during the event and the weeks leading up to the match. This increased international awareness of Ukraine’s sex industry may prove to be a weapon to combat trafficking within the country domestically through the societal creation of a substantive issue frame.

Conclusions

In assessing the overall combatting of Swedish sex trafficking, the existence of an issue frame prior to substantive policy frames effectively gave Sweden a considerable advantage. Although there are still some

current policy weaknesses in the Kingdom of Sweden, the overall enactment, and more importantly, the policy framing of the Kvinnofrid Law in Swedish and international society have enabled a sharp reduction in reported incidents of sexual exploitation and trafficking. Even the nature of the label of Kvinnofrid is a frame, literally translated to mean “Of women.” The biggest challenge that the Swedish government now faces is the transition from sexual trafficking to labor trafficking in the form of forced prostitution, which is much harder to convict.

In recent years, Sweden’s prosecutorial rate on sex trafficking has risen, but what remains stagnant is forced labor, as the burden of proof necessary to convict remains high in the Swedish court systems. As of 2008, not one person of the 650 who had been prosecuted under the Kvinnofrid Law had actually served prison time (Demstader 2012: 1). A possible examination of future policymaking might suggest a more statistical profile that individual firms would have to submit annually and that could be administered effectively by the Swedish government. In this way, the Swedish government could better document and isolate sex crimes and violence against women that could, if unchecked, lead to a more hospitable climate for this “easy and adaptable” industry to take root again.

The Swedish model is applicable to other countries that have both developed economies and previously established relevant issue frames on sex trafficking that result from consistent utilization of such frames in policymaking. Even if the issue frame is contrary to the proposed policy framework, it is crucial in rectifying the societal problem of trafficking. Furthermore, states that have truly republican governments have a greater chance of witnessing policy frame construction if adequate discourse is promulgated through not only governmental actors but also the media and community leaders. Now, the Swedish model would serve only as a potential tool rather than a total remedy for all countries, as each state bears various components in the international sex industry.

As for Ukraine, what needs to occur first is dramatic, government-initiated dialogue within the appropriate media outlets that addresses changing the public’s perception of the international sex industry through educating citizens, particularly young women, about the dangers associated with attempting to solicit money for sexual services provided. As Cho points out, “As expected, poorer countries tend to send more human trafficking victims. The positive impact of information flows is also in line with the migration literature, in that more exposure to outside information

tends to encourage people to migrate and therefore increases the pool of potential victims of human trafficking” (Cho 2012: 12). The first step in changing ineffective sex trafficking policies is to create an actual issue discourse rather than accept societal ignorance. Upon adoption of a cohesive discourse, the economic and governmental improvements within Ukraine would alleviate many of the push factors that facilitate the industry’s integration within the society.

There also has to be simultaneous economic reform to counter the poverty that enables such strong push factors. One proposed method is the governmental development of a strong food industry, as this may lead to more domestic opportunities for employment where otherwise there would not be. Another possibility is to increase the international community’s attention on Ukraine to force awareness and reactions to the national industries, including the illicit ones like sex trafficking. If the corruption within Ukraine, specifically toward the mafias can be reduced, the state can improve. Perhaps, the nature of economic development can hinge upon seeking out multinational corporations that could overpower the mafias and provide a more stable infrastructure. In return, Ukraine could commit to a more nationalized subsidization of these “protectorate” companies. This would enable Ukraine to better tackle the human rights issue of sex trafficking without necessarily having to directly confront the problem of organized crime.

In short, Ukraine has to improve its policies before it can adequately eliminate its domestic sexual exploitation issues. Methods for doing so involve attracting economic actors such as multinational corporations and creating a national icon of the reality that 60,000 Ukrainian women are trafficked annually. The Kingdom of Sweden, conversely, now has the ability to further deconstruct its once prolific sex industry by increasing the prosecutorial rate, expanding its reintegration programs, and boosting regional partnerships to develop an international coalition to adopt a feminist standard in approaching this issue.

Unfortunately, many countries exhibit the same problems of combatting and the symptoms of governmental illegitimacy as that of Ukraine. So, the Ukrainian model is what currently percolates the world’s current treatment of the trafficking issue. There is a lack of cohesive research on the issue broadly as well as a disincentive for many of these states to address regional and national sex trafficking issues. Rather than causal, the process is more cyclical, and Ukraine and synonymous states will not

resolve sex trafficking without concurrent improvements.

In closing, the three policy frames of the Kingdom of Sweden that were collectively caused through the passage of the 1999 Kvinnofrid Law represent the correct causal procedure in addressing sex trafficking. They first had political support; the media subsequently adopted the shift in the government's attitude toward women; and finally, the public grew to accept the policies as genuine and just, creating an entirely new issue frame from the policy frame. In Ukraine, there are dysfunctional governmental and economic barriers that prevent a functional issue frame from existing. Again, issue frames create discourse, which creates policy frame shifts. However, hope exists through the economic improvement of states as well as the continuation of research on the issue.

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Yves Mai Orsino graduated from the University of Memphis in 2013 with a double major in Political Science and History and a minor in International Studies. She is pursuing a Master's degree in Political Science at the University of Memphis. Moving from her birth country of Thailand to Vietnam and finally setting in Memphis, wanderlust has always been in her blood. Maximizing her undergraduate experience, she studied abroad in Brazil for a week and received the Benjamin Gilman International Scholarship to spend her final semester in Morocco. In the hopes of traveling to all the continents, she wants to visit Australia and Antarctica before the age of 30.

Yves Orsino was awarded the prize for best paper in the Social & Behavioral Sciences category.

Yves Mai Orsino

The Social Construction of French Identity: Re-Examining
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Dr. Matthias Kaelberer

Introduction

In December 2009, former French president Nicolas Sarkozy introduced a series of discussions on French identity. He asked businessmen, politicians, and regular citizens what it means to be French. Sarkozy stressed these “town hall debates” were “necessary” in order to explain and reiterate “France’s values in an age of mass immigrants” (Beardsley 2009: para. 1). Sarkozy said, “France was built by immigrants, and people who come here are welcome. But they have to respect our values” (Beardsley 2009: para. 16). Sarkozy’s experiment proved unsuccessful because instead of reaching a common identity and creating unity, the town hall debates became a platform for discussing the ‘Muslim problem’ and Muslims’ failure to assimilate into French civilization. Due to the salience of the matter, this study proposes a new angle for surveying the French/Muslim conflict. It seeks to shift the focus of analysis from the ‘Muslim’ component to the ‘French’ component. In doing so, it establishes that the Republic created its Muslim problem. This paper will also highlight how the tenets of French Republicanism in conjunction with post-colonial racism are hindering a resolution while simultaneously exacerbating the negative depiction of the Muslim as a threat.

Literature Review

France is at the center of what many scholars refer to as identity politics. Identity politics interlaces the expression of cultural identities with the sentiment of anti-colonialism while questioning universalism and the separation of the public and private spheres. According to Daniel Béland (2003: 66), identity politics disguises an important issue in modern societies: “the problematic relationship between social regulation and the political institution of an egalitarian citizenry.” This problematic relationship was explicit during the 2005 riots when the struggles of the French Republic to coexist among “communities that want to retain their identities and live according to their own rules” were exposed (Falksohn et al. 2005: para. 8). This popularized the question of whether France can remain ‘French’; however, the majority of French Muslims under scrutiny are second — even third — generation immigrants, thus making them legal French citizens, yet the larger French nation condemns them for denouncing state loyalties.

This ambiguity led many to perceive French Muslims as a threat to the core existence of the Republic. The ensuing debates and proposed solutions addressing this ‘Muslim problem’ center either on more forceful integration into French society or diminishing the role of Islam, an integral component of Muslim identity. However, advocates of those solutions are assessing the situation with an air of elitism and under the impression that the Republic, a legacy of the French Revolution, is the pinnacle of enduring glory. This biased mentality impedes the ability to fully comprehend the problem, thus eschewing chances for a compromise. Also, in seeing the Republic (and subsequently, the French nation) as superior, it dichotomizes the Muslim as a lesser, uncivilized counterpart. As Joan Scott (2007: 19) suggested, a worldview organized in terms of binary pairs “leaves no room for self-criticism, no way to think about change, no way to open ourselves to others [and by] refusing to accept the differences of others we turn them into enemies, producing that which we most feared about them in the first place.”

Patrick Weil (2008: 1) wrote, “French nationality is less a subject about which we have a substantial body of knowledge and analysis than an object fraught with contradictory representations, beliefs, and stereotypes.” Ever since the 1789 Revolution, France has changed more nationality laws than any other democracy today, thus the matter of nationality continues to burn in political and legal debates. However, by studying French history and laws, Weil observed three stages of the construction of the modern understanding of French nationality.

The first phase of the modern concept of French national identity is characterized by *jus sanguinis* spelled out in the 1803 Civil Code. The 1803 Civil Code made it clear that one is French if “a child is born to a French father” (Weil 2008: 21). True to the principle of *jus sanguinis*, Latin for “right of birth,” nationality becomes an inheritance from the father to child and given at birth so “it was no longer lost if its holder established residency abroad” (Weil 2008: 4).

High levels of immigration during the late nineteenth century molded the second phase of French nationality. Although French-born children of immigrants can legally claim French citizenship, they rarely have; thus, “France’s foreign population had grown automatically by virtue of *jus sanguinis* and the infrequency of naturalizations” (Weil 2008: 4). The Law of 1889 transformed French nationality from the principle of *jus sanguinis* to the principle of *jus soli*.

Now nationality is a matter of birthplace, but France stressed a sociological approach based on education rather than nationality solely on allegiance (Weil 2008: 5).

Developing from the second phase, the third phase made nationality “an instrument of demographic policy” (Weil 2008: 5). Although the 1927 Law opened French citizenship to all immigrants through the process of naturalization or marriage, the third phase of nationality policies was infused with racism. This racist approach was the epitome of Vichy France. During the Vichy Regime, naturalizations approved from November 9th 1918 to the day Hitler seized power in 1940 were opened to annulment if the “naturalization [did] not appear desirable.” With the 1933 Law, undesirability was “determined according to national-ethnic principles ... racial, political, and cultural motives ... keeping with the interests of the Reich and the people” (Maurice Ruby 1954: 515, as cited in Weil 2008: 87, 301). Weil (2008: 87) summarized Vichy France’s nationality policies in three indicators: “15,154 denaturalizations, 446 withdrawals of French nationality, and 110,000 Algerian Jews demoted from citizens to subjects.”

Despite the fall of Vichy France in 1944, racism within French nationality laws did not cease. By the end of the twentieth century, Algerian immigrants and their children became the chief victims of racist nationality policies (Weil 2008: 5). French authorities made it their top priority to deport non-European immigrants to their home countries (Weil 2008: 153-54). The voluntary returns of 1977 were inadequate, which led to forced returns from 1978 to 1980 (Weil 2008: 154). Perceived as the most undesirable, Algerians comprised the majority in the projected goal of 100,000 deportations a year (Weil 2008: 154).

The discussion was more complicated when it came to the children of Algerian immigrants. Prior to 1962 when Algeria was still an integral part of France, Article 23 of the Nationality Code certified that all French-born children of Algerian immigrants in the early 1980s were automatically French citizens by default because of double *jus soli* (Weil 2008: 155). Until the Algerian war of independence, dual citizenship was not a problem. The matter of immigrants and nationality took a radical turn with the popularity of the National Front in the 1984 election (Weil 2008: 156). The arising debates underlined the link between “national identity and nationality law” with racist overtones (Weil 2008: 156-57). During the 1980s, the right-wing political party “questioned whether it was possible to assimilate immigrants from a culture that was ‘too different,’ from that

of Islam, and whether Muslim immigrants even wanted to assimilate” (Weil 2008: 156-57). These same concerns and questions are echoed in the contemporary French/Muslim debate, which shows that the Republic’s traditional route of examining the ‘Muslim problem’ is ineffective, thus beckoning a different analysis of the conflict.

Significance

In part, the Muslim debate is not uniquely French but also an issue concerning the West as a whole. For one, the French are not alone in their fear of the loss of national identity. This fright has spread like wildfire across Europe, leading many specialists to ponder, “How can a nation suddenly become so consumed by self-doubt... find themselves in such an identity crisis?” (Falksohn et al. 2005: para. 23). Experts examining this dilemma emphasize the large number of immigrants in Europe. In 2011, Eurostat estimated that nearly two-thirds of the 33.3 million foreign citizens living the European Union member states are citizens of countries outside the EU-27 (Vasileva 2012: 1). In 2010, there was an estimated 4.7 million Muslims in France, making up about 7.5% of the total French population (Pew Research Center 2011: 124). The Pew Research Center (2011: 127) also reported France’s Muslim population is expected to be around 6.9 million in 2030.

Nicknaming Europe “Eurabia,” supporters of the traditional European identity are threatened by accommodations made for the needs of Europe’s immigrant citizens. For example, prayer rooms are available in Paris’s Disneyland to service Muslim patrons. A man expressed his anger, “Our kids aren’t even served pork in school cafeterias anymore,” during one of Sarkozy’s discussions on national identity in which he associated France’s adjustments to its Muslim population as “the French republic [...] retreating in certain areas” (Beardsley 2009: para. 8). Others sharing his opinions fear that accommodation will further reduce *integration à la française* to an option, which have many doubting the survival of the Republic. As the Dutch Minister of Immigration Rita Verdonk asserted, “The days of drinking tea are over,” Europe is now adopting a more radical approach to upholding its traditions and values.

It is argued that voluntary integration is doubtful not only because of the swelling number of immigrants but also due to their inclination to reside in certain areas. This factor transforms the matter of integration into a game of tug-of-war between the host identity and the immigrant

identity with the host identity on the losing end. As immigrants live and interact with each other, communal ties are formed based on a common language, religion, and culture, thus disassociating with the host country's customs, norms, and way of life. The rift between the host country and the immigrant deepens, as new immigrants are welcomed into the community, bringing with them fresh memories of their respective homelands. This cycle continues on and on, keeping alive the immigrants' 'old' culture and beliefs — identity — while simultaneously ignoring the 'dominant' culture of the host country. For example, a survey shows that out of the one million Muslims living in the Netherlands, 60% of them identify themselves first as Moroccans or Turks before Dutch (Falksohn et al. 2005: para. 23).

Besides the speculated defeat of the European identity, the Muslim problem argument is supported by a larger phenomenon experienced throughout the West: Islamophobia. This irrational fear of Muslims and Islam proliferated in 2001 after the September 11 attacks. Following 9/11, the United States played a major role in propagandizing Islam as an extremist religion in its process of seeking revenge. Likewise, the 2004 subway bombings in Madrid followed by more bombings in London the following year intensified the feelings of Islamophobia. Since the spread of Islamophobia, European Muslims are faced with increasing marginalization. For example, in the United Kingdom, the 2004 census showed Muslims with the highest unemployment rate at 13% and Muslims ages 16 to 24 with the highest overall unemployment rates (European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia [EUMC] 2006: 11). Particularly in France, Islamophobia is reinforced by post-colonial racism and the construction of Muslims as dangerous enemies. Overall, the French/Muslim debacle is representative of a larger issue across Europe, and consequently a solution for France is a solution for Europe.

The French Republic

The route to a new reflection on the French/Muslim conflict is through questioning the French national identity—*what is the real meaning of Frenchness?* To do this, however, involves re-examining the structures of the French Republic to extract the real character of a French citizen as well as what it requires of immigrant groups for them to be fully transformed as French citizens. Despite drawing upon the broader European culture and identity, the French identity is unique in that the Republic considers itself as the epitome of all civilizations. This paper seeks to explain

France's exceptional and elitist identity by surveying how its definition of nationalism correlates to the principle of universalism.

Nationalism

Moyra Grant (2003: 116) called nationalism “the most influential political creed of the last two centuries, generating wars and revolutions, the collapse of empires, the birth of new states, the redrawing of boundaries and the rise of new regimes.” It is an ideology so common in our everyday usage yet so potent as to ignite wars and drive humankind to the brink of destruction. The extensive study of nationalism includes (but is not limited to) debates on definition, origin, and development of nationalism. It is tradition to define what are ‘states’ and ‘nations’ when discussing nationalism. Richard Handler (1988: 7) wrote, “A nation, it is said, is a human group that may or may not control its own state; while a state is a political organization that may or may not correspond to all of one, and only one, nation.” Within the nationalism discourse, there are two major schools of thought, the primordial and the modernist perspectives, and within the primordial or the modernist frame, nationalism is characterized as either ‘ethnic’ or ‘civic’ contingent on how states view the birth of a nation. Finally, besides being ethnic or civic, nationalism can also be classified as individualist or collectivist depending on what is considered the more important unit: the community or the individual.

Pertaining to the case of France, this section will further explain the modernist school of thought on nationalism. Modernists hold that nationalism is an entirely contemporary trend constructed by society following certain prerequisites. This perspective gained momentum with the fall of the system of empires and former colonies fighting to gain nation-state status after World War II. Lucian Pye (2001: 508) explained that the challenge of nation building is the creation of “new nations...with a common sense of identity” out of a population that were most likely “culturally, linguistically, and religiously” mixed.

Civic or liberal nationalism is associated with the modernist view. Civic nationalism is political in nature because it defines nationality as a vow to defend the same values. Citizenship is determined by the concept of *jus soli*, Latin for “law of the soil.” However, new members can gain citizenship through the process of naturalization which legitimizes the “desire to live together” among an already established community (Renan [1882] 1999: 153). According to Renan, then, birthplace is no longer the

sole indicator of nationality; individuals can now choose where to pledge their allegiance. In theory, civic nationalism is sincere and progressive allowing for individuality and rationality — tenets of liberalism. In practice, however, it is as brutal and undemocratic as ethnic nationalism. Civic liberalism is praised for cherishing equality — welcoming nationhood to all — while paradoxically, privileging those who are born there — the ‘original citizens,’ the ones without an alien registration number.

Table 1. Types of Nationalism

	Individualistic		Collectivistic	
	Civic	Ethnic	Civic	Ethnic
Type	I	None	II	III
Example	England, USA	None	France	Russia, Germany

Source: Greenfeld, 2001

The Modern Unitary French Nation and Type II: Collectivistic-Civic

As determined by numerous scholars in the field, France is the perfect showcase of the second type of nationalism, the collectivistic-civic. This form of nationalism is highly problematic and “plagued by internal contradictions” due to the marriage of two diverging principles (Greenfeld 1995: 20). Following the characteristics of civic nationalism, collectivistic-civic nationalism defines nationhood on the grounds of “legal-rational principles, universalism, and voluntary attachment to the nation and its institutions” (Smith and West 2001: 81). For this reason, it is the addition of being ‘collectivistic’ that makes this type of nationalism ambivalent.

Greenfeld (1995: 21) theorized the development of a collectivist or individualist nation depends upon the “nature of the groups actively involved in the articulation of the new ideology, and the situations they face.” For that reason, the collectivist form is guaranteed if the initial “social basis of nationalism is limited: that is, if nationalism is adopted by and serves the interests of a narrow traditional elite intent on preserving its

status ... which then transmits it to the masses by indoctrination” (Greenfeld 1995: 21). The modern French nation evolved true to Greenfeld’s hypothesis.

The Revolutionaries drew heavily from Jean-Jacques Rousseau’s understanding of the nation and popular sovereignty in creating the modern unitary French nation for their purposes. The Rousseauian social contract theory acknowledges the nation as a political body, independent from the state and the only source of sovereign power. Rousseau understood the nation is a “pre-political entity that gave rise to governmental institutions” (Keitner 2007: 38); thus, the state is an intentional creation of the nation’s general will. The Rousseauian model prescribes that individuals sacrifice their self-interests for the collective good not out of fear but voluntarily because in doing so it “produces a moral and collective body ... which receives from this same act its unity, its common me, its life and its will” (Rousseau [1762] 1947: 14). Also, Rousseau saw the state as representative of the people, not constitutive, suggesting the concept of a nation-state (Rousseau [1762] 1947: 46).

From Rousseau’s natural birth of the nation, the Revolutionary leaders refined it into a community devised by “enforced conformity” (Keitner 2007: 42). The nation and its sovereignty were used during the Revolution to challenge the absolutist power of the king. The Revolutionary leaders seeking to increase their legislative and executive powers at the expense of the king capitalized on the popular notion of the nation as a sovereign political actor that can challenge the king’s powers. Echoing the Enlightenment, they claimed for the nation — the French people — the power to rightly constitute the state. The *parlements* knew that to speak for the nation is to control the state, which in return would satisfy their political ambitions. However, *parlements* realized the Rousseauian model lacked a concrete nation. *Parlements* set out to transform Rousseau’s abstract nation into a tangible form in order to fortify their political aims. Unlike Rousseau, the Revolutionary leaders recognized that since national character [national identity] is a by-product of state institutions, it is impossible to determine whether the people created the state or the state formed the people because “once the people create the state, the state cannot help but define the people” (Keitner 2007: 40). In order for *parlements* to challenge the powers of the king, they must breed Rousseau’s abstract nation into a more viable opponent. Thus, only by uniting the whole

French population as one and indivisible element can they aptly subjugate the monarch.

At the National Convention meeting in 1792, the Protestant Pastor Jean-Paul Rabaut de Saint-Etienne said: “We must, absolutely, renew the present generation, while forging the generation to come. We must make of the French a new people” (Rabaut 1792, as cited in Bell 2001: 2). Consistent with Greenfeld’s concept of collectivist nationalism, the Revolutionary aristocrats called for “an infallible means of transmitting, constantly and immediately, to all the French at once, the same uniform ideas” and so the French ‘national character’ was indoctrinated to the masses by the elites. As a result, education became the key component in creating the new French nation. Rabaut was a fierce sponsor of the re-education of the masses to transform them into the kind of nation envisioned by the Revolutionaries. Rabaut embarked on his Project of National Education (1792) to birth a new French nation by forcing the people to “a long list of obligatory civic functions, including physical exercises, parades, festivals, ‘morality lessons,’ the reading and memorization of key political texts, and the singing of patriotic songs” (Bell 2001: 2).

Collectivism rests on the perception that the group is a far more important unit than the individual. It also presumes that individuals are too egocentric to meet the needs of society, but only through the “voluntary, cooperative and non-coercive groups and associations pursuing a common purpose” will society function better (Grant 2003: 19). In relation to nationalism, collectivism defines nations as a collective individual with particular rights, interests, and will (Greenfeld 2001: 251). This implies that the interests of the collective individual will take precedent over the desires of single individuals within that nation. The crisis of French nationalism is rooted in its tradition of being a homogeneous nation. While civic nationalism promotes the rights and freedoms of each member, collectivist nationalism denies this feature as it assumes the nation to be a homogeneous, collective individual. Hence, there is “but one abstract community [in France], that of its citizens” (Pech 2005: para. 8). France’s development of the unitary nation is one of the greatest achievements of the French Revolution but in today’s politics, it plays a large role in preventing a solution to the French/Muslim conflict.

Universalism

Similar to the homogeneity of collectivism, universalism is based on the assumption that one set of values is applicable to everyone. This worldview believes in the universality of human experiences, this accepting that humankind has a single destiny. James Boyle (2000: 4) described universalism as “a way of knowing, an idea of morality, and above all, a mode of life — a plan for living.” Additionally, this paradigm considers “knowledge, justice, and personal development” as universal and that human progression should target “universal laws,” not “particular facts” (Boyle 2000: 2). It should also be noted that universalism is rooted in theology. For example, Christianity stresses the universality of salvation to all. Non-religious universalism gained momentum during the Age of Enlightenment. Enlightenment thinkers assumed that the human entity and societies were universal, thus making the ideas of progress and utopia universal goals.

No country exhibits universalist tendencies better than France. Slavoj Žižek (1998: 1007) called French Republicanism the “epitome of modernist universalism.” Louis Dumont (1994: 201) wrote, “The basic or global French ideology is as powerful as it is simple, and devoid of concrete elements. At bottom it consists of a single principle: the human subject as universal.” French universalism insists on the “oneness, the sameness of all individuals” to become the French citizen (Scott 2007: 11). France’s universalist identity prioritizes national identity (French) over group identities. Theoretically, this means France does not approve of the American practice of a hyphenated ethnic/national identity [i.e. Asian-American] (Scott 2007: 11). French universalism eliminates cultural differences — *particularities* — within the nation, which will then allow the Republic to better serve the people. However, it is imperative to stress that to be universal is to be French but the French nation is unique with a “particular quality or ‘character’” (Schor 2001: 43).

Therefore, this particular quality of being French requires assimilation, not simply integration, for newcomers. Both integration and assimilation insinuates conformity, but the process of integration implies fitting in with the dominant culture whereas assimilation demands absorbing into the dominant culture. French national identity is universal by imagining the “sameness of all individuals, a sameness that is achieved not simply by swearing allegiance to the nation but by assimilating to the norms of its culture” (Scott 2007: 12-3). A French Muslim is not a true French citizen

until the cultural identity of being Muslim is renounced.

The French universalistic identity creates solidarity among its citizens, which is the way the Republic guarantees an egalitarian society. Moreover, it places state loyalties above cultural loyalties since ethnic or particular identities are removed. In *German Ideology: From France to Germany and Back* (1994: 199), Dumont provides an excellent comparison between a German and a Frenchman: “In his own idea of himself, the Frenchman is a man by nature and a Frenchman by accident, while the German feels he is first a German and a man through his being a German.” This emphasizes that French national identity is political — a Frenchman is not birthed from his family but a deliberate design of the Republic. According to Dominique Schnapper, one becomes French via “the practice of a language, through the learning of a culture, through the wish to participate in an economic and political life” (Jennings 2000: 577). Before dissecting the problems of universalism within the modern Republic, a brief look into how France acquired its Frenchness is key to understanding how valuable universalism is to the Republic. “What remains of the Nation when one takes from it nationalism, imperialism, and the omnipotence of the State? What remains of France when one takes from its universalism?” (Pierre Nora, 32, as cited in Schor 2001: 48).

Origins of French Universalism

It is evident that France inherited its universalist tendency from Enlightenment thinkers such as Voltaire, Rousseau, and Montesquieu. Yet, France’s universal characteristic can also be traced to its early relationship with the Catholic Church. First, the term ‘Catholic’ is derived from the Greek word ‘*Katholikos*’ meaning “universal.” Second, France is acclaimed as the ‘eldest daughter of the Church’. This recognition is a relic of Pepin, first Carolingian ruler of the Franks, in reclaiming the Church’s lands and solidifying the States of the Church (Schnürer 1912). Due to Pepin’s donation in 754, the Pope anointed King Pepin and his heirs the title ‘Patrician of the Romans,’ protector of the Romans. This exclusive relationship with the Roman Church allowed France to postulate its people as the best examples of Catholics and even rival Roman Catholicism with the French version, Gallicanism. Ironically, it was this Catholic-inspired universalism that stimulated the secularist French universalism, which led to the destruction of the Catholic Church during the French Revolution.

The period of absolute monarchy preceding the Revolution highlights additional examples of French universalism, this time concerning culture and language. Particularly with the reign of King Louis XIV, French monarchs undertook the mission of spreading the glories of French arts, etiquettes, and culture to the rest of Europe. The proposed privileges are rooted in the universality of ‘Frenchness’ – Europe (as well as the rest of the world) yearns for the exemplar French ethos. Likewise, during this period, French transformed from the “language of the king [and] of polite conversation and civility” to “the language of humanity” (Schor 2001: 44). The universality of the French language descended from France’s claims as the legitimate heir to the Roman Empire and thus, the successor to Latin, the original universal language (Schor 2001: 44). There were important landmarks in the eighteenth century indicating the emergence of the French language as the universal ideal of civilization and refinement. Descartes was first to popularize the vernacular use of French, which he saw as the “language of reason and transparency” (Schor 2001: 44). France’s right to linguistic superiority is due to its syntactical clarity. Voltaire endorsed this belief in the “French” chapter of his *Dictionnaire philosophique* published in 1764. According to Voltaire, the language benefitted from the “pleasure and liberty of [French] society” to emerge with a “delicacy of expression and a finesse full of simplicity barely to be found elsewhere” (Voltaire [1764] 1924: “French”). In addition, other powerful monarchs such as Fredrick the Great of Prussia and Catherine the Great of Russia also shared the superiority nature of the French language. French, then, was the *lingua franca* of prominent Europeans across the continent.

Into the nineteenth century, ‘French’ remained an “idiom of universality” (Schor 2001: 47). The years of the Third Republic were the peak of French universalism, which subsequently also marked the height of French colonialism. During this period, universalism underlined the concepts of nations and nation building, which influenced the growth of the “ideology of France as an elect nation and guardian of civilization” (Schor 2001: 47). In assuming the rational human nature as “universal impervious to cultural and historical differences [...] transcultural, transhistorical human nature was posited as identical” (Schor 2001: 46). Thus, public schools became the center for the cultivation of ideal French citizens “grounded in a common language [and] universalistic values” (Béland 2003: 66).

Since the nineteenth century, French universalism remains one of the most contentious issues within Republican ideology. As much as the

French are ‘universal’ today, the Revolutionary days instilled in the heart and mind of the nation that it is an ‘exception.’ This stubborn idea of regarding France as nothing but glorious has resulted in tensions for France domestically and internationally. France, headstrong in its universalistic beliefs, is not only facing brutal internal “cultural wars” (Schor 2001: 48) dealing with its Muslim community but also threatened by the rise of the United States and its concept of multiculturalism. Along with the United States as a cultural superpower, English replaced French as the *lingua franca*. This challenges the omniscient French culture and language as the epitome of civilization and the jewel of the world. According to Schor (2001: 48), modern French universalism has been reduced to “spectral Universalism” because what was the “formerly vigorous and dynamic ideology [...] functioned as a powerful force [ensuring] social cohesion” is now nothing but “empty rhetoric,” a shadow, and the grounds where “present-day ideological battles are fought.”

Dilemmas of French Universalism

The first crisis of French universalism is its belief in the universality of the French identity. Michael Walzer, in his 1997 work *On Toleration*, outlined five modes of toleration within societies ranging from nation-states to multinational empires to immigrant societies. He then presented France as the first out of four ‘complicated’ case studies. France is ‘complicated’ because it represents the ‘classic nation-state’ as well as one of the “world’s leading immigrant societies” (Walzer 1997: 37). The transformative talents of *intégration à la française* cloud the image of France as an immigrant society, producing a “homogeneous society with a highly distinctive and singular culture” (Walzer 1997: 38). Despite being a “society of immigrants,” France does not consider itself a “pluralist society” (Walzer 1997: 38). Since the days of the Revolution, France considered itself a mono-ethnic nation. Foreigners and immigrants were welcomed to the country “so long as they learned the French language, committed themselves to the republic, sent their children to state schools, and celebrated Bastille Day” (Walzer 1997: 38). However, today Muslim immigrants pose as the biggest threat to “eighteenth- and nineteenth-century universalism, that is to French identity [and] to ‘Frenchness’ itself” (Schor 2001: 51). As much as the Republic seeks to preserve a “universal and uniform community of citizens,” Muslim immigrants are refusing to succumb to “Frenchification” or relinquish their ethnic identities (Walzer

1997: 40).

France's pressure on immigrants to assimilate is done under the pretext of achieving equality. Steven Ungar (1996: 2) wrote, "French immigration policies since the Third Republic have tended to assimilate difference in the name of a single nation." The French Republic does not tolerate the idea of 'a nation within a nation.' There is only one nation and that is the French nation. This policy was clearly defined during the 1791 debates over Jewish emancipation. Stanislas Clermont-Tonnerre's famous declaration about Jews is applicable to Muslims today: "One must refuse everything to the Jews as a nation, and give everything to the Jews as individuals" (de Clermont-Tonnerre, as cited in Walzer 1997: 39). Furthermore, Jean-Paul Sartre echoed Clermont-Tonnerre's words in 1944: "His defense of the Jew saves the latter as a man and annihilates him as a Jew ...leave[s] nothing in him ... but the abstract subject of the rights of man and the rights of citizens" (Sartre, as cited in Walzer 1997: 39).

It is the abstract individual that succeeds as a French citizen. This implies a clean slate to start over as part of the French nation. The obligation of assimilation into the French identity suggests two ideas: one, the elitism of Frenchness; and two, it essentializes the French nation with a certain 'character.' Besides, assimilation itself is the root tragedy of French universalism. In spite of many Republican universalists envisioning assimilation as toleration, assimilation is far from tolerant as it is the "most common form of intolerance of Otherness, or rather of the otherness of the Other" (Schor 2001: 50). Schor labeled assimilation as a form of 'false universalism' coinciding with Dominique Schnapper's comments

The universal is assimilated to the culture of 'I.' 'I' may then pursue a politics of assimilation, which seeks to eradicate the culture of the Other and to absorb it ... It is not a matter of excluding the Other, but of including it to the extent that one renders it like oneself. (Schnapper, as cited in Schor 2001:50)

Assimilation does not mean equality. Staying true to the Republican tradition, assimilation is done for the benefits of the collective nation, the general interest, not to favor the rights of minorities or "communal particularisms" (Jennings 2000: 583).

The second crisis of French universalism is its belief in the universality of the Republican ideology. Political universalism suggests that there is a political model applicable for all. The French Revolution launched

France's political universalism and since then, France has become the quintessence of the "rights of man, or enlightenment, and of individual liberty" and has planned to "spread the benefits of civilization across its national borders and beyond to its colonial Empire and the wider world" (Jennings 2000: 578). Considering France's recent struggles enforcing its Republican ideology, French universalism has come to resemble a form of ethnocentrism — French domination — instead of "liberation" (Jennings 2000: 579). Political universalists are guilty of two blunders when professing their ability to "transcend their own location and particularity and thus arrive at [a] comprehensive universal moral or political proposals" applicable to everyone (Van der Linden 1996: 235).

First, claiming political universalism requires confidence — confidence in the righteousness of one's values and morals and confidence in oneself as the fated messiah to deliver the good news. Therefore, political universalism is what Harry van der Linden (1996) called "misguided pride." Misguided pride directs political universalists to see the goals of "political, economic, or cultural endeavors of [other] people" as their own — hence, making everyone else's fight as their own. The standard for political universalism is that it voids any signs of "subjective interest [or] cultural expression" (Walzer 1994: 7). It does not account for particular histories, memories, customary practices, or cultures. Political universalism only aims at reaching the collective universal good. Calling it 'philosophical high-minded-ness' in his book *Thick and Thin: Moral Argument at Home and Abroad*, Walzer (1994: 9) wrote:

Think of the exodus of Israel from Egypt, the Anabasis, Muhammad's hegira, the Pilgrims' crossing of the Atlantic, the Boer trek, the long march of the Chinese communists, the Prague demonstrations: must all these merge into one grand parade? There is nothing to gain from the merger, for the chief value of all this marching lies in the particular experience of the marchers. They can join each other only for a time; there is no reason to think that they are all heading in the same direction.

Furthermore, in claiming everyone's cause as one's own indicates intervention. Therefore, intervention — on behalf of truth, justice, or liberty — is the assumption that "the people we are trying to help really want to be helped" (Walzer 1994: 16). This leads to the second mistake of political universalism. The destination of the 'marches,' reaching the ultimate political principle, is so desired that political universalists will do anything to attain their goals which includes sanctioning tyrannical acts

and methods. True to the phrase ‘No pain, No gain,’ wars, genocides, and massacres are done in the name of democracy and justice because they serve the interest of the universal human being. Should the end justify the means?

The Future of French Universalism and the French/Muslim Conflict

What is the future of French universalism — of the ‘universal revolution par excellence’? Among other core tenets of French Republicanism, universalism is of antiquity and therefore clashes with the prevailing world order of globalization and interdependency. Domestically, France continues to face ‘cultural wars’ concerning the Muslim problem. The French/Muslim conflict warns that a universalistic French ideology is no longer compatible with the current world; France is defending an ideological mission from the days before the Revolution. In addition, modern French universalism harbors oppressive and undemocratic features in the pursuit of liberty and justice. The Republican qualities of elitism and stubbornness serve to alienate and divide citizens instead of maintaining a cohesive nation. French universalism is best at condemning the Other — no matter if the ‘Other’ is the “exile, the foreigner, the displaced person, the survivor, [or] the immigrant from France’s dismembered former colonial empire” (Schor 2001: 49). Žižek (1998: 1002) said, “True universalists are not those who preach global tolerance of differences and all-encompassing unity but those who engage in a passionate fight for the assertion of the truth that engages them.”

In the international system, French universalism encounters yet a bigger challenge — the rise of multiculturalism. France’s view of multiculturalism is nothing “short of a cultural disaster, threatening the polity with fragmentation, and the nation with dissolution” (Schor, 2001: 53). Within the identity politics discourse, universalists see multiculturalism as catering to ‘interest groups,’ the particulars, rather than the ‘collective,’ the universal. Following this perspective, multiculturalist theories are dogmatic and intolerant. They are “aligned with reverse discrimination [...] demonstrating not Tocqueville’s tyranny of the majority but the tyranny of the minority; it threatens Western civilization and culture” (Jennings 2000: 588). Alain Finkielkraut (1997, as cited in Schor 2001: 54) dared to call multiculturalism “an inquisition” of the “D. W. E. M.,” dead white European males. Despite how ‘un-French’ multiculturalism is perceived, a working solution to the French/Muslim dispute to dissolve, it must

include multiculturalism. By rejecting the possibility of multiculturalism, the Republic is accentuating the particularity of French universalism, not its universality. France’s republican universalism is the real ‘inquisition’ as it posits a relationship of ‘Frenchness’ versus ‘Otherness,’ dividing the Nation; whereas, for example, American multiculturalism made the United States a “container” [a melting pot] for the “endless proliferation of the particular group identities” (Žižek 1998: 1007). While French universalism is compromised by the emergence of globalization, American multiculturalism is prospering. This verifies the claim that the antique doctrine of French universalism is unapt for advancement of the Republic or to resolve the French/Muslim conflict.

Multicultural Republicanism?

How can the French Republic possibly resolve the Muslim problem without acknowledging its role in exacerbating the conflict? Mohamed El Madani who attended one of Sarkozy’s town hall debates said, “It’s hard when you see that out of France, you are seen like France, and in France, you’re not French. You know, the symbol of France is *liberte, egalite, fraternite*. We don’t practice that. I’m not equal with other French people. I’m not” (Beardsley 2009: para. 11). Therefore, is the Muslim

Table 2. Public Opinion towards Muslims and Islam, France

Views of Muslims	
Favorable: 64%	Unfavorable: 34%
Concerned about Islamic Extremism	
Very: 32%	Somewhat: 41%
Perceptions of Muslims	
Want to remain distinct: 59%	Increasing sense of Islamic identity: 70%

Source: The Pew Global Attitudes Project, 2005: 17-Nation Pew Global Attitudes Survey

problem a creation of the French state or the French nation?

A survey done by the Pew Global Attitudes Project in 2005 shows that the majority of the French public feared the growing sense of Islamic identity, but they nonetheless held favorable views of Muslims. More surprisingly, only 32% are 'very' concerned about Islamic extremism in France. Likewise, for those who argue the incompatibility of Islam and modernity, the 2006 Pew survey asked: "Is there a conflict between being a devout Muslim and living in a modern society?" Results showed 74% of the general French population and 72% of the French Muslim population feel there is not a conflict (Pew Global Attitudes Project 2006: 13-Nation Pew Global Attitudes Survey). The findings of the Pew surveys suggest the French/Muslim conflict is due to the structure of the Republic, not the general French people or French Muslims. Examining the 'France' element in the French/Muslim binary pair shows the Republic as the strategic factor in resolving the conflict. For one, the Republic is ill suited for the new era of globalization and two; the state has yet to address the problems of racism and Islamophobia.

Hence, a solution to the conflict involves renovation and acceptance. It calls for France to adapt to the era of globalization and multiculturalism. The French Nation must realize that their Republic can no longer sustain the "utopia" of an "abstract humanity" (Jennings 2000: 592). Conversely, this does not mean France should dissolve its universalist traditions, but instead refine 'the universal' to fit the new world order. Schnapper said, "The universal cannot be identified with any concrete historical reality; it is a principle, a horizon, a regulatory idea" (Jennings 2000: 591). According to Schnapper, the problem with French universalism is its belief in the particular historical reality of 'Western society' (Jennings 2000: 591). The idea of the 'West' institutes a paradigm where the 'non-West' is judged based on the standards set by the 'West.' Critics like Edward Said stated the binary pair of 'West/Other' would unavoidably result in oppressing the Others and supporting the elitism of the West. The dichotomy of West/Other is the culprit that expresses a false theory of universalism.

Schnapper's analysis calls for multicultural republicanism (Jennings 2000: 591-2):

We must refuse the general, the unique, the global; we must choose the particular, and therefore plurality; but by inscribing it within a reference to the universal which is the very condition of its existence and of the possibility of dialogue with others, as well as of the fundamental recognition that the dignity of others, of all others, is equal to my own.

Schnapper's theory of multicultural republicanism also requires redefining 'nation' and 'ethnie' [ethnic group]. Nation and *ethnie* are not synonymous, thus not interchangeable. The nation is a political unit "defined by its sovereignty, exercised internally to integrate the populations that it includes and, externally, to assert itself as a historical subject in a global order founded on the existence and relations between politically constituted nations" (Schnapper [1994] 1998: 16). The *ethnie* is not a political entity but is defined by its particular history and culture: imagine "those groups of men who live as heirs of an historical and cultural community ... and who share the desire to maintain it" (Schnapper [1994] 1998: 16). Schnapper's definition of a nation as exclusively a political organ insinuates that nations are better capable of handling diversity than ethnic groups and that cultural homogeneity is not crucial to a nation's survival (Jennings 2000: 590). Therefore according to Schnapper, Republican universalism can accept multicultural inclinations where citizens and immigrants are allowed to "cultivate their particularisms in their personal as well as social life" but only if the community of citizens "accept [and respect] the idea that there exists a political domain independent of their particular interests" (Jennings 2000: 590).

Conclusion

Reconstructing Republicanism is not an easy task and accordingly, the French/Muslim conflict and related fears will not be resolved within the next couple of years. However, the initial start of multicultural republicanism will provide both the general French public and French Muslims a more democratic and egalitarian society to coexist while projecting a more harmonious France to the world.

Aimé Césaire ([1955] 2000: 31) wrote:

A civilization that proves incapable of solving the problems it creates is a decadent civilization...A civilization that chooses to close its eyes to its most crucial problems is a stricken civilization...A civilization that uses its principles for trickery and deceit is a dying civilization.

Thus, for the sake of survival, France's elitism and homogenization must end. The Republic needs to tolerate group and individual diversity within the nation to safeguard democracy and liberty. For that reason, France must confront its racist and discriminatory allegations toward its Muslim population. Structurally, the Republic needs to learn the distinction between religious Muslims and radical Islamists. Furthermore, France should

not stigmatize Muslims/Islam as a special case. Muslims and their religion are no different from any other immigrant group in France. It should not be forgotten that the Jews were once distinguished as incapable of becoming proper Frenchmen but that notion was overturned in 1995 when President Jacques Chirac officially acknowledged and apologized for the Republic's role in the alienation and persecution of Jews under the Vichy Regime. It is worth applauding President Francois Hollande's attempt in 2012 to address France's brutal colonization of Algeria but his acknowledgement fell short of an apology and lacked the gravity and sincerity of Chirac's apology. In the same manner, for French Muslims to fully embrace Frenchness, the Republic must wholeheartedly confront colonial racism first to combat Islamophobia, a form of post-colonial racism "...to combat Islamophobia, its post-colonial form."

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Papers must discuss rigorous and analytical research performed by the author(s). Submissions should contain within the body of the text a section in which research methodology is described in detail.

All submitted text is to be the sole creation of the author(s) with the exception of correctly cited paraphrases and properly indicated quotations. Any research involving human subjects must have approval from the appropriate Institutional Review Board. Submitting authors are responsible for adhering to IRB guidelines. Check with your faculty advisor for further information.

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1. Remove all occurrences of author(s) names from the manuscript.
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 - Single-space the body of the text.
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- Provide a separate file for each table and figure.
- Files must be a minimum of 300 pixels per inch (ppi).
- Files must be 1200 pixels wide.
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- Clearly indicate the placement of all figures and tables.
- Label all tables and figures and provide a corresponding caption at the appropriate location in your text.

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