

# philologia

Virginia Tech's Undergraduate Research Journal for  
the College of Liberal Arts & Human Sciences

Volume VI: 2014

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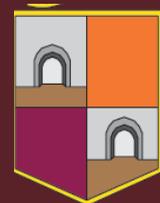
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## Letter from the Editors

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On behalf of the Editorial Board, we are proud to present Volume VI of *Philologia*, the Undergraduate Research Journal of the College of Liberal Arts and Human Sciences at Virginia Tech.

We are especially proud of this volume because it successfully represents the wide range of disciplines within our college. Included in this volume are articles from Political Science, International Studies, English, Music, and Apparel, Housing, and Resource Management. In addition, the featured articles within this volume show that undergraduate research expands beyond the classroom walls. Students who engage in undergraduate research not only enrich their own education, but also our university as a whole.

This journal would not have been possible without the support of Dr. Marc Lucht, Ryan Rideau, our faculty reviewers and board, and Interim Dean Joan Hirt. We extend our deepest gratitude for your help throughout this process. Furthermore, we would like to express our appreciation for the hardwork put forth by our layout editors and associate editors – without you, none of this would be possible.

Thank you for your support and interest in *Philologia*!

Sam Sacks  
*Editor in Chief*

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## Acknowledgements

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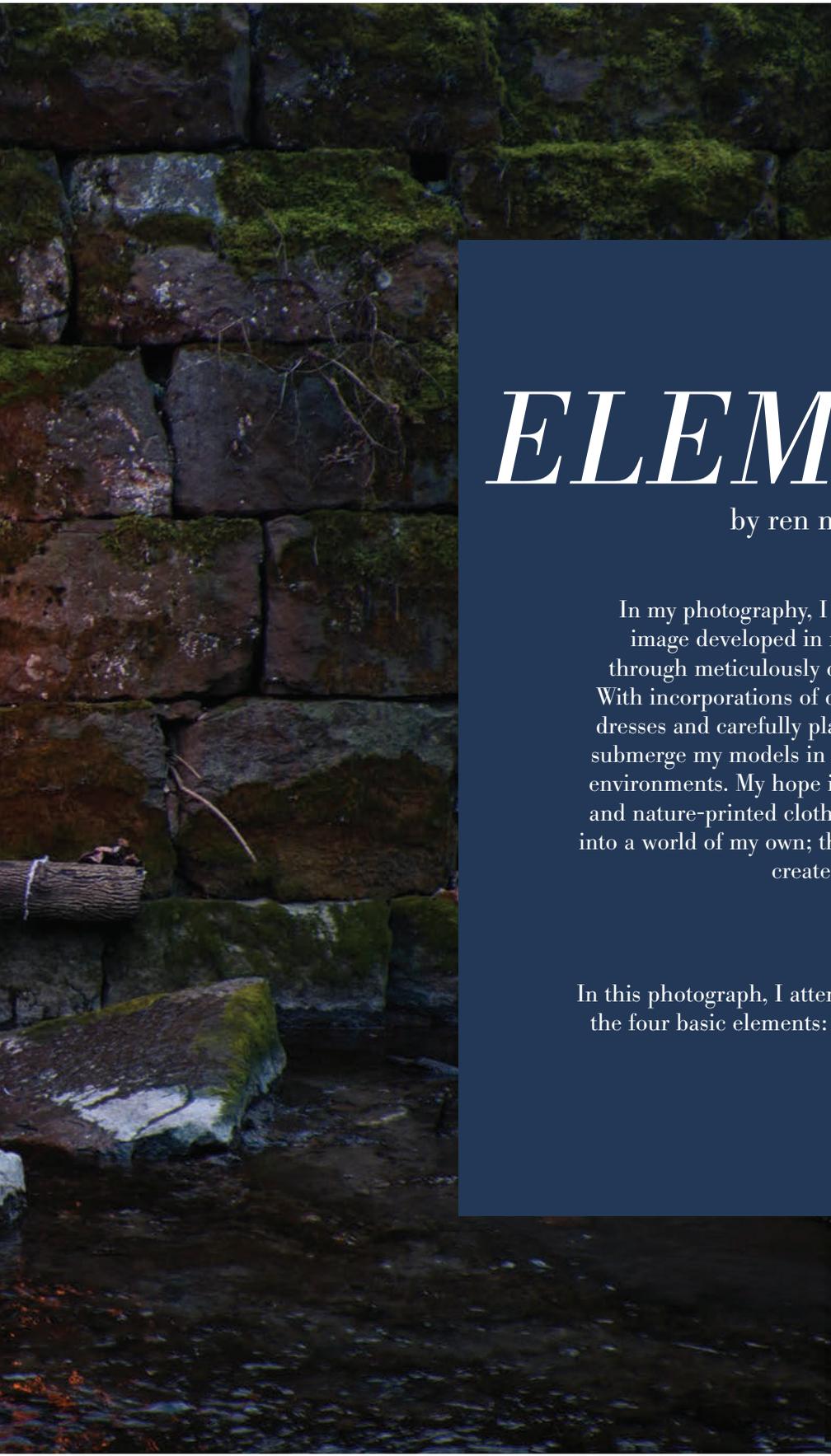
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Creative Scholarship  
*Creative*



A photograph of a mossy stone wall next to a stream. The wall is made of large, dark, rectangular stones, some of which are covered in green moss. A small stream flows in the foreground, and a log is visible on the left side of the wall. The background is dark and misty, suggesting a forest setting.

# *ELEMENTS*

by ren nicholson

In my photography, I attempt to recreate an image developed in my mind and share it through meticulously composed photographs. With incorporations of complimentary patterned dresses and carefully placed contrasting colors, I submerge my models in misty woods and alluring environments. My hope is that their tranquil faces and nature-printed clothing will transport viewers into a world of my own; therefore, inspiring them to create theirs.

In this photograph, I attempted to visually represent the four basic elements: Earth, wind, fire, and air.

# *COLD RAIN ON A WARM BEAUTIFUL DAY*

by natasha chadha

Cold rain on a warm beautiful day  
Reminds of that afternoon on the  
Potomac.

We laughed at my inability to  
throw a frisbee  
While smiles naturally crept upon  
both of us -  
We were in shorts and a t-shirt  
Making our way to the waterfall,  
Hand in hand, soaking in our  
bliss.

I slipped on a rock  
And fell into the beginning of the  
river.  
You immediately lifted me up and  
Soothed my emotional  
embarrassment and slight pain  
With the sweetest kisses  
And your insistence to walk  
behind me on the way back  
So you could catch me in case I  
fell again.

The pain in my rear from hitting  
the rock no longer mattered -  
Your eyes told me all I wanted in  
life.

Rain cut our afternoon at the  
waterfall short,

We ran back to the parking lot,  
Laughing at nature's impeccable  
timing and  
How even nature couldn't destroy  
our happiness.

Everything was wet,  
My toes, legs, and car seat.  
We went back to my house and  
Warmed up in a hot bath.

The perfect day, despite all its  
flaws.  
Nature couldn't ruin us,  
Not even the most intense  
monsoon, thunder, or increasing  
distance  
Would ever be a threat.

I would have never predicted you  
leaving as soon as you found an  
easier love  
That allowed you to enjoy cold  
rain on wet warm beautiful day  
Every day, instead of once a  
summer.

Cold rain on a warm beautiful  
day.  
The best day, the worst.





# *BLUE IN A WORLD OF BROWN*

by natasha chadha

Leaves change colors,  
I change blue.

Blue like the rose  
That fails to exist

Blue like the water  
That is now brown

Brown from the pollution  
That we ourselves cause

Pollution from the tears,  
Headaches,  
Heartaches,  
And hurt.

Leaves change colors,  
I change blue.

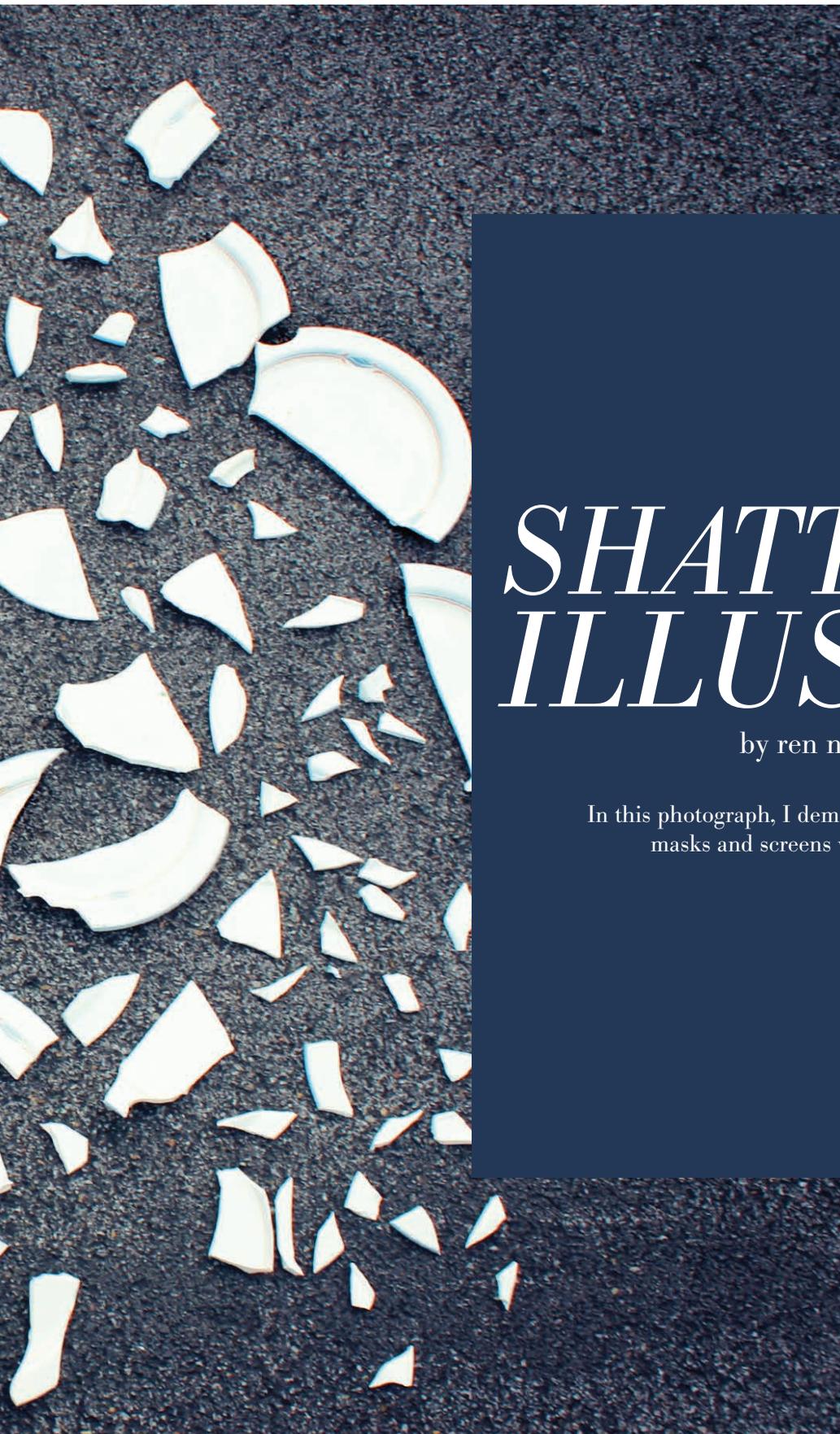
Blue in a world where everything is brown.

## about the **artist**



Natasha Chadha is a senior from McLean, Virginia majoring in English (Pre-Education and Creative Writing) with a minor in Leadership and Social Change. After graduation she will pursue a Masters in Education and ultimately hopes to become a high school English teacher and published author.





# SHATTERED ILLUSIONS

by ren nicholson

In this photograph, I demonstrate the fragility of the masks and screens we display to others.

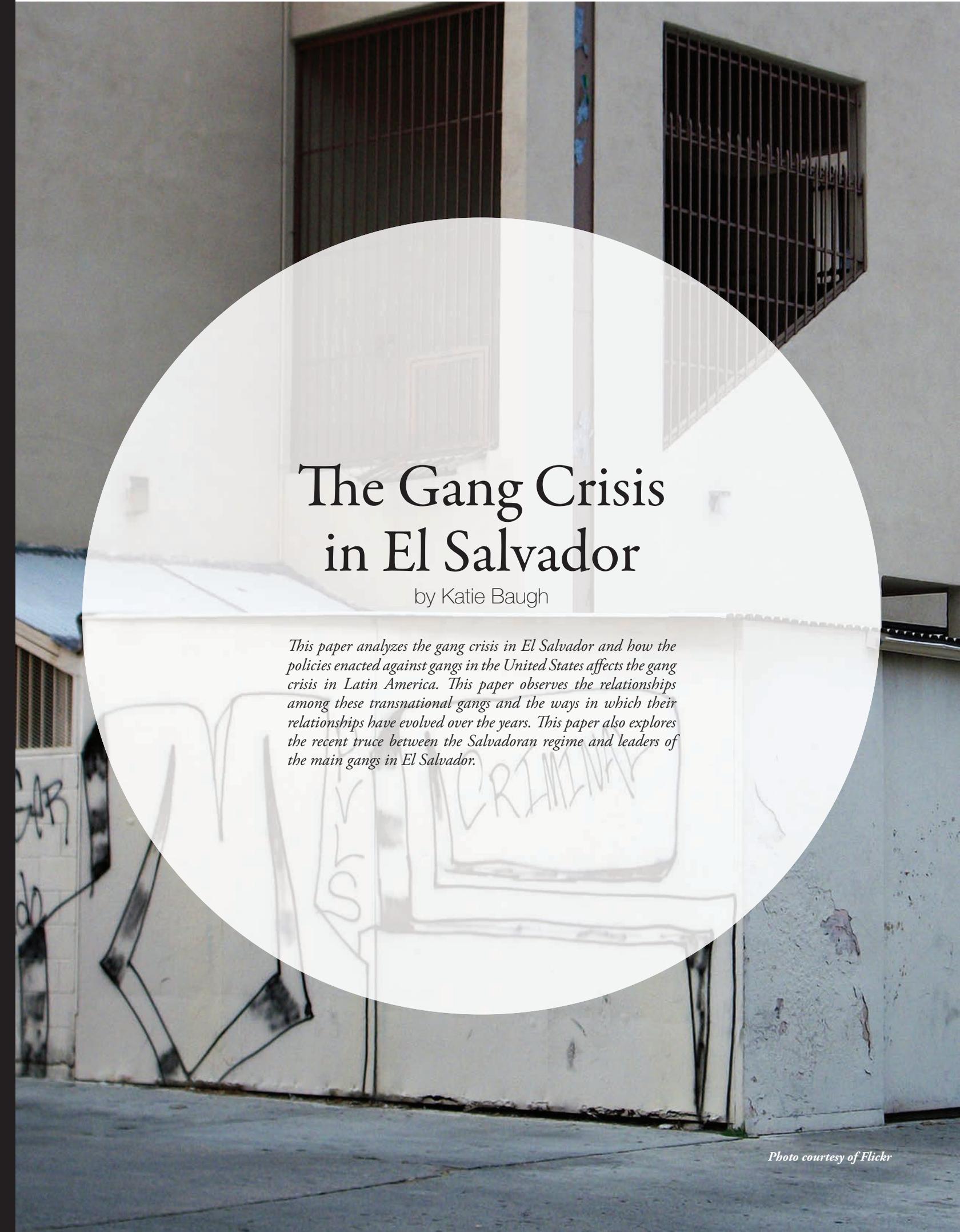
## about the **artist**

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Ren Nicholson is a freshman English major from New York. She enjoys many creative pursuits, but favors the visual arts.

Research Articles

*Research*



# The Gang Crisis in El Salvador

by Katie Baugh

*This paper analyzes the gang crisis in El Salvador and how the policies enacted against gangs in the United States affects the gang crisis in Latin America. This paper observes the relationships among these transnational gangs and the ways in which their relationships have evolved over the years. This paper also explores the recent truce between the Salvadoran regime and leaders of the main gangs in El Salvador.*

El Salvador is a small country in Central America with a tumultuous and bloody past. The country was locked in a civil war from 1979-1992, which ended in a stalemate and caused many casualties within the civilian population. The civil war was ended with the Chapultepec Peace Accords in 1992, resulting in a divided civilian population. The right-wing Salvadoran government maintained control of the government throughout and after the civil war. This troubled many people because the Salvadoran Army was accused of human rights violations against the civilian population throughout the course of the civil war. During the war, many people felt that the army was threatening their security and decided to flee to another country. Many of these refugees fled to the United States, specifically to Los Angeles and Washington D.C. Most of these refugees have remained in the United States because the Salvadoran government maintained control of the country after the war. Since the Peace Accords of 1992, there has been an internal power struggle between the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) and the National Republican Alliance (ARENA). Recently the FMLN has gained power in the executive branch and has changed the political dynamics of the government of El Salvador. Both groups had very different ways of dealing with political and social issues, such as gang violence. The right-wing government attempted to use a heavy-hand policy in order to end gang violence, and the left-wing government attempted to use progressive change to eliminate the causes of gang violence and mitigate against the spread of gangs transnationally.

When civil war broke out, Salvadoran society was already highly polarized. The exact number of the war's civilian casualties remains unknown; however, one estimate is 75,000 civilians. In a report made by the United Nation's Truth Commission in El Salvador, the Army was the main perpetrator of the killing of civilians.<sup>1</sup> The Salvadoran government did not attempt to reconcile the population after the civil war, which further polarized the already divided society. Since the government was held responsible for most of the civilian casualties after the war, the people had little trust in the government. The reconciliation process was further hampered when the government refused to abide by the recommendations that were put forth by the Commission for Truth and Reconciliation in El Salvador. There was a flood of refugees who left El Salvador to escape the war, which resulted in a mass immigration to the U.S. between 1979 and 1990 of over 500,000 people; however, the exact number is unknown because many of these people came to the United States without proper documentation. The civil war ended with a peace agreement in 1992, with the government still holding legitimate control over all of the branches of government. After a self-imposed ban from government, the FMLN started running for positions of power within the government as a legitimate political party. Although this party still had direct ties to the former guerrillas, they were able to gain control of the presidency in 2009. With Mauricio Funes as the new left-wing president, El Salvador saw many changes to its politics and social programs.

Pandillas have existed in El Salvador for years; however, they underwent a transformation after the civil war due to the influx of criminal deportees from the United States.<sup>2</sup> These deportees eventually formed branches of their United States gangs in Central America,

and these transnational gangs eventually were known as "maras." The word "mara" is a recent development, dating back to the 1980s, and to many people has a very sinister undertone as compared to "pandilla."<sup>3</sup> In El Salvador, there are four different gangs with almost 10,500 combined members.<sup>4</sup> The main gangs are Mara Salvatrucha, otherwise known as MS-13, and 18<sup>th</sup> Street, also known as M18. These gangs are formally known as transnational gangs since they are "criminally active and operational in more than one country," and because gang members' actions might be planned, directed and controlled by gang leaders in another country. The criminal activities of transnational gangs tend to be very sophisticated and adaptable<sup>5</sup>. Thus, transnational gangs are criminally active and operational in more than one country, whereas domestic street gangs, such as pandillas, are only active in one domestic region.<sup>6</sup> There is yet another classification of these two main sorts of gangs in El Salvador: they are said to be evolving into a "third-generation" gang.<sup>7</sup> This means that they are highly sophisticated, engage in "mercenary-type" activities, and have a fully evolved political aim.<sup>8</sup> Branches of the MS-13 in the United States have not evolved to a third generation gang. They are still classified as a second-generation gang, which has an organizational structure similar to that of a business.<sup>9</sup> The United States based MS-13 gangs are not considered a third generation gang because they do not have political aims or goals. Pandillas are typically classified as first or second generation because they are not as organized as MS-13 and M18, and because they do not have political aims and goals as do the maras.

The contemporary idea of a mara traces its roots back to the first wave of immigrants seeking refuge from the civil war who sought refuge in Los Angeles. Most of these immigrants were undocumented, so if they were caught doing criminal activity, they would be deported back to their home country. Often these violent criminals were deported without advance warning communicated to the home governments. The problem was that most of these Hispanic immigrants felt threatened by other Hispanic gangs in their neighborhoods so they decided to create their own gangs, mostly in order to ensure their own safety.<sup>10</sup> When the United States began to enforce immigration practices against undocumented immigrants in 1996, many of the undocumented immigrants who had been convicted of a crime were deported back to their home countries. The problem was that some of these newly deported criminals had little Spanish-speaking ability and almost no memory of the country they originally came from. They began to re-form gangs of their own within their home countries in order to feel protected again. There have been reports that the MS-13's early membership included former guerrillas and government soldiers, and this combat expertise only added to the gang's notoriety as a brutal and violent gang.<sup>11</sup> Many officials receiving these new

3. Ibid, 50.

4. Richard Millett, and Thomas Stiles, "Peace Without Security: Central America in the 21st Century," *The Whitehead Journal of Diplomacy and International Relations* (2008): 33.

5. Ibid, 2.

6. Ibid, 6.

7. John P. Sullivan, "Third Generation Street Gangs: Turf, Cartels and Net Warriors," *Crime and Justice International*, vol. 13, issue 10 (November 1997).

8. Ibid.

9. Ibid.

10. United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, *Crime and Development in Central America*, (2007), 20.

11. *The Economist*, "Special Report: Criminal Gangs in the Americas,"

1. Call, Charles T. "War Transitions and the New Civilian Security in Latin America" *Comparative Politics* Vol. 35 No.1 October, 2002, 13.

2. United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, *Crime and Development in Central America: Caught in the Crossfire*. (New York: United Nations Publication, 2007), 20.



Photo courtesy of Louis Ferrante

This is a photograph taken by Louis Ferrante of members of the 18th Street Gang in Izalco Prison, El Salvador.

criminals blamed the United States for the escalation in violence, since these violent men were “schooled in their trade” in the United States and were contributing to crime rates.<sup>12</sup> One law enforcement agent in the United States estimated that “all Latino immigrants below a certain age join MS-13, even as informal fellow travelers, as a matter of survival.”<sup>13</sup> This assertion is very logical given that these young men had no other means, financially or legally, to protect themselves.

There are two different schools of thought for implementing anti-gang legislation. One type of legislation is the idea that a “heavy-handed” implementation of laws, or a zero-tolerance gang policy, will result in a large decrease in the number of violent murders in a country. The main method to this legislation is through a zero-tolerance policy on gang activity; this means that anyone suspected of being involved in gang activity would immediately be incarcerated in order to take him or her off the streets and discipline them. This type of legislation theoretically works to discourage gang activity; however, if a government increases the population of a prison with only gangsters, then these places can simply become breeding grounds for gang growth. By increasing the number of arrested gangsters, the government of a country can inadvertently facilitate the growth of these gangs. In general, heavy-handed legislation is frowned upon simply because of the unintended side effects that it might cause. These firm hand plans dictate the criminalization of youth, expansion of police power, and the limitation of civil rights by providing the police with discretionary faculties, all of which lead to further unintended side effects.<sup>14</sup> These policies, when implemented, led to

prison overcrowding and a rise in the homicide rate.<sup>15</sup> By the time the heavy-handed policies ended in Central America, the murder rate in the north had risen by 70 percent.<sup>16</sup>

An example of a heavy-handed implementer of anti-gang legislation is Tony Saca, the right-wing president of El Salvador from 2004-2009. He was elected with 58 percent of the vote and ran on a campaign focused on fear and security.<sup>17</sup> The pro-ARENA forces that backed his candidacy claimed that the FMLN was recruiting members of the maras to destabilize the country, a notion that immediately struck fear into the population since the gangs are notoriously violent.<sup>18</sup> Saca proposed a plan to deal with gangs called *Super Mano Dura* (Super Iron Fist), which was central to his electoral campaign.<sup>19</sup> His plan was approved in 2004 and included measures to increase the detention rates to get gangsters off the streets and into a prison where they could “do less harm.” His plan allowed for the detention of children as young as 12 if they were suspected of being involved in gang activity; youth arrested under *Mano Dura* were later released for a lack of evidence against them.<sup>20</sup> At the beginning of its implementation, the

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*and Internal Armed Conflict in Latin America*, ed. Cynthia Arnson. Washington, DC/ Stanford: Woodrow Wilson Center Press/Stanford University Press

15. Programa de las Naciones Unidas para el Desarrollo (PNUD). Costa Rica, 2009. Informe sobre desarrollo humano para América Central 2009–2010. San José: PNUD.

16. Programa de las Naciones Unidas para el Desarrollo (PNUD), 2009.

17. Sebastian Huhn, Anika Oettler, and Peter Peetz, “Exploding Crime? Topic Management in Central American Newspapers,” *German Institute of Global and Area Studies*, no. 33 (2006): 26.

18. Sebastian Huhn et al, , “Exploding Crime? Topic Management in Central American Newspapers,” (2006), 26.

19. Ibid.

20. Ibid.

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January 7, 2006, p.23.

12. Ibid, 18.

13. Greg Gardner, and Robert Killebrew, “Gangs, Drugs, Terrorism-and Information-Sharing,” *Joint Force Quarterly*, no. 54 (2009): 69.

14. Cruz, José Miguel, Rafael Fernández de Castro, and Gema Santamaría. Forth- coming. Political Transition, Social Violence, and Gangs: Cases in Central America and Mexico. In *In the Wake of War: Democratization*



Photo courtesy of Louis Ferrante

Antonio Sacá served as the president of El Salvador from 2004 to 2009.

legislation was reported to have led to a 14 percent drop in murder rates in 2004; however, by the end of Sacá's term, the murder rate had skyrocketed.<sup>21</sup> Due to the overcrowding in prisons that were turned into hotbeds of illegal activity and recruiting grounds for new gang members, a prison riot occurred in August of 2004, resulting in 30 deaths.<sup>22&23</sup> The issue of maras and zero-tolerance strategies did not disappear after 2004; however, it has since been recognized that the continuation of this policy did not lead to a reduction of crime and insecurity.<sup>24</sup>

Preventative legislation is widely considered the most successful anti-gang legislation because it focuses on dealing with the roots of crime and attempts to create social programs in which youth are given opportunities for growth other than gang violence. Most of the successful anti-gang programs have developed because of community-based efforts to end gang violence and respond to the needs of these youth by keeping youth idleness down.<sup>25</sup> These programs attempt to eliminate persistent poverty and lack of educational and employment opportunities, since these are factors known to enable gangs to broaden their base.<sup>26</sup> It is generally acknowledged that a heavy-handed policy is not working.<sup>27</sup> Recently non-governmental organizations are experimenting with community policing and prevention programs meant to address poverty and scarcity of opportunities. By dealing with the basis for the gangs and giving youth another opportunity, they are less likely to turn to gangs in order to further opportunities.

21. Michael Shifter, "Countering Criminal Violence in Central America," *Council on Foreign Relations: Center for Preventative Action*, 46 (2012): 6.

22. Sebastian Huhn et al, "Exploding Crime? Topic Management in Central American Newspapers," (2006), 26.

23. Ibid. 26.

24. Ibid, 13.

25. Michael Shifter, "Countering Criminal Violence in Central America," (2012): 7.

26. Office on Drugs and Crime, United Nations. *Crime and Development in Central America* (2007), 26.

27. Michael Shifter, "Countering Criminal Violence in Central America," (2012): 9.

These types of legislation are generally seen as very beneficial to decreasing the pool of recruits.

When Mauricio Funes became president in 2009, he implemented a range of preventative action policies against gangs. These have yet to yield positive results, since the mass incarceration of suspected gang youth has turned prisons into gang recruiting centers.<sup>28</sup> However, one significant achievement by the Funes government is the truce that has recently been implemented between top leaders of the gangs of El Salvador and top government officials, brokered by the Catholic Church. This recent development included conditions to ensure the current state of relative peace in El Salvador endures. A concession granted to the gangs by the government was that some high-ranking gang leaders would be transferred to less secure prisons to facilitate negotiations.<sup>29</sup> Once in these negotiations, both gangs agreed not to forcibly recruit children into their ranks, not to perpetuate violence against women, and to symbolically hand over small amounts of arms to the government as a sign of peace.<sup>30</sup> Another problem that was discussed was the fact that many former gang members have a hard time reintegrating into society.<sup>31</sup> To ensure that peace lasts in El Salvador, the government must ensure that prison conditions are improved, and rehabilitation and reintegration programs for gang members are developed.<sup>32</sup>

One aspect of gang activity that must be addressed is the connection to drugs and other organized groups of criminals. A significant drug transit path leads through Central America for drugs produced in South America.<sup>33</sup> One estimate is that almost 80 percent of U.S.-bound cocaine that arrived through Mexico first stopped in at least one Central American country.<sup>34</sup> This represents a huge problem for El Salvador, because not only does the government need to deal with domestic issues of gang violence, they also must deal with the drugs that flow through their borders which are sometimes connected transnationally to gangs. There is also mounting evidence that Central America is no longer used solely for transit and gangs are beginning to develop their own drug caches.<sup>35</sup> There could be links developing between international narcotics cartels and local youth gangs in El Salvador, which would further perpetuate the cycle of crime and violence in the country.<sup>36</sup> Some international actors call for the legalization of certain drugs in order to end the illegal narcotic trafficking, which claims the lives of many civilians in Central

28. Ibid.

29. WOLA, El Salvador's Gang Truce: In Spite of Uncertainty, an Opportunity to Strengthen Prevention Efforts, July 17, 2012; Randal C. Archibold, "Gangs' Truce Buys El Salvador a Tenuous Peace," *New York Times*, August 27, 2012.

30. Ana Arana, "How the Street Gangs Took Central America," *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2005. Joaquín Chávez, "An Anatomy of Violence in El Salvador," *NACLA Report on the Americas*, May/June 2004.

31. CRS interviews conducted in El Salvador, August 20-22, 2012.

32. Liana Wyler, "International Drug Control Policy: Background and U.S. Responses," *Congressional Research Service* (2012): 6,

33. U.S. Department of State, INL, International Narcotics Control Strategy Report (INCSR), Vol. 1, March 2012.

34. James Bosworth, "Honduras: Organized Crime Gained Amid Political Crisis," in *Organized Crime in Central America*, p. 64

35. Richard Milletet all, "Peace Without Security: Central America in the 21st Century" (2008): 32.

36. Liana Wyler, "International Drug Control Policy: Background and U.S. Responses," (2012): 9.

America.<sup>37</sup> This idea was recently voiced by the Guatemalan President, Otto Perez Molina, whose arguments for such legalization include the fact that the human cost is simply too high to keep these drugs illegal.<sup>38</sup> The United States has stated that it will remain firmly against this measure even though the government says it does sympathize with the people of Latin America most affected by the drug trade.<sup>39</sup>

Besides the human cost of international drug trafficking, politicians have consistently said that juvenile delinquency is an imminent peril for the country and its national security.<sup>40</sup> Along with politicians, the media in El Salvador plays a significant role in relaying information to the public about the gang problem. The main news sources in El Salvador, *La Prensa Gráfica* and *El Diario de Hoy*, focus on the transnational dimensions of gang related issues.<sup>41</sup> This includes the deportation of criminal gang members to El Salvador and other transnational issues.<sup>42</sup> These reports have contributed to the popular perception that youth gangs are responsible for a majority of the violence committed in northern Central America, and politicians have perpetuated this idea.<sup>43</sup>

The United States has played a very large role in the violence in Central America. The United States began deporting violent criminals back to their home countries, often without warning the governments of the deportees. Once there they further added to the instability and violence in the region. The United States has not succeeded in its attempts to pass a comprehensive immigration reform act, and there have been further deportations, putting additional strains on already weak Central American governments.<sup>44</sup> The United States government is also accused of targeting MS-13 and M18 alien gang members for deportation, which has led to the further proliferation of U.S. - style gangs in Central America and Mexico.<sup>45</sup> Most murders are committed with firearms in El Salvador, which is linked to the widespread availability of firearms.<sup>46</sup> This can then be linked back to the United States and the lax gun regulations that permit the flow of assault weapons and other deadly firearms southward.<sup>47</sup> Recently however, the North American Cooperative Security Act (NACSA) went through Congress. This act would increase cooperation between Mexican, United States, and Central American officials. This would aid in the tracking of gang activity and handling of deported gang members.<sup>48</sup> Another bill has been introduced in Congress that would make gang-

related offenses in the United States federal crimes and would require sentencing for all those accused. Both of these bills could aid Central American countries in their efforts to combat gang violence. In some instances, the ideas and programs are available, however funding for such groups is not available.

The ties between the United States and Central America are strong when one considers transnational gang related activities. Not only are both regions facing similar issues, they are both attempting to rectify these issues. In terms of policymaking, there is significant effort by both regions to find way to solve the issue of gang violence transnationally. When comparing heavy-handed legislation versus preventative legislation, one can easily see that the preventative legislation has and will bring about the most improvement. There is still much that needs to be done, however, and if both the U.S. and the governments of Central America work together, then challenges relating to transnational gangs should be able to be faced successfully. It has been shown that heavy-handed gang legislation is not effective in containing and ending gang violence and that it is better to combat transnational gang issues with preventative measures and programs. If both the United States and Central America were to implement preventative measures, then the transnational aspect of these gangs could be severed to reduce the power of these gangs.

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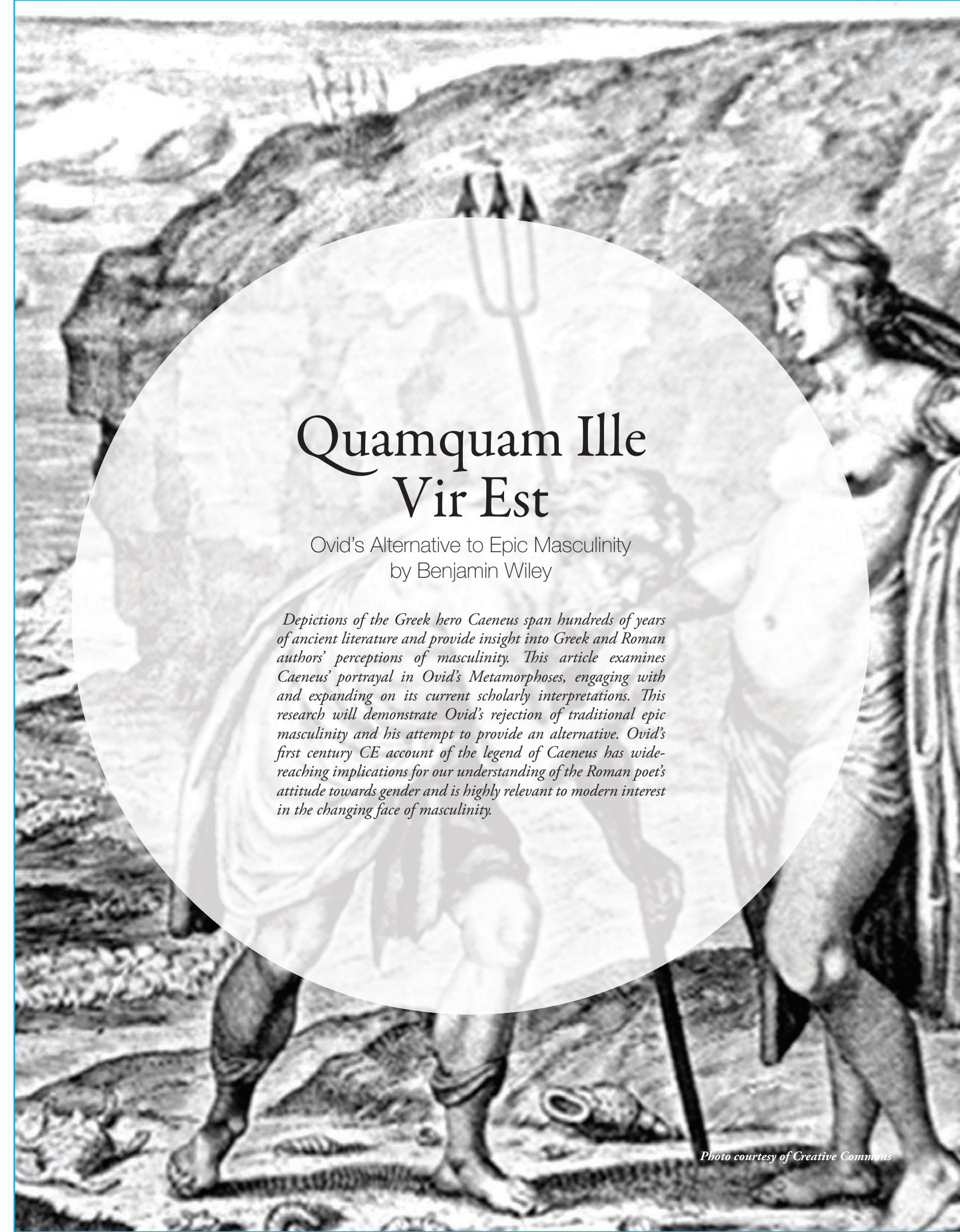
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### About the Author

Katie Baugh is a senior from Fairfax, Virginia. She is majoring in International Relations and German with a minor in Economics. Upon graduation, she intends to pursue a Masters in Political Science with a concentration in International Security.

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# Quamquam Ille Vir Est

Ovid's Alternative to Epic Masculinity  
by Benjamin Wiley

*Depictions of the Greek hero Caeneus span hundreds of years of ancient literature and provide insight into Greek and Roman authors' perceptions of masculinity. This article examines Caeneus' portrayal in Ovid's Metamorphoses, engaging with and expanding on its current scholarly interpretations. This research will demonstrate Ovid's rejection of traditional epic masculinity and his attempt to provide an alternative. Ovid's first century CE account of the legend of Caeneus has wide-reaching implications for our understanding of the Roman poet's attitude towards gender and is highly relevant to modern interest in the changing face of masculinity.*

Of the numerous transformation stories referenced in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, one of the most intriguing is that of the Greek hero Caeneus. The story takes place in Ovid's so-called "little Iliad," in which he recalls characters and themes from Homer's epic and challenges the traditional concept of masculinity. Caeneus, or Kaineus, was a legendary warrior famed for his invulnerability in battle. Homer catalogues him among heroes of the Golden Age, "the strongest men who ever lived on earth,"<sup>1</sup> and Hesiod identifies him as king of the "spear-bearing Lapiths," the fabled victors over the Centauromachy.<sup>2</sup> The identifying element of Caeneus' mythology – that he was born a girl – is de-emphasized by Homer and Hesiod, but Ovid is enraptured by this particular transformation. Thus the question arises: how does Ovid perceive Caeneus and his place in the larger context of traditional epic masculinity?

Originally named Caenis, the daughter of the Lapith king was famed for her beauty, which drew the attention of the gods and men. As she walked along the beach one day, Poseidon, filled with lust, raped her, and then, as reward or compensation, offered to grant her one wish.<sup>3</sup> So that she could never be violated again, Caenis wished to be a man, and so Poseidon transformed *him* into Caeneus. In fact, the name Kaineus plays on the Greek word *kainos*, "a new man." Caeneus' new, inviolate manliness applied not only in the context of rape, but extended to his entire being: he was now impenetrable by sword or spear in battle.<sup>4</sup> Henceforth, Caeneus devoted himself to *studiis virilibus*, "manly pursuits."<sup>5</sup>

Ovid's discussion of Caeneus takes place during the recounting of a feast celebrating Achilles' victory over Cycnus, another invulnerable warrior, and is used as a framework for Ovid's epic retelling of the Centauromachy. Achilles, angered that neither spear nor sword would make a mark on Cycnus, knocks him to the ground and strangles him with his own helmet straps. Later, as Achilles brags at the feast, Nestor recalls the story of another hero who could not be killed with a blade, Caeneus. Achilles and his companions are awed when Nestor reveals the miracle of Caeneus' original gender, and he indulges them with the tale of the legendary battle between the Centaurs and the Lapiths.

Nestor begins by setting the scene of the battle, which took place at a wedding: "Now, when Pirithoüs, son of Ixion the foolhardy, married Hippodame, he invited the cloud-born beast, the centaurs, to the wedding feast. They reclined at tables set up in a cave that trees gave shade to. The chieftains of Thessaly were there, as was I myself...."<sup>6</sup>

The centaur Eurytus, drunk and lusting after the bride, seizes her and carries her off, inciting the other Centaurs to do the same. Enraged when the hero Theseus kills Eurytus, the Centaurs begin brawling with the Lapiths. Caeneus kills many Centaurs, and their brethren are incensed and ashamed that they could not kill or even mark him with their weapons. Ultimately, the Centaurs turn together against Caeneus, burying him under a great pile of tree trunks, where he suffocates.

1. Homer, *Iliad* I.262.

2. Hesiod, *Shield* 178-179.

3. See Ovid, *Metamorphoses* XII.198-200.

4. For more on the Roman *vir's* immunity from physical violation, see Walters, "Invading the Roman Body," *Roman Sexualities*. Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1997.

5. Ovid, *Meta.* XII.208.

6. Ovid, *Meta.*, tr. Simpson, XII.210-214.



Photo courtesy of Wikipedia Commons  
Bauer sketched Caenis and the centaurs for Book XII of Ovid's *Metamorphosis*.

The legends of Caeneus and the Centauromachy are intertwined, but Ovid's motivations for including them in his Trojan episode are unclear. Outdated arguments have suggested that Ovid merely wanted an epic battle scene to conclude his "little Iliad" but refused to borrow from Homer or Vergil, and that the connection between Caeneus and Cycnus was "frivolous" coincidence.<sup>7</sup> More recent work, however, has made clear that Ovid consciously places the Centauromachy after Achilles' victory in order to draw out a comparison between Achilles and the Centaurs, and between Cycnus and Caeneus.<sup>8</sup> The point of this parallelism is to contrast qualities portrayed by Caeneus from those of Achilles and the Centaurs, particularly in the realm of gender behavior.

Ovid's portrayal of Achilles and the Centaurs is a gruesome caricature of epic masculinity. The only Homeric incident that rivals Achilles' brutality in this defeat of Cycnus is his desecration of Hector's corpse in the latter books of the *Iliad*. Further, the battles between Centaurs and Lapiths, while standard in their depth of grisly description, are farcical, particularly the Centaurs' use of the dinnerware at hand to fight their opponents. His over-the-top approach is our first glimpse of Ovid's attitude toward this model of masculinity. The second comes when he, through Nestor's experienced and authoritative voice, undermines Achilles' right to boast of his victory at the celebratory feast by turning the conversation to Caeneus. Ioannis Ziogas has written that Ovid's depiction of Caeneus has parallels to *ehoie*-poetry, a distinctly female genre used by Hesiod in his *Catalogue of Women*.<sup>9</sup> His claims that Ovid treats Caeneus with *ehoie*-formulas are not unfounded, but as Ziogas points out, the tale of female-born Caeneus has no place "at a feast celebrating the valor of men." The *Metamorphoses* overall leans heavily on Hesiodic themes, but the Homeric themes and epic tone of this particular passage seem to outweigh any constructions that evoke Hesiod. Thus Caeneus' inclusion in this context and his role in the subsequent battle tell us that, for Ovid, he does not represent a female or non-gendered heroism but a version of manhood that is set up in contrast to Achilles.

Ziogas has used Caeneus' birth status to argue that his inclusion in the Trojan episode is an attempt to "[deflate] the ideal of epic manliness."<sup>10</sup>

7. See Otis, 1970.

8. Cf. Papaioannou, *Redesigning Achilles*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2007, p.87ff.

9. See Ziogas, *Ovid and Hesiod: The Metamorphosis of the Catalogue of Women*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

10. Ziogas, p.186.

While it appears to be true that Caeneus is undermining this generic masculinity, Ziogas' assumption rests on Caeneus' inherent femaleness. It is by no means clear, however, that Ovid considers Caeneus to be anything other than a man throughout this passage. To paraphrase Papaioannou, "gender has a permanence in traditional epic that is absent in the *Metamorphoses* by its very nature." While the possibility, and perhaps inevitability, of further shifting is apparent, Ovid fully embraces Caeneus' current male identity.

Ovid's recognition of Caeneus as a representation of manliness is evidenced, in addition to his incorporation in the feast discussion, by his treatment in the Centauromachy. In one incident, a Centaur named Latreus taunts Caeneus by saying that he will always be a woman and should leave warfare to the men. This is an example of the standard epic motif in which a foe, engaging the hero in one-on-one battle, questions the hero's manhood and is promptly killed in reply. In the same way, Caeneus endures the taunt of Latreus and then defeats him with no further commentary on the gendered nature of the insult. Latreus' speech, in this unique case, plays on what in this case is the literalism of a motif that is usually figurative, and does not seem to place Caeneus back into the realm of the feminine. With this altercation, Ovid confirms Caeneus's maleness and heroism by giving him the same treatment as other heroes of epic.

Throughout the episode, Ovid's description of Caeneus and stylistic manipulation of his story serve to place him among the ranks of traditional epic heroes, just as Homer and Hesiod located him. Yet the contrast that Ovid intends between Caeneus and the behaviors exemplified by Achilles and the Centaurs cannot be denied. We do not see many traits positively exhibited by Caeneus. Rather, we see what he is not: excessive, boastful, bloodthirsty. Ovid wanted to challenge the masculinities portrayed by Homer and found in other tales of the same genre by utilizing Caeneus to portray an alternative form of masculinity. There is only speculation as to why Ovid believed Caeneus should have turned out to be so different from Achilles. Perhaps this alternate masculinity stems from his female origins. It could also be suggested that some non-gendered qualities inherent in Caeneus' personality contribute to his difference, or that the experience of transformation prevented him from taking on certain traditional masculine traits. No matter Ovid's line of reasoning here, Caeneus represents a form of manliness that stands apart from the status quo in epic storytelling.

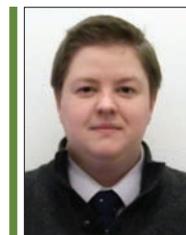
Caeneus is included in a number of catalogues of both heroes and heroines, from Homer's list of god-like men to Vergil's love-stricken women in the Fields of Mourning. Clearly, ancient writers and audiences had a nuanced perception of his gender and its values, which varied widely through time and place. Caeneus defies the strict categories of male and female, and each author's reaction to him can tell us about his or her expectations for gender. Homer, for instance, ignores any mention of Caeneus' female history, and we can hypothesize that he either did not know of the legend, or chose to ignore it. Hesiod briefly acknowledges his transformation and role as a ruler of men (ἄνδρες), yet still places him in the "Catalogue of Women." Perhaps this indicates that, for Hesiod, gender identity is more dependent on birth sex than gender performance.

In the *Metamorphoses*, Ovid adds his voice to this conversation, and its implications for our understanding of the way the ancients perceived gender are significant. Ovid hints that perceptions and manifestations of gender are mutable, and he engages critically with stereotypical masculinities and their depictions in the literature that he emulated. Whether he is responding to gendered expectations in the work of

specific authors or commenting on the wider cultural conception of admirable manliness, Ovid's depiction of Caeneus demonstrates that he was actively questioning the behavior of male heroes and rewriting the mythology to reflect his own ideas of masculinity and heroism.

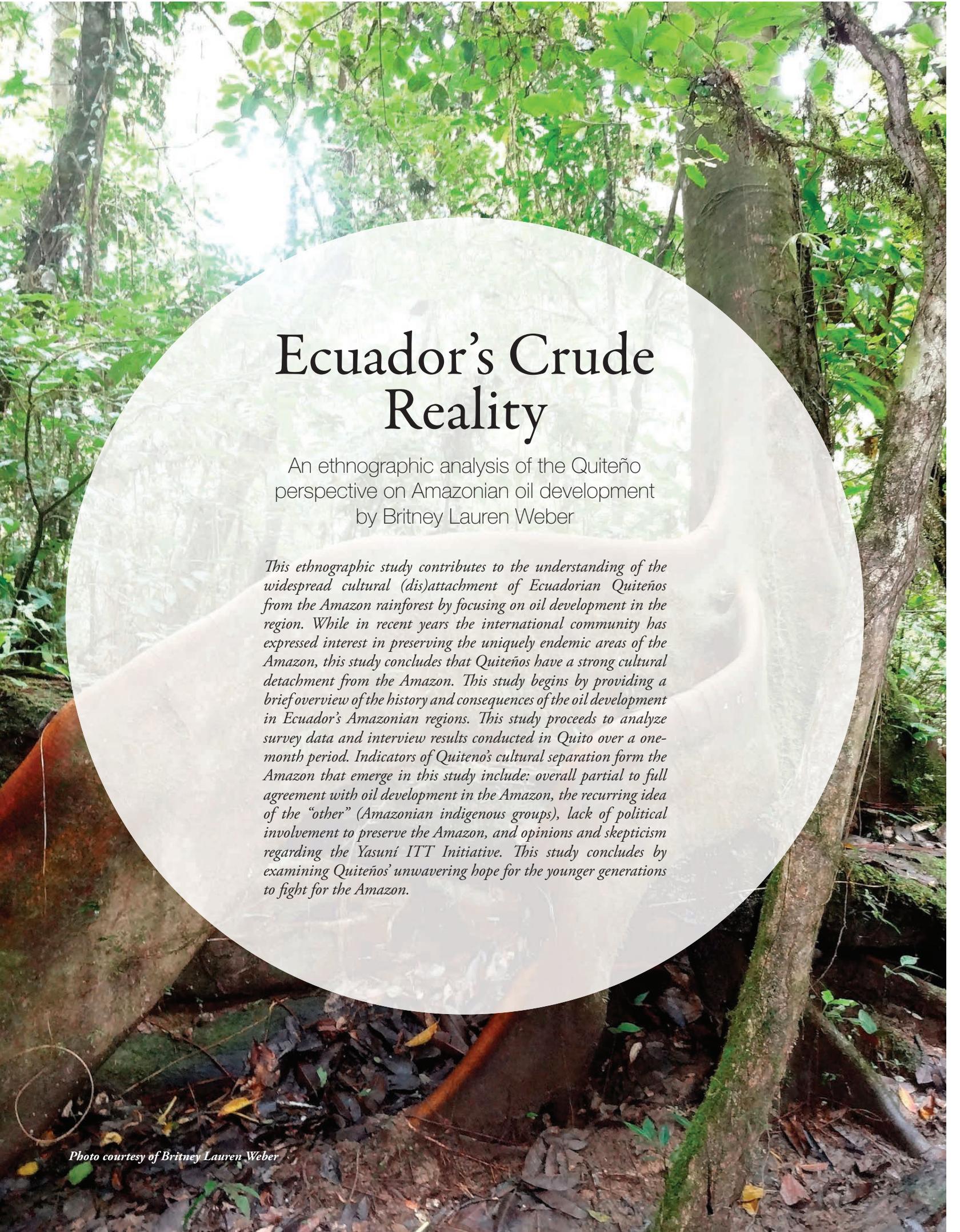
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### About the Author

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# Ecuador's Crude Reality

An ethnographic analysis of the Quiteño perspective on Amazonian oil development  
by Britney Lauren Weber

*This ethnographic study contributes to the understanding of the widespread cultural (dis)attachment of Ecuadorian Quiteños from the Amazon rainforest by focusing on oil development in the region. While in recent years the international community has expressed interest in preserving the uniquely endemic areas of the Amazon, this study concludes that Quiteños have a strong cultural detachment from the Amazon. This study begins by providing a brief overview of the history and consequences of the oil development in Ecuador's Amazonian regions. This study proceeds to analyze survey data and interview results conducted in Quito over a one-month period. Indicators of Quiteño's cultural separation from the Amazon that emerge in this study include: overall partial to full agreement with oil development in the Amazon, the recurring idea of the "other" (Amazonian indigenous groups), lack of political involvement to preserve the Amazon, and opinions and skepticism regarding the Yasuni ITT Initiative. This study concludes by examining Quiteños' unwavering hope for the younger generations to fight for the Amazon.*

## Introduction

This study contributes to the understanding of the cultural identification and (dis)attachment of Quiteños to the Amazon rainforest by focusing on oil development in Ecuador. Since its beginning in the 1960s and 1970s, oil development in the Amazon region of Ecuador has been a controversial and debated topic. After Chevron-Texaco deliberately dumped 18.5 billion gallons of toxic waste sludge into the streams and rivers of the Amazon between 1964 and 1992,<sup>1</sup> and once President Rafael Correa popularized the Yasuni ITT Initiative, the international spotlight on oil development in Ecuador has grown stronger. There are many international and national actors involved in either the fight to progress or halt oil production in Ecuador. However, while all international eyes are on Ecuador, this ethnographic study has determined that Ecuadorians, especially Quiteños living in the nation's capital, have a strong cultural detachment to the Amazon. By examining the structures of Quiteños' cultural relationship and identification with the Amazon, this study aims to understand the powerful political and social role the oil industry plays in Ecuador.

This study briefly discusses the environmental consequences of oil exploitation, ranging from deforestation and species extinction to climate change and increasing pollution to oil spills, as they are well documented and undeniable. Additionally, there exists an abundance of academic articles, journals, and books that cover the devastating impacts of oil production on Amazonian indigenous communities, especially those in the provinces of Orellana and Pastaza. However, there is virtually no literature regarding the public perception of Ecuadorians living in cities. In the small country, sharing approximately the same area as Wyoming, there exist many distinct and often contrasting worlds: the coast and endemic Galapagos Islands, the Sierra, the modernizing urban cities such as Quito, and the pristine Amazon rainforest which is home to indigenous people. This study focuses on the public perceptions of Quiteños relating to oil development, and more specifically the cultural attachment to, or detachment from, the Amazon.

## 1.2 Methodology

Since this study focuses on the public perceptions of Ecuadorians living in Quito regarding oil development in the Amazon, ethnographic methods are carried out in Quito. Quito was the selected site for this study because it is the capital of Ecuador where major environmental and social decisions are made and policies are crafted.

To understand the public perceptions and cultural ties of Quiteños to the Amazon, multiple data collection methods are utilized. The majority of my analysis is drawn from eight interviews of Quiteños conducted from February 2013 to April 2013. This study has two major hypotheses: 1) Quiteños generally do not have a prominent cultural attachment to the Amazonian regions of Ecuador; and 2) Quiteños' political involvement and advocacy to encourage the protection of Amazon is low. The rationale for these two hypotheses was generated from observations made during my five-month stay in Quito, where I noted a surprising lack of pride for and urgency to protect the megadiverse Amazonian regions of the country. I first wanted to know how educated Quiteños are regarding oil development in the Amazon. Therefore, the interviews begin by examining the interviewee's general knowledge and opinions regarding the issue.

1. Rainforest Action Network, "Chevron's Toxic Legacy in the Ecuadorian Amazon", <<http://ran.org/chevrans-toxic-legacy-ecuador>>.

Do people from Quito agree or disagree with the oil development in the Amazon and why? Other questions this study answers include: do Quiteños have a sense of pride for their megadiverse country?; do Quiteños have a shared attachment or detachment with the Amazon?; politically, do Quiteños prioritize the protection of the Amazon above/other issues?; who do Quiteños blame for the blatant neglect of the Amazon and its indigenous peoples?; do people living in Quito have optimism for the Yasuni-ITT Initiative and/or alternative energies?

In order to reach as many individuals as possible and to receive additional data, this study analyzes the results from an anonymous survey that was sent to eighteen Quiteños from varying socio-economic classes, ages, and genders. This survey was distributed as a hardcopy and electronically. The survey includes opinion questions regarding political prioritization of issues in Ecuador, and agree/disagree questions relating to oil and mining development in the Amazon, and to tourism's effects on the rainforest. Target groups that received this survey include, but are not limited to, taxi drivers, business owners, and college students. Important results collected from the survey were then compiled into graphs and are featured within this study and in the appendix section.

This study primarily targets the average Ecuadorian citizen living in Quito. However, in order to provide varying perspectives to the complex issue of Amazonian oil development, this study also includes other actors, such as a worker for a privately owned oil company living in Quito. Workers from the Tiputini Biodiversity Station located within the Yasuni National Park were also interviewed in order to provide first-hand witnesses to the consequences of oil development. The co-founder and director of the Station, Kelly Swing, was interviewed along with manager Juan de Dios. During these interviews, extensive field notes and written transcripts were taken.

## 2.0 The Past and the Present

To fully understand the problem of oil development in the Northeastern region of Ecuador, one must understand the historically powerful role major oil companies have held and the ecological and cultural spheres they destroyed. This study also provides a brief explanation of President Rafael Correa's unprecedented Yasuni-ITT Initiative.

## 2.1 Ecuador's Oil Boom and the Reign of Texaco

"Black gold" has transformed Ecuador economically, politically, and culturally, and in such a rapid and profound way that perhaps only the Spanish Conquest has had a comparable effect<sup>2</sup>. Studies on the history of Ecuador's oil industry rarely neglect to examine the role of and case against Texaco.<sup>3 4</sup> Ecuador's history of development is marked by a reliance on the primary sector, from cocoa (1860-1920), to the Banana Boom (1948-1965), to the current extractive practices of the oil and

2. Karoline Nolso Aen, *Ecological and Sociological Impacts of Oil Exploitation in and around Yasuni National Park, Ecuador* (Copenhagen: University of Copenhagen, 2006) 6-8.

3. Chris Baker, et al., *Oil Pollution in Ecuador: A devised Remediation Approach* (Worcester: Worcester Polytechnic Institute, 2009) ix.

4. James Rochlin, "Development, The Environment and Ecuador's Oil Patch: The Context and Nuance of the Case Against Texaco" (*Association of Third World Studies* 28.8, 2011) 11-39.

mining industries.<sup>5</sup> Between the different international and national actors and concessions from the government, the beginnings of oil development in the Amazon were convoluted and the means by which Texaco got involved have been said to be deceptive.

On August 26, 1961, the Ecuadorian government granted 4.35 million hectares of land as concessions to *Minas y Petróleos del Ecuador*, which was operated by *Phoenix Canada Oil Co.* of Toronto and *Norsul Oil and Mining Ltd.* of Albany, Georgia.<sup>6</sup> Howard Strouth controlled both of the firms, and unilaterally transferred 1.65 million hectares of the land to two other companies, *Compañía Petrolera Pastaza* and *Compañía Petrolera Aguarica*.<sup>7</sup> These two companies then sold the 1.65 million hectare concession to Texaco-Gulf on December 20, 1965. All of these transactions were completed without the knowledge of the Ecuadorian government. These developments soon left the “effective rule of the *Oriente* in the hands of Texaco-Gulf.”<sup>8</sup>

The oil boom that began in 1967 permanently transformed the region when the Texaco-Gulf Consortium drilled its first well in Sucumbio’s Lago Agrio and began producing an incredible 2,640 barrels of oil daily.<sup>9</sup> Between 1967 and 1987, 138 exploratory wells were established, 80% of which were located in the Amazon.<sup>10</sup> In 1969, the Ecuadorian government agreed to re-establish its contract with Texaco-Gulf, but reclaimed two-thirds (930,000 hectares), leaving Texaco-Gulf with its favored 500,000. The oil production grew to massive heights when in 1972 the Trans-Ecuadorian Pipeline (SOTE) began pumping oil and production capacity rose from 4,100 thousand barrels a day in 1970 to over 208,800 barrels by 1973, the year that Ecuador became a member of OPEC.<sup>11</sup> Ecuador later voluntarily suspended its OPEC membership in 1992 and resumed membership in 2007.<sup>12</sup> Texaco-Gulf’s contributions of knowledge and technological capital allowed Ecuador to enjoy increasing GDP and growing prosperity. By the early 1980s, the “oil-rich *Oriente* was controlled by foreign TNCs.”<sup>13</sup>

From 1964 to 1992 Texaco, today owned by Chevron, deliberately discarded 18.5 billion gallons of wastewater and 17 million gallons of waste oil into the pits of the Amazon and its waterways.<sup>14</sup> Today, private companies such as Texaco control most of the oil operations in the *Oriente*; a web of roads has been established, indigenous natives have been displaced, and vast swathes of the Amazon have been deforested, almost a million acres a year.<sup>15</sup>

## 2.2 Exploitation of Environment and Indigenous Communities

The era since the OPEC boom has been one characterized by man’s domination over the environment and the natives that lived there in order to accumulate economic wealth under an aggressive capitalist system and globalized world, where ecological sustainability and stewardship have not been part of the agenda. Other studies that analyze these consequences ask questions relating to changes in indigenous culture,<sup>16</sup> health and exposure to toxins,<sup>17</sup> ecological pollution and unsustainability,<sup>18</sup> and ecotourism.<sup>19</sup>

The three stages of oil development – exploration, production and transportation – have considerable ecological consequences. Oil exploration in the Amazon has caused thousands of miles of deforestation and hundreds of seismic explosions that have resulted in land erosion and wildlife habitat destruction.<sup>20</sup> Even more devastating to the Amazon is oil production. Every day oil separation stations discharge over 4.3 million gallons of untreated toxic wastes, including up to 4,200 gallons of oil, into waste pits located in the heart of the Amazon that eventually leach into the environment.<sup>21</sup> A government study conducted in 1987 found that 80% of these waste pits were permanent sources of contamination.<sup>22</sup> Furthermore, during the production stage, oil leaks from storage drums and contaminates waterways. Over 30 billion gallons of crude oil and waste has been dumped into the Amazon’s land and water since 1972.<sup>23</sup> Another government study carried out that same year discovered high levels of oil and grease in all thirty-six samples taken from waterways near a production site, which had “seriously harmed the aquatic ecosystem.”<sup>24</sup> Finally, the transportation stage of oil development, including the construction, maintenance, and monitoring of transport pipelines, also causes environmental degradation in the Amazon. The Ecuadorian government reported 30 spills in the main trans-Ecuadorian pipeline, which dumped almost 17 million of crude oil into the environment – almost 7 million gallons more than the Exxon-Valdez disaster.<sup>25</sup> Some spills are unpredictable and unavoidable, but, according to the CESR, the spillage seen in Ecuador can be attributed to industry negligence. These reckless ecological assaults have been considered a “horrendous ecocide perpetrated by forces that wish to remain hidden.”<sup>26</sup>

The effects on indigenous communities have been equally as devastating. Eight indigenous nations reside in Ecuador’s Amazon: the Quichua and Shuar account for the majority, and the rest are Huarani,

5. Rochlin 11.

6. Rochlin 14.

7. Rochlin 14.

8. Rochlin 14.

9. Rochlin 14.

10. Rochlin 14.

11. Rochlin 15.

12. OPEC, Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries, “Ecuador Facts and Figures” (Annual Statistical Bulletin, 2012).

13. Rochlin 14.

14. Baker ix.

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17. Migual San Sebastián and Anna-Karin Hurtig, *Oil Exploitation in the Amazon basin of Ecuador: a public health emergency*, (Sweden: Umea International School of Public Health; Ecuador: Instituto de Epidemiología y Salud Comunitaria, 2003) 205-210.

18. Baker ix.

19. Julie Marie Weinart, *The Construction and Influence of Local Gender Roles on Practice in a Global Industry: Ecotourism in Ecuador*, (Ohio: The Ohio State University, 2008).

20. *Rights Violations in the Ecuadorian Amazon* 6.

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22. *Rights Violations in the Ecuadorian Amazon* 6.

23. *Rights Violations in the Ecuadorian Amazon*.

24. Sebastián, Hurtig 207.

25. *Rights Violations in the Ecuadorian Amazon* 6.

26. Rochlin 12.



Photo Courtesy of Britney Lauren Weber  
A black caiman (*Melanosuchus niger*) sighting while traveling across an Amazonian lagoon.

the Secoya, the Siona, the Shiwiari, the Cofan, and the Achuar.<sup>27</sup> Once thought to contribute to Ecuador's economic growth, oil development in the Amazon has proven to reinvest very little back into the Amazon and its native indigenous people. For the indigenous, oil development has brought disease, displacement, nearly irreversible contamination of land and water, loss of food sources such as fish and game, and forcible encroachment on traditional lands by the state and foreign oil companies made to seem more benign with the bestowment of gifts and bribes. Additionally, oil development, especially its establishment of a web of roads throughout the Amazon, has allowed for increased contact with outsiders and has introduced the market economy into the Amazon. This extended contact and implementation of market economic values has not only undermined traditional cultures but has also encouraged racism and discrimination.<sup>28</sup>

Despite many progressive international initiatives to recognize and protect the world's indigenous people, such as the UN designating 1995-2005 the International Decade of the World's Indigenous People, Ecuador has sought to assimilate its indigenous populations of the Amazon into the oil economy. Furthermore, the Ecuadorian government has refused to recognize indigenous ownership to the land they have inhabited for centuries.<sup>29</sup> Instead of assimilating, many indigenous groups in Ecuador have countered these assaults and encroachments by protesting in Quito to demand that their political, cultural, and territorial rights be respected, and oil development to stop.

While there exists pressure from the international community and indigenous and environmental organizations for oil companies to utilize safer environmental practices and protect indigenous communities, *Petroecuador*, the state-run oil company in Ecuador that

controls over 90% of current production, has shown little interest in making significant reforms and continues to enjoy immunity from regulation policy.<sup>30</sup> Field visits by various groups and independent observers have found that *Petroecuador* still uses environmentally dangerous equipment and discharges toxic waste directly into the environment, practices that were inherited from Texaco.<sup>31</sup>

### 2.3 The Future of Yasuní

In order to appreciate the unique gem located within Ecuador, it is impossible not to mention the Yasuní National Park. The Yasuní National Park was declared a UNESCO Biosphere Reserve in 1989 and is one of the most biodiverse places in the world with one of the highest numbers of endemic species.<sup>32</sup> The area encompasses the Huaorani Ethnic Territory and the Tagaeri-Taromemani Untouchable Zone (intangible area), a combined area of 16,800 km<sup>2</sup> of the Amazon. The national park contains over 1762 plant, 173 mammals, and 610 birds species – many of which are categorized as vulnerable or endangered.<sup>33</sup>

The Yasuní National Park has not been spared from environmental degradation. Despite its designation as a national park in 1979, The Ecuadorian government continued to promote oil development in Yasuní.<sup>34</sup> Ecuador's Amazon is geographically divided into oil blocks. Each block is sold to and owned and operated by foreign and domestic oil companies. As the demand for oil increases worldwide, more and more blocks are being carved out of the Amazon, some of which overlap with indigenous territories and protected areas like the Yasuní

30. *Rights Violations in the Ecuadorian Amazon* 6.

31. *Rights Violations in the Ecuadorian Amazon* 8.

32. Aaen 7.

33. Aaen 7.

34. Matt Finer, et al., *Leaving the Oil Under the Amazon: Ecuador's Yasuní-ITT Initiative (Biotropica, 2009)* 63-66.

27. *Rights Violations in the Ecuadorian Amazon* 11.

28. *Rights Violations in the Ecuadorian Amazon* 8.

29. *Rights Violations in the Ecuadorian Amazon* 11.

National Park.<sup>35</sup> Additionally, due to the construction of oil roads, settlements, and resource exploitation in the Amazon, overhunting and contamination can occur virtually unrestrained.

However, within the last decade, a considerable resistance campaign has emerged in Ecuador to counter the exploitation of the Yasuní National Park. In June 2007, Ecuador launched an unprecedented and innovative new initiative called the Yasuní-ITT Initiative. This initiative would leave at least 850 million barrels of heavy crude oil locked beneath the ground in order to protect biodiversity, respect indigenous' territory, and combat climate change.<sup>36</sup> Due to Ecuador's deep economic reliance on the oil industry, it is offering to leave the oil fields of Ishpingo-Tambococha-Tiputini, or ITT, undeveloped if the international community can generate a minimum of half the estimated market value of the crude oil, or \$3.5 billion.<sup>37</sup> While this initiative has gained support and praise from the international community, many in Ecuador are skeptical of its potential for success considering Ecuador's heavy economic reliance on the oil industry.

## 2.4 Problem Statement

As can be seen above, many different aspects of the oil development issue in the Amazon have been covered in previous studies and literature. However, virtually nothing has been documented regarding the public perceptions of Quiteños. Considering that crucial legislative decisions are made in the capital of Quito, and also taking into account that Ecuador is one of the most biodiverse places in the world, this study aims to make sense of the alarming lack of cultural and political attachment to the Rainforest amongst Quiteños in order to better understand the persistent, exploitative practices of oil development. Additionally, this study analyzes the skepticism that exists amongst Quiteños regarding the Yasuní ITT Initiative.

## 3.0 Cultural Separation: Ethnographic Analysis and Interpretation

After one month of surveying and interviewing in Quito, I have concluded that there does exist a strong cultural separation from the Amazon amongst Quiteños. In this section, I first analyze survey and interview results and identify indicators of this separation, which include overall agreement with oil development in the Amazon, the recurring idea of the "other," lack of political involvement and prioritization of political issues, and opinions and skepticism regarding the Yasuní ITT Initiative. This study concludes by examining Quiteños' hope for the younger generations.

### 3.1 The necessary evil

Every day on the public bus from Quito towards Cumbaya, I notice graffiti along the streets that read, "Chevron no sea cabrón!" "Chevron = asesinos," and the Chevron logo crossed out with a red 'X'. However, out of eighteen surveys, only five Quiteños said they disagreed completely with oil development in the Amazonian regions of Ecuador. Four of these respondents were in disagreement because of the irreversible damage caused to the environment and indigenous communities in the Amazon, one respondent stating that, "there exist few ecological reserves in the world, and Ecuador is an Amazonian country." The final respondent's rationale for

being in disagreement with oil development was due to the lack of regulation and caution taken during oil production in the Amazon. The remaining respondents were either in total or partial agreement with oil development in the Amazon. Those who partially agree with oil development (9) did so under the condition that areas of high biodiversity are protected and indigenous communities respected. Finally, the four Quiteños who completely agreed with oil development all shared the same rationale: "oil is the energy that drives the Ecuadorian economy" and "[petroleum] is a necessary evil."

These survey results suggest two realities: 1) the majority of Quiteños are at least partially in agreement with oil development in the Amazonian regions of Ecuador for economic reasons; and 2) the majority of Quiteños do care that oil development is done in a respectful and regulated way, and some even acknowledge the holistic importance of the Amazon's biodiversity that makes Ecuador unique. (Agree: 4 / Partial: 9 / Disagree: 5)

### 3.2 Another World and the "Other"

Juanito is a 41-year-old small-business owner, taxi driver, husband, and father of two who has lived in Quito for 37 years. Without any hesitation, he explained to me how oil development in the Amazon greatly affects his businesses in Quito, "when oil costs more, so does everything else," including the food necessary to keep his restaurant open. He mentioned that without oil development, the new, and much safer, airport would not have been able to be built. Since Juanito's businesses are dependent on low oil costs, he is in complete agreement with domestic and foreign oil development in the Amazon, as long as it is done legally, regardless of lax regulations and harm to the environment. Compared to the economic benefit oil development brings to Juanito's businesses, irreversible environmental damages are nearly invisible throughout his daily life.

When I asked Juanito and Elizabeth Ramos, a 29-year-old publicist and single mother, if they felt connected to or separated from the Amazon, they both said that Quiteños, including themselves, are separated because the only avenue to feel "connected" is through the media. When Juanito discovers the damage oil development is causing the environment and indigenous communities, he said, "I feel sorry/bad, but that's as far as it goes. Since Quiteños do not live in the Amazon, they do not care." Paula Armendoriz, a 22-year-old college student who has lived in Quito her whole life, put it best, "the Amazon and the indigenous people who live there are not considered part of Ecuador... The Amazon equals oil. That's it."

Additionally, the idea of the "other" makes it easier for Ecuadorian students and employed adults to leave the country to take advantage of opportunities abroad, because they do not feel personally and culturally attached to the diversity they are leaving behind. Paula regrettably explained that the ultimate goal of most of the students at her university is to continue their studies abroad, even though "Ecuadorians should take advantage of all our country has to offer and help develop it." However, a phenomenon exists where Ecuadorians have more pride for the Amazonian regions of their country once they travel abroad and have a chance to miss it, discovering its value. Juanito told me that his brother is a doctor in the United States who before did not appreciate the diversity in Ecuador. However, only by leaving Ecuador did he gain a renewed sense of pride for its diversity, and now deeply misses it.

35. Aaen 7.

36. Finer 63.

37. Finer 65.

### 3.3 Political Prioritization and Involvement

I asked all of the interviewed Quiteños to rank their top three political issues from most important to least important. Juanito and Paula responded 1) education, 2) health, and 3) the economy, while Elizabeth said 1) health, 2) the economy, and 3) education. Modesto Ponce, a 75 year-old published Ecuadorian author, also prioritized health and social issues above all else. Survey results showed that environmental issues receive only 20% of the first priority when compared to health, the economy, and human rights.

Political involvement and activism are also strikingly low in Quito. Out of 18 surveys, 15 respondents said they have never participated in any type of activism against oil development in the Amazon, be it petitions, protests, or another type of public display of disapproval.<sup>38</sup> Low numbers of political participation and mobilization against oil development further enforce the idea of cultural separation from the Amazon. However, Elizabeth spoke about how before Rafael Correa's government, there existed many more protests among the indigenous people, who would travel to Quito demanding oil companies to stop destroying their lands. Some Quiteños were even involved in these public displays of outrage. According to Elizabeth, however, today Correa hands out "regalos" (gifts) to indigenous communities to avoid social discord and scandal: "El es un hombre muy inteligente. Nadie dice nada ahora."

Throughout this study, the environment was consistently ranked far lower than other political issues to Quiteños, and it quickly became apparent that political activism for Amazonian conservation is virtually nonexistent in Quito. While interviewing and surveying did reveal that many Quiteños are partially interested in the welfare of the Amazon, there does not exist a sense of urgency and/or pride to become involved in its protection.

### 3.4 Public Perceptions of Yasuní National Park and the ITT Initiative

After spending three days at the Tiputini Biodiversity Station, a research center that sits in the heart of the Yasuní National Park, it was impossible not to feel awestruck by the vast power and strength of the Amazon rainforest. It was apparent that the employees at the station, including Mayor, a tour guide who has worked in the Amazon for nearly 40 years, have a deep appreciation for the animal and plant species and unwavering respect for the majestic forest. I was fortunate to have had the chance to speak with Kelly Swing, the founding director of the Tiputini Biodiversity Station, who has lived in Quito since 1990. I was surprised to find that it is not always the primary environmental effects of oil development that destroy the Amazon, such as oil spills, but also the secondary effects that can be just as irreversible. These secondary effects include indigenous settlements, deforestation, and the hunting of wildlife, all of which are enabled by the construction of roads. A recent example is the Católica Biodiversity Station, where, after the construction of the infamous Maxus Road, once nomadic indigenous communities were able to settle for the first time and hunted all the wildlife to scarcity, bringing animal species research to a screeching halt. In 1994, Kelly handpicked the land for the Tiputini research center because it was "in the middle of nowhere" in hopes of avoiding a similar fate. When I asked Kelly if Tiputini runs the risk of being settled and over-hunted, he said there already exists encroachment even though the closest road is 12 kilometers away, and "all I can hope is that [the Tiputini Biodiversity Station] has been

established long enough that we have the potential for survival...but right now is a crucial moment for deciding what is staying, and what is going."

The popularized idea of conserving the megadiverse Amazon is only as new as the Yasuní ITT Initiative, which has brought such an incredible amount of political and social attention to the issue in the last few years that Ecuadorians from all four regions of the country are at least aware of its existence. According to survey responses, all respondents think the Yasuní initiative is a step in the right direction for environmental conservation. However, over half of the respondents were extremely skeptical of its success. Skepticism included comments such as, "[the Yasuní initiative] is hypocritical and inconsistent," "it is doomed to failure if the position of the government does not change, especially the President's," and "the initiative is driven by politics," implying that the initiative is not based on actual concern for the welfare and protection of the Amazon. Overall, this skepticism suggests that since Quiteños do not have considerable hope for the initiative's success, their motivation and desire to become involved in advocacy is very small. Lack of motivation to become politically or socially involved in the initiative's successful passage is weakened even further when beliefs exist specifically regarding politicians' agendas having more importance than environmental welfare. In other words, Quiteños may feel as though their voice would not matter when faced with political agendas and the power and influence that come with them. Nonetheless, while skepticism exists amongst Quiteños, every person surveyed had heard of and had a base knowledge about the initiative.

However, even with a large amount of media attention on the Yasuní ITT Initiative issue, Kelly informed me that no one from outside the region who does not work in the Yasuní National Park either for environmental conservation or in the oil industry, would ever make an active effort to visit the park. "I'm sure that less than 1% of all Ecuadorians have actually been inside the Yasuní." Kelly continued to explain how even most Ecuadorians from the *Oriente* itself have never been inside the actual, intact rainforest and know essentially nothing about it beyond where it is geographically located: "People who live in Coca or Tena or Lago Agrio have, for the most part, never seen a monkey in the wild – and they would never consider paying to go to a place where that might be possible. That's just too far from their hometowns and there's no justification for going 'all the way out there.'" Oil workers are also separated from the power and awe of the Amazon by chain-linked fences that keep them away from the "menacing and dangerous forest and all its creatures." If people who live within the regions of the Amazon, and even those who work inside it, have no desire to learn about and feel connected to the Amazon, it is no surprise that the majority of Quiteños, according to this study, are culturally barricaded from it too.

Kelly's research has shown that there may be no comparison to the Tiputini area in the entire world in terms of biodiversity. However, according to the observations of Kelly and Juan de Dios, a manager at the Station living in Quito, Quiteños are generally ignorant about the gem that exists in their own country. Kelly explained how every year for Earth Day he does environmental outreach for the US government in Ecuador. A few years ago, he spoke to sets of Quiteño public school students from ages 10-17 about environmental awareness. When Kelly asked the children if they had ever visited the Yasuní National Park, it did not surprise him that no one raised a hand. However, Kelly was shocked to find that a large majority of the children had never even visited the very popular *Carolina* and *Metropolitano* parks of Quito.

38. Appendix, B.1.

If a majority of children from public schools and their families have never visited the landmark and iconic parks of Quito, visiting Yasuní is like “talking about going to the moon”. To Quiteños, the Amazon is “muddy, sweaty, and ridden by insects”, and if money were available, many would rather go to a fútbol game or to the beach. When I asked Kelly and Juan where they thought the future of Yasuní ITT was headed, both said that the land would definitely be exploited, but the question is when: “the survival of Yasuní will depend on how long the issue will be pertinent in Ecuadorians’ hearts.”<sup>39</sup>

The bottom line is that people in Quito are very separated from Yasuní geographically, mentally, and emotionally; the “people of the *Oriente*” are almost as separated as Quiteños despite the fact that they would likely show more solidarity on the issue if confronted, and as a point of pride they would be more adamant. However, in general, the old psychology adage, “out of sight out of mind” applies to an overwhelming extent in this case.

#### 4.0 Conclusion

Various conclusions have been drawn throughout interviewing and surveying. First, it is important to acknowledge that Quiteños, overall, do have a sense of pride for Ecuador’s Amazon, and none of the interviewees denied that there *should* be a mobilized moral obligation to protect it, “Todos somos Ecuatorianos.”<sup>40</sup> However, there does exist a strong cultural detachment from the Amazon, which is a phenomenon that is not just limited to Quito but also runs rampant in other major Ecuadorian cities such as Guayaquil and Cuenca. Indicators of this cultural detachment can be seen through Quiteños’ overall agreement with oil development in the Amazon (cultural), the recurring perception of the Amazon and indigenous communities that live there as the “other” (geographical), the lack of political involvement and prioritization of political issues in Quito (political), lack of desire to visit the Amazon and the Yasuní National Park, and the skepticism of the Yasuní ITT Initiative’s success (geographical/economical).

One of the solutions to this detachment that every interviewee mentioned was the mobilization of younger generations. Paula has faith in the youth of Ecuador, including her own generation: “the Ecuadorian youth will have loud voices regarding oil development in the Amazon because they are living with the consequences.” Every day, Kelly witnesses his students becoming increasingly outraged at the lax regulation of oil development and the widespread Amazonian deforestation that goes along with it. Modesto is proud that his country is the first to ever give the natural world legal rights in the Ecuadorian Constitution and believes that every generation that passes has clearer ideas of conservation. When I asked Elizabeth if she had faith in younger generations to protect the Amazon, she quietly looked at her three-year-old son, as if hopefully imagining his abundantly promising future, and responded “totalmente.” In the past forty years, educators have made increasing efforts to instill a sense of appreciation and pride for Ecuadorian biodiversity in the hearts and minds of young children. According to the interviewees, many Quiteños have faith that a group of organized Ecuadorian youth who feel personally offended by the country’s disregard for the intrinsic value of the Amazon will grow to such numbers to a point that a difference will be made in the future.

“In the end, we will conserve only what we love,  
we will love only what we understand,  
and we will understand only what we are taught.”  
*Baba Dioum, New Delhi, India, 1968*

Now, the question is whether Ecuador will find the balance between society, economics and the environment before the Amazon, including its wildlife, medicinal potential and its indigenous people, disappears forever.

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39. Appendix A.1, Kelly Swing Interview

40. Appendix A.1, Juanito Interview

## *Appendix*

### *A.0 General Interview Questions*

- What is your name, age, and title? How long have you been living in Quito?
- Politically, what issues do you prioritize? The economy? Health? The environment?
- What do you know about oil development in the Amazon regions of Ecuador? Historical or current events.
- Considering the economic benefits and environmental/indigenous consequences combined, do you agree or disagree with oil development in the Amazon? Why or why not?
- Do you feel that tourism hurts or helps the Amazon and its protection? Why or why not?
- Do you have a sense of pride for the biodiversity in your country? Why or why not?
- Do you feel that much of the revenues generated from oil development in the Amazon regions of Ecuador are properly reinvested into the economy? Why or why not? How should accrued revenues be distributed or regulated?
- Living in Quito, do you feel more connected or separated from the events occurring in the Amazon currently? Does oil development in the Amazon affect your daily life?
- Since the Amazon rainforest is one of the most biodiverse places in the world, the “lungs of the earth”, do you witness a sense of urgency in Quito to become involved in its preservation? Why or why not?
- Would you say that there should be a moral obligation for Quiteños to become involved in the fight against environmental destruction? Why or why not?
- Where do you think the future of the Yasuní ITT Initiative is headed?

### *A.1 List of Interviewees and Additional Questions Asked*

Juan de Dios and Andrea – April 09, 2013 – Quito

- How many years have you worked at the Tiputini Biodiversity Station
- Can you talk a little about the Católica Biodiversity Station, and if oil development played a significant role in it becoming less pristine?
- Has Tiputini seen any effects of oil development?

Juanito – April 17, 2013 – Quito

- Does oil development help or hurt your businesses? Do you see the effects of oil development on a daily basis?

Elizabeth Ramos – April 17, 2013 – Quito

- What role do you think the Ecuadorian youth/younger generations will play in environmental conservation of the Amazon in the future, if any?

Ignacio Benitez – April 18, 2013 – Quito

- During your work, do you witness the affects of oil development on the Amazon?
- Have you ever experienced a situation in your work relating to the destruction of the Amazon due to oil development?

Paula Adimidanez – April 22, 2013 – Quito

- What role do you think the Ecuadorian youth/younger generations will play in environmental conservation of the Amazon in the future, if any?

Modesto Ponce – April 23, 2013 – Quito

Kelly Swing – April 25, 2013 – Quito

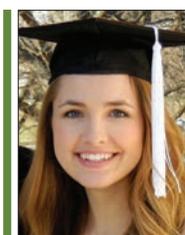
- What is your title?
- How long have you been working at Tiputini Biodiversity Station?
- Can you talk a little about the Católica Biodiversity Station, and if oil development played a significant role in it becoming less pristine?
- Has Tiputini experienced similar symptoms?
- What do you think the future of the Tiputin Biodiversity Station is?
- What role do you think the Ecuadorian youth/younger generations will play in environmental conservation of the Amazon in the future, if any?

Jaime (Pseudonym) – April 25, 2013 – Quito

- Do you think that protecting the Amazon is a cause worth fighting for?
  - What kinds of measures does your private oil company take to ensure the protection of the Amazon, as well as any environment you might work in?
  - What do you think needs to happen in order for oil development not to destroy the Amazon?
-

B.O Survey

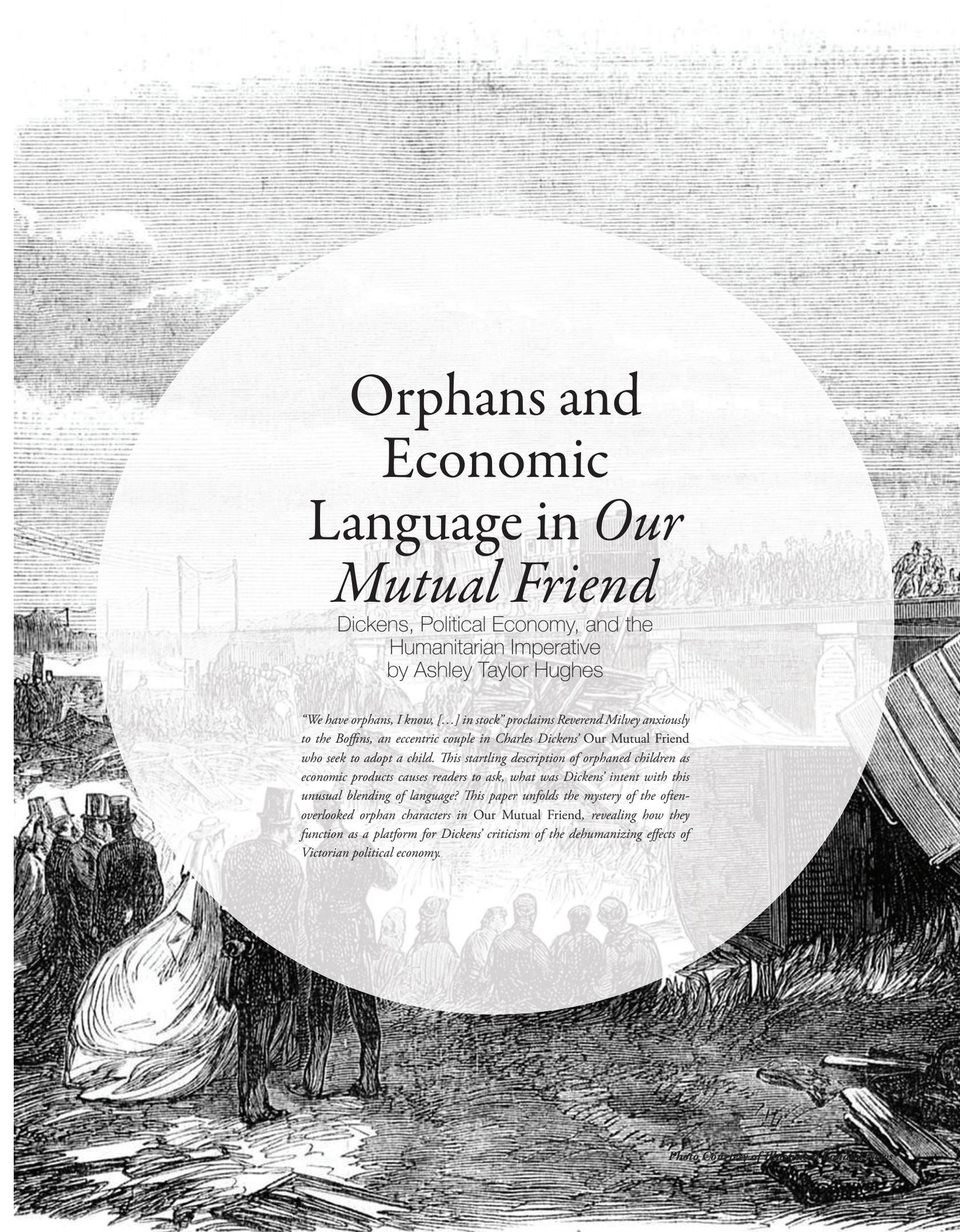
<b>El petróleo en la Amazonía</b>	
1) Género:	<input type="checkbox"/> F <input type="checkbox"/> M
2) Edad:	<input type="checkbox"/> 15-19 <input type="checkbox"/> 20-29 <input type="checkbox"/> 30-39 <input type="checkbox"/> 40-49 <input type="checkbox"/> 50-59 <input type="checkbox"/> 60+
3) ¿En cual de las siguientes categorías se encuentra Usted?	<input type="checkbox"/> <b>Empleado</b> <input type="checkbox"/> <b>Desempleado</b> <input type="checkbox"/> <b>Estudiante</b>
4) ¿En Ecuador, cómo priorizaría los siguientes temas? Siendo 1 el más importante y 5 el menos importante.	___ La economía doméstica    ___ Los derechos humanos    ___ La igualdad de géneros ___ La salud de la gente    ___ El medio ambiente (cambio climático, el protección de la Amazonía, etc)
5) ¿Está de acuerdo o en desacuerdo con la exploración y explotación de petróleo en la Amazonía? ¿Por qué? Explique.	
6) ¿Está de acuerdo o en desacuerdo con la minería en la Amazonía? ¿Por qué? Explique.	
7) ¿Explique brevemente cómo cree que debería ser utilizado, distribuido, y regulado el dinero obtenido del desarrollo del petróleo y la minería en la Amazonía?	
8) Si alguna vez ha participado en activismo en contra de la explotación petrolera de la Amazonía, especifique qué tipo de activismo fue.	<input type="checkbox"/> <b>Peticiones</b> <input type="checkbox"/> <b>Protestas</b> <input type="checkbox"/> <b>Otros</b> <input type="checkbox"/> <b>Nunca ha participado</b>
9. ¿Ha escuchado sobre la iniciativa de Yasuní-ITT? En caso afirmativo, cual es su opinión sobre la iniciativa?	
10. ¿Cree que el turismo ayuda o perjudica a la protección de la Amazonía? Razone brevemente su respuesta.	



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# Orphans and Economic Language in *Our Mutual Friend*

Dickens, Political Economy, and the  
Humanitarian Imperative  
by Ashley Taylor Hughes

*"We have orphans, I know, [...] in stock" proclaims Reverend Milvey anxiously to the Boffins, an eccentric couple in Charles Dickens' Our Mutual Friend who seek to adopt a child. This startling description of orphaned children as economic products causes readers to ask, what was Dickens' intent with this unusual blending of language? This paper unfolds the mystery of the often-overlooked orphan characters in Our Mutual Friend, revealing how they function as a platform for Dickens' criticism of the dehumanizing effects of Victorian political economy.*

“We have orphans, I know, [...] in stock,” proclaims Reverend Milvey anxiously to the Boffins, the eccentric couple in Dickens’ *Our Mutual Friend* who have inherited the Harmon fortune (Dickens 105). The reverend utters this phrase to the prospective adoptive parents “as if there were great competition in the business and he were afraid of losing an order” (Dickens 105). This scene from *Our Mutual Friend* introduces Charles Dickens’ depiction of orphans as objects within a commercial exchange. Dickens’ injection of economic language in order to describe the orphans in this novel ripples into larger themes concerning the objectification of the disenfranchised as a whole. This unusual blending of language is quite revelatory, hinting at Dickens’ tendency to imbue his literary works with social criticism and humanitarian activism. Throughout *Our Mutual Friend*, Dickens repeatedly describes or depicts child orphans such as Johnny and Sloppy through a commercial or financial lens, providing insight into the sociopolitical and economic conditions of Victorian England. In doing so, he encourages goodwill and charity among his fellow citizens while criticizing pervasive political-economic theories of his time, such as Utilitarianism and Malthusian political economics.

Early in life, Dickens acquired “an inward and identifying sympathy for the poor and dispossessed” that permeates his literary works and establishes his “broadly radical political beliefs” (Furneaux 5). In particular, Dickens expressed concern for the well-being of children. According to Laura Berry, childhood was still a relatively new concept during the Victorian Era, and children were considered “the repository for certain valued and post-Enlightenment traits such as innocence, liberty and naturalness” (Furneaux 187). Such idealized notions of childhood seem to prevail with the Boffins, whose desire for an orphan is compared to the “Kings and Queens in the Fairy Tales” who are “always wishing for children” (Dickens 103). Romantics in their view of children, the Boffins prove unselfish and pragmatic in their actions. Their labors align with the era’s culture-wide efforts to improve the welfare of children, a movement that stemmed from changing attitudes towards childhood occurring during this time. Such children’s advocacy efforts included the “development of pediatric medicine,” legislation regulating child labor, and even “welfare and educational systems,” all of which “contributed to the definition of childhood as a period of dependence, requiring protection by law” (Furneaux 188). As Furneaux points out, Dickens in particular “had an intimate understanding of child vulnerability” that resulted from the death of his daughter Dora, as well as “what he felt to be a perilous proximity to the uneducated, malnourished young eking out survival around Hungerford Stairs,” where he had himself toiled as a child laborer at the age of twelve (Furneaux 189).

In response to such experiences, Dickens developed a sincere dedication to the well-being of children. His devotion to this cause can be observed through his “long line of suffering and expiring young fictional figures” which “inspired social reform and collective political action” (Furneaux 186). Moreover, Dickens’ push for social change transcended the pages of his novels and journalistic articles, effecting true change in the lives of the disenfranchised. According to Holly Furneaux, “Dickens campaigned on behalf of controversial philanthropic institutions [such as Ragged Schools] for the care of children,” and is “credited for the success of Great Ormond Street Hospital for Sick Children by the hospital’s authorities” (190). Vincent Newey points out this hospital’s literary manifestation in *Our Mutual Friend* as “the ‘fresh airy’ (385) charitable hospital in which the orphan Johnny dies” (285).

This scene is significant because it displays Dickens’ literary acumen in utilizing the emotional power of the sensationalized orphan figure in order to incite social reform. As Tamara S. Wagner points out in “We

have orphans [...] in stock’: Crime and Corruption of Sensational Children,” the effectiveness of this literary figure appears to derive from “the massive consumption of sensationalized children in fiction during the 1860s” (202). While Dickens’ use of the orphan figure serves as a powerful emotional appeal, the true power of the passage concerning the orphan Johnny’s death resides in the bleakly intimate experience it provides. In this scene, Johnny is no longer a faceless member of the orphan market described earlier in the novel. Instead, the reader is plunged into the true pain and suffering of this individual child who can manage little more than “monosyllabic” murmurs, but still expresses the desire for his fellow patients to “get out of pain” (Dickens 329). Such details emotionally captivate the reader, inciting a sense of injustice regarding Johnny’s lot in life. The emotional intensity of this scene deepens as Johnny, in his final moments of being, wills away his toys to the other Children’s Hospital patients. The text reaches its sentimental crest when Johnny, “[having] now bequeathed all he had to dispose of, and arranged his affairs in this world [...] left it” (Dickens 330). Johnny’s portrayal as a creature capable of pain and compassion prevents the reader from viewing his death as a mere positive check on population growth, an idea proposed by Thomas Malthus in his theory of political economy. Rather, the loss of his “little life, so rough and short” is shown to be truly devastating (Dickens 329).

As Furneaux points out, *Our Mutual Friend* gave Dickens the opportunity to “[continue] to provide positive publicity” for establishments such as the Great Ormond Street Hospital for Sick Children (190-191). The “fresh airy” rooms of the children’s hospital depicted in *Our Mutual Friend* appear even more welcome because of their juxtaposition with Johnny’s sickly condition. The narrator notes a picture featuring a child “seated on the knee of some Angel surely who loved little children” (Dickens 329). Just as Dickens’ novel encapsulates a message of hope, so too does this image in the hospital. The depiction of the angel also suggests a divine spark fueling charity to children. Similarly, the Noah’s ark toy belonging to Johnny hints at the heaven-inspired mission of the Children’s Hospital, a notion reinforced by the “ministering,” “loving,” and “fresh face[d]” staff members (Dickens 326-329). As a whole, this section of the novel effectively advertises Dickens’ “career-long interest” in how these institutions assisted orphaned children (Furneaux 191).

While Dickens utilized his writing to rally support for charitable institutions such as foundling hospitals, he also attempted to influence prevalent negative attitudes towards the poor as a whole. For example, certain passages of *Our Mutual Friend*, particularly the ones directly or tangentially referring to orphans, seem to utilize the language of economics in order to criticize philosophical and economic theories that diminish the humanity of the impoverished. While Dickens was not opposed to capitalism in general (the commercial success of his serialized novels proves that he was a successful capitalist himself), he questioned the more dehumanizing elements of Victorian political economy. According to Paul Young, “Dickens was writing at a time when the discipline of political economy was making significant declarations about its own power to reveal societal connections” (243). Supporters of this philosophy praised its scientific ability “to discern systematic coherence beneath the most complicated of social scenarios” (Young 243). Attracted by this comprehensive vision, Dickens was nevertheless troubled by the notion “that it could promote a depiction of human existence that obscured the inequalities and ravages of industrial capitalism, and that [it] was limited in its understanding of what constituted a good, moral life” (Young 243).

According to Ruth F. Glancy, Dickens was particularly opposed to certain tenets of utilitarianism, a philosophical system introduced by Jeremy Bentham in the late eighteenth century (91). As Glancy points out, Dickens disdained this philosophy throughout his life, and he criticized it



Photo courtesy of Philip V. Allingham  
Mrs. Boffin encounters an orphan at Betty Higden's home

in works such as *Oliver Twist* and *A Christmas Carol* (91). Glancy explains that Bentham's theory of utility claims that "the rightness or wrongness of an action can be measured by how much pain or pleasure it causes," and that these feelings "can be measured according to their intensity, duration, certainty, and other quantifiable aspects" (Glancy 91). Dickens took issue with this theory's increased dependence on statistics in relation to human affairs (Glancy 92).

In *Our Mutual Friend*, Dickens appears to assert his opposition to quantifying human beings through his satirical description of the orphans as stock. This metaphor first surfaces when the Boffins attempt to fill their "order" for an orphan with the help of Reverend Frank Milvey and his wife, Margaretta (Dickens 105). Fortunately, as Mr. Milvey points out, they have orphans in "stock," suggesting that orphans are commodities to be bought and sold (Dickens 105). A moment later, Mr. Milvey reveals the truth of this metaphor when he explains that the acquisition of a clay-pit orphan would in fact most likely "come at last to a transaction in the way of barter" (Dickens 105). The scene appears to reflect what Marx criticizes as political economy's propensity "to commodify social relations" (Young 248). According to Young, without "advocating Marx's socialist solution, Dickens was likewise at pains to point out that beneath the gains of globalized commerce, high finance and heavy industry were to be found the wasted bodies of the poor" (248-249). By packaging and advertising the orphans sought out by the Boffins as material goods existing within a commercial system, Dickens makes this message readily apparent.

This troubling notion develops further as Dickens describes the orphans in terms of financial stock. As soon as the demand for an orphan became common knowledge, the orphan's value soared at a rate that "was not to be paralleled by the maddest records of the Stock Exchange" (Dickens 196). In this passage, orphans are described as the merchandise of "production," their value soaring as the supply/demand ratio shifts (Dickens 196). An orphan "making a mud pie at nine in the morning, [...] (being inquired for) would go up to five thousand per cent" (Dickens 196). Here, the quantification of orphans reinforces their portrayal as objects rather than human beings, demonstrating the problematic nature of Utilitarianism's tendency to attach a numerical value to emotions such as happiness and pain (Young 248). Dickens satirically highlights the absurdity of the prevailing theory by reminding readers that this mathematical, economic language is being utilized in order to describe children. For example, the clinical, commercial language used to describe the child making a mud pie is highly absurd.

*Our Mutual Friend* also illustrates Dickens' disapproval of Malthus's theory of political economy. Sally Ledger, in her article, "Dickens, Natural History, and *Our Mutual Friend*," explains that Dickens seriously questioned Malthus's claim that inadequate resources and sexual restraint would spark a "series of 'positive' checks on population growth" (365). In the face of Malthus's rather cold and mathematical analysis of population, Dickens does not fail to acknowledge the real pain and suffering that this theory of political economy glosses over.

The crux of Dickens' critique of this theory appears to be that its dehumanizing and alienating effect discourages humanitarian aid. For example, in *Our Mutual Friend*, Dickens draws attention to "injustices and inequalities he felt resulted from a socio-economic climate in which the self-interested, materialistic ideologies of the 'cash nexus' were allowed to prevail" through self-satisfied characters such as Podsnap (Young 248). In one chilling scene with the heading, "Mr. Podsnap on the Poor Laws," Mr. Podsnap, after partaking in a sumptuous dinner party, discusses the condition of the poor with a concerned citizen. In response to the claim that "a half-dozen people had lately died in the streets of starvation," Podsnap reveals the Malthusian mindset that backed socially regressive legislation, such as the restrictive and dehumanizing Poor Laws:

'I don't believe it,' said Mr. Podsnap, putting it behind him.

The meek man was afraid we must take it as proved, because there were the Inquests and the Registrar's returns.

'Then it was their own fault,' said Mr. Podsnap. (Dickens 140)

Podsnap's reaction to the starvation of the poor seems to echo Malthus's claim that the positive checks on population growth could be stimulated by poverty. Just as the Malthusian political economy displays a "Gradgrindian reverence for scientific facts and figures," Podsnap's justification for the condition of the poor interprets their suffering in terms of "Providence" or their own shortcomings (Young 248). By frankly asserting that starvation was the destitute people's "own fault," and that "the fault lies with the sufferers," Podsnap eschews any responsibility for their fate. The Malthusian view of political economy accomplishes a similar end through its focus on positive checks on the faceless concept of population, rather than on suffering individuals. Podsnap also reinforces his allegedly nonexistent accountability by attributing starvation to "Providence" (Dickens 140-141). This 'moral' appeal lends false credibility to his statement by invoking the divine and asserting that this tragedy is part of God's plan.

In addition, Podsnap attempts to trivialize the plight of the poor by declaring it a subject unfit for polite conversation. In doing so, he commits a moral equivalence fallacy by bypassing real social issues with

concerns of etiquette. His Malthusian carelessness for individual suffering surfaces through his claim that discussing the abysmal treatment of the destitute is offensive. Initially, Podsnap considers the subject “not adapted to the cheek of the young person” and “not in good taste” (Dickens 140). By selfishly focusing on the supposed propriety of this topic, Podsnap reveals his lack of concern for the poor. When Podsnap is finally fed up with this “painful discussion,” he brushes it aside, deeming it a “personal affront” and characterizing it as “disagreeable” (Dickens 141). As T.A. Jackson points out, Mr. Podsnap’s satisfaction with the status quo allows him to ignore “the existence of anything that ran at all counter to his self-satisfaction” (226). Instead, he waves away “[anything] disagreeable, any sort of social problem with a wave of his right arm” (Jackson 226). This cold self-interest and denial is problematic because it appears to encourage “a dreadfully impoverished conception of social responsibility and personal development” (Young 250).

Dehumanizing views of political economy, such as the ones shown by Podsnap, are particularly disturbing when one realizes that orphans such as Johnny and Sloppy are part of the suffering group discussed by Podsnap and the concerned citizen. However, Dickens also includes positive models of moral behavior. For example, the Boffins take the exact opposite approach towards the poor through their treatment of Sloppy. Rather than providing gauzy justifications for why one should allow the poor to starve, they encourage this orphan not to leave their home “without having had a good ‘un off of meat and beer and pudding” (Dickens 336). Unlike Podsnap, the Boffins recognize Sloppy as a full and complete human being. Instead of blaming him for his condition, they aim to improve it through good works such as feeding him or facilitating his training as a carpenter. These acts of charity embody Dickens’ faith in “hard-working and well-intentioned individuals, families and groups doing the best for themselves and for others - mutual friends” (Newey 285).

Most importantly, the Boffins revitalize Sloppy’s position within society by granting him economic empowerment. Early in the novel, Sloppy’s disadvantage stems from his position as both an orphan dispossessed of family connections and an underprivileged member of the lower classes. As a result, Sloppy seems almost doomed to an economic inadequacy that remains unrelieved by sociopolitical legislation. Dickens illustrates the orphan’s economic shortcomings through commercial language. For example, Dickens points out that while Sloppy possessed a “considerable capital of knee and elbow and wrist and ankle,” he “was always investing [...] in wrong securities, and so getting himself into embarrassed circumstances” (Dickens 201). This statement reflects Sloppy’s immense potential, but also draws attention to the fact that he is limited by his sociopolitical condition. His situation is aggravated by the fact that he does not know how to properly invest his attributes, despite his robust work ethic. For example, Sloppy handles a mangle machine with “industrious mania or fury,” but what use is such effort when it is not properly channeled (Dickens 198)? Overall, the episode demonstrates that while this orphan possesses the fundamental skills and qualities to survive economically, he does not utilize them in a way that will help him achieve social and economic advancement. This characterization of Sloppy demonstrates that Dickens is well aware that “modern, industrializing commercial society featured economic losers as well as winners,” but unlike the character Podsnap, Dickens is unwilling to overlook the “human costs such unrestrained thinking [about political economy] preferred to ignore” (Young 247).

However, Sloppy is able to emerge from the text as a success story due to the Boffins’s assistance. The Boffins give Sloppy a push on the path to success by preparing him for the profession of carpentry. This simple yet kind act provides Sloppy with the necessary tools to draw himself out of

poverty. Rather than letting “positive checks” get rid of him, the Boffins empower him by giving him the initial assistance he needs. Yet Sloppy does not take this help for granted. While “Mr. Boffin been a-paying and a-paying,” Sloppy has “been a-learning and a-learning” (Dickens 809). As this passage shows, the investment in Sloppy’s future is a mutual affair. His success as a functioning member of society seems to suggest that Dickens supports such charitable empowerment. Sloppy did not need to die in order to get rid of the poverty problem that Podsnap found so offensive. Instead, he needed well-executed assistance to help him help himself.

While critics often overlook the orphans of *Our Mutual Friend*, these characters significantly contribute to the work as a whole. They represent especially stirring examples of Dickens’ ability to package a political message in emotionally engaging fictional figures. Their roles in the work are subtle, but they provide Dickens with the opportunity to model positive behaviors to counteract the cruel effects of repressive and shortsighted economic theories. Dickens’ crafty use of orphans in *Our Mutual Friend* demonstrates the way in which his novels function as a platform for social criticism and activism, characteristics that preserve the power and relevance of his works to the present day.

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# Contextualizing Nuclear Power in Döttingen, Switzerland

by Daniella Damiano, Hanna Herdegen, Erika Lower, Grace Mulholland & Cameron Sumpter

*The production of nuclear power has been a source of heated debate since its inception. Although nuclear energy currently provides for 13% of the world's electricity needs ("World Statistics"), the historic accidents at Chernobyl, Ukraine and Fukushima, Japan have demonstrated the sometimes-lethal hazards associated with nuclear power. These events have increased skepticism towards nuclear plants worldwide ("Poll Shows..."). In response to the Fukushima disaster in March 2011, the Federal Council and Parliament of Switzerland laid the foundations for a new energy policy – the 2050 Energy Strategy. This document details the Swiss government's decision to gradually withdraw from the use of nuclear energy. The plan prevents the construction of new nuclear power plants and announces the decommissioning of Switzerland's five nuclear power plants. The Federal Council has proposed reductions in energy consumption, an increase in energy research, and diversification of the nation's energy supply in order to fill the gap left by nuclear energy ("Nuclear Energy"), but the details of how Switzerland intends to enact these goals are currently unclear.*

Switzerland's decision to phase out nuclear energy is in part a reaction to safety concerns surrounding nuclear power plants. This paper evaluates the effects of global nuclear incidents and the "Not in My Backyard" mindset on regional nuclear policy; examines the relationship between the town of Döttingen, Switzerland and Beznau, the nuclear power plant it hosts; discusses the potential impact of Switzerland's national nuclear energy plans on the local scale; and offers predictions for the future of energy in Switzerland.

### ***Swiss Nuclear Power***

In 1955, an international conference called "Atoms for Peace" was organized in Geneva, Switzerland. As part of the conference, a small nuclear reactor was shipped from the United States and displayed to the public for the first time, where it was well-received by the conference's attendees. Due to the exhibit's popularity, the reactor was kept running for several weeks, irradiating the device to such a degree that it could no longer be shipped back to the United States. Swiss physicist Paul Scherrer suggested that the United States simply sell the reactor to Switzerland -- an agreement that laid the groundwork for Switzerland's nuclear energy program. The test reactor, known as SAPHIR, was moved to the town of Würenlingen in 1957, and the development of a non-experimental reactor followed in 1962. In 1965, construction of Beznau, Switzerland's first nuclear power plant, began (Volklei).

Since 1980, energy consumption has been growing in Switzerland at an annual rate of 2% ("Nuclear Power in Switzerland"), and nuclear energy currently provides much of Switzerland's energy needs. 56% of Swiss electricity comes from hydropower, 3% from fossil fuels, and 2% from renewable energy sources. The remaining 39% is produced by nuclear power plants ("Energy Sources"). In addition to generating electricity, Switzerland's five nuclear power plants also produce materials used in medicine, industry and research ("Nuclear Energy").

### ***A Case Study: The Beznau Nuclear Power Plant***

The village of Döttingen, a community of approximately 3,700 in the northern Swiss canton of Aargau, has a long history of hosting energy industry "firsts," beginning with Switzerland's first major hydroelectric power plant in 1902. The country's first oil-burning thermal power plant was constructed in Döttingen in 1948. At the time, this was Europe's most powerful gas turbine power plant ("The Community of Döttingen").

In addition to its history of accepting innovation in the energy industry, Döttingen offered an ideal location for the construction of Switzerland's first power plant. The site is located on an artificial island in the middle of a river, isolating the plant from the town and providing the necessary water for the plant's operation. The infrastructure left over from the 1902 hydroelectric power plant also made Döttingen an optimal location for a nuclear power plant (Arnal).

On December 23, 1964, the Swiss Federal Office of Energy approved Döttingen as the site for the Beznau nuclear reactor. Construction began in November of the following year, and on December 24, 1969, the plant became operational ("Permits for Nuclear Facilities"). The plant's second reactor, Beznau 2, opened in 1971 ("The Community of Döttingen").

Döttingen is recognized as an "Energy City," a designation awarded by the Swiss Energy Commission. This status, currently bestowed upon

more than 290 cities in Switzerland, is given in recognition of socially and environmentally responsible energy policies ("The Community of Döttingen"). Döttingen portrays itself as having a culture interwoven with its energy-rich history and a pride in its nuclear power plant. The "Energy City" award logo is prominently emblazoned on the top of every page of the town's website ("The Community of Döttingen").

Döttingen's extensive history at the forefront of new energy production technologies has had an appreciable impact on its economy. The town's population hovered around 1,000 persons from 1800-1900 ("Bevölkerungsentwicklung..."), before spiking significantly with the opening of the hydroelectric plant in 1902 ("Kraftwerke Beznau"). The opening of the gas turbine plant in 1948 and the Beznau plant in 1969 ("Kraftwerke Beznau") also provided steady growth for the town, its population reaching at 3,380 persons in 1970 ("Bevölkerungsentwicklung..."). The population has since continued to grow albeit at a much slower rate, with the population reaching 3,724 in 2011 ("Bevölkerungsentwicklung..."). The town's population growth may be attributed, in part, to the availability of jobs at Beznau: the nuclear plant offers approximately 500 (Arnal) of the town's 1,800 jobs ("The Community of Döttingen"). Nearly a third of the people in the surrounding area are currently working at Beznau, which likely influences the local community's opinion of the plant (Arnal). The interdependent relationship between residents and Axpo likely contributes to the apparent scarcity of local objections.

Because Beznau is responsible for much of the town's employment, the Swiss government's planned phase-out of nuclear power will likely have serious economic repercussions in Döttingen. Anne-Katherin Arnal of Axpo explained that operators at the nuclear plant work with such specialized technology that it will not be possible for them to simply transfer to another plant when Beznau is closed. Additionally, because Switzerland intends to decommission all five of its nuclear plants, employees will face difficulties in finding employment at a nuclear facility at all unless they are willing to undergo a major relocation. Axpo seems aware of the negative impacts that Switzerland's impending energy policy will have locally. Arnal explained that the improvements in the Beznau complex are not only being performed to comply with new regulations, but in the hopes that infrastructure enhancements will reassure the public of the safety of nuclear energy (Arnal).

### ***The Impact of International Nuclear Incidents***

While there has never been a major accident at any of Switzerland's operational nuclear facilities ("Safety of Nuclear Power Reactors"), public concern about the safety of nuclear plants is not unfounded. Two major nuclear incidents have been responsible for much of the negative global perception of nuclear energy over the past twenty-five years; the accidents at the Chernobyl and Fukushima power plants are frequently cited in arguments regarding the dangers of nuclear reactors ("Safety of Nuclear Power Reactors").

On April 25, 1986, the Chernobyl nuclear power plant in Soviet-controlled Ukraine underwent a catastrophic meltdown and explosion, emitting large quantities of radioactive material into the atmosphere. The incident was caused by a flawed reactor design and by poorly-trained personnel, and it resulted in the largest uncontrolled radioactive release ever recorded for a civilian operation ("Nuclear Power in Switzerland"). Approximately thirty people died from acute radiation exposure, and more than five million people across Eastern Europe were exposed to

Year	Initiative	For	Against	Result
1979	Nuclear safety	Unavailable	Unavailable	Rejected
1984	No additional plants to be built	45%	55%	Rejected
1990	Ten-year moratorium on the construction of new nuclear power plants	54.5%	45.5%	Passed
1990	Phase out nuclear power	47%	53%	Rejected
2000	Green tax for support of solar energy	31%	67%	Rejected
2003	Nuclear power phase-out	41.6%	58.4%	Rejected
2003	Extend 1990 moratorium on the construction of new nuclear power plants	33.7%	66.3%	Rejected

Table 1.1: Swiss referenda on nuclear energy

Of note is the 1990 political referendum, which took place four years after the nuclear incident in Chernobyl. The ten-year moratorium on constructing new nuclear plants was the first anti-nuclear policy to pass since the inception of nuclear energy in Switzerland. In the 2003 referendum, voters elected not to extend the moratorium introduced in 1990. Notably, this referendum occurred before the nuclear incident in Fukushima (in 2011). Since the Fukushima disaster, another nuclear energy referendum has been prompted by petition. This referendum probably will occur in 2014 and will affect the pacing of the nuclear energy phase-out.

increased levels of radiation due to the airborne radioactive material released in the explosion. Thyroid cancer rates increased across Belarus, Russia, and the Ukraine, and the economic impacts of the contamination were felt across Europe. (“Nuclear Power in Switzerland”). In spite of the global outcry following the disaster, Switzerland’s nuclear policy remained largely unaffected (see Table 1.1).

On March 11, 2011, a 9.0 magnitude earthquake struck the east coast of Japan, generating a tsunami that flooded the Fukushima-Daiichi nuclear power plant and disabled the emergency power and cooling systems. The damaged reactors released radioactive material into the surrounding air and water, resulting in a Level 7 event on the International Nuclear Event Scale: the most severe nuclear accident since the Chernobyl disaster. The incident released 10-30% as much radiation as Chernobyl, and although prompt evacuations and clean-up efforts resulted in no loss of life or associated illness from radiation exposure, public faith in the safety of nuclear power faltered around the world (Strickland).

In May 2011, as a direct reaction to the Fukushima disaster, the anti-nuclear organization Smiling Sun arranged a protest in front of Beznau. Over 20,000 people attended the event, making it the largest demonstration against nuclear power in Switzerland in a quarter century. Subsequently, the Swiss Green Party collected 109,000 signatures in support of a people’s initiative requiring caps on the lifetimes of existing nuclear power plants in Switzerland, an idea that was later incorporated into the 2050 Energy Strategy (“Smiling Sun”).

In November of 2012, the Green Party filed a petition calling to accelerate the pace of the nuclear energy phase-out so that all plants are shut down by 2029, twenty-one years earlier than the date projected by the 2050 Energy Strategy. Once again the Fukushima disaster was cited as their motivation. By January of 2013, the petition had secured enough signatures to merit a referendum. This referendum has not yet occurred, but if it passes, it will shorten the timeframe for identifying alternative energy sources (“Swiss to Vote...”).

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nuclear policy to have passed since the introduction of nuclear energy in Switzerland. In the 2003 referendum, voters elected not to extend the moratorium that had been introduced in 1990; notably, this referendum occurred before the nuclear incident in Fukushima in 2011. Since the Fukushima disaster, another nuclear energy referendum has been prompted by petition. This referendum will occur in 2013 or 2014 and will affect the pacing of the nuclear energy phase-out.

### **Public Relations Efforts at Beznau**

When discussing community opposition towards the introduction of a nuclear facility, the phrase “Not in My Backyard”(NIMBY) is commonplace. NIMBY refers to situations in which people may support certain land uses, but are not always willing to accept controversial development in close proximity to their homes (Agarwal). Several instances of the NIMBY mindset in the context of the nuclear power industry can be found. In Nevada, for instance, President Bush had approved a plan to store nuclear waste inside a mountain, but the state’s governor vetoed the plan (Kanter). Similarly, when Poland announced that it was considering a site 150 miles from the German border for the construction of a nuclear power plant, German citizens submitted 50,000 objections to the construction in just over a week (Wiener).

The presence of NIMBY attitudes often mean that it is far easier to build further nuclear facilities on pre-existing nuclear sites, because residents have already accepted and normalized the risks associated with its proximity (Parkhill, et. al.). In 2007, a study was conducted among American adults not employed by power companies and living within 10 miles of a nuclear power plant to gauge the prevalence of the NIMBY attitude in these areas. Of the respondents, 86% reported that they believed their local plants to be safe, and 71% said they would feel comfortable with an additional reactor being added to the current nuclear plant site (“US Nuclear Neighbors Not NIMBY”). In a 2009 study, 88% of respondents said they believed that their plants are safe, and 76% would support the addition of a new reactor (“Third Biennial...”). An example closer to Switzerland can be found in Finland, where plans to store waste in a tunnel at Olkiluoto have been generally unopposed by residents who enjoy the benefits associated with living near a nuclear plant, such as employment opportunities and tax revenue (Kanter). These examples of nuclear energy being accepted on the local

scale demonstrate that it is possible to foster positive relationships between nuclear power plants and host communities.

Energy production industries often work to mitigate NIMBY attitudes to the best of their abilities, and Axpo, the company that operates the Beznau nuclear power plant, has utilized several strategies to foster a positive relationship with the plant's surrounding community. A simple but significant way in which positive relations are maintained is through employment, as almost a third of the jobs in Döttingen are directly connected to the nuclear facility (Arnal).

Axpo also invests in public outreach efforts to minimize NIMBY attitudes. In the 1970s, the company constructed a visitor's center to present its work to the public (Arnal); today's center includes an interactive, free-admission museum describing Axpo's energy-generating programs ("Axporama"). The company offers free guided tours to both the museum and the nuclear plant itself, complete with models and demonstrations that emphasize the productivity and safety of the energy complex ("Axporama"). Furthermore, the company grounds include a children's playground, and visitors are provided with complimentary refreshments during their tour.

Although Swiss referenda show that Switzerland intends to eliminate its nuclear energy program – a response that has derailed plans for a third reactor at Beznau – Axpo is currently in the process of upgrading the site's infrastructure to comply with many post-Fukushima regulations (Arnal). In reaction to the delay in the emergency response at Fukushima caused by entrapment of and damage to fire engines (Strickland), the Swiss Office of Energy now requires that the facilities housing fire engines at nuclear energy plants be earthquake-assured; Axpo is currently complying with this policy change by constructing a new engine house. The failure of emergency cooling systems were identified as a major factor in the Fukushima meltdown, so Axpo will install several additional emergency engines to power its cooling pumps as well. These projects are currently underway, along with other security improvements that will cost a combined two million Swiss francs (Arnal). However, the 2050 Energy Strategy's policy on nuclear power still stands, and it appears that Beznau will be decommissioned in spite of Axpo's active efforts to inspire public trust in its nuclear facilities.

### ***Predictions for the Future of the Swiss Energy Economy***

Switzerland's first step to compensating for the loss of energy from nuclear production is to reduce overall energy consumption. Approximately 25% of the original demand is to be eliminated by federal administration buildings and state-sponsored industries before 2020 (Jorio). A number of cities have reduced their energy demand through projects like replacing traditional streetlights with LEDs, developing smart grids, and utilizing roof space for solar installations ("Nuclear Energy").

New renewable sources (solar, wind, biofuel, and biogas) are responsible for about 2% of Switzerland's overall energy production. It is in this 2% margin that Switzerland has been focusing its attention and development ("Energy Sources"). Two technologies of great interest are solar and wind energy.

Roger Nordmann, Social Democratic parliamentarian and president of Swissolar, the national association of solar energy producers, stated that "solar energy will be able to supply 20% of the need" (Jorio). To

encourage use of solar energy, the energy department is considering the removal of the permit requirement for the installation of personal solar panels in homes (Jorio).

In contrast to this political optimism, the public is often less accepting of renewable energy sources. After the government announced plans to establish a wind farm in the canton Jura that would supply 40,000 people with electricity, the canton blocked the project, arguing that the project would reduce property values because of interference with the skyline aesthetics and unwanted noise from the turbines (Jorio).

Despite this opposition, support for wind energy can be found. SwissInfo cites an interview with Isabelle Chevalley, a parliamentarian and member of the Green Party. "We found the political courage to get out of nuclear power," she says. "Now we need the courage to impose the use of renewable energies. Having to find 40% of the electricity is not something that bothers me. Solar, wind and hydropower are going to be the energy backbone of Switzerland," she declared in a 2012 interview (Jorio).

While Chevalley is confident that nuclear power can be struck from the Swiss energy landscape and replaced with renewable energy, some experts seem less optimistic. Martin Jermann of Switzerland's Paul Sherrer Institute said that he is hopeful for the development of future technologies in the field of energy but is skeptical about the transition given the limits of existing alternative energy sources (Jerermann). A representative from Axpo also expressed her doubt regarding nuclear energy alternatives: "I don't know if really, in the future, [the Swiss] will vote against nuclear power" (Arnal). This sentiment illustrates yet another implication of the uncertainty surrounding Switzerland's future energy supply – with a self-imposed deadline rapidly approaching, the country may find itself limited in its ability to prepare for and adapt to the coming changes in the industry.

### ***Conclusions***

Energy resources shape agriculture, transportation, technology, and almost all other elements of modern life by helping people control and adapt to their environment ("Energy Sources"). Because the provision of energy is of such great importance, many communities have embraced energy production as a tool for growth. As the economy and identity of these communities have become intertwined with the energy industry, it is necessary to investigate the localized implications of national nuclear energy sentiments and global nuclear events. This case study aimed to elucidate these effects in Döttingen, Switzerland and comment on the implications of national energy policy for this town.

The NIMBY attitude does not seem pervasive in the microcosm of Döttingen, Switzerland. It is possible that this acceptance is derived from normalization of the risks of the plant, as was suggested in Parkhill's 2009 study on the NIMBY mindset. A comprehensive study on public perception of the plant was not feasible for this research group, but would provide more objective insight into the presence or absence of the NIMBY mindset in Döttingen.

Based on the employment demographics in the town, we believe the NIMBY attitude in Döttingen is minimized in the community, to a large extent, for the same reason as in Olkiluoto, Finland – an economic interdependence of the nuclear facility and its local employees. Axpo's efforts to provide recreational and educational services to the public and invest in security improvements may be relevant as well, but due

to limitations in contacting local residents, we do not have sufficient evidence to determine the effect of these efforts on the public's perception of Beznau. Future research assessing the effectiveness of Axpo's public relations efforts in Döttingen may prove helpful to the company as it seeks ways to reassure the public of Beznau's safety, even in the shadow of the coming government-mandated decommissioning.

Through collected readings and conversations with representatives from Axpo and the Paul Scherrer Institute, it is clear that Switzerland has a number of difficult questions it will need to answer in the near future. For now, there is no single comprehensive energy plan to compensate for the energy loss created by the absence of nuclear power. While green technologies currently seem to be the most promising options in terms of efficiency and environmental safety, the politics involved are highly complex. Research into energy technology is expensive and time-consuming, and even if the government were to settle on one specific energy alternative, the necessary infrastructure and materials may not be able to be mobilized until after the nuclear phase-out is complete. Because so many of these new technologies are also seen as controversial due to their costs and aesthetics, the current gridlock surrounding their implementation does not bode well for the ambitious timeframe Switzerland has established for itself. The Swiss Federal Office of Energy and the voting public will need to work together in order to meet their goals and ensure that the country's energy resources will be secure. For now, on both the local and the national levels, the future of Swiss energy remains uncertain.

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# External Pressures and Domestic Changes

The Council of Europe, The European Union, and the National Minorities in Vojvodina  
by Tea Ivanovic

*There have been recent efforts to establish legally binding institutions on the nation of human rights of minority groups, although this process is slow and limited. Only in 1992 did the General Assembly (GA) of the United Nations adopt the Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities. The increasing importance of international organizations, along with the international community's diminishing tolerance for human rights violations is causing an increase in the breadth and depth of human rights laws in recent years. The research addresses the question of whether it is possible to enforce human rights laws of protecting national minorities using a case study of the Vojvodina province in northern Serbia.*

*Vojvodina is an autonomous multi-cultural and multi-ethnic province in Northern Serbia, established in 1944 in the FPR Yugoslavia (Savezna Federativna Republika Jugoslavija (SFRJ)), representing approximately 1.93 million of Serbia's 7.19 million people. The region is the most diverse part of Serbia with over 25 ethnicities and 6 official languages. The historically diverse region is a center for national minorities that has had a traditional struggle with one on one hand respecting the majority population, while at the same time abiding by international human rights laws applicable to the various national and ethnic minorities inhabiting the region. This research will provide an analysis of the specifically troublesome nature of community life that the region copes.*

## Introduction

Changes in inherent beliefs and traditions happen over a considerably long period of time, rather than after variations in legal codes. The purpose of this research paper is to investigate the notion that even though pressure applied by large international organizations can and will influence conduct particular to that state, external pressure alone is not capable of completely altering an existing set of practices and most importantly – inherent beliefs. The originality of this paper lies within the notion that the author is not suggesting a bottom-up approach necessarily. She is suggesting the need of an initial spark from outside, executed with the ultimate determination from within. With the focus on the case study of Vojvodina's national minority policies and a focus on educational policies, this paper will demonstrate that without domestic conviction and belief in change, there can be no change. The international community may be able to modify or ameliorate conduct by setting strict laws and making suggestions, but eventually it will be the task of the government and the citizens to not only implement, but also embrace these proposed changes. The force that sparks initial regional intrinsic thought for change can be the withholding of "club" membership (such as EU membership). However, to ensure the endurance of widespread change, regional change stemming from within the individual level is necessary.

I will first provide an example to illustrate this argument, before I move on to the empirical portion of the paper which describes the specifics of what is requested from Serbia from the international community, and how Vojvodina's policies on national minority education fit into this framework. In Paula Gaeta's article on the Dayton Agreement and International Law, she describes the importance of internal belief and conviction in order to implement changes. However, the high legal status attributed to the General Framework Agreement reflects, once again, political realities. Plainly, without the political support of Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia for a peace deal, the Bosnian Serbs and the Bosnian Croats would not have put an end to their fighting against the central authorities in Sarajevo. In other words, the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina has been able to achieve peace only by coming to terms and relying on the support of those who had until that moment denied being the very minds behind the conflict (Gaeta 156).

The Dayton Agreements indicate the lack of grand change the international community is able to impose on nations without the latter's convictions that these changes are beneficial to them. In the case of Bosnia, the international community was not able to impose or effect change until autonomous regional peace was achieved. Regional, persisting peace can and should be sparked from outside (whether at the state or state-external level), but must be achieved from within.

In the exercise laid out in the paragraph above, we recognize the difference in nature of a legal code pertaining to "club" membership compared to the peace settlement of the Dayton Agreement. For the sake of illustrating the effects of the legal code, this imprecisely related comparison will suffice.

When we look at its ethnic background, the Autonomous Republic of Vojvodina (APV) is one of the most heterogeneous regions in Europe. "The ethnic/religious composition of today's Voivodina is the result of a number of historic events from the past three centuries, causing substantial changes in ethnic composition caused by war, conflicts, shifts in borderlines, and migration" (Vojvodina Center for Human Rights 11). Education can be a mechanism for promoting or denying minority rights, and it can reflect wider societal values by promoting either diversity or monoculturalism" (Vojvodjanski Center). The

educational system and related policies are critical not only for the development of the minority child, but also for the parent(s), the family, and the wider community. This research paper will investigate the importance of education for the horizontal and vertical spreading of knowledge among all members of the community, and for changes that the international community is requesting from Serbia and Vojvodina for entrance into the European Union. According to the European Parliament delegation, "It has been concluded that Vojvodina, thanks to its multiethnicity, should be the basis for Serbia's progress towards the European Union" (BBC). It is widely recognized that Vojvodina has historically had a more successful approach with the variety of national minorities within its territory. Empirical research has showed us that inter-ethnic conflicts, although sporadic in nature, are better dealt with in the AP Vojvodina than in the rest of Serbia. Due to historical circumstances and migrations, Vojvodina has traditionally been more exposed to outside influence than the rest of Serbia has. This has resulted in the better and faster acclimation of external requests, in this case by the European Union, to implement new policies.

As far as existing standards of minority rights are part of human rights, the starting point of the consultations was to presume compliance by states with all other human rights obligations including, in particular, freedom from discrimination. Education that abides by international standards has the potential to effectively facilitate and strengthen mutual respect and understanding between the various communities. It was also presumed that the ultimate object of all human rights is the full and free development of the individual human personality in conditions of equality (OSCE The Hague). There have been several documents stating the importance of educational opportunities for national minorities in heterogeneous communities. The Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities and Explanatory Report (FCNM) states that, "a pluralist and genuinely democratic society should not only respect the ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious identity of each person belonging to a national minority, but also create appropriate conditions enabling them to express, preserve and develop this identity" (Council of Europe 4). The FCNM also stressed the importance of education as an extremely important element for the preservation and the deepening of the identity of persons belonging to a national minority (Council of Europe).

The OSCE Hague Recommendations regarding the education rights of national minorities expressed in its recommendation report that the proper knowledge of the mother tongue is exceptionally important for the creation of identity of the minority child. However, the report also recognizes the importance of acceptance into wider society by the acquisition of proper knowledge of the official state language(s). It is important to note that all OSCE states are bound by United Nations obligations relating to human rights, including minority rights, and that the great majority of OSCE States are bound by the standards of the Council of Europe (OSCE The Hague). I will examine these official obligations and the increasing levels of their implementation.

## International Law

### *Serbia and the European Union*

The European Union (EU) is an economic and political entity, encompassing 28 states located in Europe. Through EU institutions, decisions are negotiated among member states. The executive body, with important legislative and administrative tasks, is the European Commission. The signing, ratification, and most importantly, the application of EU resolutions are at the basis of an EU membership acceptance.

The European Commission issued a progress report about tightening relations between Serbia and the European Union. The Commission recognizes the efforts that Serbia, and in particular Vojvodina, have achieved concerning the implementation of international standards of national minorities. The report states that, “there was progress in making the education system more socially inclusive and in introducing quality assurance standards in elementary education” (Serbia 2012 Report). The Commission is urging for a better implementation of higher education reforms, financial management and financial control in view of Serbia’s participation in the future Education, Youth and Sport program (Serbia 2012 Report).

### *Serbia and the Council of Europe: The Framework Convention on National Minorities*

The Council of Europe (CoE) is an international body separate from the European Union, and distinct in its nature. Its membership includes nearly all countries on the European continent (except for countries with human rights concerns, states with limited recognition, and the Vatican because of its theocratic government), while the European Union has 28 members. Secondly, unlike the decisions of the European Union, the laws of the Council of Europe are not binding laws. Established in 1948, the CoE is concerned with promoting co-operation between all countries of Europe in the areas of legal standards and the rule of law, human rights, democratic development, and cultural co-operation. I will further analyze the body of the Council of Europe in conjunction with our case study of Vojvodina, the European Convention on Human Rights, and the Framework Convention on the Protection of Human Rights.

The Council of Europe’s Ad Hoc committee for the Protection of National Minorities (CAHMIN) drew up the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities in 1995. The principles and obligations that are defined within the charter have as their aim ensuring, for the member states and other states that become parties to the document, the effective protection of the rights and freedoms of national minorities within the rule of law, and respecting the territorial integrity and national sovereignty of states.

In 2001, Yugoslavia became a Contracting Party to the Framework Convention. As a result, bound by Article 25 paragraph 1, Yugoslavia is obliged annually to inform the Secretary General of the Council of Europe of any legislative or other measures undertaken. As discussed previously, the Republic of Serbia had become a member of the Council of Europe as a continuation of Serbia and Montenegro with effect from 5 June 2006 (Council of Europe).

#### *a. Human Rights*

Serbia has signed and ratified all significant international human rights instruments that are relevant for the protection of human rights. As discussed previously in greater length, Serbia became the official successor state after its dissolution from the state of Serbia and Montenegro in 2006, and took over its obligations and commitments. Serbia has signed and ratified a comprehensive Anti-discrimination Law prohibiting any kind of discrimination in March 2009, and a Commissioner for the Protection of Equality was appointed in May 2010.

The Constitution of Serbia guarantees the protection of national minorities. Several adopted international documents ensure that Serbia respects the international standards for the protection of human rights. Serbia ratified the framework convention for the protection of national minorities and the European Charter on Regional and Minority Languages, and the 2009 Law on National Councils of National

Minorities regulates the election, powers, functioning and funding of the national minorities’ councils. The 2009 Law on Political Parties provides for a smaller number of signatures for the registration of minority political parties, and as many as 45 minority parties have been registered. The 2007 Law on Local Self-Government envisions councils for the protection and promotion of ethnic equality. The official use of language and scripts of national minorities on the territory of local self-government units is provided for. Serbia has signed bilateral agreements on the protection of national minorities with Romania, Hungary, Croatia and the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYRM). Commissions with Hungary, Croatia and Romania have been established and are operational.

### *Education for Minorities*

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948 broke new ground as it was the first international instrument to declare education to be a human right. The Council of Europe adopted on June 28<sup>th</sup> 1961 the article stating that:

Persons belonging to a national minority shall not be denied the right, in community with the other members of their group, and as far as compatible with public order, to enjoy their own culture, to use their own language, to establish their schools and receive teaching in the language of their choice or to profess and practice their own religion (Council of Europe).

According to several documents reporting the laws and restriction on the rights of national minorities across the world, the principle of a free and compulsory primary education has been established. This principle includes:

- Equal access to education and equal opportunities within the educational system
- The liberty of parents to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children according to their own religious, moral or philosophical convictions.
- The right of individuals and legal entities to establish and direct their own educational institution.
- The right to language education for migratn works and their families (Advisory Committee).

In its decision dated 14 June 2006, the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe noted that the Republic of Serbia had become a member of the Council of Europe as a continuation of Serbia and Montenegro with effect from 5 June 2006 (Council of Europe). The FCNM is a treaty from the Council of Europe that deals with the suggestion and implementation of laws regarding national minorities within a country and entered into force in 1998 in pursuit of “stability, democratic security and peace in this continent.” Serbia has ratified and officially entered as a member state on 01/09/2001 (Council of Europe). The new text of the provision of Article 11 paragraph 1 requires that, in the territory of the unit of local self-government where the members of national minorities traditionally live, “Their language and script may be equally officially used, and it shall by all means be introduced by the unit of self-government by its statute, if the percentage of the members of the national minority concerned in the total number of population in its territory reaches 15% according to the results of the last census” (Council of Europe Second Periodical Report).

### *Legal Framework of EU Application*

Serbia sent its application for European Union membership on 22

December 2009. Subsequently, on 25 October 2010, the Council of the European Union requested that the Commission submit its opinion on this application, in accordance with Article 49 of the Treaty on European Union, which states:

Any European State which respects the values referred to in Article 2 and is committed to promoting them may apply to become a member of the Union. The European Parliament and national Parliaments shall be notified of this application. The applicant State shall address its application to the Council, which shall act unanimously after consulting the Commission and after receiving the consent of the European Parliament, which shall act by a majority of its component members. The conditions of eligibility agreed upon by the European Council shall be taken into account.

Article 2 states that:

The Union is founded on the values of respect for human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, the rule of law and respect for human rights, including the rights of persons belonging to minorities. These values are common to the Member States in a society in which pluralism, non-discrimination, tolerance, justice, solidarity and equality between women and men prevail (Commission Analytical Report 2).

### *Minority Language*

As traditionally the most advanced region in Serbia concerning the protection and integration of national minorities, Vojvodina has increased the importance of the language use by its national minorities. "In bodies and organizations of the AP of Vojvodina, the Serbian language and Cyrillic script shall be in the official use, as well as Hungarian, Slovak, Croatian, Romanian and Ruthenian languages and their scripts, in accordance with the law and the Provincial Assembly decision" (Official Gazette of Vojvodina).

Article 10 of the FCNM indicates that "in areas inhabited by persons belonging to national minorities traditionally or in substantial numbers, if those persons so request and where such a request corresponds to a real need, the Parties shall endeavour to ensure, as far as possible, the conditions which would make it possible to use the minority language in relations between those persons and the administrative authorities" (Council of Europe 5). Article 4 of The Hague recommendation report suggests that States should approach minority education rights in a proactive manner. "Where required, special measures should be adopted by States to actively implement minority language education rights to the maximum of their available resources, individually and through international assistance and cooperation, especially economic and technical" (OSCE The Hague).

The critique that can be bestowed on official documents referring to make suggestions about the language education of minorities is that they are quite vague and general without stipulating the levels of the first language education and by what means to do so. Terms such as "adequate opportunities" remain vague and are inherently dependent on other factors.

### *The Importance of Education*

The first years of education are of pivotal importance in a child's development. Educational research suggests that the medium of teaching at preschool and kindergarten levels should ideally be in the

child's language. Wherever possible, states should create conditions to enable the option of education in the minority's mother tongue as an option (The Hague). Research also indicates that in primary school, the curriculum should ideally be taught in the minority language. The minority language should be taught as a subject on a regular basis. Bilingual teachers who have a good understanding of the children's cultural and linguistic background should also teach the official state language as a subject on a regular basis preferably. Towards the end of this period, a few practical or non-theoretical subjects should be taught through the medium of the state language.

### *Minorities*

Historically, Vojvodina has been a congenial environment for the settlement of ethnic and national minorities. This historical tradition has enabled a higher level of development at the present level, and according to the 2011 Analytical report of the Commission, "the inter-ethnic situation in the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina is good and there has already been a further decrease in the limited number of incidents" (Commission Analytical Report 30). What follows is an overview of issues several minorities face in light of domestic changes faced by external pressures. First, we will overview the most controversial minority, after which we will move to the largest in number. Finally, we will conclude with the smallest, most widely unknown minority.

### *Roma*

The situation of the Roma in Serbia, and most particularly in Vojvodina, is distinctive in two ways. Large numbers of Roma children are placed into "special schools," and there is an extremely high poverty rate. Poverty is widespread, and the illiteracy rate is the highest of all national minorities, reaching as high as 80% of the overall Roma population. In its first recommendation report, the Council of Europe found that Roma children are often placed in "special schools" designed for children with mental disabilities based on standardized tests that act against Roma children. The low level of proficiency in the Serbian language of Roma children is often used as an explanatory means to state why Roma children are put into "special schools." Although no specific research has been done, the proportion of Roma students placed in "special schools" could range between 50 and 80%, according to the Council of Europe. The international community is encouraging the authorities to pursue further efforts to allow children of the Roma national minority to stay at regular schools. The practice of placing Roma children in "special schools" is a breach of Article 14 (prohibition of discrimination) read in conjunction with Article 2 of Protocol 1 (right to education) of the European Convention of Human Rights (Council of Europe).

Dropout rates are very high for Roma children. In the second and third grades, the number of children dropping out or absenting reaches its peak, according to research done by the Council of Europe (Council of Europe). Classes in which the percentage of Roma is high tend to have a lower quality of education. The discrimination and low awareness from the teaching staff and school officials is also troubling and acts as a block towards further improvement of the status of Roma. Roma children send back from countries of Western Europe are still sent to Serbian language schools without any language learning support, even though they lack basic linguistic skills. Therefore, they are unable to follow classes, they are often placed in "special schools," and the dropout remains high.

The Ministry of Education and Sports has made an effort to enroll Roma children into schools even though they do not have complete personal documentation. Although this was not monitored in practice, NGOs working in the field of education reported that primary schools

have generally been quite flexible with the personal documentation requirement (Council of Europe). There have also been efforts made in order to provide Roma children with free textbooks in primary education, and scholarship grants in secondary education. The Commission of Europe has established an "Action Plan" to take on the issues that are facing the Roma minority, as described above. This 2012-2014 Action Plan designed for the Roma as of now has not been ratified.

The autonomous province of Vojvodina finds itself in a very distinctive situation. It is the most ethnically diverse region in Europe, not to mention in the Balkans or Serbia. Rich in resources, with solidly established institutions to promote the equal interests of national and ethnic minorities, is praised for its accomplishments. However, the focus must be shifted on an equal emphasis of all minorities. Ethnicities such as the Roma, in particular, have been neglected in striving for equal treatment with respect to educational matters. By improving the educational environment throughout all grades of formal education, Vojvodina and Serbia's achievement will be twofold. First, a much better educated population will emerge; and secondly, the educational standards set forth by the European Union and suggested by the international community will be achieved, which will enhance Serbia's EU membership application.

Vojvodina's progress and applied changes have not yet been able to foster an environment of change followed by Serbia. The province, as is it has traditionally been inhabited by peoples of different nationalities and ethnicities, has been prone to an approach of tolerance and adaptation, while the rest of Serbia, a much more homogenous region, has not been as reluctant to respond to external pressures towards change and other ideologies. Serbia is actively taking part in the Decade of Roma Inclusion 2005 –2015. A Roma Inclusion Office has been established at the level of Vojvodina Province and has been particularly active in the area of education and employment. A large number of measures in the education sector have resulted in a significant improvement in enrollment and completion of primary education, as well as initial encouraging results in higher education. Seventy-five Roma health mediators and 175 pedagogical assistants have been employed so far and a system of health cards has been put in place. The largest problem is the implementation of policies; widespread discrimination and marginalization of the Roma continue in practice.

### *Hungarians*

The largest national minority in terms of number of people is the Hungarian national minority group. According to the latest census that was conducted, the Hungarian minority numbered almost 300,000, or about 4% of the Serbian population. Most Hungarians live in Vojvodina, and they form a majority in eight municipalities. The Hungarian language is in official use at the provincial level and at the municipal level in 27 municipalities. Hungarians are entitled to education in their language from primary school through university. Though parts of present day Vojvodina formed part of the Hungarian Kingdom in medieval times, most Hungarians currently living in Serbia are descended from migrations that began in the late 17th century when the Hapsburgs established control over these territories and continued through the 19th century.

### *Ruthenians*

The Ruthenian minority is descended from a population who began to settle in Vojvodina 250 years ago. The origins of the Ruthenian ethnic group are disputed. While some argue that Ruthenians originate from

Ukraine, others claim that they are a distinct Carpathian-Ruthenian people without a kin state. Until 1971, Ukrainians and Ruthenians were registered jointly. According to the 2002 census, there are 15,909 Ruthenians in Serbia. They live mainly in Vojvodina – in central Backa and western Srem, and do not constitute a majority in any municipality in Vojvodina. Ruthenian language is in official use in five municipalities and at the provincial level. Ruthenians are entitled to have minority education in their mother tongue up to university level.

## ***Future Progress***

### *The Council of Europe*

#### *The 2020 Benchmarks for the EU*

In May 2009, the Council of Europe agreed upon an updated strategic framework for European cooperation in education and training as a basis to carry on the cooperative exchange on policies, which had been initiated in 2001 under the umbrella of the Lisbon strategy for jobs and growth. The framework for policy cooperation, known as Education and Training 2020, will also serve as the principal mechanism to feed high-level education policy messages into the European Union's Europe 2020 Strategy to mobilize policies across the board for smart, sustainable and socially inclusive growth.

### *Teacher Training and Textbook Availability*

An issue that is of critical importance but remains an issue of worry, is the effectiveness of teacher training and textbook use. The Council of Europe called on authorities in Serbia and Vojvodina to ensure that the privatization of the production of textbooks does not harm their affordability published in minority languages. The same report by the Council of Europe suggested that additional efforts were needed to address the various shortcomings in terms of the availability of qualified teachers. Historically, there has been a dearth in objective writing in the textbooks, and a dearth of teachers who are completely proficient in the language taught to the minority. Many teachers were able to teach on a linguistic level, but lacked the necessary ethnic and cultural knowledge in order to preserve and foster the national identity of various minorities.

Measures to increase intercultural dialogue have been largely limited to the Province of Vojvodina. Even though minority language education is in general well developed, the Council has stated that teaching of some minority languages and culture remains optional in the educational system. The shortage of teachers and the availability of textbooks adapted to the Serbian curriculum constitute a major problem that needs to be addressed.

## ***Concluding Remarks***

Domestic changes come with external pressures, but only at the pace and the measurements that the internal community accepts. What I am suggesting is the need of an initial spark from outside, executed with the ultimate determination from within. The international community may be able to ameliorate conduct by setting strict laws and making suggestions, but eventually it will be the task of the government and the citizens to not only implement, but also embrace these proposed changes. External pressures do cause domestic changes, but they cause them in the long-term, and at the pace of the domestic community.

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# House Design for Natural Disaster Preparedness

By Cara Davis

*In 2011, natural hazards caused over \$52 billion in damages in the United States. Most of this cost occurred in the residential sector because a large number of houses were unable to withstand severe weather and geological activity. This is an investigation of construction methods and design characteristics applied to new and existing homes in order to better support residential wooden structures against natural hazards. The focus will be on two locations because of their affinity for natural hazards: Anchorage, Alaska and Houston, Texas. Anchorage is prone to flooding, heavy snow, permafrost, earthquakes, tsunamis, wildfires, coastal erosion, and nearby volcanoes. Houston is standing at fourth on the list of cities with the greatest risk for natural disasters is subject to hurricanes, flooding, tornados, subsidence, hail, and wildfires. Having utilized online mitigation sources, government agencies, and specialists, I have compiled the information needed to understand the dangers of living in hazard-prone areas. Floor plans have been designed for these two U.S. locations to explain the techniques and products needed to create a hazard resistant home. Along with a floor plan, a list of materials and construction methods will be provided.*

## Introduction

In 2011, more than \$50 billion was lost to damages from 99 federally declared natural disasters in the United States ranging from hurricanes, tornadoes, earthquakes, floods, fire, and similar events (Pidot, 2013; Ruckversicherungs-Gesellschaft, 2011). This cost was deeply felt within the residential sector, as many homes succumbed to contaminated floodwater, were deemed structurally unsound as a result of the shifting ground below, or were demolished by winds in excess of 200 miles per hour. Hundreds of lives are lost every year to such terrible events; thousands more are affected by the financial, emotional, and societal distress that follows. The failure to evacuate, ill-equipped and unprepared communities, the choice to live in a dangerous location, and inadequate or ineffectual building codes and mitigation techniques that cannot stand up to the hazards of the area, are just a few reasons for the rising disaster price tag in the United States (Pidot). With over 90 million homes in the country, a substantial percentage of the cost of disaster recovery could be alleviated by simply educating homeowners and builders on disaster resistant construction techniques and products designed for their area. This project is the study of techniques and products readily available for two hazard-prone areas: Houston, Texas, and Anchorage, Alaska. Houston and Anchorage were chosen because of their affinity for severe natural events and the vast differences in climate, population, and location.

There are three aspects to a *disaster*: severity of the event, resiliency of the communities affected, and population (Hyndman & Hyndman, 2011). The severity of the event reflects the strength of the natural forces at play. An earthquake above 7.0 on the Richter scale, and a category 5 hurricane, are examples of severe hazards. While such high-level hazards are rare, natural disasters are not. Resiliency is the ability of a community or communities to recover from a natural event. The inability to protect and evacuate citizens, the destruction of structures because of inadequate building codes, and a lack of post-disaster recovery plans are factors that can contribute to a slow return to normalcy after a disaster. Such factors are common in less developed countries, as they lack the financial and governmental stability to create and activate a disaster plan properly (Stromberg, 2007). The population affected determines the true meaning of a disaster. The extremity of a disaster is the balance between the numbers of people affected and the amount of damage, so a lesser event in a highly populated area can be the same level of disaster as a major event in a less populated area. An earthquake in Los Angeles would be called a *natural disaster*; it would be a severe event affecting thousands of people and buildings, and it would take considerable time to rebuild and return the city to normalcy. The movement of the earth itself is a natural *hazard*; the event, including the people affected or killed, the cost of damages, and the recovery process is the natural *disaster* (Hyndman, & Hyndman, 2011; Kusar, 2008).

Given this terminology, we might ask: "What if we manipulate the three aspects?" We could lessen the severity of flooding by not damming or leveeing rivers. We could try to redirect population growth to cities away from the Gulf Coast, which is consistently battered by hurricanes. Finally, for the easiest avenue of change, we could build homes and businesses to better withstand the forces of nature and drastically reduce rebuilding costs, the number of lives lost, and recovery time. While modern codes account for the natural hazards, they can still fail in extreme situations. Lack of education about alternative protection techniques is



Figure 1

This print represents a disaster resistant home as designed by Cara Davis.

common among consumers and builders in some of the most dangerous areas in the United States. The result of this study is a list of improvement options to strengthen homes for citizens in both areas of study. The home seen in Figure 1 is the basis for all additions that will follow and should be able to withstand the hazards both of Anchorage and Houston. There are hundreds of economically efficient and rather simple ways to prepare a home for danger, but lack of education and the "it will never happen to me" mentality hinder consumers from making vital decisions about buying, building, and remodeling a home.

## Locations

### Anchorage, Alaska

Anchorage is one of the largest cities in Alaska, with approximately 298,000 people, 1,704 square miles, and a major port; it holds the record for some of the most severe natural hazards and weather systems in the United States (US Census Bureau, 2013). According to the Alaska Seismic Hazards Safety Commission, the state is the most geologically active location in the entire country because of its location squarely on the infamous convergent plate boundary between the Pacific and North American Plates (Department of Natural Resources 2010). In 1964, Anchorage, Alaska experienced the second largest earthquake on record followed by a deadly 43 meter high tsunami, causing more than \$311 million in damages and claiming 128 lives (Stover and Coffmen, 2012). Another consequence of the plate boundary are the Aleutian Islands, just off the coast of Anchorage, which are littered with more than a dozen active volcanoes. While geologic hazards are a major concern in Anchorage, other natural hazards are common as well. The following is a complete list of the dangers of the area that will be accommodated in the design of the disaster resistant home:

- Earthquakes
- Tsunamis
- Extreme cold/Snow/Ice
- Wildfires
- Landslides
- Volcanoes
- High winds
- Flooding

- Coastal erosion
- Permafrost

### *Houston, Texas*

Houston, Texas, consistently tops many charts of cities “most at risk for natural disaster.” The Insurance Institute for Business and Home Security (2012) lists this precariously placed city in the top eight *at-risk* cities, alongside other known disaster locations such as New Orleans, Miami, and Los Angeles. A distinction between Houston and Anchorage is the distinct difference in population, which is why the term *disaster* comes into play in Houston more so than in Alaska. Houston occupies approximately 600 square miles with 2,160,821 (US Census Bureau, 2013). This massive number of people and businesses are located on a landmine of expansive clay with creeping fault lines. The city is also punished year after year by hurricanes originating in the Gulf of Mexico. In 1900, Galveston, Texas, just outside Houston, was flattened by the worst natural disaster in United States history, an unnamed hurricane that claimed the lives of more than 6,000 people (NOAA, 2004). While technology and protection agents to prepare the city for natural hazards have improved since then, the population of Houston continues to grow, and there is only so much humans can do against the power of nature. The following is a complete list of natural hazards which Houston, Texas, faces throughout the year:

- Hurricanes
- Expansive soils
- Hail
- Flooding
- Tornados
- Wildfires
- Coastal erosion
- Drought/Extreme heat

### *Site Decisions*

Before a house is built, it is important to consider the building site with precaution and determine if the location, as well as the ground itself, are suitable for building. There are some natural hazards that are simply impossible for a house to recover from, but they can be avoided by choosing a safe and stable location. Hiring a professional to inspect the land for hazards and explain the ramifications of a building on the land is recommended for all areas, whether prone to by natural disasters or not (Dehring, C., 2006). These are examples of hazards avoided during the project’s hypothetical land selection:

- Building on karst, limestone, or other soluble soils at risk for sinkholes
- V and A special flood hazard zones, which consist of properties below base flood elevation, beach front properties, and those within flood plains prone to rising water from rivers or lakes
- Proximity to earthquake fault lines
- Clay and other expansive soils
- Land at risk for soil movements (landslides, mudslides, rockslides, etc.)
- Known volcanic lahar flow paths

When it comes to preparing for natural disasters, people must make important decisions. Not all locations will have the same level of danger from every hazard, and not all hazards are worth preparing against. Ultimately, the forces of nature are unpredictable, unrelenting, and deadly. Hazards such as tsunamis, volcanoes, and sinkholes are examples of events that can only truly be prepared for in the initial site planning. It should also be noted that the features explained below are suggestions to give a home a better chance, but there are forces that cannot be economically combated at the present time.

### *Foundation*

The foundation is the base of a house. If the foundation fails, the house is less likely to survive the duration of the event. Foundation repairs are also extraordinarily expensive. Because of this, the foundation is a vital part of preparing the home for natural hazards as well as keeping the house standing for as long as possible. As shown in Figure 2, a post-tension slab, a type of on-grade concrete and steel foundation, has been found to sustain less damage from ground movement (Reichel, 2013). This type of foundation is suggested for both Houston and Anchorage due to the unique soil movements in those locations.

In Houston, most of the soil is made up of expansive clay that can shrink and swell with water intake as well as have issues with water subsidence (Hyndman & Hyndman, 2011). This causes problems as the clay below a home expands at different rates; the slab can be pushed and pulled in different directions, causing cracks in brickwork and the foundation. A post-tension slab is an on-grade concrete slab with steel cords that are pulled partially through the slab during the cement curing process to increase the tensile strength of the concrete. This process reinforces the concrete foundation to protect against soil movements such as shrinking, swelling, and earthquakes (Rogers, 2008).

Anchorage has a similar but different story. The soil movement in Alaska is affected by earthquakes and the freeze-thaw cycle of permafrost. Whereas Houston deals with the vertical movement of shrinking and swelling clay, Anchorage has the same vertical movement of permafrost in addition to the more violent sudden horizontal and vertical movement caused by earthquakes (Hyndman & Hyndman, 2011). The post-tension slab combats this while the additional strength added to the concrete prevents it from shaking.

Another alternative foundation suggested for these areas, both of which are prone to flooding, is a raised slab to lift the home above the base flood elevation. However, post-tension slabs are a more effective measure to protect the foundation.

### *Walls*

#### *Framing*

The framing of a structure is similar to the skeleton of the human body. It is the second step in building a home and provides the basic setting for the rest of the home. Most of the strength of the house will depend upon the framing and the techniques used at this stage in the building process. For Anchorage, structural insulated panels (SIPs) are suggested to best combat the movement of earthquakes. SIPs are precut wall sections made of two sheets of oriented strand board (OSB) with Styrofoam insulation in

the middle (Structural Insulated Panel Association, 2013). This form of framing is rising in popularity, as it is easy to install, a good insulator, and resists swaying better than traditional framing alternatives (Reichel, 2013). If traditional framing is used, horizontal bracing should be installed for a similar effect.

Although SIPs are also used in Houston, it is suggested to simply build with treated advanced framing and closed cell spray foam insulation. Advanced framing is a newer type of framing that uses 2"x6" studs, 24" on center, as opposed to the traditional use of 2"x4" studs, 16" on center (Kriger & Dorsi, 2004). This seemingly small change allows for thicker walls, creates more room for uninterrupted insulation and a larger buffer from the outside, and uses less wood. However, while most of these benefits are similar to those of SIPs, the important difference is the type of insulation. Closed cell spray foam is suggested for Houston because it also serves as a vapor barrier, which keeps water from reaching the wood studs and causing mold. A wet-flood proofing method minimizes damage regardless of the water inside the home. This makes for easy recovery after the flood waters recede, as the water will sit against the vapor barrier and not damage the home framing. With this method, all that would need to be replaced after floods is the drywall covering (see below). Closed cell spray foam insulation is also resistant to bugs and protects studs from termites that can severely damage homes in sub-tropical climates (Reichel, 2013).

### *Connectors*

Connectors are long metal straps screwed onto vital joints throughout the house in order to secure each piece of the wall together. The straps protect against swaying of the house and external pressures such as wind, water, and ground movement. In both Anchorage and Houston these straps, which secure the house to itself and to the ground (Figure 3) are suggested for two very different reasons (Federal Emergency Management Agency, 2011). Hurricanes, storms, and tornadoes in Houston and other parts of southeastern Texas make use of specific connectors called hurricane straps that brace the roof of a house to the frame. During high wind situations, the home is exposed to extreme pressures from outside that push at the exterior walls, testing the doors and windows as the pressure attempts to move inward. If at any point this seal between the exterior and interior is broken, the wind pressure enters the home, becomes trapped, and is forced upward. If the roof has any weaknesses, the uplift from the wind will cause the roof to blow off the house. Once the roof is gone, there is nothing left to hold the structure together as the storm continues and it will inevitably rip apart, leaving nothing but the foundation (Hyndman & Hyndman, 2011). The additional fastening of hurricane straps prevents the roof from flying off in high winds once the seal of the house is broken and can save a house from destruction.

Anchorage has a much different story for its connectors. Although the city has high winds, earthquakes are a larger problem. During earthquakes very different forces are exerted as homes must resist horizontal and vertical movements as opposed to inward pressures. These forces can be combated at the foundational level with proper bolting of the home to its foundation; otherwise, the structure will in essence bounce off the foundation and crash into the ground. Proper bolting is also useful in flood zones to keep the house from floating. The wall connectors are important to resist the swaying of the house during the horizontal motion of seismic waves. Simple

nails, common in framing, can easily pull out and crack walls because of their angle of motion. The use of screws and connectors can keep walls structurally sound and prevent them from falling in on the residents (Hyndman & Hyndman, 2011).

### *Drywall*

Drywall is a necessary home-building material with few alternatives. However, it is important to understand the best types of drywall to use if flooding is an issue. Part of the cost in flood recovery is replacing wet and molding drywall, but there are ways to reduce the amount of drywall that needs replacing. There are three types of drywall that can be useful in both Anchorage and Houston flood zones. The first is regular drywall; it is white and made of gypsum and paper. This type has the sole purpose of finishing the walls with a smooth surface. However, this type is very susceptible to water, stains, and damage. Mold-resistant drywall is the second type; it is commonly used in kitchens, baths, and laundry areas as they are most likely to have water in the air, walls, and floors. Mold-resistant drywall is, as its name suggests, less likely to grow mold given minor spills, floors, and water vapor in the air (Kriger & Dorsi, 2004). However, when this type is inadequate, paperless drywall is an option. This type has no exterior paper to soak up water and will better withstand flooding. Although the walls are not as smooth as traditional drywall, paperless drywall can save money by avoiding drywall replacement after a flood and can be painted and used in the same way (Reichel, 2013).

Different types of drywall installation can also be considered in flood preparedness. When installing drywall in a home that has a potential to flood, it is possible to install it an inch or so above the finished floor in the space that will later be hidden by the baseboard. Doing this will allow a minor flood or spill to wash over the floor and not damage the drywall, which soaks up water and can mold if not addressed immediately. In anticipation of large floods, one can install drywall horizontally and leave a gap between the bottom drywall sheet and the top drywall sheet so that only the bottom sheet might require replacement. A chair rail or other wall decorative accent can cover the gap and save a homeowner half of the cost of drywall replacement (Reichel, 2013).

### *Openings*

#### *Windows and Doors*

Openings in the home are the most vulnerable points during heavy storms. Because of these hazards in both Anchorage and Houston, there are a number of suggestions for placement, type and size of windows. It is important to retain the seal of the house, as it can prevent further damage and keep the home completely intact. All windows and doors should be impact resistant to best combat debris that can break the seal of the house and injure residents inside (Gurley & Masters, 2011). Impact resistant windows are made from two sheets of glass, sandwiching a sheet of thick plastic (Figure 4). This reduces the likelihood of shattering and, with additional strength in its frame, retains the seal undamaged. Further protection of window coverings or storm shutters could be needed in Houston, where the wind is exceptionally severe (Hyndman & Hyndman, 2011). Another recommendation to avoid broken glass and damaged windows is to have smaller windows, i.e., openings less than six feet high or wide. The small surface area is more difficult to hit and withstands attack better than oversized windows. Windows should also be sparse on the

south and east sides of the home, as these sides are affected most by clockwise moving weather systems (Reichel, 2013)

### Garage

The garage is the largest opening in the house and as such proves a vital point to protect during a hazard. During wind hazards it is common for garage doors, which have little bracing built in, to be blown inward, breaking the seal of the house. After the integrity of the door is broken, the small remaining wall area rarely can hold up the weight of the roof, resulting in the roof's collapse (Gurley & Masters, 2011; Hyndman & Hyndman, 2011). During earthquakes it is also typical for the garage to crumble and allow the roof to collapse. To combat this, impact resistant garage doors can be used as an alternative to traditional doors or hurricane bracing can be installed onto the current garage doors. Additional framing on the walls to support the roof after the door is gone can increase the strength of the structure and keep the garage and attached house intact (Reichel, 2013).

### Exterior

#### Roofing

Roofing materials have a large role in preparing for natural hazards. In Houston, the type of roofing is very important for a number of reasons. During hurricanes and tornadoes, high winds can rip up shingles, transforming nails and asphalt into projectiles (Gurley & Masters, 2011; Hyndman & Hyndman, 2011). In times of extreme heat, a light colored roofing material serves as better reflector of the sun's rays, keeping the interior of the home cooler (Kriger & Dorsi, 2004). In addition, Houston is known for its hail, which can severely damage weaker roofing and puncture the roof, requiring costly repairs and patchwork. However, all of these issues are solvable with proper installation and knowledge of products. Stone, terracotta, and metal stand up well against the impact of debris and hail; however, such options are very stylized and expensive. The best alternative for an average home is proper nailing of impact resistant shingles that are made of a harder material and can withstand continual battering of the roof (Insurance Institute for Business and Home Security, 2012).

Anchorage does not have hail or much debris due to high wind; however, snow load and occasional ash load from the nearby volcanoes can be issues. Therefore, a lightweight material is suggested because it will not place as much stress on the roof (Federal Emergency Management Agency, 2011). Darker materials also absorb heat in the colder winter months to help keep the house warm and use less energy. In both locations, a hip roof is suggested, as it is the most aerodynamic roof shape (Kriger & Dorsi, 2004).

#### Siding

Siding varies greatly in Houston and in Anchorage because of the soil movement. In Houston, where the greatest threat is wind and water, masonry is suggested because of its strength and stability (Reichel, 2013). If built on proper foundations, brick or stone veneer will withstand the minimal movements of expansive soils and hold better against flying debris and wind during storms. In Anchorage masonry and stone are advised against because of earthquakes. Such violent movements crack and weaken masonry and make it more likely to fall, which can be deadly to any resident or bystander (Hyndman & Hyndman, 2011; Kusar, 2008). The



Figure 2  
Post tension slabs sustain less damage from ground movement.



Figure 3  
Seismic ties secure the house to itself and the ground.



Figure 4  
Davis holds a sample of impact resistant window material.



Figure 5

This laundry room doubles as a safe room in disguise.

lighter weight, more flexible vinyl siding is recommended since it is less likely to break or create dangerous falling objects (Insurance Institute for Business and Home Security, 2012).

### *Chimney*

Falling chimneys are common in hurricanes, other strong storms, and earthquakes because they are made of masonry, are heavy, and often are poorly attached to the house. To solve these issues additional bracings can be bought and installed cheaply and easily. During initial construction, chimneys can also be reinforced with steel and designed to be short and wide, as opposed to tall and narrow, which will reduce swaying and pulling on the house (Federal Emergency Management Agency, 2011).

### *Flooring*

If flooding is a possibility, waterproof flooring such as sealed laminate, stone, or waterproofed wood is suggested. These choices will survive most influxes of water, whether moving or stagnant, clean or contaminated, and will greatly lessen cleanup cost and time. If soft flooring is still desired, rugs or other removable coverings are suggested because they are cheaper to replace and do not require invasive removal when damaged (Reichel, 2013).

### *Utilities*

#### *Electrical*

Faulty or damaged wiring can result from a natural disaster and can be very costly to correct. The following is a list of suggestions for proper electrical practices all homeowners should know in hazard prone areas:

- To protect wiring from flood waters, raise up all floor outlets to approximately three feet above the finished flooring. This should move all wiring above the base flood elevation, and making it easier to reach is an added bonus (Reichel, 2013).
- Additional braces should be installed for all hanging light fixtures to secure them during an earthquake. Chandeliers and pendants often are made of glass and metal, which, if shaken loose, can be very dangerous to anyone standing around them as well as expensive to replace (Federal Emergency Management Agency, 2011).
- The use of generators is common after disasters because

of power outages. Generators should be placed outside, at least 25 feet from the house since a malfunctioning generator can leak carbon monoxide (Kriger & Dorsi, 2004).

- Fire alarms and CO detectors should have battery backup in case of power outages.

### *Plumbing*

Plumbing issues after natural hazards are common, particularly after floods or freezes. These problems can be costly and damaging to the rest of the home, prolonging or causing home calamities. Following is a list of suggestions for plumbing fixtures and materials to best avoid the natural problems of the area:

- Cross-linked polyethylene (PEX) tubing is the best choice for locations prone to soil movement since it is a flexible plastic that will not break. As a plastic product, it will also be less likely to freeze than the more commonly used material, copper.
- Insulating pipes is very important in cold climates. Inside the house, the thicker the insulation the better it is, but outside heat tape is best to prevent pipes from freezing. In areas prone to freezing for much of the year, such as Alaska, it is suggested to keep all water inside the conditioned zone of the house (Kecebas, 2013).
- A gate valve is an emergency block inside the piping to prevent water from reversing direction and flowing back into the home. This valve on the main sewer line, particularly one which is automated, can prevent back flow of water during floods (Reichel, 2013).

### *Safe Room*

The safe room is in the center of the house. The room may look and function like a laundry area, mud room, or closet, but there is much more underneath. The safe room is built with reinforced walls and all the supplies needed to survive a natural disaster, even if the rest of the house is not accessible. It also serves as an emergency center for the family, as it contains all items and controls needed during any disaster. For this project two different safe rooms are described, applicable to both Anchorage and Houston hazards. The difference is the price: the more amenities and the stronger the construction, the more expensive the room will be. This additional cost has to be taken into account by the consumer and balanced with the benefits and peace of mind that comes with this exceptional tool to protect a family (Federal Emergency Management Agency, 2013).

#### *Good Safe Room*

- Construction
- 4x6" studs, 12" on center with two sheets of plywood sheathing
- Built as stand-alone structure within the house
- Additional connectors on joints
- Safe for most hurricanes, minor earthquakes and tornadoes, and home invasion
- Important to first attempt evacuating, if safe, before taking shelter in the safe room

### *Strong Safe Room*

- Construction
- Cinder or concrete block with steel rebar reinforcements
- Built as stand-alone structure within house
- Safe for hurricanes, tornadoes, earthquakes, home invasion
- Important to first attempt evacuating, if safe, before taking shelter in the safe room

### *Amenities and Features*

- Laundry: to avoid the safe room's being just a limited use space, the laundry and storage area has been built into the safe room in the house design shown in Figure 1. It is clear from Figure 5, a perspective of the design, that the space looks like any other room in the house.
- Floor space: the safe room needs to accommodate all residents. The safe room in the sample plan has floor space to quarter the residents of this three bedroom house comfortably for a short amount of time.
- Sink: allows for running water into the room if the family needs to stay there for long periods of time.
- Food and utility storage: provides additional storage near the kitchen and allows easy access to canned or dried food during stays in the safe room.
- Fire rated door with lock on inside: protects the area and its contents in case of a fire or in case of home invasion. The residents can lock themselves in the room until it is safe. Fire doors also are impact resistant.
- Landline telephone: landline phones still work during power outages and, unlike cell phones, do not need recharging, thus usually can still be used during high-volume times.
- Storage Safe: a safe within the strongest part of the house best protects and keeps secure important documents like birth certificates and deeds, or valuables like jewelry and antiques.
- Family disaster kit: this kit has all the items and information needed to cope after a disaster such as additional medicine, pet necessities (if required), extra clothing, cash, copies of insurance(s), and emergency phone numbers. For a full list see Federal Emergency Management Agency website, ready.gov/build-a-kit.
- Electrical panel/water/gas controls: it is suggested to have all the main breakers in the same location within a house, in or near the safe room, for convenience and safety.
- Tankless water heater: including the water heater, all utilities are within a single room; because it has no tank, there is no risk of its falling over during an earthquake.
- Center drain: as with most laundry rooms, a center drain is recommended for interior floods, but this also helps drain any other water that might come in.
- Fire extinguisher: this gives residents the ability to fight a fire. The best location for a fire extinguisher is near the kitchen.

### *Conclusion*

Natural hazards occur every day, but whether the hazards cause a disaster is up to us. Earthquakes and hurricanes rarely kill people; it is the buildings falling on their occupants that results in death. It is important to remember that nature is not out to attack us as a species, but our progress is getting in the way of nature. In order to live peacefully we must accommodate, and one way to do so is to promote better building practices that can withstand the forces of nature. Simple steps such as educating contractors and consumers about alternative products and building techniques to build a safer home can save money, time, and lives of families in dangerous areas. As natural hazards increase every year, these substitutes become less of an option and more of a necessity to protect the household (Stromberg, 2007). People in Florida, Los Angeles, and New York City spend thousands of dollars on repairs, replacements, or rebuilding every few years because of extreme weather and natural earth movements, but this can be avoided with additions that contribute minimally to the total cost of the home. As a result, residents could live in a safe home without worrying about natural disasters in the area destroying their investments.

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# A Giant Leap Backwards

by Ashlee Albertson

*No artist in the Soviet Union could escape the aesthetic tyranny of Joseph Stalin. Not long after implementing a “cultural revolution” based on notions of “socialist realism,” music and other forms of artistic expression began to manifest themselves along distinctly non-Western lines. Indeed, during this time there was very little progress or innovation of any kind in the arts; rather, the creators of works of art based them largely on accessible styles from the past that were no longer in use. Dmitri Shostakovich, a leading symphonist of the time, was also unable to escape the official restrictions that shaped the composition and performance of music in his country. After early successes that included his First and Fourth Symphonies, beginning around 1937 his creative life began to be controlled by Stalin’s personally appointed cultural expert, Andrei Zhdanov. Not only was the Fourth Symphony shelved, but also subsequent compositions, such as Shostakovich’s Fifth Symphony, reveal the more populist style mandated by the government. In this paper, I argue that his Fifth Symphony, although widely acclaimed, represents a giant leap backwards in his stylistic development as a twentieth century composer.*

One of Dmitri Shostakovich's most famous works is his Fifth Symphony in D minor, Op. 47. Musicians praise this symphony for its extravagance and elegance, its power and might. At its premier in 1937, it received a standing ovation that lasted over half an hour. To the ears of the Soviet people, it was a roaring success that placed Shostakovich on a musical pedestal. When his Fifth Symphony hit the stage, the young composer gained worldwide respect. Today music students listen to recordings of this very symphony as a milestone of twentieth century Soviet music.

Despite its initial success, the Fifth Symphony is one of Shostakovich's least impressive works. Compared to his Fourth Symphony, which he completed one year earlier in 1936, the Fifth Symphony signifies a giant leap backwards for the composer. His Fourth Symphony displays a progressive and innovative musical style and image that rings true to the twentieth century. The Fourth Symphony ignited an intense flame of musical quality that symphonic composers at the time could not compare to. Its harmonies depict the turmoil of the Soviet state while its melodies represent the composer's personal anguishes. One year later, his Fifth Symphony premiered with the flame diminished; the musical brilliance was gone, emotions were thrown aside and innovation remained in its box. A number of specific events and major political crises led to this tragic musical downfall: political leaders such as Joseph Stalin and Andrei Zhdanov, 'socialist realism,' Shostakovich's opera *Lady Macbeth of the Mtsensk District*, and the 'cultural revolution.'

After examining the truly bombastic Fourth Symphony, and then listening to the Fifth Symphony, I found myself in a state of disappointment and shock. How could such climactic dissonances, found so frequently in the Fourth, return back to boring and safe tonality in the Fifth? In the Fourth Symphony, Shostakovich splattered the pages with chords clusters, thick textures of dense repetition, and rhythmic intensity that leaves the listener with a sense of haunted doom cast over their heads. Shostakovich stretches the dynamics as far as they can possibly go: just after the introduction of movement there are *fortissimos* all up and down the score. At rehearsal square 90, he marks *ffff* for four trumpets, eight horns, three trombones, and two tubas, all of which create effectively loud tones with just one *forte*, much less four of them. His instrumentation also stretched the normal orchestration practices to the extreme limits. For the woodwind family he includes the largest number of instrument pairings that was typical for that time period, including the addition of an E-flat clarinet, an English horn, and a contrabassoon. The percussion list includes some less than typical instruments that are heard clearly throughout: a castanet, tam-tam, triangle solo in the first movement, xylophone, six timpani, and two harps. Many of the instruments are in octaves for extended periods of time, leading to a very thick and meaty texture. For instance, the first melody of the first movement requires that the four trumpets all play in unison while the rest of the orchestra is in rhythmic unison. A common theme features large groupings of instruments playing repeated eighth notes for four consecutive measures with each eighth note accompanied by an accent, adding to an overall dauntingly bombastic effect similar to that of Igor Stravinsky's ballet, *The Rite of Spring*.

The harmonies reach extremes that other composers at the time would seldom dare to compose. One of the most intense climaxes of the first movement occurs at rehearsal square 30: the chord includes nearly all twelve notes found in the chromatic scale. Immediately following the release of this widespread cluster chord, preceded by five full measures of *ffff*, all instruments comes an abrupt halt -- an entire measure of silence. Shostakovich employs drama into the Fourth Symphony like a bleeding heart. The eerie tone of the music and solo bassoon passages are both very reminiscent of *The Rite of Spring*, which caused a riot in the music world

in 1913. Shostakovich's Fourth Symphony contains constant groups of measures of high woodwind trills that catch the listener in a whirlwind of extremely dissonant shrieks. Shostakovich paints this symphony with colors not often heard, and he stretches the limits of tonality with almost constant dissonance. The Fourth Symphony is truly an innovative leap forward into musical milestones, while his Fifth Symphony returns to the safe compositional style of the Classical Period, taking a giant leap backwards.

The Fifth Symphony contains four movements. The Fourth Symphony, even though it is 62 minutes in length, contains only three movements. Although the symphony holds its roots in a three movement form dating from the Preclassical period when the symphony first emerged into the music world, the four movement structure was soon adopted to be the norm for the Classical period; therefore, the Fifth Symphony reflects the Classical period in macro-structure.

In regards to harmony, the Fifth Symphony is overall quite clearly tonal through and through. It does not stray far from diatonic harmonies, and it avoids severe dissonances such as those that can be found in the Fourth. Delicate touch and sweeping gestures control the tone of the Fifth Symphony; the string section plays a legato *arco* for the most part throughout the symphony, leading to this delicate tone. Flute solos sprinkle the score, adding to the delicacy. At times the high woodwinds play some of the highest notes possible for their instruments, giving off a shriek, which can be heard often in the Fourth, but these shrieks are less violent and last for shorter lengths of time. They are more subdued, almost blending into the texture of the rest of the symphony; they are still noticeable in the Fifth, but are far less pronounced than in the Fourth Symphony.

The first movement of the Fifth Symphony contains a very recognizable melody that is carried throughout the whole movement, switching off between trumpets, woodwinds, and brass. It is a constant melody, which also reflects the Classical period; symphonies from the Classical period were mostly homophonic in texture, meaning they contain one main melody throughout. This melody rings a tone of triumph, with ascending major patterns upward, reaching a clear climax to the phrase and then returning peacefully to the tonic. Under this triumphant melody is a repeated rhythmic figure that contributes yet another cheerful tone to the picture. Although the Fifth Symphony is in the key of D minor, I listen to this music with cheerfulness and a sense of accomplishment, which is typically found in major pieces, and not those in minor keys. Near the close of the first movement, Shostakovich retracts the triumph and replaces it with a feeling of defeat brought on by a repeated rhythmic figure in the bass drum (eighth – eighth – quarter). This rhythmic motive sounds like a funeral march with its constant repetition, a sudden return to D minor, and a *morendo* dynamic (dying away). In texture, rhythmic energy, melody, and harmony, Shostakovich's Fifth Symphony reflects aspects of the Classical period; the Fourth Symphony, on the other hand, which premiered only a year before, looked into the future of music. Eric Roseberry states that the Fourth Symphony did lead to the development of the Fifth, "but it does not lessen the enormity of the extraordinary leap from the wild inner turmoil and subjectivity of expression we encounter in the Fourth to the refinement and concentration of form and content in the Fifth."<sup>1</sup>

1. Eric Roseberry. "Personal integrity and public service: the voice of the symphonist", in *The Cambridge Companion to Shostakovich*. (Cambridge University Press, 2008). 21.

So why did Shostakovich leap backward almost 150 years in musical history? In 1936, before the premier of both the Fourth and Fifth Symphonies, an anonymous author, possibly Joseph Stalin but most likely Andrei Zhdanov, published a critique in the *Pravda* cultural journal of Shostakovich's opera, *Lady Macbeth of the Mtsensk District*, with the title, "Chaos Instead of Music." The article obliterated his opera, claiming it to be overtly sexual, disastrous music, and above all, anti-Soviet. According to this critique his opera did not appeal to the common Soviet people but rather an elite bourgeois. Due to these offenses, *Lady Macbeth of the Mtsensk District* was banned from ever being performed again in the Soviet Union, despite its being adored by the Soviet people. When this devastating article emerged, Shostakovich was in the process of composing his Fourth Symphony. He tried to rise above this political interference, which was hindering his creativity. He completed composition of his Fourth Symphony but unfortunately destroyed the score by his own hand because of the harsh, lie-ridden critique of his opera.<sup>2</sup>

Five years prior to the premiere of Shostakovich's Fifth Symphony, Joseph Stalin, and his equally oppressive cultural expert, Andrei Zhdanov, called an emergency meeting of the Soviet Writers Union. Stalin explained to the writers his new concept for the Soviet culture: 'socialist realism.'<sup>3</sup> According to this new 'cultural revolution,' any form of work that artists, writers, and musicians created had to reflect the 'heroes' of the Soviet Union. Literature had to appeal to the common Soviet man, not some elite class of upper society. This 'common man appeal' reflected the Communist policies of the Soviet Union: the government was taking away the class struggle that Karl Marx and Lenin had implemented twenty years prior. Rich people's money was taken from them, while the peasants lived in the new agrarian lifestyle of 'collectivization,' meaning hundreds of farming families living on and sharing the same communal farmland.<sup>4</sup>

The entire country was in a huge propaganda scheme to make the Soviet Union and their Socialist government look good to the rest of the world. If anything in the culture appeared to even have a hint of anti-Soviet material, it was destroyed; the person who produced it would either be executed or exiled. After these regulations for 'socialist realism' came into play, 1,500 writers disappeared and stopped writing altogether.<sup>5</sup> Soviet films stopped thinking ahead to the future of cinema society but began to create films that would appeal to the public as a fun time for the family. In other words, cinematographers were forced to create mindless films that could not contain any negative remarks or allusions against socialism. Like Shostakovich's Fifth Symphony, Soviet writers were pushed to look backward to the classics of literature, like Pushkin. Everything about their culture was backwards. They were not progressing as a society, but rather degrading themselves by mindlessly repeating what history had already created. Not only was our troubled composer Dmitri Shostakovich not allowed to create anything new, neither was the rest of the Soviet society. By the laws of 'socialist realism,' enforced by Andrei Zhdanov, Soviet culture could only promote subjects which the Soviet government approved of: economic activity, a social utopia, national defense or nationalism, and the Soviet leader himself – Joseph Stalin.<sup>6</sup>

Due to 'socialist realism,' Shostakovich, or any of the other musicians, writers, artists, and filmmakers, were strictly forbidden to express any real emotions in any of their works. If cultural material strayed away from Soviet thinking and heroism, the creators could be brutally executed. Regarding his expressive oppression, Shostakovich remarks

It was never exactly the same voice that it had been before. You ask me if I would have been different without [Soviet] Party guidance . . . Yes, almost certainly. No doubt the line that I was pursuing when I wrote the Fourth Symphony would have been stronger and sharper in my work. I would have displayed more brilliance, used more sarcasm, I could have revealed my ideas more openly instead of resorting to camouflage. I would have written more pure music.<sup>7</sup>

I found it surprising that Shostakovich portrayed his Fourth Symphony as being an example of expressive oppression; but especially in terms of his Fifth Symphony, the progression came to a screeching halt and walked out the door due to the socialist regime and their 'cultural revolution'. If one listens closely enough and with an open ear, one can hear hints of snarky satire in his Fifth Symphony. The main melody, which is repeated throughout the first movement, literally repeats itself in exactly the same note and rhythm scheme each time, with the only change found in the exchange of instruments. It seems as though the composer is overdoing the homophonic aspect of texture; at times the texture is so simple and thin that the music is simply repeating itself. One can also imply that this method of repetition is reflective of the Soviet culture repeating everything that the 'classics' already created. For instance, Soviet authors at the time were instructed to return to the style of Pushkin's writings, which stretched back 100 years, instead of using their own thoughts. Shostakovich was to return to the Classical music period, replicating its styles, form, and texture, instead of using his individual forward thinking.

Another satirical aspect of the Fifth Symphonic was the triumphant tone set up by the main melody. From the sweeping gesture upwards accompanied by a crescendo to a steady return to the tonic in the downward motion, the listener feels a sense of triumph and accomplishment. The theme is often played by the trumpet; the bombastic nature of the trumpet's tone creates the sense of a wartime hero, for military success is often associated with a trumpet fanfare. After this main melody has exhausted itself throughout the entirety of the first movement, Shostakovich inserts a dynamic marking indicating, "to die down" (*morendo*), with the slow, quiet beating of the bass drum. As I mentioned earlier, this constant rhythmic bass drum motive speaks out like a funeral march. I believe Shostakovich saw this movement as a defeat in battle, his soldiers dead, referenced by the expressive marking *morendo*. Here, Shostakovich is alluding in a roundabout way to the Soviet regime as dying away and falling to a slow defeat, but in the meantime, indicated by the repetitive main melody of the first movement, the regime is exhausting the same principles over and over again, beating them into the minds of the Soviet people. Shostakovich's sly allusion to the Soviet regime's defeat is just subtle enough that the political leaders greatly admired it, with music historians claiming that Soviet leaders greatly approved of the Fifth Symphony:

With its ample and yet conventional four-movement form, even down to an improbably minuettish scherzo, its unextravagant

2. Shostakovich later arranged his Fourth Symphony for two pianos. In 1946, he re-orchestrated the symphony.

3. Evan Mawdsley. *The Stalin Years: The Soviet Union 1929-1953*. (Manchester University Press. 1998). 54-55.

4. *Ibid.*, 35.

5. *Ibid.*, 36.

6. *Ibid.*, 58.

7. Wendy Lesser. *Music for Silenced Voices*. (Yale University Press, 2011). 26.

scoring, and its notable harmonic restraint, the Fifth Symphony amounted to a paradigm of Stalinist neoclassicism, testifying, so far as the powers were concerned, to the composer's obedient submission to discipline.<sup>8</sup>

This view of 'unextravagant scoring' and 'harmonic restraint' leads me to my next point. I think the Fifth Symphony is simple in musical context and compositional style in comparison to his Fourth Symphony. The Fourth is complex in performance techniques, such as constant trills over four measures at a time; it is also complex in the actual notes and harmonic texture, containing non-diatonic scales and chords not pertaining to the key signature at all. In contrast, the Fifth Symphony contains a thin texture with the main melody repeating itself throughout the first movement. The second movement contains small instrument solos, and the whole symphony remains close to the hem of diatonic harmonic writing. Honestly, this symphony resembles a movie score set to a predictably boring ending where the hero defeats the villain in an epic battle scene where every audience member knows how the story will unfold. As I have stated, this symphony is simple, and it does not live up to Shostakovich's full musical potential, based on sequential progression of the style found in his Fourth Symphony.

Unfortunately, this symphony had to be simple and dull to appease the Soviet leaders. If Shostakovich had continued composing in the style of his Fourth Symphony, he may have been put on trial, and possibly have been exiled, like fellow Soviet composer Igor Stravinsky, who was exiled from the USSR in 1917. Shostakovich may even have been executed. During Stalin's reign over the Soviet Union, civil execution ran rampant, with 2,000 to 3,000 executions occurring per year.<sup>9</sup> According to historical records of Russian history, one of the most lethal periods was between 1927-1936, a time when Stalin was leader. In 1936 alone, 73,000 executions were ordered and 177,000 were forced to leave the Soviet Union in exile; these people were being punished for the 'common crime' – committing actions or speech that was anti-Soviet.<sup>10</sup> Assassination of political leaders and execution of the common man were exceptionally common under Stalin's leadership.

Public humiliation and verbal criticism of Shostakovich and other cultural innovators occurred often by the harsh tongue of Andrei Zhdanov. Through his public speeches, he claimed that "Our formalists [composers]. . . compose music which is ugly and false."<sup>11</sup> Zhdanov wanted the composers to capture the spirit of the Soviet people. I do believe that Shostakovich fully captured the anguished and crushed spirit of the Soviet people under so much oppression. Shostakovich's harsh and bitter dissonances of the Fourth Symphony symbolize the people caught under heavy oppression by the Soviet Party, and the high woodwind shrieks and trills symbolize the cries of the Soviet people being executed. Shostakovich was the voice of a people that had no voice. Soon after, his voice was silenced as well.

Zhdanov and Stalin wanted Shostakovich's music to portray the sound of the Russian people and to reflect the 'positive aspects' of their Socialist government. Their goal was for Shostakovich's compositions, specifically his Fifth Symphony, to depict the heroes of the Soviet regime, and one can only assume that Joseph Stalin perceived himself as the lead hero in the symphony. Ironically, Shostakovich's music was simple

and thinly textured, and I believe that the Fifth Symphony sheds a poor and dim light on the Soviet Party. Unlike the Fourth Symphony, Shostakovich's Fifth Symphony is only surface-deep; it has no expressive depth or emotion or any real musical accomplishment. In the musical world, the Fifth Symphony is a shame to progressive music because it turns back almost completely to the Classical period with no marks to musical innovation. But the Soviet Party, especially Zhdanov, viewed this symphony as a work of remarkable accomplishment for the entire world to see. Maybe at the time of the premiere, the rest of the musical world did enjoy listening to the triumphant trumpet melody of the Fifth Symphony, or they felt a sense of relief and accomplishment for mankind, but after examining Shostakovich's other works, specifically his Fourth Symphony, his Fifth is only notes on a page, with no meaning attached to the music at all.

The civil executions and Zhdanov's harsh words from his public speeches were friendly reminders of why Shostakovich was forced to completely change his musical style of composition. This caused the composer to abandon his individual compositional style of his Fifth Symphony. This is why his opera, *Lady Macbeth of the Mtsensk District*, was banned from ever again being performed on a Soviet stage. This is why the Soviet people had to suppress their emotions, their expressiveness, their individual beliefs, and their creativity. Without Zhdanov or Stalin or the Soviet regime, Shostakovich could have created musical history with his unimaginable depth of emotion put into music. The composer could have achieved so much more than music will ever know.

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10. *Ibid.*, 100.

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### About the Author

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# Featured Articles

# *Feature*

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Featured articles are written by our editors to showcase research programs or projects that are not in research paper format.



*Photo courtesy of Dr. Marc Lucht*

# Peace Efforts Go Global

After the 2007 shootings, Virginia Tech responded in multiple ways and created several programs to investigate the causes of violence and to work against future violence. Virginia Tech's Center for Peace Studies and Violence Prevention (CPSVP) is a cross-disciplinary group that studies violence prevention, peace studies and community reactions to acts of violence. The Center has a threefold mission: to teach, conduct research and use outreach to try to find ways to solve the problem of group violence.

The founding director of the Center, Dr. Jerzy Nowak, was widowed in the shooting when his wife, Professor Jocelyne Couture-Nowak, was killed. At that time Nowak, who was the head of the Horticulture department, came up with a proposal for the Center of Peace Studies and Violence Prevention to be held in Norris Hall, the building where most of the shootings took place. The Center's first conference was called the International Summit on Transdisciplinary Approaches to Violence Prevention. The purpose of the conference was to have violence prevention experts from a broad range of different fields, and from all over the world, visit Virginia Tech, making it possible for people that don't usually interact with one another to make connections, network, and share ideas.

With the first conference being successful but almost overwhelmingly large, the CPSVP decided to downsize the second conference. This would make possible a more focused outcome. They also decided to hold it internationally. Because of recent increased interest in the Middle East and North Africa, and because of Virginia Tech's partnership with a school there, the École de Gouvernance et d'Économie de Rabat, the Center chose to hold the second conference in Rabat, Morocco. The title of the conference was the "Working Conference on the Causes and Consequences of Group Violence," and it was held in September of 2013.

Virginia Tech staff involved with the effort included current CPSVP Director and sociology professor Dr. Jim Hawdon, sociology department head Dr. John Ryan, assistant professor of sociology Dr. Anthony Pegeuro, and Undergraduate Research Institute Interim Director Dr. Marc Lucht.

The Center decided to offer the opportunity to attend the conference to Virginia Tech students, whose expenses were fully paid by the CPSVP. Those interested were asked to send in a proposal and seven students were selected, with five making the trip to Morocco. Virginia Tech undergraduates Jeanne Chang, Alec Clott, Virginia Roach and Michelle Sutherland traveled to Morocco, along with Ph.D. candidate Christian Matheis.

Michelle Sutherland, who graduated in December 2013 with degrees in political science and philosophy, chose to get involved because the trip's focus on group violence fit well with her academic interests.

"Many of my ... courses have involved learning about and understanding why violence persists, and I was delighted by the prospect of engaging with these questions as part of an undergraduate research experience," Sutherland said.

Christian Matheis, a Ph.D. candidate in the Alliance for Social, Political, Ethical and Cultural Thought, joined due to his interest in researching peace studies and violence prevention.

"The research project into group violence allowed me to ... better understand how and why people select one another as targets of violence," Matheis said. "The trip allowed me to gain feedback from an international community of experts, including graduate students in Morocco working to foster change in their home nation."

The students on the trip were split into two teams, each assigned to write a paper to be presented at the conference. In order to further the networking process in Morocco, the Virginia Tech students were asked to give their papers to Moroccan students from the partnering school. The Moroccan students were asked to make suggestions and critique the papers before the conference, and they offered detailed feedback during face to face meetings in Rabat. Not only did the Tech students have this experience in international scholarly collaboration, but the students who went also had the opportunity to stay with Moroccan families or in an apartment with Moroccan students. They also visited several different cities, including Fez and Marrakech.

Not only did this trip enable Virginia Tech students to interact with Moroccan students, broadening their cultural horizons, but they also were afforded the opportunity to attend conference presentations and talk with some of the world's top experts on group violence.

"It was so fascinating to hear the other scholars talk about their research and ask questions," Sutherland said. "It was also very rewarding to talk to them about our research over lunch and to hear their interest. The conference included a remarkable group of people."

Another result of the conference is that the articles the students wrote will be published in a book, *From Bullies to Terrorists: The Causes and Consequences of Group Violence*. The trip gave each student unique academic and personal experiences.

"It was a phenomenal experience, both in allowing me to grow as a student and allowing me the opportunity to go outside my comfort zone abroad," Sutherland said.

Matheis particularly enjoyed visiting with community organizers and women's rights activists in Morocco to discuss how they work for social change. For him, this experience abroad influenced his career goals.

"Although I have always felt open to the possibility of pursuing work outside the U.S.A., I now more clearly consider this feasible," Matheis said. "I may pursue opportunities to research and teach abroad."

These conferences will continue to occur as long as there is enough funding to continue them. This conference was funded and made possible by the Lacy Foundation, the CPSVP, and the College of Liberal Arts and Human Sciences.



*Photo courtesy of Ryan Stone*

# *In Memoriam: Dr. Craig Brians*

Through his work with undergraduate research, undergraduate teaching, and collaboration with graduate and undergraduate students, Dr. Brians enriched the lives of many Virginia Tech students and helped develop an atmosphere of dedicated and collective learning. Dr. Brians always looked to the world in a very inquisitive way, seeking to increase his understanding of the world around him. In the classroom, students described him as funny and entertaining, yet devoted and supportive, seeking to help his students in whatever ways he could.

Among these students is Michaela Pitman; she remembers Dr. Brians as an experienced researcher who was able to provide his undergraduate research team with invaluable knowledge of the ins and outs of the research process. “While conducting research it was obvious that he genuinely enjoyed helping students in every considerable aspect, especially when it came to research. Whether it was applying for funds, grants for travel, or presenting at a research conference, Dr. Brians was by our side every step of the way.” She also describes his dedication to his research team, and the extra work he took on to aid his students’ research. “He played a central role in the political science department, serving as an undergraduate research advisor for many, many students. More times than not he would spend his days having back-to-back meetings with us in order to keep up with our individual projects.”

Dr. Brians’ students describe him as not only a helpful aid and guide, but as an impressive man. Pitman characterized him by saying, “His intelligence should have been intimidating, but Dr. Brians had a way of putting people at ease.” Carley Frye, another member of Dr. Brians’ undergraduate research team, worked with him for over two years. She agrees with Pitman, and illustrated his personality by describing his jocular demeanor and his welcoming office, “Dr. Brians was always laughing and cracking jokes, which made the long hours at the office more enjoyable. I am a country music fan so I never minded that he played 94.9 Star Country in the background while he worked. Everyone on the research team enjoyed meeting in his office because he always had a bag of multicolored lifesavers waiting to be eaten in a jar right next to the visitor’s chairs.”

Dr. Brians genuinely cared about the success of his students. Carley Frye didn’t decide to do research until Dr. Brians convinced her. “When he first approached me to be on his undergraduate research team, I thought that I would not enjoy research because it sounded rigid and lacked creativity. Dr. Brians soon had me convinced that researching was for individuals with a curious mind and a thirst for knowledge.” Not only did Dr. Brians help her once her research started, Dr. Brians was the reason she started it, and she has since worked on three research projects with him. “Dr. Brians was a positive and encouraging advisor, and I know that I would not be where I am today without his support and guidance. His assistance has helped me join University Honors, receive grants and scholarships, and travel to national conferences.”

His research topics were broad, ranging from communication, voting,



*Photo courtesy of Chelsea Owens*  
Dr. Brians enjoyed hiking to the Cascades waterfall with his students.

and education, but detailed and thorough. He often appeared on radio and television news shows to discuss political elections and behavior. However, his main professional focus was his students. Dr. Brians was awarded the Excellence in Undergraduate Research Mentoring Award, which is a testament to this dedication.

There was one word that almost everyone who knew him could agree described him best: passion.

He had a passion for teaching, for his research, for his students, for his wife, for his family, for God. Dr. Moore, Associate Professor of Political Science at Virginia Tech, whose office was adjacent to Dr. Brians’, described him by saying, “Dr. Brians also approached the world inquisitively. In this connection, he was especially interested in how people supported their positions. Thus he applied his interests in methodology to his personal as well as professional life.” This application of his interests incorporated an unyielding desire for truth and knowledge into his life. Many professors also commented on Dr. Brians’ sense of humor, saying how funny he was and how it added to his ability to teach and work with his colleagues.

Dr. Brians’ work at Virginia Tech is a model for a successful balance between research and teaching. He always had a close rapport with the students he worked with. The Virginia Tech Political Science Club named him Professor of the Year, exemplifying his close connection with students. Dr. Brians brought much joy into the lives of the people he worked with. He leaves behind a legacy of excellence, which will serve to inspire all of us to be as passionate as Dr. Brians.

Research

is formalized curiosity.

It is poking

and prying

with a purpose. \*

poke around

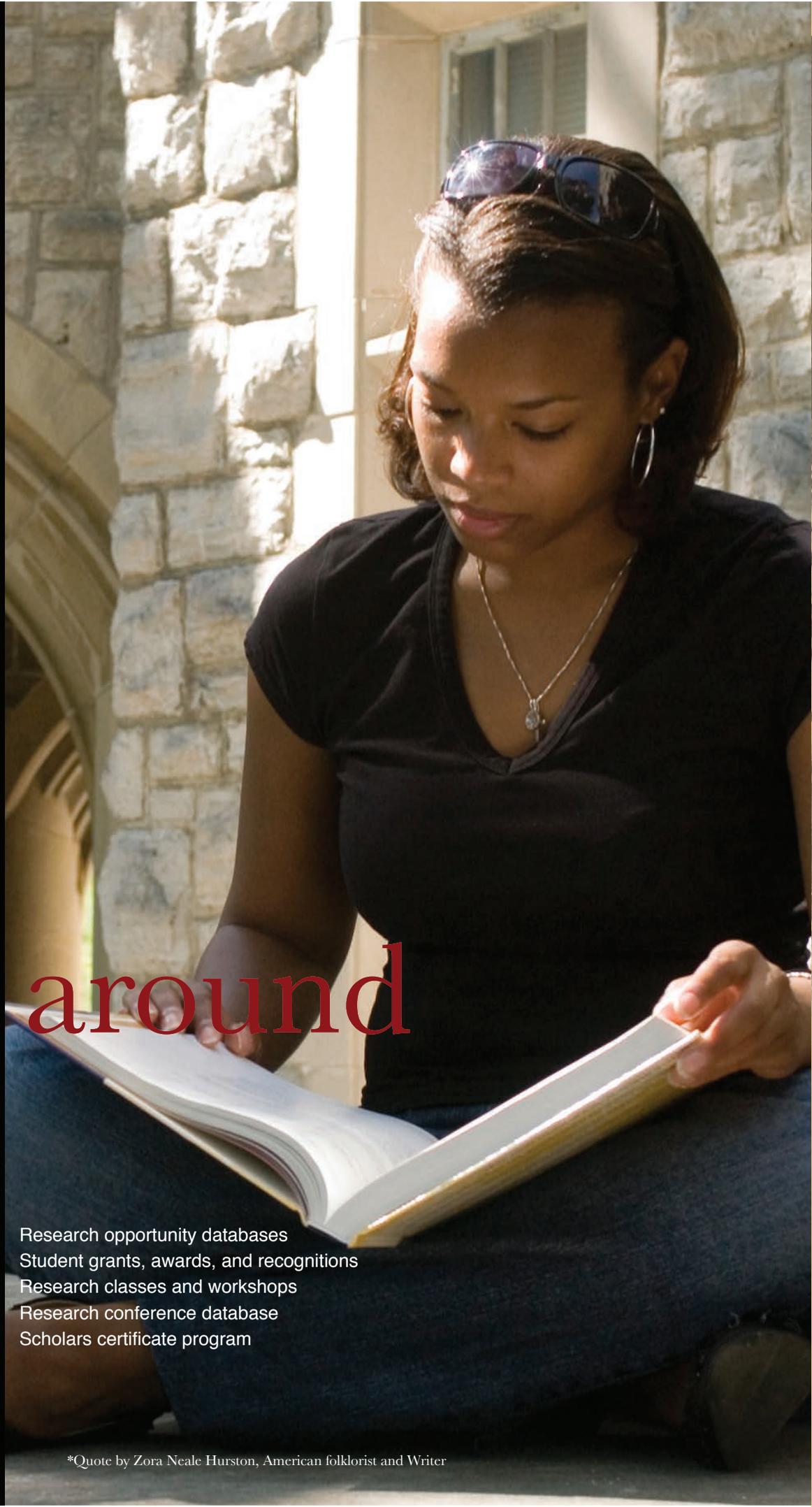
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\*Quote by Zora Neale Hurston, American folklorist and Writer





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