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Changes

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Changes

Welcome to this year's publication of the best historical writing at Sonoma State University. Our editorial team has worked hard across two semesters to solicit and develop these essays, loosely grouped around the theme of "Changes." The definition of history as a field of inquiry is the study of change over time, so this theme emerged as a possible way of unifying contributions on different topics across a long geographic and chronological expanse, but the great distinction of this collection is that these essays span not only history, but other disciplines as well. The contributors to this year's journal started their articles as papers submitted to courses in history, anthropology, political science, and more, demonstrating that the human experience remains a unifier across so many divides of discipline, culture, and ideology. This volume, then, represents good writing from around the university.

The editorial team fielded many submissions and selected these exemplars owing to the high quality of the research, writing, and thinking that went into them as well as their reach across human history. Our editorial team has arranged them chronologically, beginning with an imaginative recreation on Neanderthal life and including stops in ancient China, medieval Scandinavian, the pre-Columbian Iberian peninsula, and the modern Middle East, all the way to the contemporary United States, where industrial food and Disney fantasies compete for American consumers' allegiance. In no way can such a tour be comprehensive, but readers may taste a variety of cultures and times here, including a fictional foray into Vietnam.

Thanks to the editorial team of students who saw this work through with a combination of vision, diligence, and professionalism, and to the authors who trusted the team with

their submissions and responded to editorial criticisms with maturity and a devotion to progress. This is an entirely student-produced journal: every comma, stylistic element, footnote, and flourish of design was executed by an undergraduate member of Sonoma State University, demonstrating the ongoing high standards of a community devoted to public education. Thanks also to the faculty members from various departments who taught their students well enough and raised their standards high enough to foster excellent achievements. Finally, thanks to the History Department, the School of Social Sciences, and especially our longstanding donors Mike and Sheila McQuillen for backing their beliefs in the importance of good historical writing with the financial sponsorship without which this work would be impossible.

This journal was created across one of the most pivotal junctures in American history, as the presidential election of November 2016 created a divide across which old truisms cannot stand. At a moment when the nation appears sundered over the most crucial basic questions of governance and citizenship, it is a source of great consolation to me that at least here, a devotion to truth and excellence survives.

Happy reading!

Amy Kittelstrom

Professor of History

Faculty Advisor to the History Journal

Neanderthals in a Croatian Cave

Allison LeLaurin

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Struggles of a Neolithic Egyptian

Danielle Tait

The skeleton of the Neolithic nomad revealed much about his lifestyle and this was my interpretation. This narrative is only one interpretation that could have evolved from his remains. This is the story of the Neolithic Nomad of the Dakhleh Oasis.

Today the air is dry but the sun is still hot when out of the shade, thankfully the shelter is near the cool water where he loves to play with a few of the other kids from the group. They would not be staying for too much longer in this location due to the constant climate and habitat changing here in the western desert of Egypt. Right now the settlement is residing on the waterfront of the Sheikh Muftah in the year 2560 BC.²⁷ He is 11 years old and today he and his two sisters are out near the marsh playing around until they hear their mother calling them in to help prepare supper.²⁸ Tonight they will be eating

27 □ The Sheikh Muftah is located near the Nile River in Egypt. Sheikh is one of the youngest of the prehistoric culture in Dakhleh Oasis [McDonald, Mary. 2001]. In this time period the site was restricted year-round to the oasis in the lowlands. This is the late Holocene period; 3,200-2,000 B.C.

28 □ Catalog number 365-2 from the Dakhleh Oasis Project

very well since their father went out hunting with the other men in the group, and this time they got something. It had been a while since the last time they had meat, since many of the wild game had been sparse due to the climate change.

He and his younger sisters had a routine when it came to helping their mother prepare dinner. His sisters would assist mom with the grinding of the grains and the actual preparation of the dinner; whereas he would usually go out and help in gathering the necessary millet and sorghum to replenish the stock to make bread.²⁹ Tonight his dad and the others brought home a hartebeest to share among the group. Wild pig is his favorite, but they don't get to have it very often due to the habitat

concluded to be a male. The use of the basis of the skull and the pelvic morphology was used in determination of the sex of the remains. With this data analysis the excavators came to a deduction that he will be given the name "George" but for this narrative I will refer to George as he/him [Thompson: 2012].

29 □ Millet and Sorghum was a very popular grain used in ancient Egypt at this time period. The over use of this grain showed wear up the remains of George in the case of cupped wear which was common among agriculturalists when creating bread and shows evidence of molar pattern like cupped wear from the processing of the grains [B. Holly Smith. 1984]. Millet and sorghum grows wild in the Sudan and spread to East Africa in 3000 BC which dates to the time the nomad's remains were dated to [De Wet, J. M. J, and J. R Harlan. 1971; Churcher, C. S.2008].

being very sparse. When dad returns with the game the process begins. First the men will skin the animal so it can be made into clothes and cloths, then the men will break down the animal and de-flesh the meat for the women to cook. Young George gets to partake in the skinning and de-fleshing so when the time comes to go on his first hunt he will know what to do and how to process the animal the proper way without getting grossed out. Tonight they will feast.

Today it is now two years later and he will get to go for the first time with his father on a hunt for the wild game to bring home for dinner. Before they get ready to head out his father pulls him aside and gives him a copper pin. "Today you are 13 and are no longer a boy but a man, my father gave me this when I was your age on my first hunt." The copper pin is for good luck. He was told it also could have been used for many other purposes.³⁰ Today is the day he will hope to have his first kill and be able to provide for the family. Out in the hot desert, he and his dad are moving slowly, keeping an eye out for predators and dinner. Hours have gone by and still nothing, the day is getting drier and the sun is

30 The Copper Pin was found the only gave good found with the remains of "George". The use is still to be unknown but the significance behind it had to be important if it was the only possession with the remains [A Nicolaidis. 2013]. They associated copper pins with later medical use in western Egypt at this time period.

getting lower to the horizon. His dad says it is time to head back home. It did not go as planned on his first time out, but his mom has decided to make the evening better, by teaching him how to create the pots and vessels that they store and transport their food.

His mom is very good at creating pottery for the family and the group, she has a special touch they say. He sits down beside her and grabs the reddish brown clay-like substance, it feels wet and a little rough, like broken down rocks and sand all in one.³¹ As they sat together she would tell the story of her family and how her mother taught her how to create bowls and vessels for her family. "It's all in the way you move your hands" his mom said. The special touch she adds is when it's close to drying she adds the zig-zag decorations to the vessel for character. His first vessel wouldn't be for using, but just for practice, then his second came out perfect just like his mother's.

Years have gone by now, he is 16 years old now and hunting with his father, and creating

31 Early Neolithic time at Nabta Playa and Bir Kiseiba over 300km away from the Dakhleh Oasis types of pottery were found in the Oasis. The texture on the exterior surfaces is said to have a rock tempered feel, and a reddish brown color. The decoration on the vessels consisted with zig-zags and dotted wavy lines [Nelson. 2001].

pottery with his sisters and mother. Working in the hot desert gathering millet and sorghum became a daily routine as the years went by. The day was late and the hot air was slowly fading into the night. Everyone in the settlement was getting ready for bed. The night was growing quiet, then in the faint dark distance a sound was continuing to grow louder. Loud enough for the group's men to go outside and search for the cause of the noise. In the near distance the pharaonic power of men was growing closer, and soon they overran the settlement. People started to fall, his dad and sisters were slaughtered and his mother, lying in the dirt slowly bleeding, screamed at him to run into the marsh and not to turn around. He started to run and did not turn back as the screams grew silent in the distance, he continued to run anywhere in search of safety.

Days and months went by as he walked. He would settle for a few nights at a time. Living on the land alone and slowly moving from place to place put a strain on his body and his feet.³² The sun is

32 □ The nomad had a case or calcaneal (heel) spurs on both of his feet, this we know of now as plantar fasciitis. From the constant walking and traveling around constantly being on his feet bared similarities to current athletic and active individuals [Reaves, Whitfield]. The pain is constant and a sharp feeling in the arch of the foot that takes a toll on one's body.

setting, he decides to make camp where he is at for the night. Then he awoke to a noise; a woman is going through what little stuff he has in search for food and clothes. The woman is familiar to him, she used to live with another family in the settlement back at Sheikh Muftah near the oasis. The two of them started to talk and decided to travel together.³³ She was trying to make her way to the Kharga Oasis which is over 170 km southeast of the Dakhleh Oasis. Her mother grew up there as a little girl and she was in hope of finding some relatives or just a new place to start over.

As the time went by he started to fall in love with her and she with him, and in no time at all they brought a baby girl into the world. They reached the Oasis and found a place they could call home in hopes of raising a family. He was 23 years old with a daughter who was 3 and another child on the way. The years have gone by with an active lifestyle for him, and he is starting to feel it take a toll on his body. The pressure on his neck continues to feel like a strain that will not go away and is moving down his shoulders.³⁴ Over the years at the Kharga Oasis,

33 □ The two together were considered a nomadic or semi-sedentary hunter-foragers that don't practice agriculture or pastoralism. Along their journey most of the sites indicated a predominantly mobile existence [Warfe, Ashten R. 2003].

34 □ Evidence of compression fractures on the cervical

he passed on the traditions to his children that he was taught as a boy. He taught his son how to go out and hunt for wild pig and gazelle, along with his traditions of pottery like his mother taught him when he was 13.

He is now 35 and his body is getting tired, it is getting hard to eat the meat his son brings home from his hunts since his bottom jaw is growing short on teeth.³⁵ He has resorted to eating bread and grains, something softer than the wild game. He decided to take his family back to the Dakhleh Oasis, where he and his wife grew up, to live out his last years. His wife still never knew if her family survived the raid back when they were young. They packed up their home and prepared food for the

vertebrae of the remains shows evidence to excessive carrying of heavy objects like; pots and dead animals on his head and neck. This also is a sign of osteoarthritis. Evidence on the skeleton also shows deltoid muscle stress from the repetitiveness of his occupational stress(hunting) [Thompson. 2012].

35 □The Neolithic nomad had evidence of periodontal disease on his lower jaw and major tooth loss. the risk factors that George could have lived with along with the analysis of the disease itself is prominent. Periodontal disease is an inflammatory disease that affects the support of the tooth, which shows evidence of swollen gums and the presence of bacteria [Genco, Robert J. and Wenche S Borgnakke. 2014]. The enamel thickness that occurred and the wear of the cupped teeth was a result of his diet of harsh millet and grains, and could show insights into diet and nutrition [Le Luyer, Mona, Stephane Rottier, and Priscilla Bayle].

long travel they were about to endure. He would store the grains and the meat in the pots that he and the children made. They loaded up the very few things they owned and headed out once the light broke the morning dawn. The days were hot and the nights were cool along the journey. Days went by as they walked across the 170km of arid, hot desert. They were a day away when the final night grew close, his body is getting weaker and more tired. He was running low on food and water, sparing the rest for his children over himself.

The day came that they made it back to Sheikh Muftah in the Dakhleh Oasis. He and his family found a settlement that would take them in. His wife learned that most of her family had been killed in the raid but her cousins survived. They slowly settled into a routine that was familiar to them from when they were young. The men would go out and hunt for game and the women would help with planting the grains, creating the pots, and preparing the dinner for the family. Together the settlement would work in an egalitarian way, helping each other live and survive as a society.³⁶

36 □ Egalitarian societies believe that all humans are equal, and in fundamental worth or social status they are considered equality among all people [John Gowdy. 1998]

Living among the group he once was a part of when he was young has come of ease to him. His daughter, now 20, wanted to go out with her brother and father hunting. It took a lot of convincing him to let her go due to it being a male role in the family. But over time and her constant asking, he gave in and said that the next hunt she will be able to attend. The next day they would go out on a hunt together, not knowing it would be their last.

The morning dawn came, the air is perfect temperature, it is not too hot yet by the sun. The three of them along with a few other men from the group all embarked on a hunt. Hours went by as the air grew drier and scalding hot. The weather went in a drastic shift from earlier, the wind started to pick up and the air grew harsh. Visibility dropped to only a few feet. He realized that they needed to find shelter and quick, a sand storm was brewing. He and his kids got separated from the others and the storm continued to blow. The air grew thick with sand and it became hard to breathe. With the harsh sand beating against his skin and eyes, he fell to the ground with his kids. Together they laid until the storm passed. It took hours and by the time the other men from the group found him and the kids they had passed on; life had left their bodies.

His wife and the other women were the ones

whose job it would be to bury his body along with their children. He was placed in a grave that the men dug up, head pointing to the West and his legs in a flexed position.³⁷ With his right arm on his heart for the love he had for his family. His left arm was placed by his side with the copper pin that his father had given him in his clenched hand. He never left it out of his sight because it was the only thing he had left in memory of his family he had missed. His daughter and son were placed next to him in the grave, and the mound was then covered as they sang the song of life. His grave was only a few feet away from where his family was laid to rest those 20 years ago, together they lay resting in peace as life moves on. The skeleton of the Neolithic nomad revealed much about his lifestyle and this was my interpretation. This narrative is only one interpretation that could have evolved from his remains. This is the story of the Neolithic Nomad of the Dakhleh Oasis.

37 □ The body was found by the Dakhleh Oasis Project in a mound only some distance from the modern village. The position of the body was west to east, with legs flexed and one arm across his chest. The remains were found with 2 others at the estimated age at around 20 years old. The use of dental wear on the teeth and the pubic symphysis was used in determining the age of death of the Neolithic nomad [Thompson. 2012].

Illustrations:



Map of the Dakhleh Oasis and it includes the Kharga Oasis as well.

http://classwiki.matrix.msu.edu/index.php/Hans_Schroder



Figure 7.2. Skeleton of the “Neolithic Nomad” in Situ.

<http://www.worldhistory.biz/sundries/48708-the-neolithic-nomad.html>

Buddhism in Early China

Karina Roche

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Faithful Traditions

Xandy Novack

Religions have grown from each other over time, despite their historical conflicts. Whether it is Judaism and Christianity burning down each other's homes of worship or Islam taxing them both for not being Muslim, the history proves that no matter how old the traditions, people still held faith. These anecdotal moments in time demonstrate that while each religion grew apart from one another through many differences, they still maintained some of the same values. These religions, though constantly in battle, are more alike than they realize. There is no proof that all of these religions praise the same God, but the practices carry similar pillars within the faith they believe in. What I can say is, regardless of their backgrounds, the followers all believed in something. I find that to be what is most important, not in just this essay, but in life.

The birth of Christianity is a story one knows from the Virgin Mary conceiving God's son, Jesus Christ. What many do not know is how it has grown from Judaism. This undoing developed many similarities, but caused many differences between the two faiths. The decision for which day Easter should be celebrated was greatly influenced by that

of the Sabbath and the Jewish holiday, Passover. Though most Christians did observe the Sabbath, Emperor Constantine believed that Easter should be worshipped on Sunday as a legal holiday, and so he declared it to be in the year 32: all Sundays were to be the new day of rest. It was not recognized that the observations carried out were actually met with the same characteristics as that of the Jewish Sabbath.¹⁴⁰ Many Christians argued that honoring the Jewish day of rest was an insult to the new way, but many continued to do so. Those that did not agree with Jewish traditions believed Easter to be independent from Passover, as was decided by the Council of Nicaea. *“Let us have then nothing in common with the detestable Jewish crowd; for we have received from our Savior a different way.”*¹⁴¹ Jews were considered sinful beings that did not deserve equal treatment despite the similarities within the practices of their faith.

Though Christians and Jews had many similarities, they clashed very frequently throughout history. In a letter written to Emperor Theodosius the Great, Bishop Ambrose proclaimed that an unjust decision was made which put the blame upon

140 □ The Jew in the Medieval World, I. *Easter and Passover Are Observed on the Same Day in Asia Minor, about 189*, page 116

141 □ The Jew in the Medieval World, II. *The Council of Nicaea Changes the Date of Easter, 325*, page 117.

the church. A synagogue was burned to the ground and it was believed to be an act carried out under the Bishop's name.¹⁴² Furious and refusing to take the fall, the Bishop took to the Emperor to demand a change of the order declaring that the church must pay for the synagogue's reconstruction. "*The buildings of our churches were burnt by Jews, and nothing was restored, nothing was asked back, nothing demanded.*"¹⁴³ This statement elucidated a valid point to the Emperor as he was putting value within one faith more than the other. Whether or not the intention was to do so, it brought out great angst between the two religions and divided them further. The letter was at first unsuccessful, but another letter written to the sister of the Bishop proved the Emperor would later see it fit to change the order. While they received praise from the Emperor, this act provoked even more of a divide between Judaism and Christianity throughout the history to follow.

While Christianity and Judaism carried many similarities and differences, Islam has many

142 □ The Jew in the Medieval World, *St. Ambrose and the Jews* 388, page 120.

143 □ The Jew in the Medieval World, *I. Ambrose, Bishop, to the Most Clement Prince, and Blessed Emperor, Theodosius the Augustus...*, page 121.

similarities within the practices they believe in and follow as well. All are monotheistic, have a scripture to follow (i.e. the Torah and the Qur'an), and prayer. On the other hand, Christianity has no real claim to land or dietary restrictions that must be upheld. Jesus, Moses, and Muhammad have been referred to as prophets within each religion but the history behind them is different from the other in some way. Moses was a messenger of God whom he saw in a burning bush. He was the savior of his people, the Jews, whom he freed from the harsh grip the Egyptian Pharaohs had over them for so many years. Jesus is a messenger to Christianity on behalf of his father, God himself. He is the messiah that many Jews waited for, and thus they converted to Christianity to follow in his righteous path. While Jesus and Moses were both messengers, it was believed however that Muhammad was represented otherwise. He was not passing along the words people had written in honor of Allah, but carried them directly with him, spoken through him. The Qur'an is believed to be the direct word of their God, unlike that of the Bible and Torah, which are merely collections of scriptures and stories assembled by the people.¹⁴⁴

144 □ Dr. Samuel Cohen, Unit II, *Islam*, (lecture, Sonoma State University, Oct, 24, 2016)

Christianity and Islam were considered the major religions within their respective empires leaving Judaism with no real claim to territory due to lack of sovereignty, which further kept them from entering into politics. Judaism grew more and more weak as people began to convert elsewhere. Islamic conquest and conversion of people was also seen through “*Jizya*” as an incentive.¹⁴⁵ Where Muslims were the majority, anyone who chose to have any alternative faith was asked to provide a tax for being just who they are. Churches and synagogues were unwelcome within the territory, and this caused many people to convert, especially during difficult times. At least there was a little bit of a break for Christians, referred to as “*dhimmi*”, as they had protected status throughout Islamic territories. Unlike Jews, who were considered so inferior they had no right to bear arms or even ride horses, Christians were viewed by Muslims as a somewhat respected religion. With many religions, sometimes there are restrictions or practices that seem excessive to others. Unlike Christianity, Islam and Judaism have dietary practices where fasting is necessary to commemorate some sort of gift. In Judaism, Yom Kippur – which translates to “*Day Forgiveness*” – is a single day of fast to give thanks for all God has

145 □ Dr. Samuel Cohen, Unit II, *Islamic Conquests*, (lecture, Sonoma State University, Oct, 26, 2016)

provided. Ramadan is a month within the Islamic calendar where Muslims will fast to honor the revelation of the Qur'an.

Of these three religions, they all have a written text—the Bible, the Torah, and the Qur'an (or Koran). While many people are familiar with the Bible and somewhat the Torah, in more recent years, people fear the Qur'an. Whether it is due to incidents like 9/11 or from other political campaigns, people are not as aware of the material as they should be. According to Cole and Ortega, the Qur'an references Mary, Jesus' mother, far more than the Bible does. Muslims also speak of Moses and Abraham, their names being translated to Musa and Ibrahim. Jesus is immortalized as one of the great prophets.¹⁴⁶ The Torah has no mention of Christianity or Islam because they did not exist yet, and the Bible does not mention Islam for the same reason. However, the Bible does speak of Judaism, but in a way that is lesser, for the Jews have not been saved. The Torah is also claimed to be what is the first five books of the Bible. One thing is for certain, and that is no matter what a religion claims, these three have their very own scriptures to tell you of their birth and growth

146 □ Adrian Cole and Stephen Ortega, *The Thinking Past: Questions and Problems in World History to 1750* (Oxford University Press, USA, 2014), 258.

throughout time itself.

As one can see, the birth of Christianity and Islam have very strong characteristics that have been heavily influenced by Judaism either to strive down a relative path or pull away from it onto another. Religion has become such a part of the earth that it has found a path on the Silk Road even. Affecting trade and exchange, Islam was able to grow into Eastern Europe as well as the Indian and Asian Empires. While weakening its opponents of the Byzantines and Persians, it held its own while Christianity spread everywhere else. Even today, of these three religions the greatness of Judaism holds only a flicker of interest on maps as *“less than 0.5% of the world’s population”*.¹⁴⁷ This statistic explicates just how much over time one religion can dissipate into many more. It can be caused from disagreement, or from travel, but it does not diminish the strength of the religion itself.

There is beauty in it all; they are always connected somehow. Whether in the North, South, East or West, there is to be believed but one God (or Allah) amongst these three faiths. Fasting, writings, places of worship—we are all connected. One might not be able to change the color of their skin or from

147 □ Cole and Ortega, *The Thinking Past*, 252

the home they left and came to long ago, but they will always have a say in what religion they choose to believe in. It might not be easy either. Maybe someone chooses Judaism, maybe they choose all as Gandhi did, maybe they choose none of the above—but I only hope that wherever they are they get to choose. We are all similar. We are all different. Some of us will find peace in learning this early on. Some still struggle to accept this because they have not learned it yet to be okay. One thing religion has taught me, my own faith and others as well, we cannot grow from what we know, but what we do not.

Redefined Heresy

Cindy Gonzalez

Heresy has been a term that has been redefined throughout history to conform to society. During the Antiquity period, heresy was defined as those who defied the Greco-Roman religion and those who refused to assimilate into Roman society. While during the Middle Ages, heresy was stated as those who followed unorthodox Christian beliefs and those who posed a threat to the Church's power. Heretics have existed throughout history but have only become more hunted once Christianity became a strong prevalent institution. Heresy as a definition has altered from targeting Christians under Roman rule to targeting unorthodox Christians who threatened the power shift toward the institutionalized Christian Church.

Heresy during Antiquity targeted early Christians because of their defiance of the Romanized society and religion. Early Christians were Jews that adopted the teachings of Jesus and the belief that Jesus was the messiah. Early Christians refused to go against their beliefs, which caused them to suffer under the hands of the Romans. Many Christians fell under the category of heretics during Roman rule, due to the empire's

beliefs of polytheism and because Christians refused to perform Roman sacrifices. Greco-Roman religion was the orthodoxy of the pre-Constantine empire. Christians were described as heretics because they refused to obey the considered orthodoxy and believed that their religious beliefs were sound and correct. "If anyone teaches a different doctrine [than that advanced by Paul] and does not agree with the sound words of our Lord Jesus Christ and the teaching that accords with godliness, he is puffed up with conceit and understands nothing."¹⁴⁸ Christians were seen as stubborn individuals because of their established beliefs, as stated in scriptures such as the one above. Not conforming to societal norms provoked a person to be questioned and deemed a heretic. Romans perceived this new cult as being odd and disruptive to society. "The fantasy of the donkey-cult was easily extended from the Jews to the Christians, not only because the Christians religion was long regarded as a mere offshoot of Judaism but because the Christian god presented much the same problem to pagan imagination as did the Jewish god."¹⁴⁹ Romans saw this forming

148 □ Biblical Precedents: The Letters of the Apostle Paul 1 Paul 1 Timothy 6: 3-5 New Revised Standard Version

149 □ Norman Cohn, *Europe's Inner Demons: The Demonization of Christians in Medieval Christendom*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000).

religion as a knock off of Judaism. The Romans doubted Christianity on the grounds of it being 'new' and also it challenged their idea of polytheism. Roman society saw this newly developed cult as outrageous because it framed a criminal as the basis for their religion and it was not ancient like Judaism. Being thought of as a new religious cult gave Christians a disadvantage because modernity was unacceptable in an ancient society. The negativity and ridicule that Christians encountered throughout the empire caused them to be accused of ludicrous offenses and lead to their social exclusion.

Roman society perceived these individuals as a menace to the empire, which caused them to be viewed as malignant individuals, and led Christians to be marginalized. Christians posed curiosity within society through its novelty and being unknown. Roman society attempted to understand the obscurity of this new cult by creating preconceptions of the group from individuals' judgments. "Justin recognizes, too, that this particular accusation does not stand alone; when Christians are accused of cannibalism they are also commonly accused of promiscuous and incestuous orgies."¹⁵⁰ Cohn states that allegations were often coupled in two or three acts of judgement. Unfortunately, the Romans

150 □ Norman Cohn, *Europe's Inner Demons*, 2000.

grouped all Christians into one group, which resulted in all Christians of being accused of these false preconceptions. The Romans confronted these 'immoral' Christian heretics by disenfranchising them from society and by persecuted them to forcibly embrace Roman customs. The marginalization of Christians within society involved their exclusion from government positions, paying taxes, and being imprisoned. "Officially banned from public places and in effect outlawed, the unfortunate Christians were hounded by the mob, beaten and stoned in the streets; after which they were arrested and thrown into prison."¹⁵¹ As Cohn emphasizes, Christians were not generally accepted by Roman society since they refused to obey their societal standards. By excluding these heretics, Romans were able to instill the values of Roman orthodoxy, by publicly portraying the consequences of following Christianity. Although the idea of Roman heresy remained prevalent throughout the years, the new transitioning religion of Christianity transformed the definition of heresy on the account of the growing institution of the Church.

The expansion of Christianity caused them to adopt the term heresy into their vocabulary to pave

151 □ Norman Cohn, *Europe's Inner Demons*, 2000.

the emerging power of the Christian institution. Christianity began as a powerless group during its origins, thanks to the intolerant nature of the Greco-Roman religion of the empire. Transitioning into an established religion of the domain resulted it acquiring the seed of power that the Romans had withheld from their grasp. The conversion of emperor Constantine to Christianity in 312 CE brought this minor cult within reach of the power that it so desired. Once Christianity took the seed of power with the conversion of Constantine, it began to inspire individuals to convert to their belief system. Christianity having such a significant impact within the empire made the Edict of Thessalonica to be instated to dismantle the Greco-Roman religion and established Christianity as the new legal religious forefront of the empire. This edict under Emperor Theodosius I declared that the official Catholic Christians were those who followed the Pontiff's teachings and those against this ruling were labeled heretics. Christians were out to demonstrate the power switch by hunting those who threatened its newly found power, the heretics.

We excommunicate and anathematize every heresy that raises against the holy, orthodox and Catholic faith which we have above explained; condemning all heretics under whatever names they may be known, for

while they have different faces they are nevertheless bound to each other by their tails, since in all of them vanity is a common element.¹⁵²

Here the Church states that no other Christian sect will be accepted unless they adopted the institution beliefs. With the adoption of a new orthodoxy within society, the definition of heresy was transformed to fuel the power shifting to Christianity.

The Christian institution holding the ultimate control within society caused it to maintain its superiority by marking the ones who would undermine their power as the new heretics. These newly marked heretics posed a threat to the Church by them refusing to adapt to the new ideas of the Church and failing to participate within 'orthodox' society. This newly established orthodoxy came about when the Nicene Creed identified what made a Christian a true believer. "We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible... And one holy, catholic, and apostolic Church. We confess one baptism for the remission of sins..."¹⁵³ The creation

152 □ "Canon 3 on Heresy, The Fourth Lateran Council: 30 Canons of the Fourth Lateran Council 1215," in *Readings in Medieval History*, ed. Patrick J. Geary (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010), 430-455.

153 □ Bart. D. Ehrman and Andrew S. Jacobs, "The Nicene

of the Nicene Creed of 325 CE developed the line that divided Christians and heretics under the Church's eyes. Defining orthodoxy brought various Christian sects to be deemed as threats to the institution due to their assorted beliefs. By singling out the various Christian sects as heretics, the institutionalized Church was able to begin its reign as the prominent and controlling force within society.

The Church began to evolve its practices and ideas to maintain a pious and strong presence within society. These changes were a step toward bringing Christians together and establishing a strong foundation to grow its empire. Adopting the ritual of the Eucharist and the practice of celibacy within the clergy were two crucial changes that the Church implemented to reestablish its holiness and credibility. This strategic move would not only bring Christians closer to God by consuming the body of Christ, but also attract other sects of Christians to adopt true orthodox. Many Christians questioned the new ritual of the Eucharist as the Church diverging from the true holiness of the Christian faith, yet the Church combated the nonconformists by denouncing them of heresy to exhibit their

Creed", in *Christianity in Late Antiquity, 300-450 C.E.: A Reader*, eds, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 251-255.

authority.

The Cathars and Waldensians were groups that were deemed heretics by the institutionalized Church because their radical ideas threatened to influence others to challenge the Church. The Cathars differed substantially from orthodox beliefs, causing them to be a natural enemy of the growing Church. The belief of two gods, the evil god being responsible for the physical world and the good god being responsible for the spiritual world, generated doubt towards the Bible's creation story.

This priest told me that God had only created spirits, those which can neither be corrupted or destroyed, because the world of God would live eternally. But all the bodies which one sees and one senses, that is to say the sky and the earth and all that is found therein, with the sole exception of spirits, these were created by the devil, who rules the world.¹⁵⁴

Since the physical world was created by evil, the Cathars were able to justify their 'sinful' actions as

154 □ Nancy P. Stork, "The Inquisition Record of Jacques Fournier, Bishop of Panier 1318-1325, *Confession of Beatrice de Plenissoles*,"

<http://www.sjsu.edu/people/nancy.stork/jacquesfournier/>
(accessed on February 2, 2016).

an influence of the evil world and that it would not matter in the spiritual world. This belief denounced orthodox teachings of living a holy life to be able to gain salvation, which caused the Church to hunt these heretics. Not only did the Cathars have opposing views of the spiritual and physical world, they also criticized the orthodox sacraments and the importance of the clergy. The one sacrament of Consolamentum, which was given to the dying to ensure that they would become a spiritual elite, resulted in the Church's path to salvation and new sacraments were denounced over the one-time ritual that would guarantee entrance into the spiritual world. Also, the idea of directly asking God for forgiveness instead of performing the orthodox sacrament of Reconciliation cut out the middleman of the priest, which defied the significance of the clergy with the institution. With such diverse views and practices, the Cathars were deemed an enemy of the Church due to the threat that they posed against the Church's notions. This threat motivated the Church to mark them as heretics to maintain control within their established power.

The Waldensians were a Christian sect that was convicted of heresy by having opposing views on the Church's vast riches and on questioning the piety of the clergy. The basis of their beliefs was the idea of maintaining an apostolic life. This view

caused the questioning of the Church's growing riches and of the clergy's piety. "We believe in one Holy Catholic Church, apostolic and immaculate, outside of which no one can be saved. We reject in no way the sacraments which are celebrated [in the Church] by of they may be administered by a sinful priest, as long as the Church accepts him..."¹⁵⁵ Although the Waldensians profession of faith is similar to the orthodox doctrine, it clearly states that the orthodox clergy are sinful and fail to obey the way of the scriptures. The Waldensians criticized the clergy because they found them to be corrupt. The Waldensians believed that to be able to live a Christian life and gain salvation, one must live the way that the apostles lived. The apostolic life involved living in extreme poverty and interpreting the Bible themselves. This led the Waldensians to bear the mark of heresy over questioning the holiness of the Church. The Waldensians preached that if a supposed holy man does not live the way that Jesus and his apostles did then how can they rely on these clergymen to save their souls. By pointing out that the Church failed to live the apostolic life, the Church condemned them as heretics on the grounds of questioning their orthodoxy and piety. Condemning the Waldensians

155 □ *Heresy and Authority in Medieval Europe*, Valdé's Profession of Faith, 148.

as heretics stopped other Christians from questioning the Church's orthodoxy and rebelling against their increasing riches. Marking these unorthodox believers as heretics saved the Church's powerful clergy and controlling structure.

The definition of heresy has altered throughout time to assimilate with the ever changing culture. Roman heresy was defined as those who went against the Greco-Roman traditions that had established society's expectations and religion. Once Emperor Constantine embraced Christianity, the power of Christianity flourished within the Empire. With the Edict of Thessalonica and the Nicene Creed, the Church began to adopt the term heresy as those who defied Christian orthodoxy. The Church stood by its new orthodoxy by convicting those who fell out of line as heretics. Heresy was redefined from convicting early Christians to condemning unorthodox Christians. Once the Church became the oppressors, it began to validate that nothing would reclaim this longing power; they sought to demonstrate that the institutionalized Church was here to stay.

**Iconographic Reactions:
How Thor's Hammer was Influenced
by the Christian Cross in Viking Age
Scandinavia**

Solina Larum



In the ninth through eleventh centuries a new ornamentation became popular amongst the Viking culture. These Scandinavian pagans wore pendants

on their necks as signifiers of their religious status manifesting in the iconographic 'T' shape of Thor's hammer. Similar to the Christian cross, Thor's hammer was used as both a protective symbol and as a blessing.¹⁵⁶ In the height of the Viking culture, Thor's hammer became a primary symbol of faith in the worship of the Nordic gods. Prior to the Christian missionaries entering Scandinavia in the seventh century, there had not been a solitary example of a Thor's hammer adornment found. By the twelfth century, when Christianity became the absolute religion of state in the Scandinavian nations, Thor's hammers ceased to be created. It is interesting to note that there is such a short period of time in which these pendants were being created; it cannot be overlooked that there is an analogous timeline with Christian conversion in the Nordic regions and the spike in popularity of Thor's hammer ornaments. Based on this evidence, I argue that wearing of Thor's Hammer pendants came as a direct reaction against the iconography of Christ.

To explain the general significance of Thor's hammers for the Scandinavian people of the Viking age, it is important to know that while many gods were worshiped by the Scandinavians, none were as

156 □ H.R. Ellis Davidson, *Gods and Myths of Northern Europe*, 1st ed. (Middlesex, England: Penguin Books Ltd., 1964). 80-81, 84.

venerated as the god Thor. The mythological deity Thor was closely associated with his hammer, *Mjöllnir*, and he primarily utilized it to protect the Nordic god realm, *Asgard*.¹⁵⁷ Thor was given the task of killing frost giants, who, out of greed for the treasures of the gods, sought to destroy the *Æsir*.¹⁵⁸ These giants were associated with the harsh arctic weather conditions Scandinavians continuously fought against. By keeping *Asgard* safe from potential doom, Thor kept the goddesses of peace and plenty safe, providing them the ability to continue projecting their benefits to mankind. Hilda Roderick Ellis Davidson backs up the notion that Thor was a key god in the protection of the Scandinavian people,

It is hardly surprising that [Thor] attracted the allegiance of men who struggled against the odds with nature and hostile powers raised against them, nor that, even after he had been long supplanted by Christ, he still played a major part in the old myths of

157 □ Snorri Sturluson, *The Prose Edda, Tales from Norse Mythology*. 1st ed. (Berkeley and Los Angeles, California: University of California Press, 1954), 50.

158 □ The *Æsir* is the name of the collective group of Nordic Gods living *Asgard*, the Nordic God realm.

the gods which were recounted in the north.¹⁵⁹

The Nordic peoples, in the hope that the gods would assist them during times of strife, specifically looked to the god Thor to save them from environmental hardships. Thor's hammer became a symbol of this allegiance for men who shared a common belief in the Norse gods. This conviction in the protective nature of Thor continued in a form of dual worship for many devotees after the Scandinavian nations converted to Christianity and there are written accounts of individuals praying to Thor or Christ as needed in a given situation.

The *Prose Edda* was written by Snorri Sturluson in 1222 CE and is the paramount source of Norse mythology we have today. Around the time the *Prose Edda* was written in the thirteenth century, Christianity was the primary religion throughout Scandinavia. The old Nordic gods were increasingly condemned and fading out of collective memory. In Iceland, orally transmitted tales of the old gods remained in circulation, and when scholar Snorri Sturluson decided to pen a handbook guide for the writing of poetry, he thoughtfully chose to use the

159 □ H.R. Ellis Davidson, *Gods and Myths of Northern Europe*. 1st ed. (Middlesex, England: Penguin Books Ltd., 1964), 91.

Nordic gods as models. This act of writing preserved details and myths for future generations; which may have otherwise been lost or altered through the oral traditions.¹⁶⁰

Though Snorri Sturluson was a Christian, he chose to use the myths of old Scandinavia. Unfortunately, for the sake of historical accuracy, it is through a lens of Christianity that Sturluson produced his writings. Aside from the possible monotheistic bias in the text, Sturluson gives us the earliest written source by which to understand the mythology of the Nordic gods and goddesses. He provides detailed accounts of their most distinguishable traits, and most importantly, the mythological stories behind each character. Each god is given significant characteristics. While some are noted for their physical attributes, Sturluson often chooses to focus on mystical objects which make each god unique. For the introduction to the god Thor, Sturluson mentions his famous strength, but then chooses to put more emphasis on the precious items Thor possesses:

High One said: “Thor, who is called
Asa-Thor or Thor-the-charioteer, is the

160 □ H.R. Ellis Davidson, *Gods and Myths of Northern Europe*. 1st ed. (Middlesex, England: Penguin Books Ltd., 1964), 24.

foremost of them. He is strongest of all gods and men. He rules over that kingdom called Thúrðvangar and his hall is called Bilskirnir...He also owns three precious things. One is the hammer Mjöllnir, which the frost ogres and cliff giants know when it is raised aloft, and that is not surprising since he had cracked the skulls of many of their kith and kin. His second great treasure is a belt of strength, and when he buckles that on, his divine might is doubled. And he owns a third thing of great value in his iron gauntlets; he cannot do without these when he grips the handle of his hammer.¹⁶¹

Sturluson chose to focus the majority of this writings not on Thor himself but on his hammer.

Furthermore, he outlines Thor's three precious objects; each being devices to assist in the wielding of the hammer itself. Sturluson makes important associations between god and their symbolic emblem. Other examples of gods and their precious items include Odin and his spear, Freya and her

161 □ Snorri Sturluson, *The Prose Edda, Tales from Norse Mythology*. 1st ed. (Berkeley and Los Angeles, California: University of California Press, 1954), 50.

necklace, and Freyr's golden boar. In all but one of the Edda stories, Thor is portrayed employing his hammer.¹⁶² The hammer, *Mjöllnir* is the embodiment of Thor and he is the embodiment of his hammer.

Later in the Prose Edda, Sturluson details the myth of the creation of the hammer, *Mjöllnir*. The story begins with the trickster Loki, cutting off all of the Goddess Sif's hair, who happens to be Thor's wife. After Thor threatens to break every bone in Loki's body, Loki swears he will go to a group of mythical blacksmith dwarves to create new hair made of gold. When the deed is completed, Loki wagers his head that the dwarves will not be able to create three other precious objects as fine as the ones they had already created. The dwarves agree and get to work. For three days the dwarves pumped the bellows, and each day Loki, disguised as a fly, would sting the dwarves hoping to prolong their work. Loki did not succeed, and of the three items, the last to be created is *Mjöllnir*. Sturluson writes:

Then he gave the hammer to Thor and
said that he could hit anything that was
in his way, and if he hurled it at
anything he would never lose it –no

162 □ Thor's hammer is stolen by a frost giant in one myth, and Thor goes through an epic journey to return his property.

matter how far it was flung it would return to his hand; also, if he desired, it could become so small that he could keep it in his shirt. It had, however, one fault; it was rather short in the handle. The decision of the gods was that the hammer was the most valuable of all the treasures and the best defense against the frost ogres, and they decided that the dwarf had won the wager.¹⁶³

Here we are given some of the physical characteristics of the hammer: it is meant to be a throwing hammer, it can shrink down to any size, and it is short in the handle. H.R. Ellis Davidson surmises that the hammer is short in the handle due to the interference of Loki in the form of a fly stinging the dwarves, preventing them from completing their work.¹⁶⁴ Davidson also notes that throwing hammers often have shorter handles, which, when thrown, assist in their aerodynamic distance capabilities.¹⁶⁵

163 □ Snorri Sturluson, *The Prose Edda, Tales from Norse Mythology*. 1st ed. (Berkeley and Los Angeles, California: University of California Press, 1954), 109.

164 □ Although Sturluson does not directly say that is the cause.

165 □ H.R. Ellis Davidson, *Gods and Myths of Northern Europe*.

Furthermore, Sturluson comments on the capability of the hammer to decrease in size. He specifically writes, "it could become so small that he could keep it in his shirt."¹⁶⁶ In the tenth century it was commonplace for Scandinavian Vikings to wear Thor's hammers around their neck or kept on their person. These hammers certainly would have been the correct size to have been kept in one's shirt. Viking pagans may have proudly worn Mjöllnir, the same as the god himself would have worn it while not in use. Perhaps they believed by taking possession of the hammer they would have been, in a way, the human embodiment of Thor.

There is substantial archaeological evidence that the worship of Thor was prominent in Viking culture. Archaeological finds in Sweden and Norway prior to the rise of Christianity in northern Europe show that there were numerous temples solely dedicated to the devotion of Thor. Within the temple at Uppsala, Sweden, written records indicate that there was a large man-sized statue of Thor, hammer

1st ed. (Middlesex, England: Penguin Books Ltd., 1964), 43, 82.

166 □ Snorri Sturluson, *The Prose Edda, Tales from Norse Mythology*. 1st ed. (Berkeley and Los Angeles, California: University of California Press, 1954), 109.

in hand.¹⁶⁷ Another temple in Trondheim was said to have the statue of Thor sitting in a life-sized, moving chariot pulled by his goats.¹⁶⁸ Along with his protective nature mentioned above, Thor's close association with humans may be another link to give him precedence over the other Nordic gods. In the cannon mythologies, Thor rarely traveled alone, and his common cohort was a man named Thjalfi. Thor was the only god known to travel with a human companion, which another indication of his close relationship with humankind.¹⁶⁹

Thor's day, today known as Thursday was a holy day for the Vikings and was perceived to be the first day of the week. Iceland's Althing, the annual governmental general assembly of the Iceland's men

167 □ When sharing a temple with other deities he was predominantly given the place of honor. H.R. Ellis Davidson, *Gods and Myths of Northern Europe*. 1st ed. (Middlesex, England: Penguin Books Ltd., 1964), 75-77.

168 □ Temples such as these also contained a gold or silver ring of Thor. The ring, was thought to have been an armband, worn to protect against blows from a sword. Oaths were often taken upon the ring of Thor, thus deifying the pledge. Also, Thor drove a chariot pulled by two goats, which he would slaughter and eat at the end of each day. The goats would then reincarnate every morning. Ibid. 75-77.

169 □ John Lindow, *Handbook of Norse Mythology*. 1st ed. (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, Inc., 2001), 209.

of power, would meet on Thor's day.¹⁷⁰ Furthermore, Summer's Day and Winter's Day would be held on Thursdays yearly.¹⁷¹ High-seat pillars was an alternatively important symbol of Thor. These pillars would be placed on either side of the seat of honor within the pagan temples, often with carvings of Thor himself upon them. Notably, the first settlers of Iceland used these pillars to let Thor symbolically decide where they would inhabit the land. They set the pillars afloat in the ocean and built upon the site in which they washed ashore.¹⁷² Additional proof of the popularity of Thor comes from the sheer volume of names and places that were dedicated to the god in the end of the Viking period. For example, in Dublin, Ireland, locals referred to the Viking settlers as "people of Thor."¹⁷³

170 □ "Snorri Sturluson," *Funk & Wagnalls New World Encyclopedia*, 2016, 1p. 1.

171 □ Prudence Jones and Nigel Pennick, *A History of Pagan Europe*, 9th ed. (New York, NY: Routledge, 2009), 147.

172 □ Ingólfur Arnarson, the conveyed first settler of Iceland, was said to have brought two pillars with him to Iceland. These pillars were set to float out on the ocean, and after searching for three days, the pillars were discovered in what is today is Iceland's capital Reykjavik. The settlers of Iceland were also said to have brought the soil from under the pillars in the temples of their hometowns, to bless the earth below their new homes. H.R. Ellis Davidson, *Gods and Myths of Northern Europe*. 1st ed. (Middlesex, England: Penguin Books Ltd., 1964), 78.

173 □ *Ibid.* 88-89.

The spike in popularity of the Thor's hammer runs parallel to the timeline of the Christian conversions in the Nordic regions. An analysis of Thor's hammer amulets from the Viking Age shows iconographic influences of the Christian conversion of northern Europe especially in the 9th through 11th centuries. Was the wearing of Mjölnir a direct reaction against the iconography of Christ? Looking specifically at Thor's representations and popularity during the Viking period, scholars repeatedly chose Thor as the Nordic god to symbolically battle against Christ. We can further analyze this by regarding the development of the fusion of the two religions as represented in specific examples of Thor's hammers pendants made in the Viking age.

Vikings would have encountered several faiths in their travels, yet none of these religious orders sought to infiltrate their culture like the powerhouse of Christianity. Christianity has been a longstanding tradition throughout southern Europe, and was initially brought to parts of northern Europe in the period of Roman Conquest, from 43 to 117 C.E. Scandinavia, partially due to its remoteness, remained isolated from the Roman Conquests, and overall from Christianity for a lengthy period. To the later Christian missionaries, these warriors of the North appeared barbaric, and especially archaic in

their religious beliefs. Almost immediately the Viking's pagan religion was blamed for their regular attacks on sites of Christian worship.¹⁷⁴ Prudence Jones and Nigel Pennick comment on the Viking bias,

Even modern commentators write of the Vikings as if the latter were conducting an unwarranted campaign against Christianity, having “no respect for the sanctity of religious houses and the pacifism of their inmates”. But there is no reason why they should have had. Churches and monasteries were full of rich pickings, and in the eyes of a warrior society, if their communities did not care for these enough to defend them, then why should strangers?¹⁷⁵

Christian missionaries initially began entering Scandinavian territories in the seventh century.¹⁷⁶

174 □ Prudence Jones, and Nigel Pennick. *A History of Pagan Europe*. 9th ed. (New York, NY: Routledge, 2009) 133, 135-137.

175 □ There is some evidence that select Vikings did harbor resentment towards Christians after forced conversions during the reign of Charlemagne, in earlier periods. *Ibid.* 132.

176 □ Tracy Legel, “The Introduction of Christianity into Scandinavia, Iceland, Finland” (University of Louisville, 2006), 4.

Martin Carver writes, in *The Cross Goes North: Processes of Conversion in Northern Europe*, that there is a gap in historical writings, of the early missionary work in the Nordic countries. From this suggestion, he surmises that the initial attempts at conversion in Scandinavia failed.¹⁷⁷ There is evidence that early missionaries were killed and their dwellings set on fire as has been found in archeological finds in Iceland and Norway. Five hundred years bridge the gap from the time missionaries first made contact with the Scandinavians to the time Christianity was assimilated.¹⁷⁸ By the twelfth century all of Scandinavia was converted to Christianity, beginning in Denmark, Iceland in 1000 CE, Norway in 1030 CE, and finally Sweden in 1120 CE.¹⁷⁹ The process of conversion was never straightforward. Each country had a unique route to changing religious orders. This came through diverse means of forced conversions, martyrdom, bribery and trickery.¹⁸⁰ The pre-Christian pagans of the north had a sense

177 □ Martin Carver, *The Cross Goes North: Processes of Conversion in Northern Europe, AD 300-1300* (Boydell Press, 2005), 467.

178 □ Tracy Legel, “The Introduction of Christianity into Scandinavia, Iceland, Finland” (University of Louisville, 2006), 4.

179 □ Prudence Jones, and Nigel Pennick. *A History of Pagan Europe*. 9th ed. (New York, NY: Routledge, 2009) 133, 135-137

180 □ Ibid.

of collectivity and were not faced with a hierarchical competition of religious superiority associated with Christianity.¹⁸¹ That is to say, due to the isolated nature of the Vikings living in the farthest reaches of northern Europe, there were no other local religions encroaching onto their territory. They were not faced with the 'us against them' scenario. While the Vikings notoriously reached out into other nations, few were brave enough to enter their territories. Christian missionaries were some of the few to boldly go where others had failed before.

An interesting form of resistance from Christianity is the evidence of defacing the icons of other religions, or the taking of icons to melt down the metals to create their own iconography in the form of jewelry which could also be used in trade. Thor's hammers were a common graffiti marker for the Vikings. In Sweden, twelve Arabic coins have been found that have carvings of Thor's hammers upon them. These coins date from 898 to 934 AD and are inlaid with religious Arabic writing of Islam. It is during the rise of popularity of Thor's hammer as an icon, that these coins were defaced. The Islamic coins are particularly interesting because they give evidence that the ninth century Vikings were

181 □ Ibid. 16-17.

introduced to the eastern religion of Islam. The Vikings chose to deface the religious Islamic symbols on the coins, as a rejection of an alternative monotheistic religion. It is noted that by the tenth century, on similar coins in the same region, Thor's hammer graffiti was replaced with etched graffiti of Christian crosses. Furthermore, in the largest church of the time, Hagia Sophia, in what was then Constantinople, ninth century Viking runes can still be found carved into the wall. The act of defacing religious icons displayed further rejection of the Islamic and Christian religions.¹⁸²

While Christianity was initially rejected by pagan worshipping Scandinavians, rulers began purposefully seeking out the orderly monotheistic religion as a means to control their people. Carver discusses the socio-political differences between the northern polytheistic pagan religion and Christianity.¹⁸³ He states that pagan beliefs and customs form organically and gradually within a civilization, and are multigenerational. Through initiation rites, individuals gain a greater

182 □ Egil Mikkelsen, "Islam and Scandinavia during the Viking Age" *Byzantium and Islam in Scandinavia*. 1998, 48-49.

183 □ Martin Carver, *The Cross Goes North: Processes of Conversion in Northern Europe, AD 300-1300*. (Boydell Press, 2005), 16.

participation within the religious communities. The laws of the society are intertwined with religious beliefs and create a group self-identity. In contrast, Christianity, like other “religions of the book”, focuses on a written doctrine to form the beliefs and laws of a society. The word of Christianity needs to be taught by specialists, creating standardized norms within a culture, and are often backed by enforced means. Carver further explains Christianity and its role within the northern European communities:

Christianity was concentrated on universal and individual salvation: relief from earthly suffering through a systematic plan of moral life, which was available to anybody. Neither social criteria or esoteric knowledge, nor extraordinary experience was required. Baptism purified the initiate and led to membership of the inter-territorial/catholic community. Through observance of a set of clear rules, anybody could await a reward in his/her afterlife, with no regard to the ethnic affiliation or the place of habitation... Therefore, during the phase of early medieval state-building, Christianity appeared to be the most important ally of centralized power,

because it provided ideological foundations for its legality.¹⁸⁴

Through the 10th to 12th centuries, during the later period of conversion, the middle class and ruling class expanded greatly in Northern Europe. By accepting Christianity these rulers could, “assimilate...into the societies they formerly had attacked.”¹⁸⁵ This form of branching out caused the wealth of these Scandinavian countries to grow. Rulers created new alliances with neighboring European countries with the assistance of a shared religion. The northern Scandinavian kings appreciated the orderly nature of Christianity and used its standardized rulebook to further control their nations.¹⁸⁶ Carver questions the ease of northern conversion during this period of time when Christianity had been so opposed for centuries:

Considering the fundamental transformation of ideology, social structure, power, organization and geopolitical relations that resulted from

184 □ Ibid. 16-17.

185 □ Tracy Legel, “The Introduction of Christianity into Scandinavia, Iceland, Finland” (University of Louisville, 2006), 5.

186 □ Ibid. 2-3.

the conversion it is necessary to ask why Christianity expanded so rapidly with relative ease over vast areas of Central and North Europe around the year 1000... Some tried to actively oppose the “inevitable”, others remained indifferent, while others eagerly welcomed the new “civilization”. Usually, it is the last group only that was well recorded and mortised.¹⁸⁷

It could be surmised that converting to Christianity had its benefits. Commerce, new religious civilities, socialization through the churches and unification with the rest of Europe, to say the least. Historical documentation was written by the victors or majority favoring Christianity, while the worship of Norse gods continued in an underground manner. The wearing of Thor’s hammer would have been a way to know who was still worshiping the old gods. While the first Christian missions were met with extreme hostility, an interesting change in the jewelry styles begin to occur.

187 □ Martin Carver, *The Cross Goes North: Processes of Conversion in Northern Europe, AD 300-1300*. (Boydell Press, 2005), 15.

Missionaries of this period wore influential ornaments around their necks in the form of cross pendants. The symbol of the cross, a short horizontal line perpendicular to a vertical line, became an early icon of Christianity. The Christian savior Jesus Christ was said to have been crucified on a wooden cross. Though the Bible makes no mention of Christians wearing the cross as a pendant, by the fourth century C.E. the cross was a regularly used symbol within their religion. The Christian cross as an icon was stylistically different depending on the influences of the surrounding region. For example, the Latin cross, in which there is a longer bar perpendicular to a shorter bar was adopted in western European dominated countries. The Greek cross, which has equally lengthened arms, was more prominent in the eastern European tradition.

Like the Christian cross, Thor's hammer pendants would have also been worn on a string or chain around the neck. Small hammer or cross-like pendants have been found in areas all over southern Scandinavia, and some outreaching areas. They were made of iron or silver, and vary from vastly ornate to archaically simple.¹⁸⁸ The earliest versions of Thor's

188 □ Richard Perkins, "Thor the Wind-Raiser and the Eyrarland Image," Edited by Anthony Faulkes. *Viking Society for Northern Research, Text Series XV* (2001), 106.

hammers consist of a single hammer pendant on a cord, while later versions comprise of a ring with several Thor's hammers attached.¹⁸⁹ The pendants have a metal ring which is located on the end of the handle of the hammer.¹⁹⁰ Davidson makes an interesting correlation with the reasoning behind the looped handles, "If the hammer was thrown to the air the handle would need to be short, and a ring would make the throw more effective, as is the case of the hammer thrown in the Highland games."¹⁹¹ It would make sense that there was needed accouterments for the use in throwing the hammer, as this was its primary function in the mythological origin story. Thor would hurl the hammer to behead frost giants. It is also interesting to note that in modern archaeological finds relating to Thor's hammers, the majority finds have consisted of only the rings previously attached, to the hammer pendant themselves. Four hundred and fifty iron Thor's hammer rings have been found in Sweden, and 95% of all Thor's hammer rings have been found in cremation graves, which are indicative of the pre-

189 □ Saebjorg Walaker Nordeide, *Thor's Hammer in Norway, A Symbol of Reaction Against the Christian Cross?* (Lund, US: Nordic Academic Press, 2006).

190 □ See Figure 5.

191 □ H.R. Ellis Davidson, *Gods and Myths of Northern Europe*. 1st ed. (Middlesex, England: Penguin Books Ltd., 1964), 83.

Christian period.¹⁹²

Michele Mariette Heyeur Smith, in her article, “A Social Analysis of Viking Jewellery from Iceland,” argues that ornamentation was used moreover as a tribal recognition than for the aforementioned apotropaic functions of Viking society. Smith states:

...Viking jewelry is a distant part of Viking dress and can be labeled “Viking adornment”. The jewelry itself forms a part of the ensemble, it cannot be disassociated from clothing, or from hair style and the jewelry along with these other aspects should be looked as ‘Viking adornment’...Like most traditional societies, Viking anti-fashion adornment promotes group identity and affiliation as well as cultural distinction. It conveys a sense of social stability to its members, as well as the values and beliefs of the community. It allows its members to identify themselves with each other and express to the world where they

192 □ Egil Mikkelsen, “Islam and Scandinavia during the Viking Age” *Byzantium and Islam in Scandinavia*. 1998, 48.

belong.¹⁹³

Smith is focusing a keen eye on the importance of clothing, and as an extension, the significance of jewelry in the Viking society. Through wearing Thor's hammer pendants these individuals chose to include themselves within their environment as worshippers of Thor, while also segregating themselves from the other surrounding religious group, the Christians. Smith continues that Viking age jewelry gives identity to its wearers: "Jewelry may offer information about a person's society, his/her social status, a particular subgroup he/she may belong to, his/her magical and religious beliefs and affiliations, etc."¹⁹⁴ The varying materials of the Thor's hammers, their complexity, and the locations in which they are found provide the basis for understanding the identity of the Vikings.

Hilda Roderick Ellis Davidson's book, *Gods and Myths of Northern Europe*, focuses on an educational, historic, and cultural approach to describing the Norse Gods, with a particular interest in the time period just prior to the conversion of

193 □ Michele Mariette Heyeur Smith, "A Social Analysis of Viking Jewellery from Iceland" (University of Glasgow, 2003), 97-98.

194 □ Ibid. 21.

Scandinavian countries to Christianity. Davidson devotes an entire chapter in her book to the hammer of Thor. Here she lays out the practical applications of the hammer within the Viking communities.

Clearly this hammer was something more than a weapon. It was used at weddings to hallow the bride...We know that the hammer was raised to hallow the new-born child who was to be accepted into the community, and it seems also to have been used at funerals...When Thor had feasted on his goats, he made the sign of the hammer over the bones and skin in order to restore them to life. In this new life given by the god, we can see a possible significance in the use of the hammer at sacrifices, [and] funerals...Like that that of the Christian cross, the sign of the hammer was at once a protection and a blessing to those who used it.¹⁹⁵

Here Davidson makes a robust connection with the symbolic practices of Thor's hammer to comparable

195 □ H.R. Ellis Davidson, *Gods and Myths of Northern Europe*. 1st ed. (Middlesex, England: Penguin Books Ltd., 1964), 80.

rituals of the Christian's cross. The hammer was a primary symbol of the Norse pagans and was the icon of choice in major life markers such as births, weddings and deaths. The fundamental importance of Thor's hammer in the Viking society would have made it an understandable image of choice to be worn by Norse devotees. Davidson backs up this theory in the same chapter.

Men were accustomed in the tenth century to wear the symbol of Thor in the form of a hammer-shaped amulet on a chain or cord round their necks. Some of these have been found in silver hoards in Denmark and Sweden, and there is an obvious resemblance between the little hammers and the square, equal armed crosses with figures of Christ on them which were worn at about the same time. Possibly the wearing of Thor's symbol came into fashion as a reaction against the Christian one worn by those converted to the new faith.¹⁹⁶

There is a strong possibility that the high rate of Thor's hammers worn in the tenth century was a

response to the emergence of Christian converts wearing religious iconographic jewelry. There are many similarities in the ritualistic use of Thor's hammers and Christian crosses. The Vikings themselves may have noted these parallels and felt the need to identify themselves as distinctive against their Christian counterparts, and what better way to do so than wearing an icon of their pagan religion.

Through the use of archeological evidence, we can see the aesthetic similarity of Thor's hammer pendants to that of the Christian crosses worn in the same period. Sometimes the differences are hard to point out. As we can see in Figure 2, one hammer is distinctively in the 'T' shaped traditional Thor's hammer design, while the other is in a cruciform shape very similar to the Christian motif. Here is a stark example of the degree in which Thor's hammers ranged from simple to elaborate. The hammer which is in the cruciform design shows a level of fine filigree work, maybe as a way to display the wealth of its owner. Thor's hammers of this level of craftsmanship are rare finds, the majority of Thor's hammers range in simplicity, having no adornments and made of iron.

Archeologists themselves sometimes have difficulty differentiating the pendant finds between Christian and Viking motifs. The majority of Thor's

hammers have been discovered in sites of burial, or in hoards. A Viking hoard consists of sites where many precious objects were buried with the intention of later retrieval or were designed to be votive offerings to the Gods. Of the twelve definitive Thor's hammers found in Norway, four were found in Viking age hoards, and four others were found in burial sites. Often when a pendant is found in a grave or hoard, archeologists look to the burial practice. Viking pagans practiced cremation, while Christians believed in inhumation.¹⁹⁷ But that is not to say that some crossover did not occur.

Aside from burial sites and hoards, Thor's hammers are discovered in stray finds. These finds are harder for historians to interpret since there is no corresponding material to the background of the pendant. In Iceland, only three definitive Thor's hammers have been discovered, and all three of these hammers were stray finds. One pendant found at Foss in Hrunamannahreppur, Iceland, is a composite piece and stands out from all other Thor's hammers found in this period.¹⁹⁸ While the body is in a cruciform shape, it has animal imagery in the form

197 □ Saebjorg Walaker Nordeide, *Thor's Hammer in Norway, A Symbol of Reaction Against the Christian Cross?* (Lund, US: Nordic Academic Press, 2006).

198 □ See Figure 4.

of a wolf or dragon's head. Within the mouth of the animal head is an opening with which a cord could be drawn through to wear around one's neck. When the pendant is worn in this manner it appears as though it is an upside-down cross. Some scholars argue that the piece dates to the eleventh century, and since the pendant was made during the period after the Christian conversion in Iceland, it is a Christian cross. Other scholars say that the legacy of the pagan religion remained firm in Iceland.¹⁹⁹ Richard Perkins, in, "Thor the Wind-Raiser and the Eyrarland Image", backs up this ideology,

The cult of Thor appears to have been very well established in the Iceland of the tenth century. It is rather unlikely that it suddenly came to an end simply as the result of an act of the country's none-too-powerful assembly. The chief source for our knowledge of the conversion of Iceland, Ari Fiorgilsson's *Íslendingabók*, itself hints that certain heathen practices lived on for at least some years after the conversion. And the studies of, for example, Hans Kuhn have shown that forms of heathendom (and the practice of magic connected

with it) lived on in Scandinavia
(including Iceland) well after the
Conversion.²⁰⁰

Furthermore, Norse artifacts are often hard to accurately dated since the Norse style continued to be popular long after the Viking age period.²⁰¹

I have to somewhat agree with the later scholars, in that the Foss pendant is a stylized Thor's hammer. The piece itself stands out as extremely different from any other Thor's hammer ever found. Yet, as Michele Smith notes, the more common a symbol is, the more it will be manipulated and stylized.²⁰² For example, there are multitudes of portrayals of the Christian crucifix with which Jesus was said to be hung. So then it is without a doubt that the Thor's Hammer, being such a popular icon of the religion, would have inspired jewelry makers to take artistic liberties with the flair of Thor's hammer.

200 □ Ibid. 93.

201 □ Shane Mcleod, "Warriors and Women: The Sex Ratio of Norse Migrants to Eastern England up to 900 Ad," *Early Medieval Europe* 19, no. 3 (August 2011): 333.

202 □ Richard Perkins, "Thor the Wind-Raiser and the Eyrarland Image," Edited by Anthony Faulkes. *Viking Society for Northern Research, Text Series XV* (2001), 109.

The Foss pendant may also be a composite piece which was able to take either religious role as needed. Vikings extensively traveled and traded with Christian regions. Many were “prime-signed”, which is the acceptance of the sign of the cross, and the first step toward baptism. By taking this first step in Christian conversion, yet not fully committing to the monotheistic religion, Viking merchants were given clearance to do business freely with a diverse group of religious individuals.²⁰³ As mentioned, artists may have stylized Thor’s hammers to meet needed purpose. One particular example of craftsmen exploiting the combining of religious orders is a tenth century soapstone mold found in Northern Jutland, Denmark.²⁰⁴ Here we can see an entrepreneurial craftsman who chose to create one mold with which to create both Christian crosses and Thor’s hammers. The mold has three inlets where three casts of Thor’s hammers and Christian crosses could be made at the same time. This mold is a fundamental example of the fact that the two religious orders lived side-by-side.

There are multiple other examples of Vikings combining iconography of the two religions. Several

203 □ John Lindow, *Handbook of Norse Mythology*. 1st ed. (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, Inc., 2001), 7.

204 □ See Figure 3.

burial sites have been found where the inhabitant wore both a Thor's hammer pendant and the Christian cross on their person. Furthermore, there are written examples of individuals openly calling upon both orders in their lifetime. One such individual was Helgi the Lean, who was the first inhabitant of Akureyri, in Northern Iceland, during the ninth century. Helgi the Lean was a Christian convert, yet would call upon the god Thor whenever he had sea voyages. He relied on Thor to determine where to beach his ship, using the above mentioned Thor's pillars for guidance, yet he called his settlement *Kristsnes*, or "Christ's point".²⁰⁵

It is interesting to think about the purpose behind personal ornament. Items worn upon the body are often associated with performing a deed, for example, belt buckles. Brooches fit into this category, and were often, vastly ornate and embellished, depending on the wearer's wealth. They were a staple in Viking adornment and were utilized to clasp layers of clothing. Yet unlike, belts and brooches, a Thor's hammer performed no physical tasks. Thor's hammers only had a psychological purpose for the wearer. By adorning a Thor's hammer the wearer may have thought of

205 □ Anders Winroth, *The Age of the Vikings*. (Princeton University Press, 2014), 199-200.

themselves as the mortal embodiment of Thor, and it assisted in calling upon their god to protect them in their struggles. While on the other hand, the wearer may have also felt the need to adorn themselves with a symbol of their religion with the purpose of grouping themselves within their following and identifying themselves as apart from the Christian movement.

There are many similarities in the ritualistic use of Thor's hammers and Christian crosses. They were both used to bless all milestones in life including births, deaths and weddings. Mutually these icons were used as symbols of resurrection. For the Viking pagans that meant the reanimation of Thor's goats every morning after slaughtering and eating them the night before. And for Christians the resurrection of Jesus Christ himself. The Vikings may have noted these parallels and thoughtfully chose an appropriate counterculture to the Christian movement.

The isolated Vikings needed to create a symbol with which to identify themselves, separate themselves, and protect themselves. This need to brand themselves as distinctive against their Christian counterparts may have established the creation of the Thor's hammer ornament. What better way distinguish oneself as a worshipper of

Thor than by wearing an icon of one's pagan religion. While stylistic crossover may have occurred in the later conversion period, as mentioned, prior to the missionaries entering Scandinavia, there hasn't been a single example of a Thor's hammer pendant found. This direct correlation cannot be overlooked and establishes the connection between Thor and Christ, whether it be in religious mythologies or religious jewelry.

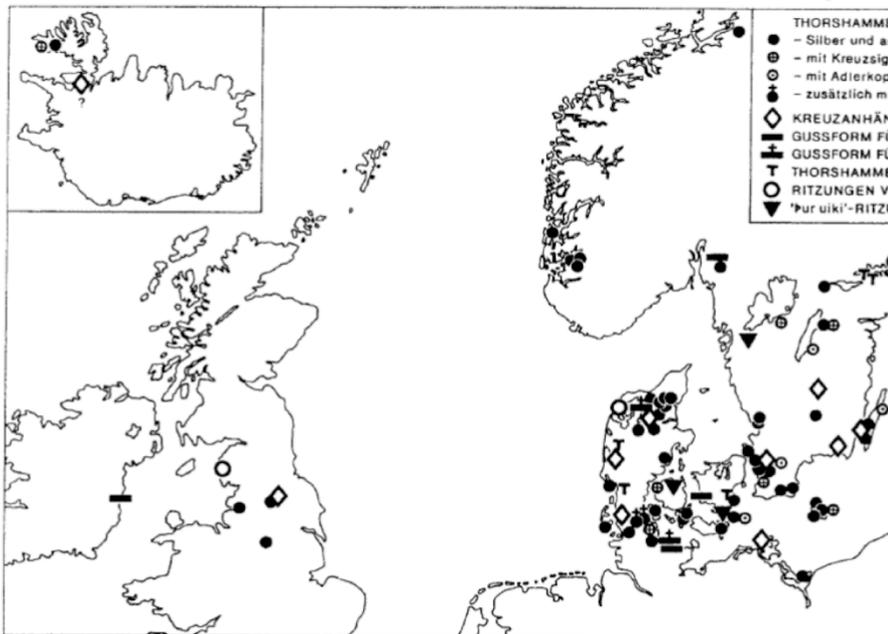


Figure 1. General distribution of Thor's hammers (Wamers 1999).

Figure 1: Diagram of all Thor's hammers found in

Scandinavia to 1999.

Warmers, E. Rom and Byzanz im Norden. "Old Norse Religion in Long-Term Perspectives: Origins, Changes & Interactions". Lund, US: Nordic Academic Press, 2006.



Figure 3. Thor's hammer, possibly found in Verdal, Nord-Trøndelag
© Fotoarkivet, Bergen Museum.



Figure 4. Object from Tilen, Rollag, Buskerud, interpreted as a Thor's hammer, but it may equally well be a cross. © University Museum of Cultural Heritage, Ase Kari Hammer.

Figure 2: Stylistic differences of Thor's hammers found in Norway.

Detail from:

Warmers, E. Rom and Byzanz im Norden. "Old Norse Religion in Long-Term Perspectives: Origins, Changes & Interactions". Lund, US: Nordic Academic Press, 2006.



Figure 3: Tenth-century soapstone mold found at Trendgården, Jutland, Denmark



Figure 4: 'Vargkors' or, Wolf Cross, (c. 10th-11th century) found in Foss, Iceland

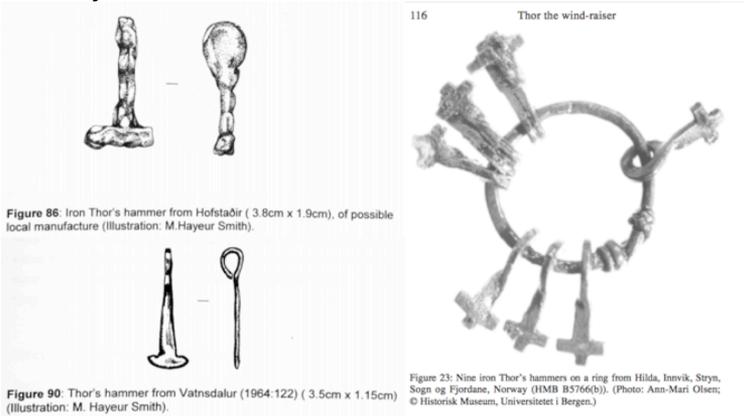


Figure 86: Iron Thor's hammer from Hofstaðir (3.8cm x 1.9cm), of possible local manufacture (Illustration: M.Hayeur Smith).

Figure 90: Thor's hammer from Vatnsdalur (1964:122) (3.5cm x 1.15cm) (Illustration: M. Hayeur Smith).

Figure 23: Nine iron Thor's hammers on a ring from Hilda, Inrvik, Stryn, Sogn og Fjordane, Norway (HMB B5766(b)). (Photo: Ann-Mari Olsen; © Historisk Museum, Universitetet i Bergen.)

Figure 5: Images of the more commonly found simplistic Thor's hammers (Left), and a series of Thor's hammers found on a ring (Right).

(Richard Perkins. "Thor the Wind-Raiser and the Eyrarland Image." Edited by Anthony Faulkes. *Viking Society for Northern Research, Text Series XV* (2001). 116.)

Cover Image:

Elmer Boyd Smith,
The Third Gift—An Enormous Hammer
1902

A History of Iberian Maritime Innovation

Jack Murphy

Beginning in the 15th century, the Portuguese Empire emerged as the forerunners and innovators of European maritime technology. The Portuguese Empire was the first European Empire to partake in overseas exploration due to a number of significant advancements in shipbuilding design and navigational technology, which created new sailing techniques. This rapid advancement of technology allowed for the Age of Discovery, at the beginning of which the Portuguese were at the helm. The Age of Discovery had significant historical ramifications, connecting civilizations that had lived in ignorance of each other's existence for thousands of years. With the Portuguese example, other European empires with colonial ambition adapted Portuguese maritime technologies and improved them to best suit the uses of their own vessels of exploration. One of the most groundbreaking shipbuilding technology of the 15th century was the emergence of caravels: light, fast, and maneuverable lateen-rigged ships that were suitable for long ocean voyages into deep water. New navigational technology of this time included the availability of the magnetic compass throughout Europe, the quadrant, and the astrolabe. The

combination of these emerging technologies created what was for the first time a reliable method of long-range oceanic transportation, instigating an era of Atlantic colonialism and slavery.

The caravels we think of today are the ocean-going exploratory vessels, but there were other ships called caravels prior to this. The origins of caravels are up to debate, with some historians believing their major advancements were adapted from the Arab dhow and other historians believing that the first caravels were fishing vessels or ship tenders which accommodated to larger ships. It is likely that caravel builders took inspiration from both ships of Arab design and from simple fishing vessels. Early caravels of this sort could have perhaps been light traders. The first reference to a Portuguese caravel dates to 1266 and 13th century caravels of this kind are assumed to have been lateen-rigged one or two masters weighing under 30 tons.²⁰⁶ Caravels began to replace the duties of another light Portuguese vessel, the *barinel*. Throughout the 14th century caravels were being built larger, which made them capable of heavier tasks involving more carrying capacity and more suitable for oceanic voyages. The first half of the 15th century was a strange time for

206 □ George Schwarz, “The History and Development of Caravels” (M.A. thesis, Texas A&M University, 2008): 71-72.

caravels, which were just beginning to diverge from their humble past. In 1434 a fully-armed Portuguese caravel was apprehended in Denia for piracy in Catalan Waters.²⁰⁷ This caravel used for piracy would have existed alongside older caravels used for much more innocuous tasks such as fishing or ship repair. The use of caravels among pirates demonstrates that in the eyes of sailors; caravels were considered to be the fastest, most practical, and seaworthy vessels of the time.

The obvious advantage that early caravels possessed over other European boats of the time was their strictly lateen-rigged sails. Lateen sails (triangular sails) were originally created for Arab dhows and Europeans adapted the rigs for their own ships. When a caravel was rigged entirely with lateen sails the Portuguese called this *caravela latina*. During the early voyages of discovery of the mid 15th century, caravels were lateen rigged on all masts. According to Castro, "Lateeners were cheap, versatile, and sturdy vessels. The most obvious advantage over square-rigged vessels is that they can sail better into the wind. The most obvious disadvantage is the relative complexity of the tacking maneuver, which generally requires more

207 □ Schwarz, "The History and Development of Caravels," 74.

human power than the equivalent square-rigged vessels and may have dictated the necessity of larger crews..."²⁰⁸ Lateen sails allow for a ship to sail upwind far better than any other type of sail, maximizing the ability to sail at a close angle upwind. The importance that lateen sails have had on the history of sailing cannot be understated, they revolutionized sailing technique and allowed for much longer distances of travel. Lateen sails require more sailors to control the ship due to the efficiency of the design in converting wind into forward motion, which can be overwhelming power. Square sails are only useful when sailing downwind when you need as much canvas as possible to harness the wind's energy. Sailing upwind, a square sail would be nearly useless. The ability to sail windward is a vital necessity when making return trips from Africa and a lack of lateen sails would mean certain doom when attempting to cross one of the many capes that dot the African coastline. Before Europeans adapted lateen sails for their ships the return trip from Africa was an arduous journey and in some cases impossible if you went too far: "...for over a hundred years Cape Bojador remained the point of

208 □ F Castro, N Fonseca, T Vacas, and F Ciciliot, "A Quantitative Look at Mediterranean Lateen- and Square-Rigged Ships," *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology* (2008): 351.

no return.”²⁰⁹ Cape Bojador is deceptively shallow and an area where the wind changes course, which made it impossible to traverse in a clunky square-rigged vessel. The landscape of Cape Bojador is barren and desolate, located on the northwest coast of the Sahara desert. Cape Bojador would be a most unfortunate place to shipwreck, there would be no water for miles.

209 □ John Law, “On the Social Explanation of Technical Change: The Case of the Portuguese Maritime Expansion,” *Technology and Culture* (1987): 235.

Prior to the use of lateen sails by Europeans; the Portuguese created a new sailing technique called the *volta* to make return journeys upwind a possible feat. According to John Law, this was a major achievement for Portuguese mariners of this time and a decisive step in making overseas exploration possible. The *volta* demonstrates a new understanding that the Portuguese gained about Atlantic currents and winds: "... at some unrecorded point sailors decided to try and put the adverse currents and winds to good use by beating out to seaward, away from the Moroccan coast. For it turns out that so long as one has an appropriate vessel, some means of determining a heading, and an appropriate dose of courage, it is much easier to return to Lisbon or Algarve this way than by the coast."²¹¹ The ship would take a northwesterly heading using the northeasterly trades, beating out to sea. Gradually the trade winds would be left behind and the North Atlantic current would be encountered, which would allow the ship to steer towards Europe. The use of the *volta* along with the introduction of lateen sails made sailing the African

210 □ Schwarz, "The History and Development of Caravels," 27.

211 □ Law, "The Case of the Portuguese Maritime Expansion," 236.

coast a much easier task for the Portuguese.

The Portuguese kept their *caravelas latinas* because they were so useful in making trips down the African coast, but other sailors began to make adaptations to caravel design. Sailing with a strictly lateen rig required constant tacking, which was exhausting to the crew and therefore necessitated more crew members. On Columbus's first voyage in 1492, the *Niña* was re-rigged from a *caravela latina* to a *caravela redonda* while in port at the Canaries. A *caravela redonda* was a caravel rigged with both square and lateen sails to make a more well-rounded sailing ship. The re-rigging of the *Niña* in 1492 represented an overall trend of caravel design in the late 15th century towards *caravelas redondas*: "The square-rigged caravel retained all the advantages of the pure lateen when running. The danger of gybing was removed, since when the wind was dead astern the lateen sails could be furled, leaving the ship to sail under square sails alone."²¹² It would be exhausting to make a transatlantic voyage in a ship that had only lateen sails. With a *caravela redonda*, sailors had the option to use lateen sails when it was necessary to sail upwind, but otherwise they could make use of large square canvas to coast their way.

212 □ John Parry, "Ships and Seamen in the Age of Discovery," *Caribbean Quarterly* (1951): 30.

This lightened the burden of the crew and allowed sailors to adjust their sails based on the given circumstances. According to Parry, the ease of re-rigging in lieu of the conditions was the true virtue of the caravel and doing so was entirely routine for sailors of the time. 213

213 □ Schwarz, “The History and Development of Caravels,” 85.

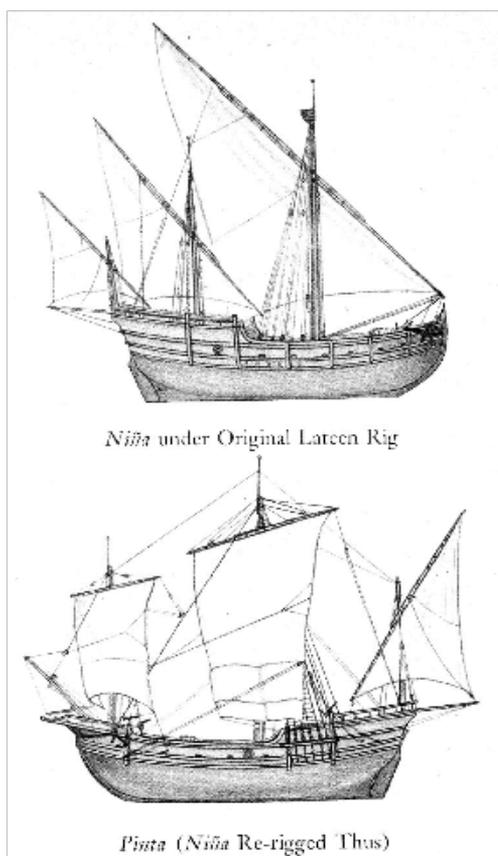


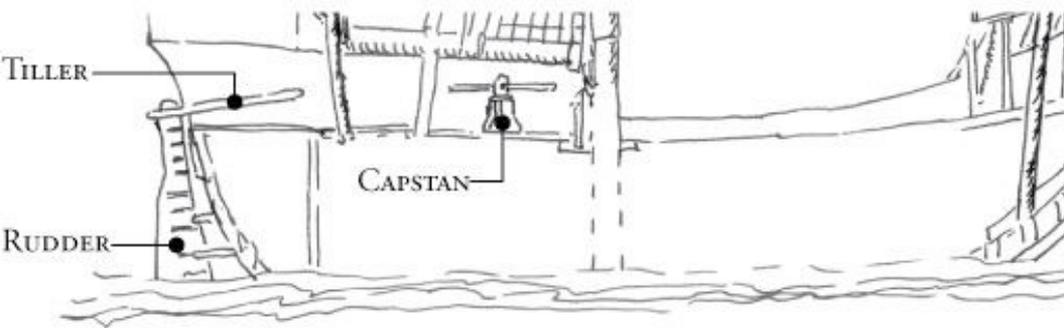
FIGURE 5-5. Hypothetical rigging of Columbus's *Niña* and *Pinta* at the beginning of his first voyage (After Morison 1942:115)

Aside from their superior sailing rigs, caravels had other advantageous features that made them the best ships of their time. A caravel employed the use of a stern-hung rudder, a design feature that made them unique from other ships of the time. Earlier vessels used a side-rudder for steering the boat. A side rudder was a large oar fastened to the side of the ship at the stern. According to George Schwarz, “Although generally an effective tool for steering, the side rudder was susceptible to damage and could be lifted clear out of the water if the ship heeled too far to one side, thereby causing a loss of steerage.”²¹⁴ The rudder clearing the water could potentially be a disastrous event, and would cause the ship to capsize if control was not regained quickly. A stern-hung rudder always remained submerged, meaning

214 □ Schwarz, “The History and Development of Caravels,” 81.

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that control could always be maintained over the ship when the ship was heeled and moving at high speeds. Stern hung rudders were fixed to the ship with pintles and gudgeons (iron hooks fitted into iron rings attached to the sternpost). A tiller was attached to the top of the rudder to allow a sailor to steer his ship. Rudders have remained for the most part the same since the invention of the stern-hung rudder, a testament to the efficacy of its design.²¹⁵

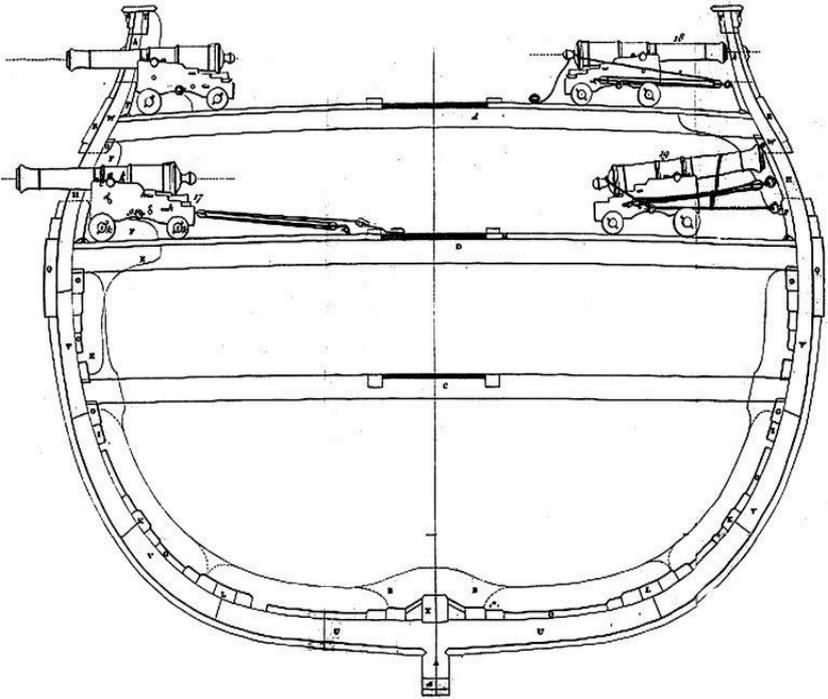
To maintain control over the African trade, the Portuguese created *caravelas de armadas*, also known as armed caravels. In the last quarter of the 15th century, caravels were designed heavier and beamier to accommodate guns. Guns were initially

215 □ Mary Ames Mitchell, “Crossing the Ocean Sea,” <http://www.crossingtheoceansea.com/OceanSeaPages/OS-39-TheCaravel.html>

placed on the weather deck of caravels but this made them top heavy, limiting the numbers of cannons you could put on the ship and making the boat generally unstable. This problem was solved with the invention of the gun port and gun deck. Gun decks placed cannons lower in the ship, allowing for more stability. This encouraged shipbuilders to design square sterns rather than round sterns because square sterns distributed the weight of the cannons better throughout the ship. These improvements in weight distribution and stability allowed for the placement of more cannons aboard ship: “The development of broadside fire in the sixteenth century had an important effect not only on naval tactics, but also on ship construction. The mounting of large numbers of guns along the ship’s side obviously increased top weight, and caused the ship’s timbers to strain outwards. Builders sought to counteract these tendencies by introducing the ‘tumble-home’ of the ship’s sides...”²¹⁶ Tumblehome is the narrowing of a ship’s hull with greater distance above the water-line. This inward slope on the upper part of a boat allowed for further stability on a ship carrying cannons. Initially, *caravelas de armadas* carried at least fifteen guns; but after the introduction of the gun deck, square sterns, and

216 □ Parry, “Ships and Seamen in the Age of Discovery,” 32.

tumblehome, they could have carried 30-40 guns.²¹⁷



Having the proper navigational technology was a vital component for successfully conducting long oceanic voyages. Numerous advancements in the field of navigation instigated the Age of Discovery. The magnetic compass first became available in

217 □ "Sailing Ship Decks,"
<http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/systems/ship/sail-decks.html>

Europe in the late 12th century.²¹⁸ Combined with a *portolan* chart, a compass removed a great deal of guesswork in terms of navigation and allowed for a sailor to leave the coast knowing that they could consult the compass to return to land. Despite the obvious advantages of the *portolan* chart and compass, there was still a significant danger of getting lost by sailing a course by compass along with dead reckoning. Navigational problems such as these concerned the Portuguese, so in the 1480's they developed a method to calculate the latitude of a ship at sea from astronomical observations gathered with quadrants and astrolabes. Due to their simplicity quadrants were the first to be used by Portuguese navigators; in subsequent years they turned to the astrolabe. According to Castro, "Marine astrolabes were a simplification of the existing Islamic calculating devices and were used during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to measure the height of the sun at noon on sailing ships. With this value and the proper tables, sea captains could calculate the latitude and estimate the position of their ships during the long oceanic voyages..."²¹⁹ To adopt this new method of

218 □ Law, "The Case of the Portuguese Maritime Expansion," 236.

219 □ F Castro, N Budsberg, J Jobling, and A Passen, "The Astrolabe Project," *Journal of Maritime Archaeology* (2015): 205.

navigating, it was of the utmost importance to know the latitudes of important coastal landmarks, especially the latitudes of major ports and capes. Knowledgeable navigators were sent on exploratory vessels equipped with astrolabes to measure important coastal latitudes and report back to Lisbon. According to John Law, “It seems likely that Henry the ‘Navigator’, before his death in 1460, was asking his mariners to go ashore and measure the latitude of the polar stars at places of importance. By 1473 the astronomers in Lisbon had a list of latitudes which reached the equator, a list that was extended as the century wore on.”²²⁰ These new methods of navigation proved to be difficult for some sailors to implement, who only somewhat understood the intricacies. Seamen were not scholars and would often resort to their own sense of direction if the necessary calculations could not be performed. To fix this, classes were taught on navigation to aspiring pilots in Lisbon in the early 16th century.²²¹

It is surprising that we have information we do know about caravels given the absolute lack of

220 □ Law, “The Case of the Portuguese Maritime Expansion,” 243.

221 □ Law, “The Case of the Portuguese Maritime Expansion,” 243.

archeological evidence available. Historians have attempted to recreate caravels to prove their value in the sea, to varying degrees of success. Donald Keith notes that, "A century ago, when the world celebrated the 400th anniversary of Columbus' voyage, recreations of *Santa Maria*, *Pinta*, and *Niña* were built in Spain. A measure of how inaccurate those recreations were can be gleaned from the fact that the two caravels, *Niña* and *Pinta*, had to be towed across the Atlantic."²²² A century later, John Sarsfield's recreation ship *Niña* outperformed its competition at the 1992 Columbus Regatta, proving that if built correctly a caravel can be a seaworthy vessel. Caravels were light and handy, nimble when navigating through reefs, drew little water, and sailed well against the wind. The numerous types of caravels that were created in their five centuries of use is a testament to the adaptability of the ship. If you were to compare the earliest designs of caravels with the latest designs you would be looking at two completely different ships, common only in the name caravel. Though it may be impossible to accurately recreate caravels that can prove their seaworthiness, this does not undermine any validity to their significance in history. Caravels were the harbinger of European presence in the New World.

222 □ Donald Keith, "Replicating a Caravel," *Historical Archaeology* (1992): 25.

Without them we would not be standing here today.

Change Is Good: How Native and Colonial Groups Responded to Adversity in California

Scott Steinberg

The inhabitants of early California endured significant social, economic, and political transformations over a relatively short period. Native and colonial groups adapted their communities to deal with natural disturbances before European contact, the establishment of Spain's Franciscan missions starting in 1769, Mexican independence in 1821, and the beginning of the American conquest in 1846.²²³ However, traditional histories about California tend to overemphasize the role the respective Spanish and American conquerors played in changing or eradicating the lives of the conquered natives and colonials. Historians such as Kent G. Lightfoot and Louise Pubols argue that a more complete picture of California life in the 18th and 19th centuries must account for native and colonial agency. In analyzing Lightfoot and Pubols (as well as M. Kat Anderson,

223 □ For the purpose of this paper, I'm not analyzing Russian colonization in and around Ross. Its impact can be considered minimal compared to that of the Spanish colonies.

Erika Pérez, and Doyce B. Nunis Jr.) we can see that change is one of the few constants over the course of early California history. Yet, among this change, we can also see native and colonial survival as constant variables. In his assessment of native agency at the Franciscan missions, Lightfoot writes, “Although significant culture change had taken root, the neophytes actively constructed identities that distinguished them from the padres and other Hispanic foreigners.”²²⁴ His insight is as much a value statement about the inherent qualities of any culture and colonization effort as it is about the native American communities in California. Such a view also means we can not fully reach harmonious conclusions about changes in California history.

In understanding native agency in the face of Spanish colonization, it is instructive to look at how tribes managed California land before the permanent presence of outsiders. In her book, *Tending the Wild*, M. Kat Anderson explains how native Americans were adapting to challenges in their environment long before confronting the disruptions of the

224 □ Kent G. Lightfoot, *Indians, Missionaries, and Merchants: The Legacy of Colonial Encounters on the California Frontier* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 183. The term “neophyte” is commonly used in discussions of the Franciscan missions. In this context, “neophyte” signifies the native Americans who converted to Christianity.

Franciscan religious project. California Indians were “active agents of environmental change and stewardship, shattering the hunter-gatherer stereotype.”²²⁵ Natural disturbances such as fires and floods meant change was a cyclical part of Indian life.²²⁶ Indians adapted to change by managing the land, and included techniques such as genetic plant modification, plant dispersal, and habitat modification.²²⁷ Indians across California started fires to expand grassland vegetation and increase soil productivity.²²⁸ In addition, Indians hand-weeded plants to prevent overgrowth in meadows, which were cultivated for harvesting food, hunting animals, and warding off enemies.²²⁹ The Spanish settlers and the American conquerors were blind to the ways Indians actively managed the land. Anderson’s book serves as a counterpoint to the traditional pre-historic “concept of California as unspoiled, raw, uninhabited nature” --- as

225 □ M. Kat Anderson, *Tending the Wild: Native American Knowledge and the Management of California’s Natural Resources* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 2.

226 □ Ibid., 17.

227 □ Ibid. 159.

228 □ Ibid., 167.

229 □ Ibid. 169.

unmanaged wilderness.²³⁰ It is additionally significant that in *Tending the Wild* we can view the native population already in confrontation with the environment. They were accustomed to dealing with extreme change. In essence, their land management methods would be an experiential precursor for responding to aggressive actions in the Spanish mission era beginning in 1769.

Certainly, dealing with 18th-century colonizers was more challenging for Indians than using the environment to their advantage. For example, seasonal cycles are more predictable than the intentions of padres. The Spanish missions resettled thousands of Indians, forcing them into “foreign settlements in alien territories,” a process that upset traditional settlement patterns.²³¹ Once the Indians were at the missions, the Franciscans used a number of methods to control their subjects, the neophytes. These methods included restriction of movement, draconian work schedules, and corporal punishment.²³² However, according to Lightfoot, the missions failed to eradicate Indian culture by replacing it with a new Christian peasant class.

230 □ Ibid. 3.

231 □ Lightfoot, *Indians, Missionaries, and Merchants*, 64.

232 □ Ibid., 60.

“Indigenous values and meanings directed the processes of cultural transformation that unfolded.”, argues Lightfoot.²³³ Overt social resistance to missions included rebellion, violence, and running away.²³⁴ On a more mundane level, Indians learned to put their own twist on the missions, established both public and private practices, and public and private personas. According to one native account of life at Mission San Buenaventura, there were two marriage ceremonies for neophyte couples --- one done publicly for mission officials, the other done privately to satisfy the spiritual values of the neophyte community.²³⁵ These private ceremonies were not a secret to the Franciscans. They “lamented that the neophytes still continued to employ many pagan practices in the missions, that Catholicism had only been superficially adopted.”²³⁶ Lightfoot acknowledges the obvious: The Spanish colonials stripped the Indians of their most basic freedoms, and disease killed off a significant part of the native population. However, Lightfoot argues that California anthropologists of the early 20th century

233 □ Ibid. 198.

234 □ Ibid. 88.

235 □ Ibid. 95.

236 □ Ibid. 183.

inflicted an additional tragedy on the Indians. In failing to recognize that Indian cultures changed within the missions, these influential academics falsely proclaimed “the widespread extinction of coastal California Indians.”²³⁷ The false claim had a devastating impact on “unacknowledged” tribes when the United States federal government began granting reservation lands.²³⁸ Here is a compelling case for properly understanding how all subjugated people responded to colonization. It is easy to ignore people in the present when we do not properly understand their past.

A new class of settlers, the Californio elites, gained wealth and power while the Franciscans carried out their religious enculturation program from the 1770s through the 1810s. The elites constituted a merger of Spanish-born nobility and colonial military men. Three traits linked them: 1) They were not Indian 2) They moved to Alta California in a time when Spain struggled to attract settlers to the territory and 3) They were hungry for wealth and power. “Eventually, the class wove itself together through kinship and the common experience of conquest. Honor and profit were the

237 □ Ibid., 210.

238 □ Ibid., 230

basis of California's emerging elite class.", indicates Pubols.²³⁹ Pubols argues that the elites established a patriarchal family economy that effectively manipulated Spanish and Franciscan power structures. Patriarchs, like José de la Guerra in Santa Barbara, controlled an economic system that evolved to fit the elite class's changing needs while keeping family "a vital foundation of social order."²⁴⁰ The end of Spain's colonial era brought enormous economic challenges for the elite class as Mexican rulers opened Californian ports to foreign traders and pressured missions to secularize.²⁴¹ Adaption and integration were the keys to the elites' success in the new era. Several Californiana daughters were married off to foreign traders, who were then expected to stay in the west, learn Spanish, and convert to Catholicism. Young ambitious merchants such as William Hartnell and Alfred Robinson were now part of the "familial webs of reciprocity and dependence."²⁴²

239 □ Louise Pubols, *The Father of All: The de la Guerra Family, Power, and Patriarchy in Mexican California* (San Marino, CA: Huntington-USC Institute on California and the West), 14.

240 □ *Ibid.*, 58.

241 □ *Ibid.* 107.

242 □ *Ibid.* 116.

It was trickier for Californio elites to navigate a path during Mexico's political reign over the region from around 1822 to 1846. The elites found themselves ensnared in periodic rebellions against Mexico in the 1830s. "The rebellions were a time of great strain on California's elite kinship networks."²⁴³ De la Guerra's sons (and other young men of their generation) were getting shut out of California's economy by design. Authority in the patriarchal economy remained aggregated at the top. "The family economy in California was dangerously vulnerable at the moment of transition when a son came of age and struggled to become an independent patriarch.", states Pubols.²⁴⁴ The answer for the sons lay in the land. Over the course of several governorships, the sons twisted Mexico's idea of liberalism to serve their own purpose. The mission lands essentially became theirs. Pubols emphasizes that, "In the hands of California's native sons, liberalism in California eventually took a form that stressed economic liberty and rejected facets of the discourse that challenged patriarchy or argued for the rights of Indians as citizens."²⁴⁵

243 □ Ibid., 214.

244 □ Ibid., 150.

245 □ Ibid., 194.

While Pubols does not deny that the elites were self-interested and oppressive, especially toward Indians, Erika Pérez in his article, *'Saludos From Your Comadre': Compadrazgo as a Community Institution in Alta California, 1769-1860s*, does more work in addressing the downsides of the patriarchy. Pérez argues that compadrazgo, or god-parentage, functioned as a subjugation tool within Alta California that advanced economic and political goals that were detrimental for Indians and lower-class Californios.²⁴⁶ "Compadrazgo remained embedded with multiple layers of meaning and power in California from the Spanish period into the Mexican and early American eras."²⁴⁷ Although Pubols makes the case that we ought to be at least somewhat impressed with the Californios' capacity to handle change, it is dangerous to assign too positive of a value on the patriarchal system. It is more important to view the Californio response to Mexican liberalism in light of the American conquest. The Californios handled Mexican pressure with surprising adroitness; thus we should not be surprised to see those same elites handled American aggression with similar skill.

246 □ Erika Pérez, "'Saludos From Your Comadre': Compadrazgo as a Community Institution in Alta California, 1769-1860s," *California History* 88, no. 4 (2011), 48.

247 □ *Ibid.*, 62.

The gains made by Californios during the Mexican era would not last long. It was no secret that foreign states saw California as an easily obtainable prize. In his published survey of the Pacific coast, British sea captain George Vancouver asserted to the English-speaking world that California was easy to navigate, beautiful, and poorly defended.²⁴⁸ Historian Doyce B. Nunis, Jr., points out that foreign traders had negative views of Californios. Despite this, the Californios rolled out the red carpet for foreign visitors, providing “the best that could be provided in way of food, drink, lodging, and entertainment,” according to Nunis.²⁴⁹ While there’s proof that well-placed Americans were greeted with fine hospitality, Pubols’ work delivers a sharp scolding to any historian who maintains Californios were solely accommodationist in their stance toward American encroachment. “Nativism still ran strong in California, and elite Californios constantly negotiated between accommodation and resistance in their attempts to preserve power, wealth, and autonomy amid rapidly changing circumstances.”, contends Pubols.²⁵⁰ Despite the

248 □ Doyce B. Nunis, Jr. “Alta California’s Trojan Horse: Foreign Immigration” *California History* 76, no. 2-3 (Summer/Fall 1997), 301-2.

249 □ *Ibid.*, 309.

250 □ Pubols, *The Father of All*, 242.

upheaval, nobody was entirely sure how things were changing, nor what the Americans wanted politically out of California.

Surely, after the Graham Affair in 1840, Californios knew the central government in Mexico City would prefer protecting its international trade interests over the elites' security against outside insurrection.²⁵¹ Californios would be alone in protecting their own consolidated wealth and political power. The de la Guerras projected a moderate image to the American forces once occupation began in 1846; yet, they also secretly funded armed resistance that took violent turns in southern California. Although the resistance movement lost to the Americans, the de la Guerras saved up enough political currency with the Americans to earn a place in the new state's power structure. According to Pubols, they integrated "the old system of paternalism and reciprocity with the new one of American-style politics."²⁵² But by 1870, residents with non-Spanish surnames were a majority in the Santa Barbara area, scrubbing away a good deal of Californio elite power.²⁵³ The

251 □ Ibid., 248.

252 □ Ibid., 284.

253 □ Ibid., 293.

patriarchal economy borne from Spanish and Mexican societal changes ultimately would not gain long-term traction in an American system. Still, denying colonial elites an active role in California history would be a grievous historical error. As Pubols writes, "If we cease to read the history of California in reverse ... we can begin to make out a new narrative."²⁵⁴

In conclusion, the responses to change are often just as significant as the changes themselves. Therefore, there are two ways of reading early California history. The first is to tally the achievements and failures of the Spanish-Franciscan enterprise before swiftly assessing the effects of the American conquest. The other way pulls underrepresented characters from the shadows and draws a portrait of native and colonial life that humanizes our heretofore robotic interpretation of their existence. Read together, these two perspectives offer a view of California history that although confusing and contradictory at times, is more accurate.

254 □ Ibid., 9.

Exploring Japanese Colonial Legacy on South Korean Education

Frank Bae

Introduction:

South Korea is known as being a part of the Asian Miracle: from being a poor, colonized country and enduring the devastation of the Korean War, South Korea had risen in the decades to become a highly industrialized country. South Korean education is ranked among the top five education systems in the world, rivaling other competitive Asian nations, including Japan.²⁵⁵ Though South Korea has achieved many great accomplishments, one could speculate that it was because of Japan, which was the first Asian country to embrace modernized education in history, introduced the blueprint for economic and educational success in the global competitive market for South Korea.

There are those who believe that the success of how South Korea came out after colonization was due to Japan's colonial legacy. Premier Tanaka Kakuei of Japan riled a controversial message amongst the Koreans when he spoke to Diet members on January 24, 1974, stating that Japanese colonization had brought "spiritual benefit" and shown a "system of compulsory education that was still maintained."²⁵⁶

255 □ Sean Coughlan, "Singapore Tops Global Education Rankings," *BBC Education & Family* (BBC News), November 29, 2016, <http://www.bbc.com/news/education-38131731>.

256 □ Chong-Sik Lee, *Japan and Korea: The Political Dimension* (n.p.: Hoover Press, 1985), <https://books.google.com/books?id=bzwZwDzFrrgC&q=30#v=onepa>

Other controversial statements were made by Sakurada Takeshi, the president of the Japanese Federation of Economic Organizations, in his speech at an international seminar held in Seoul: “Amazing economic progress in Korea was made possible by the excellent education provided during the Japanese colonial era.”²⁵⁷ These Japanese leaders state that Japan did a good job in assisting Korea, in addition, on October 11th, 1995, Dakami Eto, the minister of governmental administration of Japan, justified the occupation by stating that “Japan did do some good things for Korea during the Japanese occupation, like building about 5000 schools”²⁵⁸

These members in highly influential positions show a lot in terms of the Japanese mindset towards Korea, specifically towards their educational success, stating overall that Korea would not be where it is today without the help of Japan. In order to see the success of South Korea’s education, this paper examines how much of an impact Japanese colonization has had by first looking into what Korean education was like before colonization, and what was implemented by the Japanese that affected the overall outcome of education at the end of colonization.

Josean education before colonization

Confucianism played a central role in shaping the

ge&q&f=false. (30)

257 □ Ibid, 30

258 □ Seung-Cheol Oh and Ki-Seok Kim, “The Increase of Educational Opportunity in Korea Under the Japanese Occupation: For Whom the Bell Told?,” *The SNU Journal of Education Research* 1998, Seung-Cheoloh, s-space.snu.ac.kr/bitstream/10371/72664/1/05.pdf. (83)

Korean attitude towards the drive of obtaining education in order to be successful, was through Confucianism. Confucianism is said to be the strongest influence in why Korea does well today because it is composed of "...strong family structure and norms of frugality, hard work, and a high valuation of education."²⁵⁹ Though it is true that these qualities do exist, Confucianism, which has been practiced for many hundreds of years, has been seen as an obstacle for countries such as Korea and China in the route to embrace modern development.²⁶⁰ The Josean dynasty (1392-1910) had placed Confucianism as its core national ideology and religion, and was used by the kingdom to oversee "politics, economy, society, culture and education," and those who held the important positions were known as Yangban.²⁶¹

The Yangban were the highest of the ruling class in Korea. They comprised at around 15 percent of the population and did not see any necessity for the general population to learn.²⁶² Education at this time was based on Chinese classics and it was for commoners; Seadong (village schools) gave "primary instruction in reading, writing and arithmetic."²⁶³ The

259 □ Clark W Sorensen, "Success and Education in South Korea," *Comparative Education Review* 38 (February 1994), accessed December 4, 2016, doi:10.2307/1189287, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1189287>. (11)

260 □ Ibid, 11

261 □ Jeong-Kyu Lee, "Educational Fever and South Korean Higher Education," *Revista Electronica de Investigacion y Educativa* 8, no. 1 (2006), accessed December 4, 2016, <http://redie.uabc.mx/vol8no1/contents-lee2.html>. page 3

262 □ Clark W Sorensen page 12

263 □ Klaus Dittrich, "The Beginnings of Modern Education in

Yangban did what they could to keep their socio-political power and prestige by controlling the Confucian education, by limiting how much certain education was provided to the commoners. The “education fever” was viewed as a method for the Yangban to hold onto the high positions they held in the traditional era.²⁶⁴ Yangban held most of the governmental offices and it was near impossible for any commoners to move up into these positions.²⁶⁵ By 1873, after 400 years of closed contacts, the kingdom started to open up and had to face challenges from the west.²⁶⁶ During this period, schools with modern curricula were set up by foreign missionaries and the foundation was approved by Josean.

The missionaries who had powerful influence in the Korean peninsula during 1883 consisted of American Protestant, Presbyterian and Methodist missionaries.²⁶⁷ The original intent of the Christian missions was to spread Christianity, but some also grew into “prosperous centers of general learning,” as the missionaries developed numbers of schools in the 19th century.²⁶⁸ In 1895, King Gojong of Korea severed ties to China as a group of reformers thought that Korea needed swift transformations that were based on

Korea, 1883–1910,” *Paedagogica Historica* 50, no. 3 (October 9, 2013), doi:10.1080/00309230.2013.839723. (267)

264 □ Jeong-Kyu Lee, 3

265 □ Clark W Sorensen, 14

266 □ Ibid, 14

267 □ Klaus Dittrich, 268

268 □ Ibid, 269

“European, American, and to a lesser degree – Japanese models.”²⁶⁹ The reformers thought that western civilization would improve the country by getting rid of the previous culture, seen as “old...traditional...Chinese,” causing the backwardness of Korea.²⁷⁰ Though the implementation of modern education was embraced, early attempts in the modern educational system were short lived or cut off when Japan took over Korea as a protectorate in 1905, and then as a colony in 1910.²⁷¹ Just as well, during the late 19th century, Confucian education reserved for the elite in its traditional sense was declining and the Yangban were beginning to open up to the commoners, while, “...having been rushed foreign power and introduced the western educational system.”²⁷² With the decline of the old Confucian style of education, Korea was heading towards modernization while experimenting with the western educational system.

Colonial Policy and Results

In 1911, Japan had issued “The Korean Education Ordinance,” which consisted of a gradual education system, but was systematically racist and favored Japanese people over Koreans.²⁷³ Japanese people were given longer school terms, while Korean education was shorter. thus, Koreans received

269 □ Klaus Dittrich, 274

270 □ Ibid, 274

271 □ Clark W Sorensen, 14

272 □ Jeong-Kyu Lee, 3-4

273 □ Seung-Cheol Oh and Ki-Seok Kim, 85

less education than the Japanese²⁷⁴ Being an imperial state, Japan was faced with many forms of resistance in response to this racist institution, culminating in the famous “March First Movement of 1919.”²⁷⁵ This movement caused deep concerns amongst Japanese leaders with the need to appease the Korean people. Thus, Japanese leaders changed their oppressive policy to a “cultural policy”, with an objective of “winning the support of the colonial subjects.”²⁷⁶ This act shows that Japan did not initially place a priority for the Koreans, resulting in this huge protest that Japan had to appropriately respond to. The Korean cultural nationalists were heavily drawn to the idea of social Darwinism, which they perceived that in order for Korea to regain its independence, modern education would be needed.²⁷⁷ Had Koreans not fought for improvement during the movement, the Japanese government would not have pushed to improve the conditions, and it was ultimately the Korean people who took the initiative to better themselves. Japan reserved high quality education for the Japanese, so Korea resorted to civil protest to push for what was equal and deserving.

The Japanese government embraced the cultural policy and aimed to improve the low standard Korean education

274 □ Ibid, 85

275 □ Suk Hoon Han, “Influence of Foreign Ideas in the Making of National Education System: The Case of Japan’s Education Planning for Colonized Korea,” *KEDI Journal of Educational Policy* 7, no. 1 (2010). (102)

276 □ Ibid, 102

277 □ Clark W Sorensen, 15

similar to the Japanese in 1922.²⁷⁸ Japan did indeed build their model of modern education between 1912 and 1942, as the amount of elementary schools increased from 300 to 3000, middle schools rose from 64 to 400 and high schools rose from 2 to 20.²⁷⁹ Looking at the number of schools built alone seems to convey the educational opportunity it has established in Korea. As mentioned earlier, without Japanese occupation, the Joseon kingdom and the Yangban could have developed its own modern education on its own. This system would have likely resembled the American educational model, as the American missionaries influenced Korea. Though the Japanese had built all of these schools, Koreans were discriminated against and only few elite and pro-Japanese Koreans could have the opportunity to attend a university.²⁸⁰

Once South Korea was liberated from Japan, there was a huge gap in trained manpower left by the Japanese - the illiteracy rate was as high as 78 percent.²⁸¹ In order to restabilize the country and the education system, "The Basic Education Law" was passed in 1949.²⁸² This provided a compulsory educational system that consisted of elementary, middle school, high school and college grade levels.²⁸³ From

278 □ Suk Hoon Han, 102

279 □ Seung-Cheol Oh and Ki-Seok Kim, 85

280 □ Jeong-Kyu Lee, "Japanese Higher Education Policy in Korea During the Colonial Period (1910-1945)," *Education Policy Analysis Archives* 10, no. 14 (March 7, 2002), accessed December 5, 2016, <http://epaa.asu.edu/epaa/v10n14.html/>. (7)

281 □ Clark W Sorensen, 16

282 □ Ibid, 16

283 □ Ibid, 16

this, the percentage of enrollment in all three educational levels had skyrocketed to the point where enrollment in elementary had passed 90 percent in 1964, 90 percent for middle school in 1979, and high school passed 90 percent in the 90's.²⁸⁴ Tying this in with Confucianism, the positive Confucian value for "adoration of learning and sincerity" was part of the major driving force to the current economy and high educational achievement in South Korea; Strangely enough, it was once viewed as a hurdle to "industrialization."²⁸⁵ This shows that Confucian ideology played a central role amongst Koreans wanting to do better. With the removal of the oppressive Japanese government and the value of Confucianism, the demand for more education skyrocketed - the Koreans were able to better their socioeconomic standing while keeping up with national survival.

Conclusion:

South Korea and Japan share many histories together as both are competitive against one another in the realm of education. Though Confucianism was for the elite Yangban class, the social values of obtaining education has adapted to modern standards by which almost every Korean has more or less an equal chance of raising their educational and economic status. Though there are those who feel that it was ultimately the colonial legacy of

284 □ Ibid, 16

285 □ Jeong-Kyu Lee, "Educational Fever and South Korean Higher Education," 1

Japan that brought Korea to where it stands today, it was ultimately the will of the Korean people who had to go through harsh treatment of colonization, undergo assimilation, and had to quickly catch up in order to modernize. Building schools can be seen as one positive component. However, they were built to serve the Japanese Empire. The system in which Koreans were subjected to was not built in a way where they would have the training to immediately take over what the Japanese had built. Japan may have brought the basic ideas of a modern education, but had structurally limited the Koreans in fulfilling their educational needs and was not the sole reason as to why Korea became successful today. The Japanese were able to explore what model of education they were to adopt, but for Korea, the people were not given an option to see how modern education could transform their society. Ultimately forced to adopt an institution they would have not naturally followed due to Japanese Imperial rule.

The Rohingya Refugee Crisis

Patrick Fennell

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Myanmar Democratic Transition: Between the Military and the Civilian Government?

Martin Roy

Introduction

With the end of World War II, many countries have taken their independence, now we have more independent countries than ever before. Besides that, we still have a huge proportion of people as individual who are not free, whom their basic rights are not recognized by their government and who are not allowed to participate, vote or get involved in politics. Although their economic underdevelopment, the democratization issue remains in most of the former colonies who formed what we call the Developing World or also named the Third World.

This paper will focus its interest on one of these countries the Myanmar because this case is unique and seems to be one the most advanced in his road to democratization in the East Asian region. At least this country is the one who have shown the most progress in the last few years. Despite its unique characteristics, understanding this case is useful to explain the path to democratization from a

strong military regime. Myanmar's democratic transition could be one of the most successful democratic transition since the World War II, but this process is not complete yet and major challenges remain. As the country is still in transition, it has some major democratic issues to face off, this paper will examine these issues and how these issues have evolved with the 2015 election. That lead us to the question where is Myanmar in its political transition from an authoritarian military regime to a democracy?

Literature Review

On democratic transition Robert Pinkney list seven conditions supported by different previous authors that can conduct to democracy with their arguments and their problems. First, economic development argues that correlation exists between wealth and democracy, meaning that increasing national wealth makes competition for resources less desperate.³⁷⁷ The problem with this condition is that correlation is not the same cause, in deed greater wealth may strengthen the resources of authoritarian rulers, moreover, the process and the rapidity of economic growth are not specified clearly.³⁷⁸ Second

377 Pinkney, Robert. *Democracy in the Third World*. Lynne Rienner Publishers: United States of America. 2003.

378 Pinkney, Robert. *Democracy in the Third World*.

condition said that democracy comes from political attitudes and behaviors because “democracy requires a willingness to accept government by consent as a means of resolving conflict”, the problem is these attitudes and behaviors may be shaped by social and economic circumstances which are not a willingness to accept government by consent.³⁷⁹ The third one is the interelite relations, when interelite agree to the rules of the political game rather than risk national disintegration democracy can emerge because these rules can subsequently be adapted to accommodate nonelites.³⁸⁰ But some questions remain, “why is a point where national unity is preferred to violent conflict or disintegration? How can elite attitudes be ascertained?”³⁸¹ Fourth, democracy could come from social structures and interaction between social groups because “democracy is most likely to evolve where monarchy checks the power of notability, and the aristocracy goes into commerce” but “how to explain the existence of democracy in countries with a diversity of social antecedents?”³⁸² Fifth some argues that democracy needs political institutions like pressure groups and political parties that can filter public demanded and thus facilitate

379 Pinkney, Robert. *Democracy in the Third World*.

380 Pinkney, Robert. *Democracy in the Third World*.

381 Pinkney, Robert. *Democracy in the Third World*.

382 Pinkney, Robert. *Democracy in the Third World*.

compromise, but we need to be careful about the danger of historical determinism because the role economic change, external influence and society in democratization process are not clear.³⁸³ Sixth, the sequences in the development hypothesis argue that “democracy is easier to establish if political competition precedes mass participation and if major conflicts over the role of the state are resolved on at a time”.³⁸⁴ Once again the danger of historical determinism is to consider because we still have the problem of recognizing and quantifying the variable.³⁸⁵ Finally, the seventh conditions over the democratic transition is the external influences by foreign governments, institutions or individuals that may supply ideas, offer inducements, or apply sanctions to push for changes but influence can only be indirect, democracy cannot be imposed.³⁸⁶ None of those explanations of the main factors that introduce democratic transition is complete and applied to every case, each case is unique in itself and demands its own analysis although some case can be similar.

Myanmar is a case where many authors tried to explain by diverse ways, so far, the authors and

383 Pinkney, Robert. *Democracy in the Third World*.

384 Pinkney, Robert. *Democracy in the Third World*.

385 Pinkney, Robert. *Democracy in the Third World*.

386 Pinkney, Robert. *Democracy in the Third World*.

experts have different explanation model of democratic transition from military regime in many of them we can see some similarities with the more general theories expose by Robert Pinkney. In his chapter on the transition from authoritarianism to democracy, Pinkney wrote that two different lines of thinking about democracy. One of them is the preconditions approach saying that democracy requires some economic, social and institutional requisites to exist or easily created by change in the political system without these, democracy is impossible.³⁸⁷ The other one is the transitional school which said democracy has no insurmountable barriers the ability of political actors to reach consensus on the rules of the political game will make democratization happen.³⁸⁸

More theories exist to explain a democratic transition from authoritarianism and authors in the literature tried to apply them to the case of Myanmar, the regime breakdown theory is one of these. It is inspired by rational choice theory that suggests all leaders want the office and remain there, said that a regime needs to be forced by internal division or by popular opposition to change and give their powers.³⁸⁹ Jones argues that is not the case in

387 Pinkney, Robert. *Democracy in the Third World*.

388 Pinkney, Robert. *Democracy in the Third World*.

389 Jones, Lee. "Explaining Myanmar's Regime Transition: The

Myanmar because military remains in the office in one form or another, disguise like former military leaders or in the 25% seats reserved to military.³⁹⁰ Jones uses the regime maintenance approach to explain the transition timing and the relative fluidity post regime's transition in Myanmar.³⁹¹ His goal is to explain why the military has taken the power in the first place and how they have done it, to know that help to explain the current democratic transition.³⁹² On that Croissant and Kamerling said the military in Myanmar did the coup because they fear a civil war.³⁹³ This is coherent with Pinkney statement "military rulers only claim a mandate to tackle immediate problems in the absence of competent politicians".³⁹⁴

Just as Renshaw write a military's regimes are not in power forever, they claim to avoid disaster and protect the country's stability by taking the

Periphery is Central." *Democratization*. 21, no. 5: 780–802. 2014.

390 Jones, Lee. "Explaining Myanmar's Regime Transition: The Periphery is Central."

391 Jones, Lee. "Explaining Myanmar's Regime Transition: The Periphery is Central."

392 Jones, Lee. "Explaining Myanmar's Regime Transition: The Periphery is Central."

393 Croissant, Aurel, and Jil Kamerling. "Why Do Military Regimes Institutionalize? Constitution-making and Elections as Political Survival Strategy in Myanmar." *Asian Journal of Political Science*. 21, no. 2: 105–125. 2013.

394 Pinkney, Robert. *Democracy in the Third World*.

office and release it after the crisis once the danger is gone.³⁹⁵ In that perspective, a transition needs two things to be successful.³⁹⁶ The first one is meeting the military's imperative for preserving the unity, the stability and the national security of the country.³⁹⁷ The second one is the necessity for the reform to be perceived as real and true by the opposition and the population more largely, here reside the problem of trust between the two parts.³⁹⁸ Thus the democratization process is an interaction between three groups the reformer within the government, those who resist to the reforms and the oppositions.³⁹⁹

Renshaw also pointed certain factors that help military to make the decision to start the walk to democratization. The first factor is the military having the co-operation of the opposition on the

395 Renshaw, Catherine Shanahan. "Democratic Transformation and Regional Institutions: The Case of Myanmar and ASEAN." *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs*. 32, no. 1: 29–54. 2013.

396 Renshaw, Catherine Shanahan. "Democratic Transformation and Regional Institutions: The Case of Myanmar and ASEAN."

397 Renshaw, Catherine Shanahan. "Democratic Transformation and Regional Institutions: The Case of Myanmar and ASEAN."

398 Renshaw, Catherine Shanahan. "Democratic Transformation and Regional Institutions: The Case of Myanmar and ASEAN."

399 Renshaw, Catherine Shanahan. "Democratic Transformation and Regional Institutions: The Case of Myanmar and ASEAN."

timing and mode of the transition.⁴⁰⁰ Second, they need a guaranty that no prosecution of military personnel for acts committed while the military's regime was in power will be done during and after the democratization process.⁴⁰¹ Third, if they have a guaranty that the military will conserve their autonomy and role after the process they would be more likely to make the decision to engage the transition.⁴⁰² The last two Renshaw's factor is also developed by Pinkney, he wrote about the military rulers that they are the one the best able to and the most willing to retreat when they have sufficient guaranties that they will not be prosecuted for action taken under their regime and they need institutional safeguards for resources and autonomy of the army.⁴⁰³ But the military is also the one who are the most able to return to the power because the army as an institution is more likely to remain intact after the authoritarian regime left the power.⁴⁰⁴ To summary the military regime as a type of authoritarian government have this set of prospects for the transfer of power, "few institutional barriers to

400 Renshaw, Catherine Shanahan. "Democratic Transformation and Regional Institutions: The Case of Myanmar and ASEAN."

401 Renshaw, Catherine Shanahan. "Democratic Transformation and Regional Institutions: The Case of Myanmar and ASEAN."

402 Renshaw, Catherine Shanahan. "Democratic Transformation and Regional Institutions: The Case of Myanmar and ASEAN."

403 Pinkney, Robert. *Democracy in the Third World*.

404 Pinkney, Robert. *Democracy in the Third World*.

democratization, see themselves as only temporary, conflicts between political and professional functions may encourage a return to barracks, have narrower power base of people and groups dependent on authoritarianism”, meaning that they do not owe anything and no one wants them to stay.⁴⁰⁵ The problem of military regime is that they remain intact after the transition and can intervene again, also nothing guarantees a democratic successor.⁴⁰⁶

Some other authors are less optimistic about the democratic perspective in Myanmar this is the case for Croissant and Kamerling. Their paper shows how the military regime still has great power over the politics in the country and how they have institutionalized their regime. Indeed, Croissant and Kamerling argue that the democratic transition is in reality a survival strategy by the regime and that strategy consist to institutionalize the power of the military.⁴⁰⁷ This is what the constitution of 2008 does by giving and reserving an intervention power to the army. Moreover, they write that the 2008 constitution might have done to satisfy foreign countries and that perspective they will release their

405 Pinkney, Robert. *Democracy in the Third World*.

406 Pinkney, Robert. *Democracy in the Third World*.

407 Croissant, Aurel, and Jil Kamerling. “Why Do Military Regimes Institutionalize? Constitution-making and Elections as Political Survival Strategy in Myanmar.”

sanction against Myanmar.⁴⁰⁸

The authors use a theory developed by Barbara Geddes, she divided the military regime in two categories an unprofessionalized military which is incoherent, disunites and rely on a dictator, and a professionalized military which have a coalition of rulers with complete control and with an autonomous command structure from the leader.⁴⁰⁹ Those two categories have different survival strategy, the first one, an unprofessionalized military, the dictator will try to counterbalance the power of the army by creating coercive mechanism such as paramilitary or presidential guards, and by the persuasive mechanism which focus on civilian support like creation of a mass party to limit the chance of a coup.⁴¹⁰ The coercive mechanism requires a lot of institutional and financial resources, in the other hand by using the persuasive mechanism the leader will have to give some sort of compensation to who support him and that can lead to a loss of

408 Croissant, Aurel, and Jil Kamerling. "Why Do Military Regimes Institutionalize? Constitution-making and Elections as Political Survival Strategy in Myanmar."

409 Croissant, Aurel, and Jil Kamerling. "Why Do Military Regimes Institutionalize? Constitution-making and Elections as Political Survival Strategy in Myanmar."

410 Croissant, Aurel, and Jil Kamerling. "Why Do Military Regimes Institutionalize? Constitution-making and Elections as Political Survival Strategy in Myanmar."

power.⁴¹¹ The second category, a professionalize army will encourage the institutionalization of the power-sharing between the military elite to increase regime stability as a survival strategy.⁴¹² According to Croissant and Kamerling Myanmar military regime is professionalize and they have adopted the institutionalization as a survival strategy.⁴¹³

Even so, most of the authors and experts say that Myanmar is on its way to a democratic transition. The game theory said that democratization is possible when the moderate of both side work together to find a compromise.⁴¹⁴ According to Renshaw, that is the case in Myanmar since 2012 when the NLD party participate in the election and accept to work with the government and endorse the government's path to gradual reform.⁴¹⁵ Coupled with the new government action

411 Croissant, Aurel, and Jil Kamerling. "Why Do Military Regimes Institutionalize? Constitution-making and Elections as Political Survival Strategy in Myanmar."

412 Croissant, Aurel, and Jil Kamerling. "Why Do Military Regimes Institutionalize? Constitution-making and Elections as Political Survival Strategy in Myanmar."

413 Croissant, Aurel, and Jil Kamerling. "Why Do Military Regimes Institutionalize? Constitution-making and Elections as Political Survival Strategy in Myanmar."

414 Huang, Roger Lee. "Re-thinking Myanmar's Political Regime: Military Rule in Myanmar and Implications for Current Reforms." *Contemporary Politics*. 19, no. 3: 247–261. 2013.

415 Renshaw, Catherine Shanahan. "Democratic Transformation and Regional Institutions: The Case of Myanmar and ASEAN."

in 2010 who releases most of the political prisoners and legalize political protest as well as the incorporation of some civilian groups and even former opponents into advisory government bodies.⁴¹⁶ Cheesman, Skidmore and Trevor write about that progress in their book since the new constitution in 2008. They also point out some major issues still remain and that could slow the democratic transition, like the weak concept of citizenship, the weakness of the institutions and more important the absence of the rule of law sentences are still unfair and tainted by the executive discretion.⁴¹⁷ Another point of discussion is the army's reserved power and their background role still important and protected.⁴¹⁸ This issue is also mentioned by Renshaw "The military retain the capacity to reacquire power by nondemocratic means and having done so once, stand capable of doing so again".⁴¹⁹ But the election of 2015 can be a game changer in that sense the NLD have won a majority of the seats that means they will have to

416 Jones, Lee. "Explaining Myanmar's Regime Transition: The Periphery is Central."

417 Cheesman, Nick, Monique Skidmore, and Trevor. *Myanmar's Transition: Openings, Obstacles and Opportunities*. Editions Wilson: Singapore. 2012.

418 Cheesman, Nick, Monique Skidmore, and Trevor. *Myanmar's Transition: Openings, Obstacles and Opportunities*.

419 Renshaw, Catherine Shanahan. "Democratic Transformation and Regional Institutions: The Case of Myanmar and ASEAN."

choose the new president.⁴²⁰

Thesis Statement

Myanmar is at its turning point, in the next few years we will see if the democratization process is real or if the army takes over again. The election of 2015 is the key event for bigger change the success of the next step relies on trust between both side and consensus. For now, the country still has to change some major part of its system to be truly democratic, the role of the military is still dominant in the parliament and more generally in the political sphere, no legal means can pass without their approval that supports the idea that the military role in the legislature is institutionalized. The power of the military does not permit more structural change without their approval, and they do not seem ready to let it go, so the best option for the opposition and the ones who want the change is to work on the other keys of a democratic regime.

Case Study Outline

The constitution gives the framework on how the country is ruled after 2008, we first need to see

420 Fisher, Jonah. 2015. "Myanmar's 2015 landmark elections explained". BBC, December 3. Accessed September 21, 2016. <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-33547036>

what are the rules of the political game. More precisely, what is the role of the military plan in the constitution because as Myanmar start is a democratic transition from a military regime we need to look at what they still have as power. Second, the election of 2015 is a major change on the dynamic inside the government and give us some indication on where is the country on its democratic transition and on what can be the next steps.

The Constitutional Problem

We first need to clarify the role of the military and the disposition they have into the constitution of 2008. The process that conducts to this new constitution start in 2003 and initiate by the military regime under the road map to democratization.⁴²¹ But the government was civilianized, former military general Thein Sein, only in 2010 after the first election under the new constitution.⁴²² Before this the participation was limited and the opposition and the regime does not communicate very much, that means the military regime created the constitution almost alone with what they wanted to do. Thus, this constitution was built by the military regime and

421 Jones, Lee. "Explaining Myanmar's Regime Transition: The Periphery is Central."

422 Cheesman, Nick, Monique Skidmore, and Trevor. *Myanmar's Transition: Openings, Obstacles and Opportunities.*

voted by the military regime. Although, the progress toward democratization in the first few years of the new constitution, the process and the structure reserved a huge role to the military.

The military still have a special representation and active role inside the parliament, they have reserved seats in both chambers. The constitution said in the section on the legislature article 109 that the Pyithu Hluttaw, one the legislative chamber, shall be formed of 440 representatives and 110 of them are from the Defense Services personnel nominated by the Commander-in-Chief of the Defense Services.⁴²³ On the other chamber the constitution said in the article 141 in the same section that the Amyotha Hluttaw shall be formed with 224 representatives 56 of them are from the Defense Services personnel nominated by the Commander-in-Chief of the Defense Services.⁴²⁴ That represent 25% of the seat in both chambers are active military in uniform, not former military but current military. That 25% voted as a block, meaning they followed what the military organization want them to vote for they do not use they freewill to vote, their vote is the vote of the military official and they are there to execute the military wishes on legislative matter. Those reserved seats give them the ability to protect

423 Constitution of the Republic of the Union of Myanmar. 2008.

424 Constitution of the Republic of the Union of Myanmar. 2008.

their interest inside the legislature before the actual treat against their interest happens.

On the sharing of power that belongs to the military, the constitution mention specific power for the National Defense, which is the army, and the Security Council, which act like the head of the army and his administration, also they are the president adviser for defense and security. They are responsible for the security, defense and border administration and also reclaim a right to participate in the national political leader role of the state. The article 6f of the constitution said “enabling the Defense Services to be able to participate in the national political leadership role of the State” and the article 17b said “Defense Services personnel, nominated by the Commander-in-Chief of the Defense Services to undertake responsibilities of the defense, security, border administration, so forth, shall be included”.⁴²⁵ That means the military has a direct access to the president because they are allowed to participate in the leadership of the state. Moreover they are responsible for the defense and security of the country, meaning they take those decisions not the elected president. That give them the capacity to protect themselves and their power against any treat from the opposition inside or outside of the country by declaring that it is a matter

425 Constitution of the Republic of the Union of Myanmar. 2008.

of national security and belongs to our responsibility. The article 20 of the 2008 constitution summary the power of the National Defense as follows:

20. (a) The Defense Services is the sole patriotic defense force which is strong, competent and modern.

(b) The Defense Services has the right to independently administer and adjudicate all affairs of the armed forces.

(c) The Commander-in-Chief of the Defense Services is the Supreme Commander of all armed forces.

(d) The Defense Services has the right to administer for participation of the entire people in Union's security and defense.

(e) The Defense Services is mainly responsible for safeguarding the non-disintegration of the Union, the non-disintegration of national solidarity and the perpetuation of sovereignty.

(f) The Defense Services is mainly responsible for safeguarding the Constitution.⁴²⁶

426 Constitution of the Republic of the Union of Myanmar. 2008.

As we can read the military is not a dependent institution of the government as it should be in a fully develop democracy.

Furthermore, in more exceptional case the constitution reserved certain emergency power to the army. The constitution mention more than once the power of the military to acting as the legislator, the executor and the judiciary when something goes wrong with government national or subnational. Basically, the military are allowed to take the power and put an end to the democratic experience at any time if they perceived a treat against the country or if the civilian government do not work properly, meaning for the military destabilize. The article 40b and 40c explicate on that:

If there arises or there is sufficient reason to arise a state of emergency endangering life and property of the people in a Region, State or Self-Administered Area, the Defense Services has the right, in accord with the provisions of this Constitution, to prevent that danger and provide protection” Myanmar Constitution, 2008)

“If there arises a state of emergency that could cause disintegration of

the Union, disintegration of national solidarity and loss of sovereign power or attempts therefore by wrongful forcible means such as insurgency or violence, the Commander-in-Chief of the Defense Services has the right to take over and exercise State sovereign power in accord with the provisions of this Constitution.⁴²⁷

In the section of state of emergency, the constitution said on the articles 419 and 420:

The Commander-in-Chief of the Defense Services to whom the sovereign power has been transferred shall have the right to exercise the powers of the legislature, executive and judiciary. The Commander-in-Chief of the Defense Services may exercise the legislative power either by himself or by a body including him. The executive power and the judicial power may be transferred to and exercised by an appropriate body that has been formed or a suitable

427 Constitution of the Republic of the Union of Myanmar. 2008.

person.⁴²⁸

The Commander-in-Chief of the Defense Services may, during the duration of the declaration of a state of emergency, restrict or suspend as required, one or more fundamental rights of the citizens in the required area.⁴²⁹

That is a possible treat against democracy included inside the constitution that should promote democracy and protect against such treat but as it was said the constitution has been built by the military.

As Pinkney wrote the military in a democracy should be weak and under the control of the government not in front or independent of it making the treat of a military coup improbable.⁴³⁰ But this is not the case they have the constitutional right to do a coup under certain circumstance and in Myanmar the military are a strong institution and have power far more expend than they should have in a democracy, the process that has led to this

428 Constitution of the Republic of the Union of Myanmar. 2008.

429 Constitution of the Republic of the Union of Myanmar. 2008.

430 Pinkney, Robert. *Democracy in the Third World*.

constitution has something to do with the result. The military used the constitution to institutionalize their power inside a legal frame this frame is more democratic than before but at the same time this constitution lock and legalize their power in a way that it should not be. If there was nothing everything could be possible but as they now have a constitution, it is now more difficult to pass over the military once their rules for the political game have been accepted.

The military has one more indirect constitutional prerogative that protect their power to be changed without their consent. Indeed, their constitutional power is protected because the constitution requires more than 75% of both chamber agreement to a constitutional modification to be approved. In the article 436b the constitution said that “provisions other than those mentioned in Sub-Section (a) shall be amended only by a vote of more than seventy-five percent of all the representatives of the” and the provision in (a) also required more than 75% but with a referendum if both chambers in the Pyidaungsu Hluttaw accept the bill.⁴³¹ So, with their 25% seat in both chambers it is impossible to have more than 75% of voter approval without the military representatives, meaning that any constitutional modification needs the approval of the

431 Constitution of the Republic of the Union of Myanmar. 2008.

military.

After the Election of 2015

The election of 2015 shows two things, one the military is willing to follow the rules of the political game they have set in the constitution of 2008, second, they are not willing to make any exception or change on that constitution. The selection of the president following that election shows those two points. The president is not elected directly by the people, they proceed by a kind of electorate college, the process is described in the constitution in the section about the head of the state under the article 60. First, the legislature is divided in three groups, the elected in the low chamber, the elected in the upper chamber and the military seating in both chamber.⁴³² Each of these three groups choose one candidate among those who have a seat in one of the chambers in the legislature.⁴³³ After, the electorate college composed by all members of the legislature have to vote for one of the three candidates, the two remaining one act as vice president.⁴³⁴

Normally the Ann Sun Suu Kyi's party should have preferred her to be elected president because

432 Constitution of the Republic of the Union of Myanmar. 2008.

433 Constitution of the Republic of the Union of Myanmar. 2008.

434 Constitution of the Republic of the Union of Myanmar. 2008.

they have won the majority of the seat in both chambers during the election, but because of the article 59f, she is not eligible. The article 59f is a condition to be eligible to take the presidential office: “shall he himself, one of the parents, the spouse, one of the legitimate children or their spouses not owe allegiance to a foreign power, not be subject of a foreign power or citizen of a foreign country. They shall not be persons entitled to enjoy the rights and privileges of a subject of a foreign government or citizen of a foreign country.”⁴³⁵ As the BBC reported Ann Sun Suu Kyi have two children with the British passport and her husband is a British citizen.⁴³⁶ She tried to suspend the constitutional clause that block her from being a candidate for the presidency by negotiating with the military.⁴³⁷ In the end, the negotiation failed and Ann Sun Suu Kyi and her party had to choose a candidate for the presidency, it was Htin Kyaw who is close to Ann Sun Suu Kyi and he was elected the first truly civilian president on March 15, 2016.⁴³⁸

435 Constitution of the Republic of the Union of Myanmar. 2008.

436 Staff and Agencies. “Aung San Suu Kyi could become Myanmar president after ‘positive’ talks—reports”. *The Guardian*, February 7, 2016. Accessed November 21, 2016. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/feb/08/aung-san-suu-kyi-myanmar-president-positive-talks>

437 Staff and Agencies. “Aung San Suu Kyi could become Myanmar president after ‘positive’ talks—reports”.

438 Holmes, Oliver. 2016. “Myanmar parliament elects Htin Kyaw as first civilian president in 53 years”. *The Guardian*, March

The military accepted to resign the presidency to another person who was not their choice and thus following the rules they have built into the constitution few years earlier. By accepting the process and the outcome that led to the election of many representatives of the opposition party and the presidential election of that same party's candidate, the military shows that they are respecting the new rules of the political game. The democratic transition and all the democratic changes that were made, few years earlier, are true and not just an image but the military also show by the failure of the negotiation with Ann Sun Suu Kyi about the article 59f of the constitution that they are not ready to resign more of their power. In practice, Ann Sun Suu Kyi be the effective president but will act by Htin Kyaw who has the official title.⁴³⁹ The military might know that, but they did not want make a constitutional arrangement without anything in return and on her side Ann Sun Suu Kyi might have judged the price asked by the military to pay for it was too high. In all cases that event shows that the democratization process is stuck on the matter of military power over the government. The civilian government should

15. Accessed November 21, 2016.

<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/mar/15/myanmar-parliament-elects-htin-kyaw-as-first-civilian-president-in-53-years>

439 Holmes, Oliver. 2016. "Myanmar parliament elects Htin Kyaw as first civilian president in 53 years".

find other ways to democratize that would be accepted by the military or do not require their approval and either treat their power, if they want to continue the unachieved democratic transition. That means they should focus their effort on other issues in which the military are less interested in or in which they can have their support in order to democratize more and maybe one day be able to change the role of the military.

On that we can use some of the most relevant Pinkney's condition for the survival of democracy for Myanmar next step to democracy. First of those conditions that the new civilian government should focus on the individual freedom and the rule of law because democracy is helped by freedom of association and expression and independent judiciary.⁴⁴⁰ The freedom of expression will take its place with the time because the censure already has been released by the military at least substantially lifted before the new civilian government but the censure seem to have taken root in the media mind and the people, they still act like they are censured.⁴⁴¹ The civilian government need to disperse the fear and install a climate of trust between the authority and the media and with the people in general.

440 Pinkney, Robert. *Democracy in the Third World*.

441 Cheesman, Nick, Monique Skidmore, and Trevor.

Myanmar's Transition: Openings, Obstacles and Opportunities.

Secondly, the lack of rule of law does not help to install a trust climate but this judiciary issue is harder to change because it is relayed in part on the military. Cheesman, Skidmore and Trevor identified some keys issue about the judiciary system, problem of composition and budget of the Supreme Court, lack of authority of the courts, the external pressure and judicial corruption.⁴⁴² The budget a major point to resolve because the judges need to have a predictable, fair and equal wages for all judges not matter their decision, that will make them less susceptible to influence by external actors in their judgment. As the President appointed the judges at the Supreme Court and the new president is a civilian and a civilian party dominate both chambers of the legislature, the problem of the constitution should be resolved for the time that the civilian government.

The second one is the extent of electoral choice and the public participation, as Cheesman, Skidmore and Trevor pointed out in their book, Myanmar lack of a fully develop conception of citizenship, meaning that being an active citizen is not a thing integrate into the society.⁴⁴³ By

442 Cheesman, Nick, Monique Skidmore, and Trevor.
Myanmar's Transition: Openings, Obstacles and Opportunities.

443 Cheesman, Nick, Monique Skidmore, and Trevor.
Myanmar's Transition: Openings, Obstacles and Opportunities.

developing the concept of citizen people will become more active and more aware of their capacity that will stimulate their participation and help to form the civil society which is an important part of the democratic society. The civil society will keep the elected representatives aware of the population need and thus farther from corporatist interest, reducing the danger of creating an iron triangle which will isolate the people from the governing power by forming a close discussion between special interest, promoter of those special interests and the government. They also need to work on the party system to have more major parties and not too many small parties because for now excluding the military they have the NDL, Ann Sun Suu Kyi's party and one other that might be relatively important.⁴⁴⁴ Having more party but still a relatively restrict number of party help to the aggregation of interest to be better articulate and express in the legislature.⁴⁴⁵

Conclusion

The democratic transition in Myanmar faces big challenges after the great advance they have made few years earlier. The military who initiate

444 Fisher, Jonah. 2015. "Myanmar's 2015 landmark elections explained"

445 Pinkney, Robert. *Democracy in the Third World*.

what they call the road map for a disciple democracy does not intend to progress farther into a liberal democracy, maybe the Myanmar model of democracy is condemned to be similar to the one in Iran with the military instead of the religious. The constitution institutionalizes the role of the military into a democratic system with major power reserved for them. They have 25% of the seat in both chambers, any modification of the constitution required their approval because of that and because of the more than 75% requirement to constitutional modification. Moreover, the military has the constitutional right to end the democratic experience as soon as they perceived a treat against the stability or the security of the nation with the state of emergency in which the military take all the power back.

The literature mention that the militaries' regime is normally temporal that can give some hope in the Myanmar case that one day the military may resign their power. But for now, they do not seem to let it go although the election of the first government not dominated by the military in 2015. Except the huge power of the military, the country has other major democratic issues to resolve, and this is on what the new civilian government should focus his effort to progress farther on the democratization. One thing is sure the civilian

government will need to maintain good relation with the military in order to continue their democratization program because of their power and role still too important to be an achieved democracy.

“Infiltrators” of the Zionist Dream: Eritrean Refugees In Israel

Devin Ruddick

The influx of African refugees into Israel, particularly in the last decade, has created a peculiar dilemma for the Israeli state and the Zionist dream. The threat of surrounding hostile nations and the growing number of non-Jewish inhabitants has given rise to a conservative stance on immigration leading to a labeling of all non-jewish who come into the country illegally as “infiltrators”.⁴⁴⁶ This situation has created one of the most complex contemporary narratives in regards to migrant populations and their host country. The narrative features well founded arguments based in humanitarianism, national security, law (both domestic and international), and nationalism. Tension between the two populations (migrant and natural), as well as the liberal humanitarians of Israel and the conservative nationalists, have resulted in a global forum of research and opinion. The pages to follow will explore the relationship between Israel and its population of Eritrean refugees, who over the last ten years have been the largest group of African refugees in Israel.⁴⁴⁷

This research is broken up into four parts of examination and context. Part one will offer some background and detail as to why Eritreans are seeking refuge. By defining who is considered a refugee by the *UNHCR 1951 Convention*

446 Rueven Ziegler, No Asylum for ‘Infiltrators’ : The Legal Predicament of Eritrean and Sudanese Nationals in Israel. *Journal of Immigration, Asylum and National Law* (2015), 172.

447 Tanja Muller, Universal Rights Versus Exclusionary Politics: Aspirations and Despair Among Eritrean Refugees in Tel Aviv. *Africa Spectrum*. 50, no. 3 (2015), 5.

Relating to the Status of Refugees, also known as the UNHCR 1951 Refugee Convention, a better understanding of why asylum seekers of Eritrea are widely granted refugee status will be established. Part two will focus on the Eritrean journey to Israel and the Israeli policy in regards to asylum seekers, also examining where the Eritrean population live and their absence of rights once inside Israeli borders. Part three delves into Israeli exclusionary practices towards Eritreans and the adverse impact on the population's mental health. Part four will focus on the rhetoric of Israeli government leaders and the relationship between Zionism, humanitarianism, and the ideology that scholar Barak Kalir calls "fearism".

In recent years this subject has been researched and written on with considerable vigor. By examining the most current and poignant case studies, essays, and articles a multifaceted understanding of the Eritrean refugee population in Israel will be better contextualized. This research is timely and important as refugee and internally displaced populations across the world have risen to unparalleled heights (over sixty million globally in 2016). Studying the relationships between host countries and the refugee population's who inhabit them, provide valuable information as to what refugee populations may experience. In particular, this research aims to show the interrelated connection refugees often have to fear and xenophobia which is driven in large part by the governments of their host nation. Israel has pledged support to refugees through international law, yet Israeli policy and sentiment towards the Eritrean asylum seekers has left the Eritrean population in Israel without support and at risk. Although Israel agreed to its terms, Israeli policy is not in accord with the 1951 UNHCR Refugee Convention or its Protocol. Moreover government policy and rhetoric in Israel is exhibiting xenophobic and racist tendencies exposing irony of a shared history of displacement, and leading to a lack of humanitarian

aid for the African refugee population within its borders. The Zionist dream is protecting the Jewish state at the detriment of refugees in need, while fear has led Israel to be in a state of exception that ignores liberties and rights in the name of protecting the Jewish majority.

Eritrean Asylum Seeker

Eritrea is an African nation that shares borders with Sudan and Ethiopia and a coast along the Red Sea. After a war that spanned thirty years and claimed thousands of lives, Eritrea obtained its sovereignty and broke away from Ethiopian control in 1993, bringing to power Isaias Afewerki. Afewerki and his party (The Ruling People's Front for Democracy and Justice) promised elections in 1997, but they never materialized while the constitution has yet to be implemented. Afewerki is currently regarded by many humanitarians and nations as one of the world's most unforgiving dictators. Amnesty International's Eritrea Researcher, Claire Beston, reported to BBC in 2013, "Twenty years on from the euphoric celebrations of independence, Eritrea is one of the most repressive, secretive and inaccessible countries in the world." 448 Reporters Without Borders ranked Eritrea in the bottom four countries for freedom of press in the last eight years.

The United Nations has accused the Eritrean government of crimes against humanity, citing violent political and religious persecution, forced labor, and torture leading to mass migrations of Eritreans seeking refuge around the world. Forced long-term conscription into the military under brutal leadership and barely livable wages is commonplace. Famine looms for much of the population. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees or UNHCR defines a refugee as

448 N/A, In Eritrea, 'persecution greater than ever and getting worse'. *WorldWatch Monitor* (2013).

“someone who has been forced to flee his or her country because of persecution, war, or violence. A refugee has well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, political opinion or membership in a particular social group.” In accord with this definition, the ongoing situation in Eritrea has led many who are seeking refugee status globally to have just cause.

Eritrean Refugees and Israeli Immigration Policy

Taking route through Sudan and Egypt the refugees of Eritrea do not necessarily seek out refuge in Israel, but as Tanja R. Muller explains, “it became an attractive place for refuge precisely because of its history as a state founded by refugees, combined with the fact that it is perceived as the only democratic country in the region.”⁴⁴⁹ As of 2015, 2,408 Eritreans applied for asylum in Israel and of the 1,001 cases that have rendered decisions only four have been granted successful refugee status (equaling 0.16%). This low percentage of asylum success for Eritreans in Israel is troubling when put into comparison with the 84% global average.⁴⁵⁰ To further exacerbate the Eritrean refugee population in Israel, a study released in 2015 which included 895 Eritrean Refugees in Israel showed 56.0% of men and 34.9 % of women were witnesses or victims of violence during their migration.⁴⁵¹

449 Tanja Muller, Universal Rights Versus Exclusionary Politics: Aspirations and Despair Among Eritrean Refugees in Tel Aviv, *Africa Spectrum*, 50, no. 3 (2015), 5.

450 Reuven Zeigler, No Asylum for ‘Infiltrators’ : The Legal Predicament of Eritrean and Sudanese Nationals in Israel, *Journal of Immigration, Asylum and National Law* (2015), 181.

451 Nakash, Exposure to Traumatic Experiences Among Asylum Seekers from Eritrea and Sudan During Migration to Israel, *Journal of Immigrant and Minority Health*, 17, no. 4 (2015), 1280.

As established in part one, many of the people leaving Eritrea seeking refuge have been victims of injustice and persecution (largely religious) in their home country. Once they decide to flee they risk facing an often grueling migration with exposure to violence. These facts coupled with a long history of Jewish persecution and displacement has led many scholars and humanitarians to question why Eritrean refugees would not be treated with more care by the Israeli state. Scholars such as Reuven Ziegler point out that, "Israel was the 10th state to ratify the 1951 Refugee Convention, and has acceded to its 1967 Protocol." Meaning Israel has recognized the global responsibility of nations (including their own) to the refugees of the world. 452

Despite recognition of the 1951 refugee convention and its 1967 protocol, along with the fact that the Israeli state itself was formed by the Jewish refugee population that was left in the wake of WWII, Israel has had a complex relationship with its non-Jewish inhabitants since its establishment in 1948. Israel is the lone Jewish state surrounded by Muslim countries which has made for consistently tense relationships with the Arab and Persian world. These tensions along with largely anti-Israeli/pro-Palestinian sentiment have often lead to a valid fear of foreign influence by Israel's prominent diplomats. These fears may be one reason that Israel has not adopted the UNHCR 1951 refugee conventions' policy into domestic law?

Israel has gone further than simply ignoring legal establishment of the 1951 refugee conventions' policy domestically. Instead establishing a decidedly conservative and xenophobic immigration policy (even towards asylum seekers). Scholar Avi Perry explains that Israel "has favored its security

452 Reuven Zeigler, No Asylum for 'Infiltrators' : The Legal Predicament of Eritrean and Sudanese Nationals in Israel. *Journal of Immigration, Asylum and National Law* (2015), 172.

and demographic objectives” when met with the challenge “maintaining a secure, Jewish-majority state - with its obligations under relevant instruments of international refugee law, foremost among them being the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees.”⁴⁵³

Though Israel has established unwelcoming policy, Eritreans and other Africans have continued to flow to the Israel/Egypt border, leading Israel to close its Egyptian border in 2012. To further enhance its security from “Infiltrators”, in 2013 Israel completed “a sophisticated fence along the Egyptian border with state-of-the-art surveillance equipment,”⁴⁵⁴ which has considerably slowed the flow of African refugees. Of the Eritreans who have made it into Israel the vast majority reside in detention centers located close to the Egyptian border. Saharonim is a “closed” facility meaning detainees are not allowed the freedom of leaving, while the Holot facility is “open”, but requires AM/PM head-counts and is located in the middle of a desert surrounded by Israeli military training sites. The rest of the Eritrean population largely resides in ghettos in South Tel Aviv.

Upon arrival most Eritrean refugees surrender themselves to Israeli border patrols, they are then taken to detention centers, and interviewed and processed by Israeli Prison Service.⁴⁵⁵ Tanja Muller notes refugees can be held in detention centers for months at a time (usually depending on capacity issues) and long sentence? when released are often bussed to “Tel Aviv and released into Israel without further

453 Avi Perry, Solving Israel's African Refugee Crisis. *Virginia Journal of International Law*. 51, no. 1 (2010), 158.

454 Tanja Muller, Universal Rights Versus Exclusionary Politics: Aspirations and Despair Among Eritrean Refugees in Tel Aviv. *Africa Spectrum*. 50, no. 3 (2015), 7.

455 *ibid*, 8.

support or guidance and without any of the entitlements the Israeli welfare state offers to its citizens.”⁴⁵⁶ With no legal protection or recognition of refugee status, Eritrean asylum seekers are left in a state of limbo which lacks availability to (legal) employment and places the population at risk of long term detention.

Israeli immigration policy is largely shaped by security concerns and preserving the Zionist dream. Israel has adopted policy that refuses asylum to any national of “an ‘enemy state’, from ‘an area controlled by an enemy’, or from a ‘risk area’.”⁴⁵⁷ This policy has given the Israeli state a wide birth of interpretive control, while being used for refusal to many asylum seekers that should be recognized and documented refugees. As mentioned previously, Israeli policy makers have gone even further by labeling all people who have illegally entered the country as “infiltrators”, regardless of whether the individuals are seeking asylum. This label of “Infiltrator” was initially reserved for foreign peoples who may have “enemy” or “terrorist” ties. It has since been expanded to all non-Jews entering the country without government permission. “Infiltrators” are viewed negatively due to its original definition (by the state) and the words inherent connotation. Meaning regardless of background many non-Jewish settlers are often seen as unwelcome threats to Israeli security and the Zionist dream. Tanja J Muller cites that an amendment to the Prevention of Infiltration Law was passed In December 2013 allowing “the Israeli government to jail asylum seekers for one

456 Tanja Muller, Universal Rights Versus Exclusionary Politics: Aspirations and Despair Among Eritrean Refugees in Tel Aviv. *Africa Spectrum*. 50, no. 3 (2015), 9.

457 Reuven Ziegler, No Asylum for ‘Infiltrators’: The Legal Predicament of Eritrean and Sudanese Nationals in Israel. *Journal of Immigration, Asylum and National Law* (2015), 174.

year followed by indefinite detaining".⁴⁵⁸ The Government has also offered "voluntary departure" programs. These programs offer money and paid travel to a third country such as Uganda or Rwanda.⁴⁵⁹ Avi Perry sums up Israeli policy writing, "Israel has cultivated an asylum system that essentially mimics its immigration laws in preferring Jews and in categorically discriminating against non-Jewish refugees, particularly those from enemy states."

Exclusion for Eritrean's

Exclusionary practices are another way in which the Israeli system has decided to deal with the Eritrean population. Once released from detention centers most of the Eritrean population live in southern Tel Aviv without an ability for state recognized employment. Temporary visas labeled Conditional Release Visa's are issued, which give Israel the right to deport the refugees once conditions are deemed to have change sufficiently in Eritrea. These Visa's are printed with the sentence, "This is not a working permit", and need to be renewed monthly through bureaucratic registry that often takes a painstaking amount of time and effort. If caught without the visa asylum seeking migrants are subject to lengthy detainment. Compounding the exclusionary tactics, Israeli policy reserves the right to levy heavy fines for employers who use anyone who holds a Conditional Release Visa or has no documentation.

Forced migration which stems from often violent persecution in an individual's native country has shown to be traumatic and have links to mental health issues and depression for those involved. When coupled with

⁴⁵⁸ Tanja Muller, Universal Rights Versus Exclusionary Politics: Aspirations and Despair Among Eritrean Refugees in Tel Aviv. *Africa Spectrum*. 50, no. 3 (2015), 10

⁴⁵⁹ *ibid*, 11.

exclusionary practices that deny inclusion into society as well as potentially important social and mental services, depression rates among the excluded population rise.⁴⁶⁰ For those who engage in the acculturation process and become assimilated many are still shunned by the government and in large part by the Israeli population. This has led to devastating effects on the mental health of assimilated Eritreans. Research published in 2015 that included interviews with ninety one Eritreans living in Israel, showed a concerning correlation between the mental health and the acculturation process. The study showed that the highest depression levels amongst Eritrean asylum seekers were amongst the assimilated population. Leading the case study to suggest “that even when forced migrants want to settle in Israel and become a part of Israeli society they remain, for the most part, ‘invisible’ to the public, who perceive them as a cultural monolith and not as individuals with unique personalities and personal histories.”

Zionist Humanitarianism and Fearism

A battle between liberal Israeli humanitarians and their conservative counterparts consists of a complex dialogue. Many Israeli based NGOs and scholars have implored for a change in the harsh refugee stance in Israel, while criticizing Israeli treatment of non-Jewish refugees. In contrast the conservative view argues that Israel has done its part in refugee “burden sharing” by being a safe haven to all Jewish people of the world. The conservative logic has given rise to a feeling of exemption which has prevailed through many of Israel’s leading diplomats.⁴⁶¹ Scholar Ben Herzog notes competing

460 Nakash, The Association Between Acculturation Patterns and Mental Health Symptoms Among Eritrean and Sudanese Asylum Seekers in Israel. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*. 21, no. 3 (2015), 1.

461 Rotom Giladi, A ‘Historical Commitment’? Identity and Ideology in Israel's Attitude to the Refugee Convention 1951–4.

views on definitions refugees, “While the UN, other international organizations and various NGOs advocate the universal definition, local politicians invest this term with nationalistic meaning.” Israeli politicians can thus point out the large amount of humanitarian work that is being done with their support. It is not deferential or unbiased humanitarianism instead being a nationalistic or “zionist humanitarianism”.⁴⁶²

The rhetoric that has just as often been adopted with great success by leading Israeli politicians, is what scholar Barak Kalir defines as “A hegemonic ideology of ‘fearism’- which brands the Israeli national narrative and informs the notion of citizenship among Jewish Israelis-leads to the construction of asylum seekers as abject Others, who pose a threat to the Jewish state and to Jews own right for secured citizenship.”⁴⁶³ When examining some of the leading officials statements regarding African “Infiltrators”, Kalir’s concept of fearism is underlined. Interior Minister, MK Eli Yishai “warned”, “the infiltration threat is just as severe as the Iranian threat.” While also claiming “most people who come here are Muslim who think that this country doesn’t belong to us, the white man.”⁴⁶⁴ Reuven Ziegler notes that the second claim is factually wrong as most attempting entry to Israel are not Muslim (especially in the Eritrean case in which most are

International History Review. 37, no. 4 (2015), 745.

462 Ben Herzog, Between Nationalism and Humanitarianism: The Glocal Discourse on Refugees. *Nations & Nationalism*. 15, no. 2 (2009), 196-197.

463 Barak Kalir, The Jewish State of Anxiety: Between Moral Obligation and Fearism in the Treatment of African Asylum Seekers in Israel. *Journal of Ethnic & Migration Studies*. 41, no. 4 (2015), 580.

464 Reuven Ziegler, No Asylum for ‘Infiltrators’ : The Legal Predicament of Eritrean and Sudanese Nationals in Israel. *Journal of Immigration, Asylum and National Law* (2015), 188.

Christian), whereas the first claim seems to be inciting fear. The same style of rhetoric has been used by Israeli prime minister Benjamin Netanyahu who commented on May 20, 2012 “the problem that currently stands at 60,000 illegal infiltrators could grow to 600,000 illegal infiltrators, and that threatens our identity as a Jewish democratic state.” While the former Minister of the Interior to Netanyahu said “until I can deport them i’ll lock them up and make their lives miserable.⁴⁶⁵ Using this “fearism” ideology has been one of the most useful tools in combating competing views, as these politicians are able to paint the global understanding of humanitarianism as a threat to all Jews of Israel.

Zionist Policy is Exclusionary

Israel will forever be a state connected to refugees. The state’s existence and policy will continue to harbor debate on whether welcoming all Jews of the world is in keeping with the global “burden sharing” of refugee populations. Differing beliefs on the Israeli commitment to refugees of the world exist, but the current landscape for Africans in Israel is largely one of despair. In 2013, the Eritrean population in Israel stood at 35,987.⁴⁶⁶ For these Eritreans the lack of recognition of refugee status has led to inability of legal employment and unjust prolonged detention. Many Eritreans are in dire conditions without established legal statute to fight back. Xenophobia, discrimination, and exclusion are

465 *ibid*, 188.

466 Tanja Muller, Universal Rights Versus Exclusionary Politics: Aspirations and Despair Among Eritrean Refugees in Tel Aviv. *Africa Spectrum*. 50, no. 3 (2015), 7.

also a fact of life for asylum seekers in Israel. This systemic disadvantage of the Eritrean population is unlikely to change within the current landscape of “fearism” that has been driven by Israeli diplomats, who rely on the Zionist dream, to justify the gross misconduct of the African population in Israel. Zionist political rhetoric is often unashamed and unapologetic of its imbedded exclusion and racism making the Zionist dream one that is largely flawed. In time the Jewish state has now become the perpetrators of injustice, the likes of which Jewish people have long fought. Eritrean refugees within Israel are a population at risk facing undeserved persecution from the country they hoped would protect them.

The River Boat Soldier

Leeann Tedrow

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Language in Education: How Inequality in K-12 Education Impacts Higher Education

Susannah Littlewood

By observing education through a linguistic lens, one can detect intersections between language, politics, and education. From there it is possible to see patterns in higher education that stem from language inequality in lower levels of education, as in Kindergarten through high school education. Issues specific to linguistic anthropology like stigmatized language, social dialects, and language inferiority combine with general social justice issues like gender inequity, racism, sexism, and educational inequity to create a disconnect between lower and higher education.

The book, *Is Everyone Really Equal?*, discusses issues of oppression and privilege.⁴⁶⁷ In this context it is impossible to see one without seeing the other. For example, an able-bodied, middle class white woman will have a very different experience in a classroom in comparison to a student of color who

467 Özlem Sensoy and Robin J. DiAngelo, *Is Everyone Really Equal?: An Introduction to Key Concepts in Social Justice Education* (New York: Teachers College Press, 2012), 38-57.

relies on student loans and scholarships to pay for their education. Digging deeper into the root of these issues and why people of privilege have more opportunities reveals oppression at the kindergarten through high school levels of education.

At any level of education, there are systems in place of domination and resistance.⁴⁶⁸ The school to prison pipeline, which begins at elementary school age and younger, is one of the most heartbreaking examples of the systemic oppression of students. In the United States, African American students make up sixteen percent of school students below college level, but make up twenty-seven percent of students referred to police.⁴⁶⁹ An interview with “This American Life” details a Texas mother’s experience with discrimination against her preschooler in school. He was suspended for a multitude of exaggerated reasons including “throwing a chair” when really he pushed it, and “spitting” on another student when he reported it was not intentional. Students who are suspended are three times more likely to come into contact with the justice system and thus prison.⁴⁷⁰ The language surrounding these

468 Thomas A. Dutton, “Cultural Politics and Education,” *Journal of Architectural Education* 44, no. 2 (2015).

469 Bill Quigley, “40 Reasons Why Our Jails Are Full of Black and Poor People,” *The Huffington Post* (2015).

470 This American Life, “Is This Working? Transcript.” October 17, 2014, <https://www.thisamericanlife.org/radio->

students is inordinately harsh and twisted to make the punishment seem deserved. “Throwing” as opposed to “pushing” a chair is much more dramatic and will supposedly warrant a suspension. According to “This American Life,” this language is used more in regards to and around students of color. The mother in the interview reported that she spoke to other mothers of children at the same preschool who were white and inquired if their children had ever been sent home. She found that their children had never been sent home, even for physical acts of violence like biting and hitting other children.⁴⁷¹ The white mothers were shocked that her son had been disciplined so rigorously. This interaction illustrates a disturbing pattern of unnecessarily harsh discipline towards students of color.

In the same vein, students of color are more likely to be suspended. In California, suspensions strongly affect the Latino and Hispanic students who make up fifty-four percent of public school students. Almost 200,000 teachers are white and only 55,000 are Hispanic or Latino.⁴⁷² Such a dramatic

archives/episode/538/transcript (Accessed December 8, 2016).

471 Ibid.

472 “California Proposition 227, the English in Public Schools Initiative (1998),” Ballotpedia.

[https://ballotpedia.org/California_Proposition_227,_the_%22English_in_Public_Schools%22_Initiative_\(1998\)](https://ballotpedia.org/California_Proposition_227,_the_%22English_in_Public_Schools%22_Initiative_(1998)) (Accessed on December 6, 2016).

disconnect between students of color and white teachers is bound to cause conflict. To demonstrate this claim, a study by Moule shows that people who report themselves to be unbiased towards race actually took more time to complete a task when paired with a person of color, totaling six minutes, while a person who reported their own biases completed the same task with a person of color in four minutes.⁴⁷³ Thus, despite acknowledgement of biases, people in positions of power like teachers have the innate ability to impress upon subordinate people (i.e. students of color) that they somehow present more of a challenge, or a problem to deal with. Schools are not immune to the influences of bias and discrimination, and neither are teachers.⁴⁷⁴ It appears to be a self-fulfilling prophecy: the students are reprimanded instead of taught and corrected. Thus they learn that they are inherently bad, leading to truancy, dropping out, and then are more likely to get into trouble with the justice system. These students are not corrected in a just manner. Through constant punishment they learn that it is normal for them to be treated more harshly than their white counterparts until they no longer see it as unfair and embrace their identity as a “bad

473 Jean Moule, "Understanding Unconscious Bias and Unintentional Racism," *Phi Delta Kappan* 90, no. 5 (2009), 320-6.

474 Thomas A. Dutton, "Cultural Politics and Education," *Journal of Architectural Education* 44, no. 2 (2015).

kid,” troublemaker, delinquent, or thug. These students have internalized their oppression. They are constantly told that they deserve to be punished because they are bad, begin to believe that they themselves are lesser and that everything is their fault, and that they need to please the dominant group in order to succeed.⁴⁷⁵ They are set up for failure, internalize the punishment, believe they deserve it, develop low standards, and are perpetually oppressed.

In addition, the student’s own language plays into this phenomenon. The principle of linguistic inferiority states that the speech of a socially subordinate group will be interpreted as linguistically inadequate by comparison with that of the socially dominant group; in an educational setting, this can be portrayed through non-native English speakers and English speakers.⁴⁷⁶ English is the dominant language in the United States and other languages like Spanish are typically stigmatized if English is not the speaker’s native language in this country. This is proven by policies

475 Özlem Sensoy and Robin J. DiAngelo, *Is Everyone Really Equal?: An Introduction to Key Concepts in Social Justice Education* (New York: Teachers College Press, 2012), 38-57.

476 Walt Wolfram, “Social Varieties of American English,” *Language in the USA: Themes for the Twenty-first Century*, edited by Edward Finegan and John R. Rickford (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 59.

like Proposition 227, the “English-Only Initiative,” banning public schools from teaching English learners in their native language to gradually shift them to fluency in English, essentially eliminating bilingual education.⁴⁷⁷ This is a blatant display of privilege at the expense of English learners.

One classic example of stigmatized dialects comes from the Oakland Ebonics Controversy of 1996.⁴⁷⁸ Oakland, California’s school board declared Ebonics, or African American English, the predominant language of their schools and moved to teach it as a language in the schools. There was uproar and extreme retaliation from the community and politicians, and the movement was ended and the school board retracted its statement. The Ebonics defeat was a classic example of a language prejudice. The surrounding community deemed that a traditionally “lower” or stigmatized language like African American English was not worthy of acknowledgment as its own language. This led to students and children being discriminated against

477 “California Proposition 227, the English in Public Schools Initiative (1998),” Ballotpedia. [https://ballotpedia.org/California_Proposition_227,_the_%22English_in_Public_Schools%22_Initiative_\(1998\)](https://ballotpedia.org/California_Proposition_227,_the_%22English_in_Public_Schools%22_Initiative_(1998)) (Accessed on December 6, 2016).

478 John Baugh, “Ebonics and Its Controversy,” In *Language in the USA: Themes for the Twenty-first Century*, edited by Edward Finegan and John R. Rickford, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

for speaking African American English and these students believing that they are inherently wrong simply for the way they speak. It is enforcing society's preference for unaccented languages associated with affluent white groups and degrading groups who do not fit that narrow stereotype.

Further evidence of stigmatization and inequality comes from "Precious Knowledge," a documentary following legislation passed in Arizona in 2009 that eliminated a high school ethnic studies program that focused on Mexican-American studies. Tom Horne was the main proponent of the legislature and claimed that the identity-based studies were breeding anti-American sentiment and segregating students based on race.⁴⁷⁹ The legislation passed regardless of student and faculty protests and requests for politicians to see what they really taught, which was Mexican-American history and identity, where the aim was improving the rates of retention and graduation among Latino and Hispanic students and not create anti-American sentiment. In one scene of the documentary, a Latina student is speaking in court in favor of the programs, and one of the unseen politicians thanks her for her words and says she is very eloquent and well

479 *Precious Knowledge*, directed by Ari Palos (2011; Dos

Vatos Productions), DVD.

spoken. She smiles and thanks him for the compliment. Her response raises the question: did she notice the underlying sentiment, that she was eloquent for a Latina girl, not simply eloquent? This comment on her speech was backhanded and racist, implying that she should not be so well spoken because of the color of her skin and the assumption that English is not her first language. Despite a ninety-three percent graduation rate among Latino and Hispanic students attending, the program was cut because dominant groups felt threatened by the subordinate group's acknowledgment of their history, separate identity, and power. One of the three students filmed went on to a university.

If patterns like this persist, with one in three students of color going on to a post-high school degree, it is easy to see why the numbers of students in higher learning institutions are predominantly white. At Sonoma State University, for instance, fifty percent of students are white, and the majority of the staff and faculty are white.⁴⁸⁰ Seeing as California has a massive Latino and Hispanic population, it seems that educators should be doing more to encourage, recruit, and retain students of color, and push them to pursue higher-level education.

480 Sonoma State University Academic Affairs, "Sonoma State Quick Facts - Reporting and Analytics: Sonoma State University," 2016. <http://www.sonoma.edu/aa/ra/quick-facts/index.html> (Accessed December 6, 2016).

Another devastating piece of the puzzle came from Jonathan Kozol's novel, *The Shame of the Nation: The Restoration of Apartheid Schooling in America*, which examines the state of public schools across the United States. These schools are underfunded, overcrowded, falling apart, and even dangerous. He details rooms with no windows, and one school that was so old a wall fell down during class and he was forced to catch it to save the students.⁴⁸¹ These schools have been entirely re-segregated in the twenty-first century through defunding and gentrification of neighborhoods; students are denied basic resources, textbooks are seen as luxury, and violence is prevalent. These conditions are not conducive to passing standardized tests, much less graduating and continuing their education.

This topic is crucial to the progression of American society. Children are the future. If our children cannot make it through high school, what can they accomplish? The traditional American ideals of being able to succeed on one's own merits are antiquated and dying. In *Shame of the Nation*, students at one school are taught to chant, "yes I can, I know I can."⁴⁸² These children are fed ideas of

481 Jonathan Kozol, *The Shame of the Nation: The Restoration of Apartheid Schooling in America* (New York: Crown Publishers, 2005), 3-5.

482 Ibid.

self-sufficiency — that the United States is a post-racial society that will accept them despite the color of their skin and the accent in their voice. Unfortunately, this is simply untrue.

Employers consistently choose employees with “white-sounding” names. Accented voices and non-native English speakers are discriminated against for having a different past and heritage. Texas has begun creating schoolbooks that eliminate mention of the Ku Klux Klan and severely downplay the tragic events of colonization, slavery, and the mass destruction that European settlers caused.⁴⁸³ These actions are how students learn that privilege just happens and oppression is a natural phenomenon. Students are not being taught the true history of the United States, and they have not been taught a real history in a very long time. Around Thanksgiving, schools have students dress up as “Pilgrims and Indians” to share a Thanksgiving feast, while simultaneously teaching them that all “Indians” have been assimilated and none are left. Higher education, with departments like Native American Studies proves that this is a blatant lie. Progress has been made; Columbus Day is no longer a holiday, and in some places is being renamed

483 Ellen Bresler Rockmore, “How Texas Teaches History,” *The New York Times* (2015), https://www.nytimes.com/2015/10/22/opinion/how-texas-teaches-history.html?_r=0 (Accessed December 6, 2016).

Native Peoples Day. Essentially, Americans need to step off the pedestal they have created for themselves. The educational system needs to be better in so many ways when it comes to acknowledging students of color and students of different languages and experiences. Languages are no longer passed down for fear of being considered un-American. Instead of celebrating heritage, people assimilate out of fear. It is being done now with students of color who are ashamed of having an accent or want to get rid of it to fit in. They know it hurts their chances of getting a job, a home, and even a car.

The system in which we live is disturbingly biased and the root of the problem is in our educational institutions. If children were taught at a young age to respect languages other than their own, to acknowledge other dialects and accents as legitimate, then we would not have old, white politicians calling young Latina women “eloquent” for delivering a speech pleading for her right to celebrate her culture. We would not have a president-elect who calls an entire group of people criminals and rapists. This may be idealistic; however, education is the cure as well as the disease. People are not aware of what they lack in knowledge and understanding, but they can be educated. Americans proclaim themselves as a glorious nation

with the wave of a flag while glossing over a bloody past. It is prejudice, pure and simple. And this prejudice starts with language, in thinking that English is the one and only legitimate language. Prejudice begins with thinking that immigrant students in classrooms are troublesome or stubborn because they do not do their homework. In reality, they do not know how to do it and lack the ability or courage to ask for help. By creating a more inclusive educational system, we will create a more inclusive society and thus fix the problem of inequality in higher education.

Where's my Pop Tart? How the Federal Government changed the Cafeteria

Kristine Harbin

When I attended elementary school in the early 2000's, the highlight of the school week for myself and my classmates was Thursday. Thursdays were special because chicken fingers and tater tots were always on the menu. If you were early in the lunch line you could even have chocolate milk and were not forced to settle on the regular 2% reduced fat milk. Since I did not qualify for free lunch, I would often be envious of my classmates. I wanted chicken fingers and would often barter with my peers to get them, because I was not satisfied with my pizza Lunchable. My jealousy extended to Friday mornings as well. Every Friday before school, classmates in the Free Breakfast Program would get a Pop Tart. They even had the option to choose between various flavors such as cinnamon, s'mores, strawberry or blueberry. As a child I would wonder, "Where is my Pop Tart?"

As a logical adult, I now have an understanding as to why I didn't have my own chicken fingers or Pop Tart. Having a Free Breakfast

or School Lunch is not as simple as one would think. Federal legislation and quotas for who qualifies for subsidized lunches along with allocated funds in individual districts is still not yet perfected. The history of the National School Lunch Program is interesting because it originally passed to fight childhood hunger. But over the years the agenda has changed with the pressure from special interest groups in congress. The National School Lunch Program was where food producers, distributors, dieticians, educators, parents and public officials gathered to work with government to ensure the welfare of the nation's youth.⁴⁸⁴ School lunches also held the promise of acting as an agent that could help level differences across geographic regions, races, classes and ethnic groups.⁴⁸⁵ So that every student is entitled to an equal start in school.

Republicans and Democrats joined in to take on the issue so that the Federal Government could assume responsibility permanently.⁴⁸⁶ From the time of its inception in 1946, the National School

484 Gerald Ford. *National School Lunch Week, 1976*. Office of the White House Press Secretary. September 20th, 1976.

485 Julie L. Lautenschlager, *Food Fight! The Battle over the American Lunch in Schools and the Workplace* (North Carolina: McFarland and Company Publishers, 2006), 163.

486 Lautenschlager, *Food Fight!*, 168.

Lunch Program has faced its fair amount of controversy. In the 1970's, Congress authorized amendments to the original legislation to satisfy the critics. While the conservative interests of the Reagan Administration in the 1980's wanted to reduced overall federal spending on America's most popular and sturdy of all social welfare programs.⁴⁸⁷ Ronald Reagan passed legislation which modified the role of federal spending that was allocated to school districts by limiting who qualified for the free or reduced lunch, avoiding nutritional standards and contracting out school food services to control costs of the program.

Until fairly recently, most historians or food studies experts have focused on how school lunches were established during the Progressive Era in cities like New York and Brooklyn with the support of volunteers to feed children in poverty. Most scholastic works transition into the 1940's and why the Great Depression impacted the passing of the National School Lunch Program Act in 1946. Several scholars agree that the National School Lunch Program was a way for the federal government to pay farmers for crop surpluses while using the crops to feed students.⁴⁸⁸ Politicians used it as a way to

487 Ron Haskins, "*The School Lunch Lobby*," Education Next (2005): 1.

488 Ibid.

help farmers make more profit while supporting children who were hungry.⁴⁸⁹ Other historians discuss the War on Poverty and how the program was expanded in the late sixties while skimming events that happened in the 1980's.

Although two of my secondary sources agree with the motives of politicians in the 1940's, some scholars like Susan Levin wrote her book *School Lunch Politics* about the history of why school lunch became a popular social welfare program. While my other sources like *Free for All: Fixing School Food in America* by Janet Poppendieck researches how other factors in American society like changes in families, obesity rates, waste and reduced spending have impacted the original mission of a reduced lunch throughout the twentieth century. My other sources such as *Food Fight!* written by Julie Lautenschlager chronicles the history of lunch in the United States, and reforms with school lunches. My final book source is *The American School* written by Joel Spring which studies the history of educational policy in the United States.

Throughout this essay, I want to discuss the original reason why the school lunch was established

⁴⁸⁹ Susan Levine, *School Lunch Politics: The Surprising History of America's favorite Welfare Program* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2008) 58.

in the 1940's, with historical background to the program and why it was expanded in the 1960's in order to combat the War on Hunger. Then I want to examine the sudden shift in politicians' ideologies that occurred in the late seventies as people began to doubt the influence of Democratic-liberal policies in federal spending. By reviewing the Reagan campaign and the interests within the administration, we can infer the true motivations to cut federal spending for welfare programs such as school lunches. Lastly, I want to discuss the result of reduced funding, and why it led to school districts contracting out food services.

At the turn of the century, industrialization and immigration transformed urban areas and created social problems that threatened traditional American values.⁴⁹⁰ Progressive Activists and politicians looked into new venues to promote traditional values and social order. The school was considered a new institution to provide social services, teaching new behaviors and creating a community center.⁴⁹¹ Around 1910, the Progressives began serving food in schools by working as a non-profit volunteer program to assist

490 Joel Spring, *The American School: 1642-1993* (New York: McGraw Hill Inc. 1994), 189.

491 Joel Spring, *The American School: 1642-1993*, 189.

impoverished children in urban settings like Chicago and New York City.

The involvement of the United States federal government in feeding children in schools may be traced back to the Agricultural Act of 1935.⁴⁹² Which promoted food consumption, reduced agricultural surpluses, and provided food to low income or rural populations.⁴⁹³ The government found a way to incorporate the need for farmers to keep producing during the Depression while trying to help fix the need for food throughout the country. Under this provision, the government distributed surplus meat, dairy products, and wheat to needy families and schools.⁴⁹⁴ The lack of food and resources during the Depression acted as a motivator to start a federally mandated program.

Before World War II, *Reader's Digest* warned housewives that malnutrition was a danger to America's future.⁴⁹⁵ In February 1941, articles in *Reader's Digest* said that school lunches encouraged

492 Ernesto Pollitt, Mitchell Gervsovitz ad Manta Gargiulo, "*Educational Benefits of the United States School Feeding Program: A Critical Review of the Literature*," *AJPH*, vol. 68, no. 5 (Massachusetts: Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1978), 1.

493 Levine, *School Lunch Politics*, 52.

494 *Ibid.*, 52.

495 Janet Poppendieck, *Free For All: Fixing School Food in America* (California: University of California Press, 2010), 71.

attendance and attentiveness in students.⁴⁹⁶ Especially in rural areas in the South that faced high rates of poverty. Without the nutritional elements found in such balanced school lunches, the article warned that the nation ran the risk of becoming overwhelmed by “sickly, dispirited wrecks who might have been useful citizens.”⁴⁹⁷ People feared that the youth being underfed was a threat to national security. Politicians thought that the future of education was for the school systems to develop human capital as means of economic growth.⁴⁹⁸

With the support of the Works Progress Administration, the federal organization helped establish the beginning of school lunch programs. The WPA relied on food service personnel and administrators to do their part and oversee menus at a local level by having support from nonprofit groups and the Parent-Teacher Associations.⁴⁹⁹ Most programs began in response to the need of families on relief. The WPA Assistant Administrator Ellen S. Woodward realized that relying on local help from unstable and stable economic conditions was flawed. But it became a policy that many school

496 Lautenschlager, *Food Fight!*, 163.

497 Ibid., 163.

498 Joel Spring, *The American School: 1642-1993*, 188.

499 Levine, *School Lunch Politics*, 57.

district provided lunches for all students who wanted them.⁵⁰⁰

The New Deal era was credited for lunch programs which provided overall rise in the health of many children. Even though the program was making progress with the damage done during the Depression, the national nutrition deficiency persisted. The Department of Agriculture released a pamphlet in 1942, which provided information on school lunches. In the pamphlet the Department informed people about successful programs in Europe and Latin America and the lack of progress in the United States.⁵⁰¹ In the pamphlet, the information stated, "No one even knows with certainty how many children in this country are malnourished but experts have evidence that malnutrition, especially among young children is a serious problem."⁵⁰² Nutrition scientists with the Bureau of Home Economics said that American good nutrition had less to do with the quantity of food than the quality.⁵⁰³ The Bureau of Agricultural Economics provided a bulletin about information on "what makes a good balanced diet," which aimed at improving health because both are fundamental in

500 Lautenschlager, *Food Fight!*, 165.

501 Ibid., 165.

502 Lautenschlager, *Food Fight!*, 166.

503 Ibid., 166.

national defense.⁵⁰⁴

In 1946, the National School Lunch Program Act decided to institutionalize feeding within schools throughout the United States.⁵⁰⁵ Before it was federally mandated, the program was supported by cash subsidies payable to sponsors of local lunch programs. Malnutrition was the threat that hurt the nation's civic strength and threatened domestic and military security. The bill passed with the help of southern democrats in Congress and the power of the agricultural lobby, rather than a commitment to improve children welfare or nutrition education.⁵⁰⁶ Nutrition reformers and child welfare advocates saw the School Lunch Act as a campaign to fix American diets. It was a historic act and a triumph for a generation of home economists, nutritionists and child welfare advocates who have struggled to improve diet reform.⁵⁰⁷ While politicians mainly passed the legislation because they wanted kids to grow up to be productive members of society.

The administrative structure of the school lunch program limited its ability to deliver universal child nutrition or to feed poor children.⁵⁰⁸ One of

504 Ibid., 166.

505 Lautenschlager, *Food Fight!*, 170.

506 Levine, *School Lunch Politics*, 72.

507 Ibid., 72.

508 Ibid., 72.

the major loopholes in the 1946 legislation stated that lunches, “shall be served without cost or at a reduced cost to children who are determined by local school authorities to be unable to pay the full cost of the lunch” .509 This became problematic because the local schools determined who received the meals. The local cafeteria manager or principal of a school would delegate who was “needy,” which meant the standards between separate districts was different and lacked uniformity. Schools that had an “unsympathetic school administrator” insisted on making some students work for their food or placing them at the end of the cafeteria line.510

In the 1950’s, the National School Lunch Program became permanent in the federal budget. It served as a symbol for the American promise of equality and prosperity after the war.511 The program reflected economic growth and the United States new position as “leader of the free world.”512 With the rise of the middle class, people had more money to enjoy processed and fast food as a way to take part in modern life. Poverty was not a priority

509 Janet Poppendieck, *Free For All: Fixing School Food in America*, 59.

510 Lautenschlager, *Food Fight!*, 170.

511 Ibid.

512 Levine, *School Lunch Politics*, 89.

to newspapers and lawmakers.⁵¹³ During the Cold War, majority of Americans assumed that their government was providing free lunches to children who could not pay. Lunch menus were still based on surplus commodities according to agriculture supplies. Although lunches were available to every state, only about half of the nation's public schools actually participated in the program.⁵¹⁴

While President Kennedy was campaigning for the presidency in 1960, he encountered extreme poverty in Appalachia. In his campaign speech, he promised immediate food relief as well as long-range economic development plans.⁵¹⁵ When he was elected to office, one of his first executive orders expanded the list of commodities to be donated to impoverished schools.⁵¹⁶ In February 1961, Kennedy announced a plan that proposed food stamp projects as the expansion of the school lunch program, urging more funding for schools.⁵¹⁷ In addition to increased funding, he wanted to redesign the formula for distributing school lunch funds amongst states and local locations. To solve issues

513 Ibid., 89.

514 Ron Haskins, *"The School Lunch Lobby,"* Education Next (2005): 2.

515 Ibid., 2.

516 Janet Poppendieck, *Free For All: Fixing School Food in America*, 54.

517 Janet Poppendieck, 55.

with funding, Section II was added to the National School Lunch Act in 1962, which authorized funding to reimburse schools in impoverished areas for meals served free.⁵¹⁸ Section II was an attempt to increase participation of the lunch program in districts that were not utilizing the resources. The two conservative chairmen of the House and Senate Agricultural Appropriations Subcommittees tried to stop section II from passing. The southern conservatives did not want to use “farmers money” for poverty-stricken school children in inner city schools.⁵¹⁹

A new wave of liberalism occurred in politics as Lyndon B. Johnson pushed his ideas and legislation for the Great Society. Politicians who were anti-poverty began to take active interest in welfare programs because they realized that the American agricultural abundance was not enough to protect the poor in America from severe food deprivation.⁵²⁰ In a nation that prided itself for being the “best fed nation of earth,” the level of childhood hunger was unacceptable which resulted in a boom in legislation passed for children and families.⁵²¹ The Child Nutrition Act of 1966 was

518 Ibid., 55.

519 Ibid., 55.

520 Janet Poppendieck, 58.

521 Janet Poppendieck, *Free For All: Fixing School*

passed to control the Breakfast and Special Milk Programs, Summer and Childcare Programs, and Maternal and Infant Feeding Programs.⁵²² The act stated that educational progress was an objective of the United States, “School Feeding programs.”

In President Nixon’s State of the Union Address he said, “I see an America in which we have abolished hunger, provided the means for every family in the Nation to obtain a minimum income, made enormous progress in providing better housing, faster transportation, improved health, and superior education.”⁵²³ He criticized the spending of liberal presidents before him who wanted to rid of social problems. Instead he urged to reform the system of federal aid in education sector by providing it to the needy.⁵²⁴ Even though the administration began its term in office with a promise to “put an end to hunger in America for all

Food in America, 58.

522 Ernesto Pollitt, Mitchell Gervsovitz ad Manta Gargiulo, “*Educational Benefits of the United States School Feeding Program: A Critical Review of the Literature*,” *AJPH*, vol. 68, no. 5 (Massachusetts: Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1978), 2.

523 Richard Nixon, State of the Union Address, February 2, 1972, The American Presidency Project <<http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=3996>> (accessed November 30th, 2016).

524 *Ibid.*

time," when it came to school food, the Nixon administration did not follow through with its commitments.⁵²⁵

In order to monitor spending, Nixon established an agency within the USDA called the Food and Nutrition Service (FNS) to oversee all of the food assistance programs.⁵²⁶ The child nutrition programs were an obstacle that the liberal Congress struggled to fix with conservative interests. Whenever attempts were made to expand school lunch programs, the committees were restricted by the allowed budget. The created committees would halt any proposed legislation that was considered excessive, and do a thorough review of domestic food assistance programs. Even after legislative victories that were not challenged by the Food Research and Action Center (FRAC), other politicians still advocated for children and continued to make the War on Hunger a national issue.

The growth in demand for school food that took place in the 1960's and late 1970's was catastrophic. At the time of this increase, the United States was facing an economic slowdown paired with inflation that became known as, "Stagflation."

525 Levine, *School Lunch Politics*, 89.

526 Janet Poppendieck, *Free For All: Fixing School Food in America*, 64.

The blame for the economic downturn was placed on large federal budget deficits. During the time when Nixon was president, the number of participating schools rose from 74,900 in 1969 to 88,900 in 1975.⁵²⁷ Federal cash payments for school lunch rose from \$203.8 million to nearly \$1.3 billion in the same period.⁵²⁸ Since the need for reduced lunch soared, the food became more processed to keep up with the demand while not wasting resources. This era in the history of school lunches would be known as the War on Waste.

Food service workers reported to the federal level that there was a “massive food waste” in schools.⁵²⁹ This made the food more processed and the old nutrition guidelines were used as a reference for the food they were serving. Food service professionals look back on the waste wars of the 1970’s as the dawning of a new age in which a business model began to take place in cafeterias.⁵³⁰ During this time, the government began to cater to children’s taste, so food was not wasted and states could save money. Chicken tenders, hamburgers, and pizzas began to pop up all across cafeterias.

527 Janet Poppendieck, *Free For All: Fixing School Food in America*, 64.

528 Ibid.

529 Levine, *School Lunch Politics*, 89.

530 Janet Poppendieck, *Free For All: Fixing School Food in America*, 67.

Lunchrooms wanted to serve food that was easy-to-prepare while mimicking the taste and convenience of restaurant food, supermarkets and other suppliers.⁵³¹

On September 20th, 1976 a proclamation was released from the office of the White House Press Secretary exclaiming that President Gerald R. Ford officially wanted to observe the week of October 10th, 1976 as National School Lunch Week to honor building a stronger America through quality food. In the proclamation, the president states that Americans started serving school lunches to form productive people. Without the help from educators and dieticians, children would not have the opportunity for a full and healthy development.⁵³² Ford wanted to give recognition to the people who worked together to strengthen welfare aimed at children. ⁵³³ Four years after Ford dedicated the week to celebrate the program, a new wave of political interests entered the White House that wanted to cut back funding for the program that was recently celebrated.

531 Steve Striffler, *Chicken: The Dangerous Transformation of America's Favorite Food* (Connecticut: Yale University Press, 2005) 28.

532 Ibid.

533 Gerald Ford. *National School Lunch Week, 1976*. Office of the White House Press Secretary. September 20th, 1976.

In the 1980 and 1984 elections, President Reagan directed his campaign toward those who were upset with federal interference in local schools. Reagan made a claim of deregulating the Department of Education to stop federal interference of local interests.⁵³⁴ The presidential elections in 1980 and 1984 were significant because they were the first national elections in which political parties denied educational constituency.⁵³⁵ The elections created a clear divide between Democrats and Republicans. The Democrats appealed to the two major teachers unions and to members of the public who favored increased federal aid to local schools. Whereas the Republicans wanted to “downsize” government and eliminate wasteful public programs.⁵³⁶ The administration made education seem like a wasteful social program rather than an institution that impacted poor and middle class students.⁵³⁷

In February of 1981, President Reagan

534 Ibid., 408.

535 Ibid.

536 Alonzo L. Hamby, “*Liberalism and Its Challengers: FDR to Reagan*,” *Political Science Quarterly*, vol. 101, no. 1 (The Academy of Political Science, 1986), 144.

537 Joel Spring, *The American School: 1642-1993*, 408.

unveiled 84 proposals for reducing or eliminating federal programs, which historians would consider the start of the “Reagan Revolution.”⁵³⁸ Reagan wanted to restore Americans faith in their nation and in the process shrink, “Big Government.”⁵³⁹ Other goals of the administration were to restore patriotism, prosperity, peace and battle against Great Society liberal ideas.⁵⁴⁰ Newspaper journalists, like Richard Cohen for *The Washington Post*, stated that Reagan wanted to undo all the basics of Democratic-liberalism mandates that were passed before he was in office.⁵⁴¹

Reagan wanted to cut child nutrition programs, particularly school lunches. At the time, the National School Lunch Program was one of four major non-cash federal programs available to low-income households along with food stamps, housing subsidies and Medicaid.⁵⁴² The school lunch program received the largest cut of all the nutrition programs. reducing reimbursement rates and

538 Robert Pear, “The Reagan Revolution: The Plans, The Progress,” *The New York Times*, January 31, 1983.

539 Will Manley. *The Reagan Revolution*. American Libraries, vol. 38, no. 10 (American Library Association, 2007), 80.

540 Ibid., 80.

541 Richard Cohen, “Reagan's Life Style Contradicts Policies,” *The Washington Post*, September 15, 1981.

542 Levine, *School Lunch Politics*, 174.

lowering eligibility criteria for free priced meals.⁵⁴³

In the 1982 fiscal year, the Reagan Administration cut \$1.575 billion from the \$3.918 billion child-nutrition budget.⁵⁴⁴ David Stockman who was Reagan's budget director, argued that the school lunch program was "wasteful" because it subsidized children whose families could afford to pay for lunch.⁵⁴⁵ In order to lower spending, the administration only wanted to provide lunches for children who were, "truly needy". The school-lunch program operates like a business. It receives income from four sources—Federal, state, and local governments, and the students. If the income does not equal expenses, then local programs will close.⁵⁴⁶ The Agriculture Secretary, John R. Block, assured that poor students will not be affected in raising qualification standards. Students who qualified for the reduced-price lunch were not being considered as "truly needy," meaning that subsidies for lunches were reduced significantly.⁵⁴⁷

The first action taken by administration was

543 Ibid., 174.

544 Ibid., 174.

545 Levine, *School Lunch Politics*, 174.

546 Marshall L. Matz, "'Bye, School Lunches for the 'Truly Needy'", *The New York Times*, February 23, 1981, 1.

547 Ibid., 1.

having the Department of Agriculture revise the application paperwork for free meals by having it look like a traditional welfare program. David Stockman criticized the old application for being “too simple,” saying that the emphasis on the old paperwork was to feed students rather than ensuring that benefits were being rewarded correctly.⁵⁴⁸ In the past, school districts accepted self-declaration of income and family size. Whereas in the new application, parents or guardians were to provide names and social security numbers for each adult in the household.⁵⁴⁹

Originally, Reagan proposed eliminating school lunch subsidies for middle-class children and upper-income families. But, Congress decided to reduce funds instead of completely eliminating the budget. White House officials admitted that they did not fully understand the economics of the program. When the government reduces the subsidies for children from middle- and upper-income families, schools tend to drop out of the program because meal prices rise.⁵⁵⁰ Food service workers and administrators will not find it economical for them to

548 Levine, *School Lunch Politics*, 174.

549 Ibid., 174.

550 Robert Pear, “The Reagan Revolution: The Plans, The Progress,” *The New York Times*, January 31, 1983, 2.

run a small program just for poor children.⁵⁵¹ Food service directors estimated that the fewer lunches sold would give them less reimbursements for each meal provided because the new accounting requirements would increase the prices of a meal.⁵⁵²

Around six million students had to drop out of the program because they were considered middle-class. After the cuts, an estimated 2,700 schools dropped out of the National School Lunch Program.⁵⁵³ A substantial amount of students had to drop out of the program because prices had doubled. As students participation in the program declined, many schools were unable to finance lunch or were unwilling to continue because they could no longer support all of the students.

Other services were cut because they were considered “nonessential.” Some of the other cut programs include: nutrition education, or training and equipment assistance to schools.⁵⁵⁴ Even though money is not being directly taken from low income students, the entire production of the food program is impacted which then in turn affects the

551 Ibid., 2.

552 Janet Poppendieck, *Free For All: Fixing School Food in America*, 73.

553 Ron Haskins, “*The School Lunch Lobby*,” *Education Next* (2005): 4.

554 Marshall L. Matz, *The New York Times*, 2.

students. Sociologists argued that it was the modest subsidy to middle-class students that prevented the lunchroom from becoming economically and racially segregated.⁵⁵⁵ Since the program was inclusive for all incomes, the food program budget instituted during the early 1980's was, according to one report, "the sharpest and most severe cuts in our nation's history."⁵⁵⁶ David Stockman who was the budget director of the lunch program said, "School food is a business and should operate like one."⁵⁵⁷ This became a mantra that would stay within food service years after the 1980's.

In the summer of 1981, Reagan's Secretary of Agriculture, John R. Block, signed new nutrition guidelines aimed at saving money by providing supposedly "healthy meals."⁵⁵⁸ One of the famous, "bureaucratic goofs" that exists in the history of school lunches was proposed legislation which named condiments as vegetables.⁵⁵⁹ According to

555 William C. Whit, *Food and Society: A Sociological Approach*. (Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 1995), 42.

556 Levine, *School Lunch Politics*, 175.

557 Janet Poppendieck, *Free For All: Fixing School Food in America*, 73.

558 *Ibid.*, 73.

559 Mary Thorton and Martin Schram, "U.S. Holds The Ketchup in Schools," *The Washington Post*, September 26, 1981, 2.

new guidelines, the ingredients in tomato ketchup conformed to the vegetable requirements in the school lunch standards.

When newspapers and the public heard that congress wanted to propose “ketchup as a vegetable,” it caused a media firestorm. Other proposed guidelines would have allowed the substitution of soybean cakes for hamburger and doughnuts for bread.⁵⁶⁰ The administration did not expect such an adverse public reaction. They underestimated the loyalty that people still had with the School Lunch Program. John R. Block said that the regulation had been “misunderstood and misinterpreted.”⁵⁶¹ By substituting ketchup for more expensive lunch-time vegetable servings, it had potential to save the government millions of dollars in the new budget. The Department of Agriculture claimed that they were simply trying to help schools provide free meals to poor children in the wake of an impending billion dollar cut in federal funds.⁵⁶² The Budget Director, David A. Stockman, ordered the withdrawal of proposed federal rules that would have listed ketchup and pickle relish as vegetables.⁵⁶³

560 Ibid., 3.

561 Levine, *School Lunch Politics*, 177.

562 Levine, *School Lunch Politics*, 177.

563 Ibid., 2.

The administration's goal was to reduce regulation and return flexibility to the local units of government. William Hoagland, the director of the Agriculture Department's Food and Nutrition Service which overlooks the school lunch budget, said the original intent was to find ways to cut school lunch costs at the local level without cutting back on the nutritional value of the meal.⁵⁶⁴ Agriculture Secretary John R. Block who issued the regulation with the approval of Reagan had to withdraw statements and regulation after Democrats and even fellow Republicans like Senator John Heinz joined in on public ridicule. Senator John Heinz of Pennsylvania, whose family owns the H.J. Heinz Company, said, "Ketchup is a condiment. This is one of the most ridiculous regulations I ever heard of."⁵⁶⁵

Ultimately, the proposal of counting condiments as a vegetable were withdrawn. Lynn Parker, who was a nutritionist in charge of the children's program at the Food Research and Action Center, spoke very publicly about her feelings for the adjusted requirements. She was in dismay that David A. Stockman was willing to give ideas that have no nutritional basis only an economic one.⁵⁶⁶

564 Ibid., 3.

565 Ibid., 3.

566 Janet Poppendieck, *Free For All: Fixing School*

The proposed cuts to the Section 4 subsidy would motivate congress to take action in order to contain cutbacks of other social welfare programs.

Even members of Congress had lost tolerance to food program cuts. Since the fiscal year in 1983 to 1988, it was proposed by Reagan and Stockman to eliminate the Section 4 subsidy from the School Lunch Program Act. The elimination of the subsidy would affect the lunch program significantly by: eliminating participation of most private schools, lower subsidies, raise allowable prices for reduced price meals, lower the eligibility ceilings for reduced price meals even further, and increase the verification requirements for families applying for free meals.⁵⁶⁷ Republicans on the Senate Agriculture Committee wrote to the president's chief of staff, James Baker III, advising that further efforts to eliminate subsidy 4 would be, "an option which is certain to fail."⁵⁶⁸ To take action, both houses of Congress agreed to pass a provision called the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985.⁵⁶⁹ This act exempted school lunch and other child nutrition programs from funding cuts

Food in America, 75.

567 Ibid., 73.

568 Ibid., 74.

569 Levine, *School Lunch Politics*, 179.

triggered by deficits.⁵⁷⁰

With the proposed financial cuts imposed on school districts, many of them used fast food to save money. Many districts embraced the idea that lunch was a business, and in order to make a profit with minimal waste, they began to use processed food.⁵⁷¹ School officials found eager allies in a rapidly growing food-service industry.⁵⁷² The idea that the child was the customer became the focus.⁵⁷³ Nutrition was an afterthought since distributors wanted to cater to children's food preferences. The benefits of processed food was that it had a long shelf life, it was inexpensive, tasted good, super-sized, and energy dense.⁵⁷⁴ Companies like McDonald's, Taco Bell, Pizza Hut and others became key players in efforts to bring corporate America into school cafeterias.⁵⁷⁵ Many schools in the National School Lunch Program began to offer a la carte items to the menus to generate revenue and offset the program cuts. New fast food and snack items would

570 Janet Poppendieck, *Free For All: Fixing School Food in America*, 76.

571 Ibid.

572 Levine, *School Lunch Politics*, 158.

573 Ibid., 76.

574 Michael Moss, *Salt Sugar Fat: How the Food Giant Hooked Us*. (New York: Random House Trade Paperback, 2013), xvii.

575 Lautenschlager, *Food Fight!*, 177 .

bring in profits and keep paying customers in the lunchroom.⁵⁷⁶

Some school districts turned to private food service management companies in an effort to cope with the budget cuts. When Stockman wanted to cut funding for “nonessential” items in the program, one of the services was updating equipment required for production.⁵⁷⁷ Many of the schools in poor inner city neighborhoods were kitchenless or had outdated resources. Having companies ship in food daily seemed like an easy fix. Another benefit to outsourcing food production was controlling labor costs and not having to hire or train workers.⁵⁷⁸

Privatization was a new outlet in the push to feed poor children. Since the start of the program, nutritionists and school food-service professionals carefully guarded the cafeteria from private business.⁵⁷⁹ For many districts who were running out of options, the solution to the budget was to increase the contributions made by commercial food-service operations. As long as private companies agreed to meet “all quantitative and qualitative

576 Janet Poppendieck, *Free For All: Fixing School Food in America*, 75.

577 Ron Haskins, “*The School Lunch Lobby*,” *Education Next* (2005): 5.

578 *Ibid.*, 5.

579 Levine, *School Lunch Politics*, 158.

nutritional requirements.”⁵⁸⁰ The Department of Agriculture even suggested that schools contract with private companies to bring meals to their schools or to “have the lunches provided elsewhere by the private sector.”⁵⁸¹ According to Agriculture Department representative Aaron M. Altschul, the future of school lunches was convenience foods and other industry innovations.⁵⁸² He stated that, “School lunches, do not differ in principle from any other kind of institutional feeding.”⁵⁸³

One of the most problematic results from the Reagan Era was forever changing the image of the School Lunch Program. In 1946 the program originally started to foster a new generation of students who were receiving nutritious food and had the opportunity to a healthy development. As America progressed after World War II, they forgot about some of the struggles that children faced in the past. Most modern Americans living in the Cold War did not have to worry about vitamin deficiency or having to skip a meal. After the Reagan Administration did its damage with overhauling social welfare programs, the lunch program

580 Ibid., 158.

581 Ron Haskins, “*The School Lunch Lobby*,” *Education Next* (2005): 6.

582 Levine, *School Lunch Politics*, 158.

583 Ibid., 158.

developed a negative connotation.

The current stereotype of a student who receives free or reduced lunch still has a stigma since it is considered a welfare program only for poor children. With the help from first lady Michelle Obama bringing national attention to unhealthy lunches, a new generation of students will be impacted by improved health guidelines. Since legislation like The Healthy, Hunger-Free Kids Act passed in 2012, school lunches are healthier and overly processed fast food is not advocated to districts. Now that nutritional guidelines are actually being enforced, the new generation of students will never know the struggle of Pop Tart or chicken finger envy.

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The Moral of the Pop Princess Story

Gina Gacad

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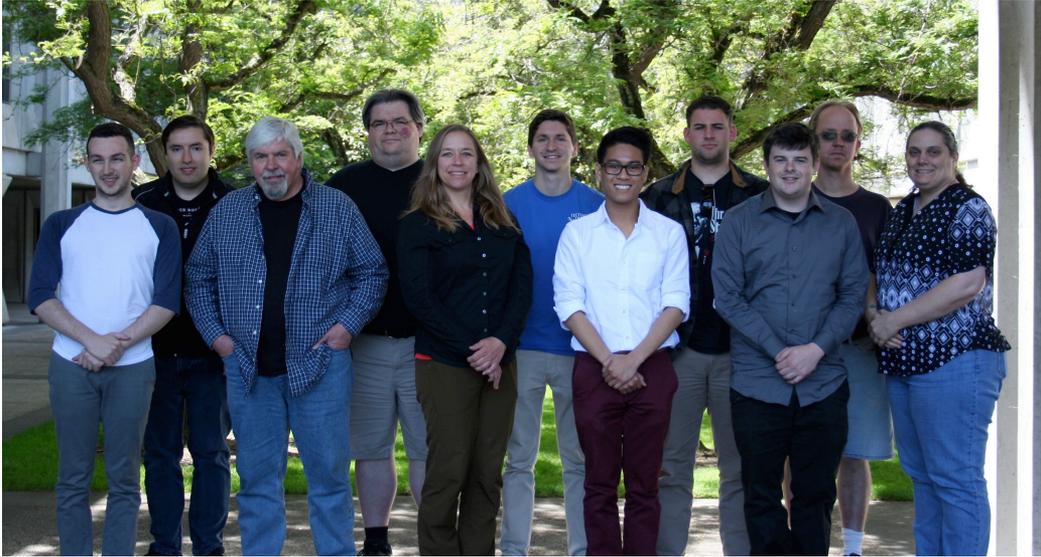
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