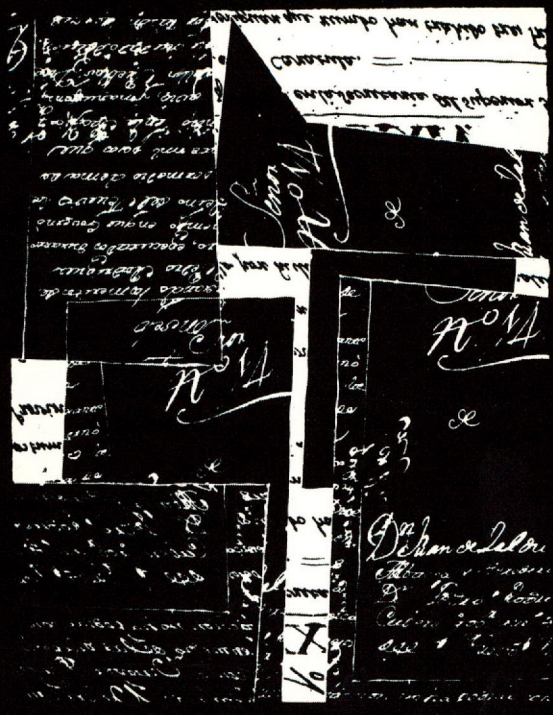


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Faculty Papers Midwestern State University

Series 2 - Volume X
1984 - 1985





**FACULTY PAPERS
OF
MIDWESTERN STATE UNIVERSITY**

Papers Presented
at
The Faculty Forum

Kenneth E. Hendrickson, Jr.
Program Coordinator
and
Editor

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INTRODUCTION

Faculty Forum is a program which allows Midwestern State University faculty to share their research with colleagues, students and the public. Each year half a dozen or more faculty present their papers to a mixed audience. The presentation is usually followed by a lively discussion and the evening concludes with refreshments and informal conversation. Over the years Faculty Forum has become a major event on the Midwestern State University calendar. Each year, or in some cases such as the present one, every other year, the papers are gathered, edited and published in journal form. Our journal is distributed free of charge to academic libraries and to certain individuals throughout the United States.

Each year at commencement the Professor of the Year is named and is presented with an award by the Hardin Foundation of Wichita County. It has become traditional for the Hardin Professor to lead off the Faculty Forum each year and since this is a double issue of our journal, we are privileged to have two presentations by the Hardin Professors of 1983 and 1984. They are Dr. Baird W. Whitlock, Professor of English, Literature, and Humanities, and Dr. Yoshi Fukasawa, Associate Professor of Economics.

As Faculty Forum program director and editor, I want to express my thanks to all the contributors, as well as to the President of Midwestern State University, Dr. Louis J. Rodriguez, and Vice President for Academic Affairs, Dr. Jesse W. Rogers, for their encouragement and support. Thanks also to my secretary, Kay Hardin, who assisted with the preparation of the manuscript.

Kenneth E. Hendrickson, Jr.
Program Director and
Editor

KEH

THE INTERNATIONAL DIMENSION IN HIGHER EDUCATION: SOME OBSERVATIONS

by

Louis J. Rodriguez*

I appreciate very much the opportunity to participate in this year's Midwestern State University Faculty Forum. I hope the old adage that "Fools venture where angels fear to tread" will not be descriptive of my being with you this evening. I intend to be somewhat brief. Recently I was doing "a trial run" on my wife of a speech that I had prepared. She listened dutifully as wives must on occasion and at my conclusion I asked for her reaction. She said, "Well, I have been sitting through many of your speeches in the last several years and I don't know if the audience is getting any wiser, but I can certainly assure you that they are getting considerably older." With this observation vividly in my mind, I will attempt to impart some opinions and a minimum of the aging process.

I want to express my congratulations to Dr. Hendrickson for his continuous involvement with the MSU Faculty Forum series. This endeavor addresses scholarship and creativity and deserves the support of every faculty member at our university. In my judgment, we are at a point in history where it is imperative that we expand our scholarly efforts. This includes increasing the demands we place on our students, as well as finding new, more efficient and more effective ways to make the tremendous knowledge explosion available in a meaningful way to an ever increasing number of people. Those of you who support the MSU Faculty Forum obviously typify the type of individuals who are at the forefront of pursuing these two highly desirable objectives.

When Ken Hendrickson invited me to participate in this year's Forum I considered possible topics for discussion. I finally settled on "The International Dimension In Higher Education: Some Observations." The United States is experiencing a difficult transition in its foreign policy. We are moving from a situation of confrontation to one of increasing cooperation with the nations of the world. Our ability to assume a leadership role is diminishing, consequently we find ourselves more and more in a position of collaborating.¹ Such a significant shift has had an impact on the international dimension of higher education in the United States.

There are a number of factors which have visibly changed the international environment in which we function as institutions of higher learning. Let me briefly comment on these.

¹ James A. Perkins, *The International Dimension in Higher Education*, Steven K. Bailey, Editor, *Higher Education in The World Community*, American Council on Education (Washington, D.C., 1977), p. 207.

*Dr. Rodriguez is President of Midwestern State University.

World population changes are very significant. We are experiencing a population explosion. In 1984 the world's population totaled 4.9 billion. The projection is that in the year 2000 the number of inhabitants on our globe will be 6.3 billion. Our earth gains a net of 150 new persons per minute, 9,100 per hour, 218,000 per day and 80 million per year. The important factor is that most of this growth is taking place in the nations which are least able to cope with this additional burden of feeding and caring for people. This development will cause great world tension. Revolutions and conflicts are likely to be a continuous experience as hordes of suffering humanity attempt to alter their undesirable fates.²

Technology has made the world smaller while simultaneously making it larger for each individual human being. In the past one hundred years in developed countries, the following trends have occurred: a) an increase in travel speed by a factor of one hundred; b) an increase in infectious disease control by a factor of one hundred; c) an increase in energy resources by a factor of one thousand; d) an increase in data handling speed by a factor of ten thousand; e) an increase in the power of weaponry by a factor of one million; f) an increase in communication speed by a factor of ten million. We are now experimenting with computer language translations, known as Voices Recognition, in several languages between New York and Europe, which is approximately ninety-five percent accurate. If all known human existence was compressed into the time frame of one hour, fifty-nine minutes and twenty-six seconds of this hour would have been spent in the pre-historic period before written records, agriculture, the city and the philosopher/king; thirty-seven more seconds would have been spent in the agricultural period; and only in the last three seconds would industrialization have taken place. Technology has truly had a tremendous impact when we consider the developments that have taken place in the last brief seconds of our human existence.³

National governments are critical as we become involved in international, economic, cultural and military matters. We still have to work through national governments. Our own system of higher education includes rather autonomously independent institutions which Eric Ashby, the outstanding British educator, has said are constructed on the principle of anarchy.⁴ These arrangements do not lend themselves to international interaction. During all of this profound international change, our universities have responded rather slowly. After all, our institutions are the custodians of a great deal of our culture and tend to be conservative. Change in our universities in the area of international education has thus come at a snail's pace. "Universities are, then, mechanisms for the inheritance of culture, and like other generic systems, they have great inertia."⁵

² *Global Population, Growing by More Than 200,000 a Day*, U.S. News and World Report (July 23, 1984), pp. 52-53.

³ Jim Bowman, Fred Kierstead, Chris Dede, John Puliam, *The Far Side of the Future: Social Problems and Education Reconstruction*, World Future Society (Washington, D.C.: 1978), pp. 8-9.

⁴ James A. Perkins, *The International Dimension in Higher Education*, p. 208.

⁵ Eric Ashby, *Adopting Universities to a Technological Society* (San Francisco: Jossey - Bass Publishers, 1974), p. 7.

Research has some aspects that are common from an international point of view. With the slow development in the introduction of the international dimension in higher education, it has become very clear, nevertheless, that teaching and research functions tend to be universal in their basic values. Thus it is expected that faculties will push ahead and eventually remove or push back restraints that wrap around purely national or local points of interest.

We are expecting a rapidly expanding economic, political and cultural international interdependence. In our current type of global interdependence the need for expanded international sensitivity on the part of our citizens is increasing. Interdependence is a reality. Three years ago I witnessed the frustration in the 67th Texas Legislature over the impact of the declining oil prices over which our state had limited control. The effect was that for every dollar decline in a barrel of oil, the State of Texas coffers lost \$40 million. The international economic impact on the United States is increasing. In 1971 imports and exports represented 8 percent of the gross national product. By 1975 this figure was 13 percent, and last year it exceeded 25 percent. Total exports for 1984 are projected to be \$362 billion and imports \$422 billion. We export 40 percent of our agricultural production and 20 percent of our industrial production. It is estimated that one-third of U.S. corporate profits are generated by international activities. American banks have \$130 billion in outstanding loans to developing nations and the communist block. The United States has diplomatic dealings with fifty-three more countries than we had in 1960.⁶ In the last twenty years foreign investments in the United States have increased 77 percent, to over \$245 billion in 1981. During the same period American investments in other nations have risen by 123 percent, to over \$300 billion. Communications have enhanced interdependence. Today 114 nations have antenna in the Intelsat System. Americans in 1950 made 900,000 overseas phone calls; by 1975 the figure had risen to over 60 million.

In the Post World War II era, we lost a great deal of economic dominance. For example, in 1982 it took Japan eleven hours to build a car, while in the United States the time was thirty-one hours. The Japanese firms that are completely automated with robots can do the job in nine hours.⁷ Whether we like it or not, our national security is tied to other nations in the North Atlantic, Middle East, Southeast Asia and Latin America. It is becoming very obvious that no one nation, regardless of its power, can preserve peace for itself and the world alone. The major serious human problems that are faced today tend to be internationally connected. This is true whether we are talking about food, energy, unemployment, population, crime, arms control, drugs, the environment, atomic energy, health, military systems, or the use of the seas. Domestic and international affairs are no longer separate,

⁶ Cassandra Pyle, *Our Shortfall in International Competence*, **AGB Reports** (March/April, 1984), p. 35.

⁷ John Naisbitt, **Megatrends** (New York: Warner Books, 1982), p. 63.

they are irrevocably inter-related.⁸

We must now attempt to understand developments in parts of our planet whose names are strange to us and which we quite often cannot pronounce. Our frame of reference has become global at a time when we are struggling for an understanding of our internal developments. American military forces were located in numerous overseas areas last year. Developments that will have a significant impact on the United States are underway, among other places, in Afghanistan, the continent of Asia in general, Africa, Cuba, Central America, Mexico, and Europe. What we are expected to know is considerable. As we all know, in our form of government we are the ones who support or reject international policy propositions made by our government. Knowledge of international activities is an indispensable part of the democratic process. James M. Becker has stated, "Geographically, technologically and to a large extent economically, the world has become a single system."⁹ Donna J. Cole tells us, "No one should make the claim of being educated until he or she has learned to live in harmony with people who are different."¹⁰

Higher education must respond to these conditions and it would appear that the current thrust is indeed an expanding international dimension. We are moving toward a larger scale in our thinking; this is a trend which will not likely be reversed. Unfortunately, our methods of providing global education are rather obsolete. We tend to concentrate on fragmented components such as colorful lands, individuals different from ourselves, and making available some international information. The latter has tended to stress different ecologies, historical evolution, and contrasting cultures. This approach is not necessarily incorrect because great differences do exist. However, it has the failing of not integrating for the student, the overall global picture. Ernest L. Boyer, of the Carnegie Foundation, has said that, "Students must be educated for the transformed world that coming generations will inherit."¹¹ Stephen K. Bailey has written, "Nothing is more certain than that Americans will live out their remaining years of the twentieth century enmeshed in foreign entanglements."¹²

⁸ Richard D. Lambert, Special Editor, *New Directions in International Education*, Vol. 449 (Philadelphia: American Academy of Political and Social Sciences, May, 1980), pp. 159-162.

⁹ James M. Becker, *International and Cross-Cultural Experiences, Education for Peace, Focus on Mankind*, George Henderson, Editor (Washington, D.C.: Association for Supervision in Curriculum Development, 1973), p. 104.

¹⁰ Donna J. Cole, *Multi-Cultural Education and Global Education: A Possible Merger, Theory in Practice* (Vol. 22, No. 2), p. 151.

¹¹ Ernest L. Boyer, *High School: A Report On Post-Secondary Education in America* (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1983), p. 301.

¹² Steven K. Bailey, *Education for a Global Century, Handbook of Exemplary International Programs* (New Rochelle, NY: Education and the World View, III, Council on Learning, 1981), p. i.

How well prepared are we as a nation, to assume our international responsibilities? I suggest to you that as a nation we are woefully prepared to fit into this new, trying, international role. Dean Rusk, former Secretary of State, has said, "Universal men and women are needed to solve the world's problems."¹³ Marshall McLuhan has said, "We are living in a global village." This means we should be obtaining a greater understanding of our global neighbors. Many people feel that the price of international ignorance is national decline. In 1974, a UNESCO study discovered that Americans received less television exposure to foreign countries than did citizens of any of the ninety-nine countries surveyed, with the exception of the People's Republic of China. During the survey, they found that one to two percent of the American T.V. week, on the average, was drawn from other countries. Between 1945 and 1975 the number of American foreign correspondents was drastically reduced from 2,500 to 429. In the Soviet Union, there are more teachers of English than the total number of students studying Russian in the United States.¹⁴

Senator Hayakawa of California has indicated that American companies have only a few hundred representatives in Japan with only a handful of them able to speak Japanese. He further states that Japan has more than 10,000 representatives in the United States, most of whom speak English fluently. "Who", he asks, "do you suppose sells more?"¹⁵ A congressional task force in 1979, originally established to study inflation, reporting to the Budget Committee of the House in that year said, "We are not adequately studying the languages and cultures of other countries."¹⁶ We have, on occasion, been very unprepared to meet international crises. Only three of the American hostages in Iran understood Farsi, which is the principle language of Iran, despite the fact that they were on a regular assignment to the American Embassy in that nation. During the Angolan crisis several years ago, only two American scholars had any significant knowledge of that country and none of these individuals spoke the Angolan language. It was reported that no American Foreign Service Officer in Afghanistan understood Russian when the U.S.S.R. invaded that nation.¹⁷ We have had a tendency to prefer isolation to international involvement. Part of this is because in the past, given our large geographical land area and rapidly expanding population, we could, to some degree, afford this luxury. Overall, we simply have not had the critical need in our nation to learn about other regions in our world. We have not, in much of our past history, been greatly dependent on other parts of the world for survival. This has not been the case for some years and this is certainly not the situation today.

¹³ Dean Rusk, *World Needs More Universal 'Men and Woman'*, **Higher Education in International Affairs**, Vol. 33, No. 20 (October 20, 1984), p. 9.

¹⁴ Stanley F. Paulson, *International Competence: A Basic for our Times*, **The Journal of General Education**, Vol. 34, No. 3 (1982), pp. 225-226.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 226.

¹⁶ *Strength Through Wisdom*, **The President's Commission on Foreign Languages and International Studies** (Washington, D.C.: Government, Printing Office, 1979), p. 1.

¹⁷ Pyle, *Our Shortfall in International Competence*, p. 33.

What is higher education doing to prepare our graduates to have a sensitivity, awareness if you will, of the international dimension? The prevailing view of those who have attempted to answer this question is that we are not doing a great deal. Dean Rusk, former United States Secretary of State, once stated that American colleges and universities are probably not doing enough to develop individuals suited to function well in the new international world in which we find ourselves. The National Commission on Higher Education, in its November, 1982 publication concerning standards and the curriculum, told us that generally, the nation's colleges and universities are not providing future civic, business and professional leaders with the understanding of foreign languages and cultures, the roots of our civilization, and of the powers and limitations of science and technology they will need to effectively carry out both public and private responsibilities.

The American Council on Education urges the education and training of individuals who will be able to speak other peoples' languages at a certain level of proficiency and to understand the true nature of their histories, cultures, goals, aspirations, and view of their most fundamental interests. William W. Marvel writes, "There is first, the overall responsibility of the United States as a nation to contribute to a peaceful and progressive world order. A responsibility growing out of the prosperity this country enjoys, and the appalling power that it commands, is a responsibility that can be met only if the world of higher learning accepts their primary role."¹⁸ Allen C. Christensen wrote, "It is a principle, legitimate role for a university to train people at all levels, both formally and informally, to live, work, play, and - perhaps most importantly to us - communicate in an increasingly interdependent world, in order to understand the problems of other peoples and cultures, and to contribute to the solution of global societies."¹⁹

I want to challenge the faculty, administrators, and students to give increasing attention to the international dimension at Midwestern State University. Consideration should be given to the globalization of education as an integral part of the curriculum. Every college graduate should be expected to have been exposed to the existence, diversity, and dynamic interrelationship of cultures in our world society. The international education effort should be directed towards combating ethnocentrism and parochialism. "Today the concerns and activities of international education include: the traditional study of other cultures in the curriculum at all levels of education in the interdisciplinary approach to the specialized study of world affairs, international relations, and foreign policy."²⁰ We are part of an era of interdependence and our educational experience in higher education should reflect this fact. International education is of paramount importance if an individual is to

¹⁸ William W. Marvel, *The University in the World Campus, 1980: The Shape of the Future in American Higher Education*, Elvin C. Eurich, Editor (New York: Delacorte Press, 1968), p. 66.

¹⁹ Allen C. Christensen and Morris D. Whitaker, *A Rationale for University Involvement in the International Arena*, *The Journal for General Education*, Vol. 35, No. 1 (1983), p. 4.

²⁰ Dorothy H. Moore and Ducksoon Yu Tull, *International Education's Role in Higher Education. Educational Horizons* (Spring, 1983), p. 46.

obtain a quality education. Exposure to the international dimension should become a necessity rather than a luxury both from personal and national viewpoints. "Reading, writing and arithmetic, science, humanities, and social studies are all basics, but the content of the basics has to shift with the times. What is basic in our times is the need for international competence."²¹

At the risk of being somewhat presumptuous or perhaps even unimaginative, let me suggest some of what I call "Nuts and Bolts" opportunities to expand the international dimension in higher education. Much of what can be done by universities requires little in the way of financial support, but it will take a great deal of initiative on the part of the faculty and administration, as well as assistance from the students. A step was taken last year with the establishing of the MSU International Dimension Awareness Committee consisting of interested faculty, administrators, and students who were asked to seek ways to enhance the international presence on our campus. Some progress has been made. Student forums have been held dealing with topics of international comparisons. Discussions have been started concerning the possibility of introducing international topics into our educational program. Recently a reception was held in honor of the international students enrolled at our university.

What are some activities that might be undertaken at our institution that would further emphasize international education? Listed below are some suggestions.

1. A survey needs to be conducted at MSU to identify human and material resources in the international area. We will likely be surprised at the large number of faculty and administrators who have international expertise of one type or another.

2. Our community needs to be surveyed to ascertain the availability of international knowledge among our residents. The presence of the NATO group at Sheppard Air Force Base alone is a tremendous resource of talented international individuals.

3. Business firms need to be contacted to determine their needs in the international area. Also, in many of our courses businessmen who have overseas operations should be asked to share their experiences with our faculty and students.

4. I want to encourage the faculty to consider the possibility of introducing an interdisciplinary, team-taught, international issues course. It would be expected that the key cultural, political, and economic elements in global international interdependence would be emphasized. By focusing on issues, the various aspects of the problems such as cultural variations, different political systems, economic structures and historical aspects, and international elements could be introduced and taught as they apply to the particular issues under consideration. Some possible issues to be addressed could be U.S.-Soviet relations, the developments in China and their implications in the U.S.; U.S. balance of payment problems and their causes; the role of culture and languages in diplomatic and economic relations

²¹ Harlan Cleveland, *Forward to Basics: Education as Wide as the World*, **Change**, Vol. 12, No. 4 (May/June, New York, 1980), p. 20.

between nations; and contrasting educational systems. These are just some suggestions and numerous other, and probably better, topics could be determined. A number of institutions have developed excellent programs.²²

5. Foreign students, particularly those at the graduate level, could probably be utilized as visiting speakers in appropriate classes, to discuss their various national viewpoints on a particular topic.

6. We could provide continuing education programs of an international nature to members of our community who are interested in knowledge in the international area, without pursuing it for credit. Panel type programs involving a cross representation of views on a particular issue might be of interest.

7. Consider introducing some international aspects in the artist/lecture series programmatic effort.

8. Encourage faculty members to see that the international aspects of some of their courses are covered. Materials should be reviewed and ways sought on how an international dimension might be introduced into courses. In my own freshmen economic course, for example, I see to it that the last chapter in the book, that always deals with international economic relations, is taught somewhere during the middle of the semester. In my earlier days I never somehow reached the last chapter in time to cover it during the semester. Furthermore, I require the students to purchase a magazine that has a number of short articles dealing with economic matters that we discuss in class and always include one on an international issue. The students take a brief fifteen minute quiz each week on one of the five articles they are assigned. Furthermore, I make frequent references to international dimensions as examples to explain a particular point. "Greater global understanding requires curriculum changes, not by quick fixes, but by drawing on resources of those concerned with both cognitive and effective elements of the curriculum."²³

9. We need to pursue possibilities for international exchange of faculty. This is one of the most effective ways of bridging the gap between nations and enriching the life of both faculty and students in the participating nations. This, of course, will require inter-institutional cooperation. "Two principle factors generally determine the success or failure of inter-institutional cooperation to enhance international education. The first is the support of top administrative leadership. The second is the general receptivity to cooperate and pursue international education demonstrated by the faculty."²⁴

10. There is a need to follow up with our foreign based alumni. Very often these individuals are in key positions in their nation and can become a positive resource for the educational program on campus.

²² Earl L. Backmand, Editor, **Approaches to International Education**, American Council on Education (New York: McMillen Publishing Company, 1984), pp. 1-345.

²³ John Rorke, *Getting Global Education Going*, **The Education Digest** (October, 1983), p. 15.

²⁴ David S. Hoopes, et. al, **A Study of the Dynamics of Inter-institutional Cooperation for International Education Development**. Regional Council for International Education (February, 1971), p. 60.

11. We need to sponsor international speakers, forums and cultural festivals.

12. We need to ask United States students who have been abroad, to share some of their experiences with our classes.

13. Intensified effort needs to be made to pursue the international exchange of students.

14. Efforts should be initiated to explore the possibility of having community civic clubs sponsor some international activity on our campus for foreign students.

These above suggestions may not sound like a great deal. In my opinion, a successful effort with these would be a very significant step forward in making our students increasingly aware of the international aspects of the world in which we live. With much of the higher education around the world conducted in English, people are heavily dependent on materials in English. The opportunities for this country to be of service and to strengthen the bases of international understanding and cooperation are so great that we would be derelict and foolish not to grasp it vigorously and intelligently.²⁵

The issue facing institutions of higher learning in the United States is not **should** we increase the international dimension in the education process, but rather **how** we do it? We owe it to our students to give this matter our serious attention. Dr. Maurice Harari, former Vice President for International Programs of the American Association of State Colleges and Universities, of which MSU is a member, stated that "A system of education which ignores the major problems of most of mankind is not acceptable." The goals of education in our global age must be to provide young people skills to analyze, evaluate, know and participate in the world around them."²⁶ While the outward manifestation is to see a world in conflict and turmoil, the real issue is the rapidly developing need for unity. As the different cultures increasingly come in contact and intermingle, teachers will be more and more at the center of the process. They will interact on an expanding basis with fellow teachers throughout the world and their students. This will result in the developing of a world culture.

In 1982, Senator J. William Fulbright went to Japan for the thirtieth anniversary of the Fulbright Program in that nation. It was a splendid celebration. Senator Fulbright met with many Japanese who had been Fulbright Scholars. Thirty of them had become Ambassadors, dozens more had become corporate executives and key government officials, and many were in important university positions. Commenting on this significant occasion, Fulbright asked people to remember that, "Our hope consists in the fact that, unlike all other species on our earth, we are, to at least a small degree, the architects of our own destiny. We can, if we will, develop our own cultural disposition in directions that will eliminate war and insure the survival

²⁵ Francis X. Sutton, *The International Liaison of Universities: History, Hazards and Opportunities*. **Educational Record**, (Summer, 1979), p. 318.

²⁶ Lynne B. Iglitzin, *Orwell's, in 1984: Challenges to Global Education*. **The Social Studies**, Vol. 75, (March/April, 1984), p. 54.

and further progress of humanity. The instrument by which this will be accomplished is education. For that reason, education belongs at the very center of international relations and not, as it is now, at the far periphery.²⁷

In the past, we have provided education directed toward creating responsible national citizenship. We are not in a circumstance where we need to seriously prepare our graduates for world citizenship. Several years ago, James A. Perkins pointed toward the international aspect of academic freedom and scholarly pursuit. He said, "To join this community (of intellectuals) is to become part of a world that knows no boundaries, whose arena is the total knowledge acquired by all mankind, whose curiosity is never satisfied, whose standards and values are set not by tradition or belief, but by the interactable nature of truth."²⁸ There are some common bonds among university based intellectuals which transcend international boundaries. These are likely to be the desire to pursue scholarly research, a never-ending search for truth; the close analysis of subject matter that appears to have been settled; rejection of prejudice; and a willingness to contribute to an international body of knowledge. This is our challenge.²⁹

It may well be that we educators, who because of our position in life have more time to reflect on issues besetting mankind than most people in other professions, will have to be the ones to establish bridges of understanding and cooperation among the nations of the world. In this process, we will hopefully resolve international differences through discussions and compromise rather than force. The stake in this whole matter may well be the survival of our planet. "The schools are the most logical place to begin preparing Americans to function successfully as citizens of a country that must provide world leadership."³⁰

Sir Eric Ashby once said that, "A university's greatest task is not to reflect yesterday but to illuminate tomorrow." We need to direct our institutions toward this objective. The need to expand the international dimension in higher education in the United States is a clear, exciting, demanding task of illuminating today and tomorrow, and one in which we must succeed. I am optimistic that Midwestern State University will make a contribution toward meeting this extremely important educational need.

²⁷ Pyle, *Our Shortfall in International Competence*, p. 31.

²⁸ Torsten Housen, *The Community: Its Nature and Responsibilities*, Steven K. Bailey, Editor, **Higher Education in the World Community** (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1972), p. 198.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 198.

³⁰ Carel M. Anderson, *Will Schools Educate People for Global Understanding and Responsibility?* **Phi Delta Kappan**, Vol. 61, (October, 1979), p. 111.

THE WISDOM OF ROBERT FROST*

by

Baird W. Whitlock*

As Robert Frost sprawled in the easy chair in his farmhouse in Vermont, he looked at the three of us and asked, "Have you ever read Burton's translation of the **Arabian Nights**?" We each allowed as how we had not, and off he went, telling us of the story of the man who couldn't keep from being king. That was how a friendship with the man I had come to recognize as America's leading poet started.

The three of us were young instructors at Middlebury College. I had just graduated from Rutgers and had managed to get a position at Middlebury in spite of having only a B.A. degree. There were lots of reasons for choosing that college as a place to start teaching, but none was more exciting than the prospect of getting to meet Robert Frost somewhere along the line. I knew that he summered near Middlebury and was connected with the Breadloaf School of English, but beyond that I was ignorant of most things about him except his poetry.

Like so many other college students, I had heard him give a reading while I was an undergraduate, and, like almost everyone who had ever attended one of those affairs, I was immediately taken by him as a person. And I loved his poetry, largely because it had the true New England note that I had come to admire through many summers in the mountains since my childhood. Some of that love was misdirected, of course. One of the first arguments I had had with a professor on returning to college after the war had been at an English Society meeting, at which he had said that Frost was really on the side of "Good fences make good neighbors" in "The Mending Wall." I was appalled at what I considered a very blind reading of the poem. I had a lot to learn about Frost.

It was impossible to spend more than a week at Middlebury without learning a good deal about the poet. Most people referred to him in terms coming close to idolatry; others loved to tell and retell examples of his New England crustiness. But there were three sources of genuine information: Doc Cook, the head of the American Literature Department and the Breadloaf School of English, had known Frost for years and was one of Frost's genuine hiking companions; Arthur Healey, the head of the Art Department, had vacationed with Frost and was able to reveal a side of the man different from most of the reports I had heard; and Don Putnam, one of the group of three of us on that first trip, had visited Frost several times at the farm and had had Frost read his poetry. That farm, I soon came to know, was on the left side of Route 125 over the Green Mountains, up a dirt road marked only by a mailbox for the Homer Noble Farm. Ted Morrison, a Harvard professor, and Kay, his wife and Frost's secretary and buffer against the world, lived in the farmhouse with their family during vacations. Frost's cabin was in calling distance up the hillside.

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By the end of my first year at Middlebury, I had a pretty good idea of what America's leading living poet was like: lovable but crusty, super-patriotic even in a day when almost everyone still had a feeling of pride about World War II, individualistic in person as he was in poetry, biased on a number of subjects -- especially "obscure" poetry -- but in every way fascinating. By early spring I had become as interested in the man as in his poetry, and I kept trying to find someone who would give me the chance to meet Frost on his own turf. That person turned out to be Don Putnam. Don called Kay Morrison and asked if he could come up for a visit and bring along a couple of his friends; Frost gave his approval. The third member of the party was Don's and my best friend, Pardon Tillinghast.

Naturally I went to both Doc Cook and Arthur Healey for advice. It was 1949, a new collected works of Frost was about to appear, and his stature in American poetry made the idea of visiting him a major event for which one certainly prepared. Doc told me to relax because Frost certainly would; Arthur Healey gave me even better advice. He told me of his vacations with Frost. They agreed before they started that they wouldn't discuss each other's vocation. Frost was to be a farmer and Arthur a builder or architect. Arthur's point was that Frost would be more himself if he wasn't treated as a major poet, and I would learn a lot more about him as a man if I let him move to any subject he felt like talking about. In the years that followed, I often blessed Healey for the advice. I approached Frost in the role in which he felt completely at ease and one which we shared: teacher. When he moved on to his own poetry, it was always at his own decision.

Having found that we were not acquainted with the story of the king who could not successfully abdicate but was continually thrown back into leadership, Frost took off, explicating the story, working on the general idea of people whose ability took away their freedom from responsibility, working up phrases that put his ideas in better and tighter form. Although none of us knew it at the time, we were at the birth of a poem. The book lay on the arm of the chair in which he sat, and he would occasionally read us passages. For the next year I watched the idea grow, first at a talk at Middlebury, where actual lines of poetry were now forming, usually in words close to those he was groping for that May afternoon, then in the finished poem, "How Hard It is to Keep from Being King when It's in You and in the Situation," the next summer.

When Frost discovered that Pardon was an historian, he moved away from the **Arabian Nights** -- after a short discussion onto the high quality of Burton's translation which was quite different from his usual position against translations in general ("There aren't any ideas you can't find in English just as well as in other languages") -- to Roman and Greek history. It is not surprising that he almost worked himself into teaching classics at Harvard. His knowledge of ancient history was astounding, and he enjoyed showing off to a professional historian. Pardon asked if he had read a recent book on the late empire, and Frost replied, "I seldom read; I reread. I leave the reading up to you young folks." We took that the way it was intended: a valuable lesson on going back to sources again and again rather than trying always to keep up with the new. He also showed by what he said that he knew what the latest scholarship was even though he might not have read the book. It was not a far thrust to get on to the matter of progress, and Frost quoted:

Bury says so
Inge says so
How do the scales act?
so-so.

Don brought the talk around to poetry and asked, "What do you need for a poem?" Frost thought for a flicker of a moment and said, "A tenable position." That led to some quick and appreciative comments on Catullus, whom he always claimed as a major influence on him. It was also at that point that he showed his ability to quote from almost any poet he ever mentioned. For a poet who has been criticized as being interested only in his own work, Frost showed a side I have never met in any other poet: the willingness and ability to memorize astounding amounts of other poets' works, from the classics to the most contemporary. It was noticeable that when he criticized many modern poets, he still knew them by heart.

When he discovered that Pardon was a strong Episcopalian, Frost dropped his first description of Eliot as a "Cocktailian Episcopalian." Then he launched off into a story that Dorothy Canfield Fisher told him she ran across in the Paris archives. It seems that there was a French fishing village during the time of the Inquisition in which all of the men went off for week-long fishing expeditions. One time, just after the men had left, an inquisition team arrived, complete with investigators, lawyers, and judge. They went through the village, looking for stories of potential witches among the women and managed to stir up considerable gossip of an incriminating kind, worked up cases against a few, put them on trial, and were proceeding to execution. Only one woman kept her head and sent one of the older children down the coast to find the husbands, who always fished near the shore. The men, when they heard the report, hoisted sail and returned as quickly as possible, arriving just before the fires were to be lit. Leaping from their boats, they drove the inquisition team out of town and then returned and spanked all the women involved. The ending was one I was to hear many times later: "It may not be true, but it should have been."

It was not until the end of June in 1950 that I had a similar chance to sit down with Frost up at his cabin. In the meantime I had visited with old friends of his in England, and we talked about his life there. But most of the talk was about poetry and metrics. He defined a poem as "a story which cannot be retold in any other words than those actually used." Then he got onto the language of poetry and the importance of learning the right sound from ordinary language. He pushed a lot farther than Wordsworth on this one. He said that the language of farmers was often naturally poetic. One example had happened at a recent baseball game in which he had taken part in Ripton, the mountain village in which the Noble Farm was located. One of the farmers was asked the time, and he replied that the sun was "still three hours high." He had an even better example, though, one which he described as just about the best line of poetry he had ever heard. One time he was giving a reading in Tennessee and asked his host if he could have a ride out into the mountains to see how the farmers worked in that kind of country. On one particularly precipitous hillside, a farmer was making his way around boulders in the middle of the field, working a simple plow drawn by a single horse. Frost got out of the car and leaned against the fence, country-style, knowing that no farmer could resist taking up a similar position on the other side of the fence, ready

for conversation. The farmer did indeed come down to the fence and lean over it. The conversation started in the usual desultory fashion, and Frost introduced himself as a farmer himself. Then he couldn't resist telling the Tennessean that in New England the farmers gather up the rocks and stones in the fields and make drystone walls around the edges, which is both protection and a way of clearing the field. The farmer thought about it a while and then replied, "I leave 'em lay where God flang 'em."

This was the first time I heard him discuss the long argument he had had with Sandburg over rhyme and meter. He said that he had a continuing fight with Sandburg over free verse. "I would as soon write free verse without rhyme as play tennis with the net down." The last time they met, Sandburg had contended that regular rhyme, as in

In the Bay of Bengal
I lost my all

was not as good as

In the Bay of Bengal
I lost my shirt.

Frost disagreed and said that Sandburg wasn't playing fair, as he used a stronger second line. The best solution would be

In Mt. Dessert
I lost my shirt.

Then, with the usual sly look that accompanied the delivery of a good line, "I wonder what the best second line would be for "In Paris, France,----"

He also told of the early kind of experimentation he put himself through to get the right sound:

There's that cat got in
Out you go, you cat.
He'll be right back.

Then he retold the Paris archive story of the Inquisition in France. This time, he said he had written about such religious fanaticism in **A Masque of Mercy**:

By something to believe in Jesse means
Something to be fanatical about
So as to justify the orthodox
In saving heretics by slaying them,
Not on the battlefield, but down in cellars.
That way's been tried too many times for me.
I'd like to see the world tried once without it.

Two days later, during another conversation, he got on to Ezra Pound, retelling how he first met Pound, of the review that Pound wrote, and all the rest of that relationship which is now famous. But he was more interested in Pound's influence at this point. Of the group that had gathered around Pound, he said, "They used to get together of an evening and rewrite each others poetry -- see how many words they could take out." On one night Pound had gone over one of Frost's poems several times and then proclaimed triumphantly, "I've got you by two syllables!" Frost said that he walked out and never went back after that one. But Frost's summary of Pound, although phrased exorbitantly, remains a fascinating one: "Pound must be the greatest

teacher on record. He showed Eliot how to write and Yeats how to rewrite everything they wrote." He told of seeing Pound's editing of some of Yeats' work and said he didn't see why Yeats bowed to Pound so completely.

Lawrance Thompson, Frost's biographer, makes a great point of Frost's negative gossip in regard to other poets. It becomes a keystone to the character of Frost that is presented in the biography. That seems strange to me, not because Frost didn't gossip, but because I have never known a writer -- or for that matter, an artist in any field -- who was not up on the current gossip about other artists. Some of that gossip is bantering, some cruel, but all to the point in that it gets at the heart somehow of the creative process that the artist himself is aware of. Pound did indeed have an incredible influence on people; some gave in to him, others revolted against his pressures. But Frost did little more than reflect the state of the art in the group of poets around Pound in those early years in England.

It was during this discussion that I first heard Frost attack poetic obscurity. To modern obscurantist poets he said, "You got somethin' you want to hide? Well, keep it." And about Eliot in particular, "A poem shouldn't need footnotes before, during, or after reading."

Talk about Pound led him off into a discussion of publishing in general, and he ended with a generalization that has stayed with me through the years: "The most dishonest business in the world is education. The next most dishonest is publishing. Where they meet is scholarship."

It was during this conversation that Frost opened up the darker side of his mind and experience for the first time. Once he came to trust someone, he was willing to open the door into his insecurity as long as the other person didn't push. It was at this point that Arthur Healey's advice paid off in getting to know the poet. Frost quoted from "Provide, Provide"

No memory of having starred
Atones for later disregard
Or keeps the end from being hard.

Better to go down dignified
With boughten friendship at your side
Than none at all. Provide, provide!

and said that ending was not as light hearted as it appears. I believe it was during this conversation that he first reminded me of Solomon's dictum: "Better a live dog than a dead lion."

A year later we spent another afternoon alone at the cabin, and the conversation turned immediately to the subject of Sandburg. Frost said that Sandburg had just sent him a book of poetry with an insincere piece of praise written in on the leaf, but he still felt that Sandburg was "a lovable hulk of a man." Once Sandburg had driven up to the farm, dressed like a business man, and when Frost appeared in his usual farm attire, Sandburg had snapped Frost's suspenders and called him "Clarence Darrow," which, to Frost, indicated a lack of understanding of anyone who was not putting on a show. He summed up the difference between the two of them by saying that Sandburg dressed like a farmer for public appearances and wore city clothes normally, whereas he wore farm clothes normally and wore a tuxedo when he went on stage. I have since found many people who felt that Frost's rural clothes were a pose, but they were far from it. He was the most uncomfortable

of men when dressed up; but his social sense was such that he was intensely uncomfortable when he felt he was not dressed correctly for an occasion.

I reminded him of our conversation the previous summer when he talked about Sandburg and playing tennis with the net down. That fall Sandburg had been reported as saying at a poetry reading in Chicago, "Frost says that writing poetry without rhyme or meter is like playing tennis with the net down. But I say that you can play a better game with the net down." I asked him what his reply to that would be (I did not realize at the time how long this particular public argument had been going on). He thought a bit and then said, "Sure you can play a better game with the net down -- and without the racket and balls---but it ain't tennis."

The conversation shifted to politics and ultimately to Calvin Coolidge. Frost described him as "a Spartan with a sense of humor added." He said that Plato had described Coolidge in the **Protagoras**. He then proceeded to give examples of Coolidge's conciseness and political sense of truth. Instead of the usual stories, they were ones about the White House. It seems that Coolidge took a long nap after lunch each day. One day things began to go wrong during the nap, and secretaries, the cabinet ministers, and others all wanted to get to Coolidge, who continued sleeping. His secretary finally could not keep everyone out of the office, and they began crowding in, keeping still in order not to wake the President. Still, there was a good deal of shuffling and minor sounds. Finally Coolidge opened his eyes, without moving, surveyed the crowd standing around with papers in their hands, and asked, "United States still runnin'?" Frost felt that that was a greater statement on the presidency than anything Roosevelt had said at length.

Another story was that someone had told Coolidge that his father could have been made Secretary of State under Teddy Roosevelt for the asking. Cal replied, "Reminds me of the story of a man who offered another one all the kingdoms of the world from a mountain top. Only trouble was he didn't own them!"

Later we moved to a general discussion of philosophy. Frost said, "God created two beliefs and one unbelief. The two beliefs were science and religion; the one unbelief was philosophy." The latter is the critic of the other two and has only a negative or trimming position.

On the nature of God, "The only thing God cannot do is create a stick with only one end." That sense of God's omnipotence with the single limit of self-contradiction was a constant with Frost, even though he would strike out at what he considered unfairnesses in Biblical story and theology. He certainly felt that strife was not beyond the limit of God's ability or willingness to impose. It is instead a major source of God's interaction with man. "Any strife brings disappointment that is meaningful, and only those kinds of disappointment are worthwhile." "Perhaps it's not worth winning a game unless you could have lost it." At that point, he got up from his Morris chair and took the volume of poems that I had on my lap. He wanted to read "An Empty Threat" in order to show his early feeling about the importance of that potential of defeat for true victory:

Give a head shake
Over so much bay
Thrown away
In snow and mist

That doesn't exist,
I was going to say,
For God, man or beast's sake,
Yet does perhaps for all three.

Don't ask Joe
What it is to him.
It's sometimes dim
What it is to me,
Unless it be
It's the old captain's dark fate
Who failed to find or force a strait
In its two-thousand-mile coast;
And his crew left him where he failed,
And nothing came of all he sailed.

It's to say, 'You and I'
To such a ghost,
'You and I
Off here
With the dead race of the Great Auk!'
And, 'Better defeat almost,
If seen clear,
Than life's victories of doubt
That need endless talk talk
To make them out.'

The conversation shifted to the marxists, and he said that he regretted that we had no real message of hope as a certain writer he had just read in an Australian magazine had for China. I soon found that whenever he got on the subject of Russia or Socialism, he would quote from his own poems:

I advocate a semi-revolution.
The trouble with a total revolution
(Ask any reputable Rosicrucian)
Is that it brings the same class up on top.

and

I never dared be radical when young
For fear it would make me conservative when old.

Talking about science, he said that he once questioned the physicist Arthur Compton as to whether we had any scientists greater than Franklin and Edison. Compton had to admit that the answer was probably no. Frost feared that we excelled, apparently, only in the mechanical rather than in scientific genius. Eventually the conversation wandered through engineering to Hoover. He said that we really couldn't say much about Hoover, as we really didn't know him: "For now we see through the press darkly." The question of whether or not Hoover should have foreseen the Depression led him to foresight in general. In opposition to Shelley, Frost argued that poets didn't have foresight; they had insight, which provided "apparent foresight." That led him on to one of his favorite subjects: the relationship of science and the humanities. He said that Shakespeare had provided the greatest statement on

the dualism we have today of science and the humanities; it was of the star "Whose worth's unknown although his height be taken." He indicated that the scientists could have the height as long as they left us the worth.

A month later, I went back up to the cabin in the late afternoon for several hours. Usually he either came out on the porch or his two schnauzers, Sheba and Mark, rushed down the hill in full cry to meet the intruder. This afternoon there was no sign of life, although Kay Morrison had indicated that he was expecting me. I knocked on the porch screen door, and still there was no sign of life. So I walked in and peeked around the edge of the door. Frost was lying back in his chair with a book open on the expanse of his stomach.

"What's the matter, Mr. Frost?"

"I'm being mad at Shakespeare."

"Why are you being mad at him?"

"He made it impossible for all the rest of us!"

Later that day we got back to Shakespeare, and he talked about the assignment he used to give his classes that made Shakespeare a living force rather than an object of scholarship. He would assign a page of Shakespeare or ask each student to pick his own. Then each student was to write personal footnotes from his own experiences or reading that would help explicate the lines.

He said that he had only one rule for tests: he always gave tests that no one could cheat on. For one final exam he asked, "Do something you think would please me." He said that what he really wanted was to have them hand in nothing, even though he gave out three blue books to each student. One boy wrote out a Hardy poem that he had memorized, which was next best.

He once asked his class to write something they once believed in but didn't any longer. One boy, named Bartlett, came from a family that was very class conscious and didn't like have their son taught by a poet. The parents told him at one evening parent-teacher meeting that they were glad that **their** son didn't have any imagination. The boy, naturally enough, was withdrawn and antagonistic in class. While the rest of the class dutifully wrote out their essays, this boy sat at right angles in his desk, not looking at Frost or writing. Then, just before the bell, he leaned forward and wrote a single sentence. Frost could hardly wait for the class to leave as the bell rang and rushed down to pick up the paper. On it was written, "I once thought the trees on the ridge of the hill at the other end of town were palm trees on the Gulf coast." "And how's that for no imagination!"

I had given him my volume of his poems to write in on the last visit, and now he had me read what he had written:

A Charitable Way to Look at Socialism
Had but Columbus known enough
He might have boldly made the bluff
That better than De Gama's gold
He had been given to behold
The races future trial place
A fresh start for the human race.

He might have fooled them in Madrid.
I was deceived by what he did.
If I had had my way when young
I should have had Columbus sung
As a god who had given us
A more than Moses' exodus.

But all he did was spread the room
For our enacting out the doom
Of being in each other's way,
And so put off the weary day
When we would have to put our mind
On how to crowd yet still be kind.

He said that this section of his longer poem **America is Hard to See** stated best his whole feeling on Democracy and Socialism, especially the last two lines.

This is as good a place as any to mention the one example of which I am aware that Frost let someone else talk him out of a good line of poetry. Years later he told me that he had read the Columbus poem at a university, and at the party afterward, a History professor had said, "I'm surprised at you, Mr. Frost, for such bad history. The capital of Spain in 1492 wasn't Madrid." Frost worried about that the rest of the evening. The next day, he saw the same man and said, "I can change the line if you think it would be better: 'He could have fooled Valladolid.'" The professor wisely admitted that Frost's original line, though inaccurate, was far the superior line. To the mystification of most of his friends, however, Frost later himself changed the line to reflect the more historical truth.

Later that afternoon he moved into talk about how much he hated people analyzing his poems. He felt that people did the "most," therefore the worst, with "Mowing." He said he disliked people "talking about" deeper meanings in "A Tuft of Flowers." I never heard him say that people were wrong in finding deeper meanings for themselves. Again and Again he said, "a poet has a right to anything a reader can get out of a poem." He was usually amused by readers getting "messages" out of "Stopping by Woods." He told of a young man who asked what the inner content of the last lines meant, and Frost answered, "Why I suppose I meant, 'Let's get the hell out of here, it's late.'" While he was on that poem he told for the first time the story of being asked why he repeated the last line: "Why I guess I just couldn't think of another line." I know of only one acquaintance of Frost who ever took that answer seriously -- and wrote an essay that has made its way into any number of college collections.

He talked about death a little on this visit; he said he wasn't much attracted to the idea of death or dying, but the idea of **having been** dead a thousand years was pretty interesting.

Later that summer he gave a talk to a group of students at the Breadloaf School, which I was attending that year before going off to Scotland. He started off with comments about the habit of tearing apart a poem for critical reasons and even dissecting individual parts. "Sometimes if we like the whole, we have to cheat ourselves on the parts." This led him into a long discussion of what he always called "correspondence": whether a reader can get the poet's images or feel the antennae the poet puts out. His example was his

image in a poem about late fall: "The banks had not yet grown together." Does the reader feel the image of ice growing out from the banks that way? Does the reader have any experience with that natural event? If not, the reader should not worry about it. It just doesn't work for him. Obviously the writer can't worry about that sort of thing when he writes the poem. Both sides simply have to admit that at that point there is no correspondence and go on.

He shifted to religion and art: "One God makes for tragedy, more for comedy." His point was that you can always call in the others.

It was two years before I was to see Frost again, although we kept in contact through my letters and his Christmas cards. Within a month of my return in 1953, however, I was back up at the cabin with my new wife, Joan, at his invitation to take us out to lunch. When we arrived, he was being got ready by Kay (she used to say that you just couldn't keep Frost tidy). He took one look at me and turned to Kay, "But he doesn't have a tie on; do I have to wear one?" He seemed very relieved when we all said that he didn't have to. He soon found to his satisfaction that Joan was a person he didn't have to play to. I suspect he was afraid that I was bringing over what he would consider a pushy British university type.

Naturally much of the conversation was about Great Britain and his experiences. As was so often the case, he began by talking about his best friend, Edward Thomas, about whom he wrote "The Road Not Taken." He described Thomas' wife as "always saying things that were better left unsaid. Some things you just don't have to say." Frost felt she was constantly breaking the barriers that were a legitimate means of self-protection ("Good fences make good neighbors").

He then moved on to Pound and was quite mellow towards him this time. He told of Pound's looking him up and asking if Frost had a copy of his new book yet. Frost said no, that the publishers still had it. Pound took him around and wangled a publisher's copy, went back to Frost's place, and sat down and read some.

"Do you mind if I like some of this?"

"Not at all; go right ahead."

Pound walked up and down, reading, "acted all het up," and left, still reading, without saying a word. Frost didn't like this kind of dramatic flair and felt it was basically false. However, he said that he was thinking of seeing Pound some day -- at his son's request. Later, of course, Frost was the one who managed to have Pound freed from hospital imprisonment and allowed to return to Italy, but they never saw each other, and Pound never wrote to Frost. I think Frost was happy that he didn't.

He went on to say that you can't judge modern poetry. "It's what you like or don't." He said he thought Eliot was far above all the rest, especially of his followers. I asked him what he thought of the **Four Quartets**, and he neatly dodged the question. It was one of the few times I broke the unwritten law of our relationship. Later he asked me, "Did you notice how I didn't answer you about Eliot?" I must say that through the years of our talks, he never did engage in criticism of contemporary poets. His comments, both those of criticism and praise, were about the poets themselves, not about their particular works.

During lunch we got back onto education again. He talked about assigning themes and ways to get out of reading them. His first example was

to take them back to class and ask who wanted theirs back. Once there was no answer, so he tossed them into the basket and said, "Why should I read what you don't want to reread?" The second example was to tell them to keep handing in papers and he'd read one some time and grade it, so they'd better do their best all the time. The third example was to read one paper from each student within the first month of class and then tell them that would be the mark for the year, "unless they thought it was too high. Then they could hand in others to lower the grade to its right level." One fellow tried to play him along, saying that he was working on a theme. Frost knew he wasn't. Towards the end of the year, Frost said, "Look, we both know you're lying to me. Since I can't let you work on your own, you'll have to make up in quantity what you haven't done in quality." He told the student he didn't care what the writing was like, just as long as it came in. He said he thought that weighing papers probably was the best way of marking a class.

Anyone who wants to take Frost's remarks at their face value rather than seeing what he was driving at about the nature of teaching writing is free to do so -- and miss the entire point. It was interesting to me in the early sixties to discover that an excellent three-year experiment in teaching composition at San Jose State College in California backed up all of Frost's ideas.

That fall, on another visit, he mentioned that he had once suggested a theme topic that a high school class thought was "sissified." It was to write about a childhood toy or plaything that you still have or that your mother keeps. That led him on to some of his childhood possessions. He said he had only a few early things left, like some books with marginal notes. He began reading when he was about fourteen. The first book he could remember was **Scottish Chieftans**. Another one of the earliest books was one that made its way into one of his poems: **Our Place Among the Infinities**. He still had it: "all about astronomy." Pardon Tillinghast, who had come up with Joan and me, asked if he read any Scott as a boy. Frost answered that he read the first volume of **Tales of My Grandfather** when he was young. He said **Ivanhoe** was a "very fine story." He would rather get his history through Scott than many other ways. "Scott is uneven, though -- often left off a novel before he had really completed it." Pardon mentioned the historian who was so angered by Scott that he went out and did his own research. Frost supposed so, and said people had the same reaction about Tacitus on Tiberius. Tiberius was one of the great question marks of history. "Suetonius was full of all the neighbors' gossip, but was that the man?" He went on to compare today's world with Flaminius and the Roman Empire. Flaminius was a good idealist and set out to free the slave countries. "That was all right except the Empire was coming on. Once you freed them, you had to keep them free. Then you had to make sure they kept the right thoughts to remain free. Finally, to protect their freedom, you had to take them into the Empire." We fear Russia because of the same sort of process, and they fear us also. "I think we're a little more disinterested than they are."

Frost was deeply concerned during the McCarthy era with the plight of his many friends who were under attack for their liberal positions. He did not share their opinions in many cases, but he was aware of the stupidity of the attacks of men like McCarthy. He talked about the many people who were being hurt by the communist scare. He said his friend Louis Untermeyer (whom he always admired for not being "one of the kiss-and-tell liberals") was losing prestige because of his communist friends. Frost thought it a little

funny that Untermeyer was now reaping the rewards of going into public speaking before various groups: "the literature committee asks him to come, and the political committee cancels the engagement."

Another close friend caught in the political squeeze at the time was Dorothy Canfield Fisher. He said he had driven down with Arthur Healey a few days before, feeling very sentimental about his friendship with Fisher. Apparently she had her name on about twenty "subversive" organization lists. He thought "a person almost deserved punishment just for joining twenty organizations. But she doesn't have a subversive bone in her body." She was just very kind and friendly, "a real lady -- there aren't many."

As usual, when he started on politics, he shifted eventually to religion. This afternoon he seemed more against the church than usual. He got off onto the mystics and said there was a good deal of unhealthy psychology mixed up in their actions.

He said that he had been at a gathering with John Crowe Ransom and Allen Tate some time before, just after Tate had changed to the Roman Catholic Church. As they were talking, Auden wandered up (having changed to High Church), and the foursome was finally joined by a Catholic priest, with "much fathering all around." Frost turned to the priest and said, "I trust that you're not a convert." The priest was a "good fellow and laughed and said, No, he wasn't." Frost replied, "Let's shake on not being converts," and they did, much to the annoyance of Tate and Auden. Frost said that day and many other times that he couldn't stand converts to anything. Then followed a line that I heard from him often in many different contexts: "I want to go to Hell in my own way." Usually it took the form of the dictum: "Everyone has a right to go to Hell in his own way." This time he carried his remarks a bit farther and commented on his opposition to current passport restrictions, linking them with the silliness of laws against suicide. "A person ought to have the right to leave when he wants to."

The next spring he came up to the University of Vermont where I was teaching to give a talk, and I introduced him by quoting from a poem written by Wilfrid Gibson during Frost's early days in Britain. Frost got up slowly -- the poem had obviously affected him more than I had planned for -- and took my arm for help in making his way to the podium. Once he got over the initial nervousness which accompanied every public performance, he brought the general topic around to freedom and play. He started by talking about the playing with ideas and words which is poetry and conversation. He turned towards me and said that he almost considered me his son: I was still **his** boy. "But in conversation we are not democratic but intellectual equals, which is necessary for the 'play.'" He said that he always tried in a poem "to play with something I trust the reader already knows." Then he invited the audience to play with him. He said he probably came to the approach from nursery rhymes and children's songs. He pointed out that nursery rhymes always had two levels: the one the children got and a deeper one that the adult got. He made it clear that he didn't have anything Freudian in mind by that. He gave the example of

Pussycat, pussycat, where have you been?
I've been to London to see the coronation.

(Elizabeth's coronation had taken place less than two years before this talk, which forms the basis for that particular example of playfulness.)

Pussycat, pussycat, what did you see there?
I saw a mouse run under a chair.

The point, Frost said, was that you didn't see anything you couldn't see in Vermont. "This is a very profound poem. It's against foreign travel."

He then moved on to his familiar ground: he played with the differences between "freedom of" and "freedom from." The first was good; the second bad. He said he wrote in rhythm and rhyme because he wanted the freedom of them, just as he wanted the freedom of the dictionary and grammar and syntax -- and colloquial speech. As was often the case, he interspersed veiled remarks on "symbolic" writers and new critics, and the house roared its approval. Throughout the talk, he would return to his opening approach of keeping the reader with him, with remarks like "Are you still on?" Or, later, in the middle of a poem, "Are you still with me?" He said a poem succeeded only when the reader could keep on. He said it was the same situation with stories or jokes. He told of his not catching the joke Irwin Edman pulled on him one night. Edman had told Frost, "Good fences make good burglars." Frost didn't get it, but fought back with, "I suppose you're pulling the old routine about if there aren't laws, no one can break them." Later in the evening, the man repeated the joke, and Frost, getting peevish, said, "What he means is that fences have broken glass on top." It wasn't until the middle of the night that he got it. It was a delightful story for Frost to tell on himself, but most of the audience that night didn't get it either.

Later in the evening at a party someone asked him about his own writing habits. He said he figured that he had about 600 poems covering sixty years, so he had averaged about ten a year. "I don't write by the day or week -- probably by the year." He said that he always tried to hold back after writing a poem before he started on a new one so that he didn't repeat himself, but this led to the problem of always being slightly rusty when he set out to write a new one. He said he couldn't live near other writers "because I always feel ashamed when they ask me what I did last night -- probably nothing!" He pointed out that several of the first ten poems he wrote are in the **Collected Poems**, so he's really represented in the book. Then he said something I had never heard him admit before, even though he did it lightly and with grace: "I'm getting ambitious nowadays." He said he found he wished some of his rivals were dead.

When asked about his teaching, he said he hated teaching writing. "All you can say after reading a paper is 'yep' or 'unh unh.'" He said he had a student once who handed in a lot of tolerable stuff and Frost was afraid the boy would get the idea that Frost thought he was a good writer. One morning he took up one of the boy's manuscripts, looked at the kid, and said,

"Do you mean it?"

"No, I'm going to be a lawyer."

It cleared the air considerably.

That led naturally to a discussion of poets. "Poets die young. Some of them die into philosophers, some into teachers, some into critics. Most just die." His explanation: "they lack the driving force to write." Some just give in to economic necessity. He said that if he had a lot of money to give, he'd do it in the form of small life-time salaries that wouldn't support them completely but would take away the danger of starvation -- "see if that helped."

At breakfast he got onto a number of topics. On the Civil War, he said he admired Grant and his ability to see the whole war. Lee only saw the fight of the sovereign state of Virginia. This discussion slid into one of the longer religious statements I heard from him. He said, "There isn't any atheist. It doesn't take long before you can find what a person really believes in. If a man really were an atheist, the only logical conclusion would be suicide. The main cause of real depression is when a man puts his God in terms of power." He said he once got into an argument with two people on the Civil War, one of whom, a northerner, had a father who helped command Negro troops in the war, and the other, a woman, a southerner, who was rabid on the subject, whose father was a bishop. He asked them which side God was on. The women said a bishop ought to know about that, and he said God was on the southern side --" Frost added, "but they lost."

He spoke about the Lord's Prayer and said he had been thinking about it recently -- how strange it was: "Lead us not into temptation." "After all, that is the devil's business, not God's. You have the jobs mixed up. It's immoral to suggest God would do it." And "Thy kingdom come, on earth as it is in heaven." "If His kingdom comes on earth, what need would there be of a heaven?" He went on to say that "the mind rebels against the virgin birth." It was not the miracle that bothered him; it was the theological point that such a birth was only necessary to free Christ from original sin, which means that sex is sinful, and he couldn't accept that.

He then got on to Eliot and went over many of the positions he usually took about Eliot. He said Eliot was unquestionably the best of the whole group of obscure poets, but he criticized him for neglecting the "all-important matter of the sound of poetry -- except "The Hollow Men." He plays the game there." And then he added "Prufrock." He said he doubted whether any of the four quartets were poetry by that standard. He said someone had read him a section of the quartets the other day, "and it's not poetry. It's a prose section on an idea, and not a very good idea. The trouble is that it isn't even his. He's got it worked out that without space there's no time." Frost said, "He's got it worked out -- but it's not his."

The next year I was teaching at Colby College and got him to come up for the graduation speech. His idea was short but apt. He said that a college education was like knitting. You started a number of different projects, like a scarf or a tie or a hot place holder; maybe, if you were lucky, a pair of argyle socks. But you never finished any of them while you were at college. When you graduated, you put them all away in a drawer, and then the rest of your life you kept taking one and then another out of the drawer and worked on them. You never finished any of them, but if your college was a good one, you always kept working at them. Of course, he pointed out that it was ironic that he, who never graduated from college, should be talking to them under the circumstances.

That afternoon I drove him back across New England. The part of the conversation that sticks to me to this day more than anything else he ever said came during that drive. As we were headed down a long hill, he suddenly pointed out a farm at the bottom and said, "See that farm?" He then was quiet for over half an hour. When he broke the silence, it was to ask if I remembered the farm he had pointed to, and I said I did. He went on to explain that he owned it and that he had a daughter living on it. "She won't let

me visit, though.” The anguish in his voice was clear. He kept talking, however, explaining that he kept a couple employed to take care of her. He hoped that some day she would get over her bitterness towards him, but it was pretty obvious that he realized that in her psychological condition she never would. Again there was a silence, followed by, “I’ve skated on insecurity all my life, like thin ice.”

Two years later I was at Case Institute in Cleveland and in charge of the Humanities section of a self-study program. It gave me the chance to get back to the farm in Ripton. Before we got on to the subject of education, however, he wanted to talk about Eisenhower, whom he had always liked. He said he had been reading General Walter Smith’s **Eisenhower’s Six Great Decisions**, and he wanted to talk about the day the decision on Normandy was made. He went on to describe how Eisenhower had listened to all the various arguments and plans, then went around the conference table and asked each General what he thought should be done; then he broke the meeting up for coffee, etc., and went to a corner of the room and looked out of the window for about fifteen minutes. Without talking to anyone else, he called the meeting back to order, sat down, and announced that the invasion of Normandy would take place. Then he started the planning session. Frost looked at me and said, “Those fifteen minutes prove that he was a great man.” It was the kind of act of accepting responsibility for one’s own actions that always impressed Frost. He understood the loneliness of Eisenhower’s act.

On the subject of general education, Frost was both nicely flippant and perceptive. He spoke of once being told by a student that he was at college to become well-rounded. Frost’s reply was “What do you want to be well-rounded for -- want to roll down-hill?” His main contention about interdisciplinary courses was that they were valuable only if the student was the one to make the generalizations. If the teacher did the generalizing and made all the interdisciplinary connections, there was nothing unique about the course.

As usual, he was interested in all levels of education rather than just college. He had become more and more interested in the role of high school teachers. He observed that in England, any gathering after a poetry reading contained not only the university professors, doctors, lawyers, and leading town figures that showed up in America, but there were also a number of school teachers. That never happened in America. His solution was that high school education shouldn’t be “speeded up” but “toned up.” He was in favor of providing “chairs” for leading teachers in high schools and raising salaries to college level. And he was for more interaction between high school teachers and college faculty.

We talked about not only the lack of effectiveness in getting across the greatness of works of literature in class, but even the negative effects that often resulted. Frost said that we read literature in order for a book to light up for us: “We read for the one time a book lights up for us. If we’re lucky, maybe two or three times. Then we take all the books that have lit up men’s lives and assign them so that they won’t do it for our students.” He had no solution for this dilemma that faces all teachers of literature -- just a kind of sorrow in his voice. His one suggestion was that we not man-handle the works, but let the students react on their own.

Early in 1961 he came out to Case to give a talk on a very snowy evening. The main thesis of his talk was that science was the only human enterprise --

“a descent into matter.” He noted that he had said that recently at a Catholic college, and it had bothered a Catholic priest. Frost took him on and said that “God seemed to feel this way too -- the center of Christianity was God’s descent into matter. Wasn’t that what the Incarnation was about?” Back on the track of his talk, he said that it always had to be remembered who was doing the science: “me -- in other words, man. And the keeping in mind of this relationship was the business of the humanities.”

On science being the only human enterprise, he said, “So all real history is in almost a straight geographical line from the near east, let’s say Sumeria, northwest to America. It’s like a broad cinder track, and up to the present, it’s been a race along that track. In our days, we’ve left the ground like a pole vault.” As he did so often, he again used Shakespeare’s line on the star “Whose worth’s unknown, although his height be taken” to show the relationship of science and the humanities. Science could tell us about the star, but it takes the humanities to discuss the worth.

The next day I drove him down to his next engagement, at Ohio State, and he talked almost the entire way, going over many of the subjects we had covered in the past, but most of the notes of that conversation turn out to be about religion. “In spite of all the wonderful stories in Christianity and its emotional drawing power, the reason sticks at two things and won’t allow the mind to accept them: the first is that one man’s sin would cause the downfall of all men. The Adam story of temptation is a true one for each person, for we all have choices to make, and we all make the wrong ones. And then it is clear that we can’t make amends on our own. God has to take the initiative to get us back to Him. But to make Adam the cause of our sin is wrong. The second is the idea of the immaculate conception or the Virgin birth. We can’t believe that having children is sinful, and that’s the only reason for the doctrine -- to get Christ born without sin.”

The last note I have put down of my conversations with Frost was of the continuation of that discussion. I told him of an all-night session I had had in a cottage on Delaware Bay years before with an aging atheist. He had said that as far as he was concerned, the only possible prayer for a believer was “Thy Will be done.” Frost thought about it a while and then said, “No, the greatest prayer was ‘I believe. Help Thou my unbelief.’”

AN EVALUATION OF RECENT U.S. INTERNATIONAL TRADE POLICIES

by

Yoshi Fukasawa*

Faced with a growing trade deficit, protectionist sentiment in the U.S. has been on the rise. As if to highlight the great intensity of the problem the cover of the recent issue of **Time** magazine had the headline, "Trade Wars".¹ More than 300 pieces of protectionist trade legislation covering everything from lumber to waterbeds have also been introduced in Congress.² Even some traditional free trade backers began to question the unqualified acceptance of free trade.³

Formulating international trade policies is difficult in such an atmosphere. Free trade allows for substantial benefits to most of the economy (mainly consumers) through lower prices and more efficient use of economic resources. Yet, government could direct a substantial gain to specific groups (mainly import-competing producers) through trade policies of partially or totally limiting import competition. Policy makers must evaluate the benefits and costs of trade policies, considering the varied interests of the economy, in determining the best course for U.S. international trade policies.

This paper argues that protectionist policies would substantially reduce both the well being of U.S. and the efficiency of the world economy. The first section of the paper deals with the examination of the current U.S. trade deficits. The costs of protectionist measures of the recent past in the U.S. are presented in the second section. Finally policy recommendations of the realignment of the value of dollars in the short run and long-term commitment for further liberalization of world trade are discussed.

A growing sentiment for protectionist policies in U.S. arises from its mounting trade deficit. U.S. net exports, for example, deteriorated significantly in early 1980s with - \$109.1 billion in 1984, as shown in table 1. Among the industrialized countries listed in table 1, a net export surplus was recorded for the Federal Republic of Germany, Japan, and Canada. Furthermore, the surplus of those countries increased while the deficit of the United States and the United Kingdom grew in the early 1980s.

¹ *The Battle Over Barriers*, **Time** (October 7, 1985), pp. 22-34.

² Art Pine, *Protectionism Appeals to House and Senate But Falls Big Hurdles*, **Wall Street Journal** (July 31, 1985), p. 1 and p. 13.

³ Art Pine, *'Free-Trade' Backers Express Rising Doubt as U.S. Deficits Persist*, **Wall Street Journal** (October 16, 1985), p. 1 and p. 16.

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TABLE 1

	Net Exports of Selected Countries ¹ (billions of U.S. dollars)							
	1965	1970	1975	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984
U.S.	4.3	0.5	2.2	-36.2	-39.6	-42.6	-69.3	-109.1
France	-0.2	-1.0	-0.8	-18.9	-14.5	-19.0	-10.5	-5.8
F.R. Germany	0.3	4.3	15.2	4.9	12.2	21.1	16.5	14.6
Italy	-0.2	-1.8	-3.7	-22.0	-15.8	-12.7	-7.7	-9.0
United Kingdom	-2.3	-2.4	-9.9	-5.4	-0.5	-2.7	-8.5	-13.4
Japan	0.3	0.4	-2.0	-10.9	8.6	6.9	20.5	30.3
Canada	-0.2	2.5	-2.1	4.9	2.4	12.1	11.7	12.1

1.

Exports f.o.b. less imports c.i.f.

Source: Economic Report of the President, 1985, p. 353.

The increasing trade deficit has also had an impact on certain sectors of our economy. The effects have been concentrated in the tradable goods sectors; industries that export a sizable portion of output, industries that compete with imports, and their suppliers. Thus, many of the recent calls for protection from foreign competition can be traced directly to the difficulties experienced by several major import-competing industries. These difficulties stem largely from long-run losses in international competitiveness. Shifts in comparative advantage can be observed by examining changes in sectorial trade balances over time. Table 2 shows the net exports by sector from 1958 to 1980, adjusted for price changes. Some sectors of the economy including services and investment, agriculture, industrial machinery, chemicals, and scientific instruments show a gain in international competitiveness. Industries that have lost competitive advantage include electronic goods, basic iron and steel, footwear, apparel, textiles, and motor vehicles. The growing trade deficits in these sectors largely reflect shifts in comparative advantage to other countries.

TABLE 2

U.S. REAL TRADE BALANCES BY SELECTED SECTORS

SECTOR	NET EXPORTS (Million of 1967 \$)		
	1958	1980	%Change
Services and Investment Income	351	26,081	+7,330%
Agriculture	1,808	11,230	+5,211%
Industrial Machinery	2,298	4,623	+1,012%
Chemicals	311	2,928	+ 841%
Scientific Instruments	204	1,157	+ 467%
Electronic Goods	346	- 1,527	- 541%
Basic Iron and Steel	351	- 1,721	- 590%
Footwear, Apparel and Textiles	171	- 4,337	-2,436%
Motor Vehicles	728	- 6,649	-1,013%

Note: Net exports = Exports-Imports, adjusted for price changes (1967=100)

Source: Keith E. Maskus, "Risking Protectionism and U.S. International Trade Policy," Economic Review (Kansas City: FRBKC, July/August 1984), p. 5.

The magnitude of U.S. trade deficits in the early 1980s cannot, however, be explained satisfactorily or even largely by the shift in long-run comparative advantage. The recent surge in U.S. deficit, particularly beginning in 1982, has been caused by a combination of factors:

1. High-valued Dollars

During the past 15 years or so, the dollar along with other major currencies has been under a floating exchange rate system in which the value of a currency is basically determined by market force.⁴ During the late 1970s, the dollar was often said to be a weak currency facing great pressure stemming from double-digit inflation, slow economic growth and stagnated employment situation in the U.S. But beginning in the early 1980s, the dollar took on a strength totally different from the weakness of the 1970s. IMF **Annual Report 1985** notes:

The appreciation of the U.S. dollar relative to other major currencies, which had been a feature of the international monetary scene since the third quarter of 1980, continued during 1984 and the first two months of 1985. Indeed, the dollar experienced a sharp upward movement during the month of February 1985 that brought its effective exchange rate to a level 50 percent higher than its average over the decade 1974 to 1983, and more than 20 percent above its level at the end of 1983.⁵

It is important to note that there are several advantages to a strong dollar. A strong dollar contributes to reduce domestic inflation, to reflect inflow of capital, to help finance a \$200 billion federal government deficit, and to assist in the recovery of other economies. On the other hand, a strong dollar tends to make American tradables less attractive to those of other countries. Recent econometric studies showed that more than half of the American trade deficit was caused by the high-valued dollar in the early 1980s.⁶

2. Cyclical gap

The U.S. experienced a tremendous recovery beginning in November 1982 while the other industrialized economies remained relatively sluggish. Such a cyclical gap between the U.S. and its trading partners provided an environment conducive to the growth of the U.S. trade deficit.

3. Less Developed Countries Debt

The debt-ridden less developed countries have had difficulty in sustaining their imports of American products in recent years. Since approximately forty percent of U.S. exports go to the less developed countries (LDCs), a reduction in their ability to import, stemming mainly from their debt service problem, decreased substantially the U.S. potential for exports.

4. Protectionism

Every nation is involved in protectionism. Japan shields its domestic producers of telecommunication equipment and some agricultural products from foreign competition. European countries have barriers to protect agriculture.

⁴ For discussions of an international monetary system, see, for example, Herbert G. Grubel, **International Economics** (Richard D. Irwin, 1981), part 5.

⁵ International Monetary Fund, **Annual Report 1985** (Washington, DC: IMF, 1985), pp. 30-31.

⁶ Craig S. Hakio and J. Gregg Whittaker, *The U.S. Dollar-Recent Developments, Outlook, and Policy Options*, **Economic Review** (Kansas City: FRBKC, September/October 1985), p. 7.

Such trade restrictive measures by foreign countries tend to reduce the ability of U.S. producers to penetrate into foreign markets.

In the United States protectionist sentiment has become strong in recent years mainly because of alleged unfair trade practices by foreign countries. It is important to note that the U.S. is not an exception to this rule. For example the U.S. currently provides in the form of tariffs or non-tariff barriers protection to producers of books, benzenoid chemicals, ceramic tiles, canned tuna, rubber footwear, steel, textiles, motorcycles, peanuts, dairy products and more. In fact several studies have found that, on the average, Japanese markets are at least as open to imports as markets in the U.S. and Western Europe.⁷

There are, however, other compelling reasons for not instituting more protectionist policies in the U.S. Trade restrictions are often more harmful to the U.S. economy than commonly understood by the public. The costs to the society of trade restrictions outweigh the benefits to protected individual groups because trade restrictions cause substantial economic inefficiency. The costs are reflected in the high price domestic consumers must pay for goods protected from foreign competition. These higher prices, which in effect are hidden taxes, benefit workers and producers that produce the protected goods in the form of higher wages, profits, and employment. But since only a portion of the costs to consumers are thus into benefits for workers and producers, the costs of trade barriers to the society always exceed these benefits.

Empirical estimates show that recent American trade protection measures have indeed been an inefficient means of increasing the incomes of workers in the tradable goods sector. Table 3 illustrates the estimate that the ratio of costs to benefits of trade protection ranges from 2.0 for Japanese "voluntary" quota on autos to 10.1 for barriers on citizens band transceivers.

TABLE 3
ESTIMATED ANNUAL COSTS TO CONSUMERS
PER JOB PROTECTED BY VARIOUS TRADE BARRIERS

<u>Product and Restrictions</u>	<u>Job Protected</u>	<u>Average Earnings</u>	<u>Cost Per Job</u>	<u>Ratio of Cost To Earnings</u>
1. Citizens' Band Transceivers (tariffs, 1978-81)	587	\$ 8,500	\$85,539	10.1
2. Apparel (tariffs, 1977-81)	116,188	6,669	45,549	6.8
3. Footwear* (tariffs and quotas, 1977)	21,000	8,340	77,714	9.3
4. Carbon Steel* (tariffs and quotas, 1977)	20,000	24,329	85,272	3.5
5. Autos*	20,000	23,566	49,700	2.0
a. (Japanese, "Voluntary" quota, 1981-82)				
b. (Proposed local content law, 1986-91)	58,000	23,566	85,400	3.6

*In 1980 dollars

Sources: Figures for transceivers and apparel adapted from M.E. Markre and D.G. Tarr, *Effects of Restrictions on U.S. Imports: Five Case Studies and Theory*, Federal Trade Commission; Figures for Footwear and Carbon Steel from M. Weidenbaum and M. Munger, "Protection at Any Price?" *Regulations*, July/August 1983, p. 16, and R.W. Crandall, "Federal Government Initiatives to Reduce the Price Level", *FPEA*, 1978, p. 431. Auto figures for Japanese Voluntary quota are from Wilfred Ethier, *Modern International Economics*, pp. 186-189; and for proposed local content law from Keith E. Maskus, "Risking Protectionism", *Economic Preview*, Federal Reserve Bank of Kansas City (July/August 1984), p. 9.

⁷ See, for example Gary R. Saxonhouse, *The Micro- and Macro- economics of Foreign Sales to Japan*, in William R. Cline, ed., *Trade Policy in 1980s* (Washington, D.C.: Institute for International Economics, 1984), pp. 259-304.

The estimates clearly show that the elimination of trade barriers and compensating the workers in the affected industries for their lost income would be cheaper for the economy. For example, both consumers and workers would be better off if trade restrictions on apparel were replaced by an explicit tax on apparel purchases, while the proceeds were used to compensate workers who lost their jobs as a result of increased apparel imports. Assume, for example, that the explicit tax is set high enough to pay all displaced workers \$7,000 per year. The workers would benefit from the increase in income from \$6,669 to \$7,000; consumers would benefit because lower apparel prices would reduce their costs per job from \$45,549 to \$7,000. Thus, such an explicit tax would be lower than the implicit tax associated with trade barriers. Improved economic efficiency resulting from the elimination of trade barriers can, therefore, benefit everyone and the society as a whole, if the resulting gains are distributed between consumers and workers.

It may be argued that employment, not income, is a more important consideration in formulating trade policies. Even on this score, however, trade barriers are ineffective because trade barriers do not overall create but destroy jobs. One recent study, for example, estimates that by 1991 the proposed domestic content law for automobiles would eliminate 88,000 U.S. jobs in the importing, servicing, and selling of imported cars, with another 335,000 jobs lost due to the effects of inflation, restricted growth, and reduced exports.⁸ Accounting for 58,000 jobs protected, the content law would eliminate a net of 365,000 jobs in the U.S.

If protectionism is both costly and counter-productive, what are the solutions to the large U.S. trade deficits? The first and foremost is to lower the value of the dollar. A recent decision by the "Group of Five" to intervene into foreign exchange markets to realign the currencies produced only a short-term relief to the problem.⁹ The basic cause of the high value of the dollar is the \$200 billion of federal government deficits. Federal government deficits tend to push U.S. interest rates upward relative to those in foreign countries. Higher interest rates in the U.S., in turn, attract foreign investments in the U.S., which, in turn, generate a greater demand for dollars in foreign exchange markets. A rise in demand, *ceteris paribus*, increases the value of the U.S. dollars. Thus, a reduction in federal government deficits is essential to bring the dollar in line with other currencies.

The second solution is for the U.S. to take a more aggressive position in countering the so-called unfair trade practices by foreign countries. Section 301 of the Trade Act allows the President to take unilateral action against discriminatory trade practices by other countries. President Reagan recently initiated such actions against Korea in the insurance industry, Japan in tobacco products, Brazil

⁸ *Impact of Local Content Legislation on U.S. and World Economies*, Wharton Econometric Forecasting Associates, July 1983, as reported by Keith E. Maskus, *Risking Protectionism and U.S. International Trade Policy*, *Economic Review* (Kansas City: FRBKC, July/August 1984), p. 9.

⁹ The *Group of Five* including U.S. Treasury Secretary Baker and finance ministers and central bank governors of Britain, France, West Germany and Japan made an announcement for a major realignment of U.S. dollar on September 21, 1985.

in computers, and Europe in canned fruits.¹⁰ It is important to note that such initiative does not necessarily represent an attempt to restrict imports but to increase U.S. access to foreign markets.

It is also important for the U.S. to continue to strive for the containment of the unit cost of goods produced in the U.S. The unit cost may be held in check by discouraging an excessive rise in wages and improving the productivity of U.S. labor.

Conclusions: A growing sentiment for protectionist policies in the United States in recent years arises from the mounting trade deficit. The reasons for the rise in the deficit include, the high-valued dollar, the cyclical gap, the LDC debt, and the protectionist policies of other countries. Trade restrictions to combat the trade deficit problem, however, are harmful to the U.S. economy. Protectionist policies raise domestic prices and often lead to reduction in overall employment. More efficient and effective means to deal with the U.S. trade deficit are to reduce the value of the dollar through a significant reduction in federal government deficits, to expand export markets, and to make efforts to control the unit costs of American goods.

¹⁰ A speech delivered by Sidney Jones, under Secretary of Commerce for Economic Affairs, at the Annual Conference of District Export Council in Washington, D.C. on October 1, 1985, p. 7.

HUMAN CAPITAL: AN INCOMPLETE THEORY OF EDUCATION

by

Garland Hadley*

Virtually everyone has heard the story of Pinocchio who was a model of a boy. What follows here is a discussion of human capital theory. Just as Pinocchio was a model of a boy, human capital theory is a model of education.

As everyone knows, Pinocchio was made of wood and realistically represented only some aspects of the more divine creation he was intended to emulate. Likewise, human capital theory is, as all models are, an abstraction -- a simplification -- of a more complex reality. As such, it provides us with valuable insight into some aspects of education, but it does not do so well with others. Its shortcomings are of concern because if taken too literally, human capital theory may lead to policy decisions that are not in the best interests of society as a whole. Therefore, this theory requires close scrutiny. In this brief discussion of it we will trace the development of human capital theory, discuss some of its major policy implications, and make some suggestions concerning its appropriate use.

While certain concepts central to human capital theory were discussed by classical economists such as Adam Smith, H. Von Thunen, and Irving Fisher, the idea of a unified theory did not surface until the early 1960's.¹ The primary impetus for a unified theory of human capital grew out of an inability to explain economic growth in the United States following World War II in terms of the growth of the labor force and increases in physical capital alone. The search for better explanations led to an examination of qualitative factors including the increasing level of education and training in the labor force and the advance of technology. In a path-breaking study, Edward Denison, of the National Bureau of Economic Research, suggested that the rising level of education in the work force may be a key factor in explaining this unprecedented growth of GNP.² Exhibit 1 summarizes Denison's estimates of the sources of economic growth. As you can see he believes that improved education and training has become the single most important factor in accounting for increases in real national income.

In another study, H.S. Houthakker pointed to a high correlation between years of schooling completed and income. Houthakker showed that both annual

¹ For a review of the work of classical economists in this area see Theodore W. Schultz, *Investment in Human Capital*, **American Economic Review**, Vol. LI, No. 1, (March 1961), pp. 1-17.

² Edward F. Denison, *Education, Economic Growth, and Gaps in Information*, **Journal of Political Economy**, Vol. LXX, No. 1, Part 2 (October 1962), pp. 124-28.

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EXHIBIT 1. SOURCES OF U.S. ECONOMIC GROWTH

FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO REAL NATIONAL INCOME	1909- 1929	1930- 1949	1950- 1979	1980- 2000
INCREASE IN QUANTITY OF LABOR	39%	30%	26%	24%
INCREASE IN QUANTITY OF CAPITAL	26	21	15	12
IMPROVED EDUCATION AND TRAINING	13	25	30	34
IMPROVED TECHNOLOGY	12	18	22	25
OTHER FACTORS	10	6	7	5
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	100%	100%	100%	100%

SOURCES: Adapted with changes from Edward F. Denison, *The Sources of Economic Growth in The United States*, (New York: Committee for Economic Development, 1962); Joint Economic Committee of the Congress, 1972; and Projections by Milton Spencer, *Contemporary Economics*, (New York: Worth Publishers, Inc., 1980) 4th Ed.

mean incomes and lifetime incomes increased with years of education completed.³ Exhibit 2 shows differences in annual mean earnings of college graduates, high school graduates and grade school graduates in 1979. On the average, college graduates earned substantially more than high school graduates and more than twice that of people who had only completed the eighth grade.

EXHIBIT 2

MEAN EARNINGS OF MALES, YEAR-ROUND FULL-TIME WORKERS,
BY AGE AND EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT, 1980

AGE IN 1980	YEARS OF SCHOOL COMPLETED				
	8	12	College 1-3	College Graduate	Or Graduate Degree
18-24	\$ 9,892	\$12,527	\$12,888	\$14,182	--
25-29	12,190	16,339	16,858	18,692	\$20,007
30-24	13,355	18,611	19,889	22,902	25,541
35-39	15,269	20,124	23,478	27,878	31,809
40-44	15,586	20,916	23,243	30,078	34,045
45-49	15,792	21,307	25,429	32,266	38,317
50-54	16,594	21,171	25,147	34,452	36,788
55-59	15,504	20,912	24,257	33,982	36,103
60-64	14,451	18,834	23,039	31,229	37,449
65+	12,918	14,594	16,866	30,026	31,591

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Money Income of Persons and Families in the United States, 1980. Current Population Report, P. 60, No. 132, Table 52.

³ H.S. Houthakker, *Education and Income*, *Review of Economics and Statistics*, Vol. 41, No. 1 (February 1959), pp. 24-28.

When economists noted that these correlations existed between increasing educational levels and the overall performance of the economy on one hand, and between levels of education and earnings on the other, and viewed these observations within the framework of marginal productivity theory they began to hypothesize that better educated workers contribute more to the production of goods and services than poorly educated workers, and therefore were paid more in the workplace.

Dr. Gary Becker used these observations to develop a theoretical foundation for human capital.⁴ with a highly innovative approach, Becker viewed the individual as a “firm” that will invest in the development of human resources so long as it is “profitable” to do so. In his work, Becker argued that the “profit-maximizing,” or to be more accurate, the “benefit-maximizing,” individual will consider both monetary and non-monetary factors in making human capital investment decisions. Whether the individual makes an investment or not will depend upon the attractiveness of the human capital investment relative to alternative investment opportunities. High rates of return, in terms of both monetary and non-monetary benefits, will attract human capital investments, while low rates will not.

Within the theoretical framework established by Becker, a person’s human capital is defined as his or her capacity to contribute to the production of goods and services. Defining human capital this way invites a rather narrow view of education. It might be better to offer a broader definition which would incorporate virtually everything that would add to an individual’s or to society’s happiness or well-being. For example, an individual’s contribution to world peace would be as appropriate to include as would the production of a Big Mac hamburger.⁵

In human capital theory the assumption is made that each person is born with an initial endowment of human capital. This initial endowment of human capital may vary from individual to individual because of differences in inherited traits, such as strength, intelligence, or motivation. For example, few men could ever run as fast as Walter Peyton or hold their own with Mohammed Ali. Some men are just born with more human capital than others. However, beyond this initial endowment, an individual’s human capital may be increased through investments in education and training. Mohammed Ali was undoubtedly a fine athlete, but without years of training and practice he could not have become a world’s champion. Thus, we see that except for some differences in initial endowments, human capital, like physical capital, is a produced means of production. That is, a major portion of an individual’s ability to contribute to the production of goods and services results from investments made in education and training.

It has been said that an economist is someone who is pretty good with numbers but does not have enough personality to become an accountant. Economists find it difficult to settle for a simple theory of human capital. They feel a great need to quantify things. The favorite tool of the economist in such matters is supply and demand analysis. But this tool is of little use in this situation because, happily, there no longer is a legal market where human beings are bought and

⁴ Gary S. Becker, **Human Capital: A Theoretical and Empirical Analysis with Special Reference to Education** (New York: Columbia University Press, 1964).

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 145.

sold. The economist, in this case is forced to turn to more indirect methods of estimating the value of human capital. Borrowing from our friends in accounting, Dr. Becker reasoned that an indirect estimate can be based on the rule that the value of an asset equals the discounted sum of the income stream it yields. In other words, the value of the human capital **owned** at a particular age would equal the discounted sum of subsequent earnings. Becker also suggested that it is possible to estimate the value of human capital associated with a particular investment in human capital by identifying the increment of income, the "earning stream," resulting from that investment and then discounting it to its present value. Therefore:

$$\begin{array}{l} \text{THE PRESENT VALUE} \\ \text{OF A HUMAN CAPITAL} \\ \text{INVESTMENT} \end{array} = \sum_{t=0}^{n-1} \frac{R_t}{(1+i)^{t+1}}$$

Where R_t represents receipts in time period t (earnings) resulting from the human capital investment, i is the discount rate, and n is the number of time periods over which receipts are collected. Becker goes on to establish a set of equilibrium conditions which would govern rational investments in human capital. Becker reasoned that there would be an economic incentive to continue to make human capital investments so long as the present value of the earnings stream exceeded the cost of the human capital investment. Thus, the equilibrium condition for each human capital investment would be:

$$\sum_{t=0}^{n-1} \frac{R_t}{(1+i)^{t+1}} = \sum_{t=0}^{n-1} \frac{E_t}{(1+i)^{t+1}}$$

Where E_t is the expenditure (costs) incurred in making the human capital investment in time period t . So long as the left side of the equation is greater than the right side, the returns are greater than the costs, and there would be an incentive to make the investment.

Becker attempted to apply this theoretical framework in estimating the rate of return for both a high school and college education. His work, along with that of others, suggests that, on the average, human capital investments by individuals in education are highly profitable. For example, Becker, using internal rates of return, estimated returns to investment in college education to be 12.5 percent for a typical 1939 college graduate and 11.5 percent for a typical 1949 college graduate.⁶ Needless to say, these returns compare favorably with returns to other types of investments during these periods. On the other hand, it should be noted that subsequent estimates of returns to investment in a college education suggest

⁶ *Ibid*, p. 82.

that returns have been falling steadily. For example, Richard Freeman has estimated that returns to investment in a college education had, on the average, fallen to 10.5 percent in the early 1970s and continued to decline to 8.5 percent in the late 1970s.⁷

From these findings some have concluded that the United States may be over-investing in college education. They argue that during the 1970s alternative investments could have been expected to yield in the neighborhood of 10 percent. Since the estimated returns to investment in college education have fallen below that level, some suggest that funding for colleges and universities should be curtailed. While this recommendation has received considerable attention and discussion, it has not been enthusiastically embraced on campuses throughout the nation. Possibly motivated by something more than pure scholarly interests, a number of academicians have challenged Freeman's findings and the conclusions based upon his estimates.⁸

One of the major difficulties in making assessments about the adequacy of funding for colleges and universities is the fact that a major portion of the expenses for a person's college education is borne by third parties. For example, at Midwestern State University, the citizens of Texas, through tax collections and subsequent legislative appropriations, help subsidize the education of each student. In addition, some students receive scholarships from private funds and others obtain low interest loans and other sources of financial aid from the federal government. And, of course, this pattern of third party support is repeated on every campus across the country. Now, if these human capital investments are motivated by economic incentives as human capital theory suggests, then the question, 'What benefits are these third parties receiving?' must be asked.

Burton Weisbrod attempted to address this issue in a study of the external benefits of public education.⁹ In this work Weisbrod made the assumption that states, like individuals, are net benefit-maximizers. The state invests in human capital (i.e., funds education) because of the existence of benefits that are external to the individual and his family, but that accrue to other citizens of the state. Weisbrod argues that in the absence of such benefits, there would be little reason for the state to become involved. If all benefits of human capital investments accrued to the individual and, or, his family, then assuming benefit-maximizing behavior and access to capital markets, there would be an optimal allocation of resources and an equitable distribution of costs. Thus there would be little cause for public concern or involvement.¹⁰ In general these benefits that are external to the individual but accruing to others in the state can be classified into three general

⁷ Richard Freeman, *Overinvestment in College Training?*, *Journal of Human Resources*, Vol. 10, (Summer 1975), pp. 287-311.

⁸ For example see Eli Schwartz and Robert Thornton, *Overinvestment in College Training?*, *Journal of Human Resources*, Vol. XV, (Winter 1980), pp. 121-3, and David R. Witmer, *Has the Golden Age of American Higher Education Come to an Abrupt End*, *Journal of Human Resources*, Vol. 15, (Winter 1980), pp. 113-20.

⁹ Weisbrod, Burton A., *External Benefits of Public Education: An Economic Analysis* (Princeton: Princeton University, 1964).

¹⁰ *Ibid*, p. 26.

categories: direct monetary returns, social costs foregone, and, contributions to general social welfare.

Presumably as a person acquires more education, his or her productivity increases and earnings increase. These earnings normally result in increased tax revenues including income taxes, sales taxes, property taxes, and social security taxes. Thus, to the extent that taxes paid by college graduates exceed taxes paid by high school graduates we can identify an income stream of direct monetary returns to governments at different levels. It is also argued that benefits that are external to the individual but that accrue to society-as-a-whole include certain social costs foregone. For example, college graduates are much less likely to become dependent upon welfare than non-college graduates. They are also less likely to draw unemployment compensation, less likely to require state-supported medical care, less likely to commit violent crimes, and less likely to become inmates in penal institutions. To the extent that the college education contributes to reducing transfer payments and social costs, society can forego these costs.

The third category, contributions to general social welfare, is the most controversial. Contributions to general social welfare contain benefits that are extremely difficult to quantify. For example increases in productivity in one sector of our society spread throughout our entire economy, thus contributing to raising the standards of living of all. To the extent that college education contributes to making a person more innovative and prepares them to make new scientific discoveries or develop new cures for disease, society-as-a-whole benefits. Also to the extent that college education helps shape certain social values such as "equality of opportunity," "artistic appreciation," and "social justice" society-as-a-whole may benefit.

Some believe these non-monetary benefits to be of great significance while others do not. Proponents of liberal arts education tend to place great importance upon non-monetary benefits as evidenced by the recent White House report on higher education in America.¹¹ On the other hand Richard B. Freeman in discussing higher education argues "...there is little net transfer between students and non-students..." and "...there is little redistribution of income among families due to college subsidization..."¹² His conclusion is "...there is as yet no serious case for subsidizing higher education to obtain social benefits."¹³ (Yes, this is the same Richard B. Freeman that suggested the United States is over-investing in education.)

It is apparent that much of the controversy as to whether the United States is producing too many college graduates centers around how important one considers these so-called external benefits of college education. If Freeman is right and external benefits are negligible then we have to question why government subsidization of higher education exists. However, it is safe to rule out Freeman's

11 Study Group on Conditions of Excellence in American Education, **Involvement in Learning: Realizing the Potential of American Higher Education**, (Washington: GPO, 1984).

12 Richard B. Freeman, *Mythical Effects of Public Subsidization of Higher Education*, in **Does College Matter?**, ed. by Salmon and Taubman, p. 325.

13. *Ibid*, p. 326.

extreme position. Common sense and a myriad of evidence suggest that external benefits do exist. Denison's work mentioned earlier suggests that rising levels of education have contributed substantially to improving the standard of living of all, a better understanding of nutrition and disease has made it possible for all of us to live healthier lives, and hopefully a better understanding of ourselves and our fellow men has contributed to helping us live fuller and happier lives.

A more plausible argument for the possible "overinvestment" in higher education rests upon the assumption that although higher education should be subsidized by the government, we have gone too far. This argument can be illustrated by a story told by a lady who said, "when we were first married my husband complained about how skinny I was. Now he says I'm too fat. I know somewhere in between I must have been just right, but he never told me when that was."

Some researchers have tracked the division of the direct costs between families and subsidies by third parties. They note that over time the outlays of families for direct costs, such as tuition and fees and room and board, have not increased as fast as subsidies.¹⁴ Based upon this observation they suggest that we may have gone too far in subsidizing higher education in the United States thus possibly producing too many college graduates. This argument does not seem to hold much water either. The costs to students for attending college are far greater than tuition and fees and room and board. When all economic costs of a college education are included there has been relatively little change in the portion of costs borne by the student. As the data from the Carnegie Commission on higher education in Exhibit 3 show, the percent of total costs for a college education borne by individuals has only fallen slightly -- from 69.9 percent in 1939-40 to 65.8 percent in 1979-80. The individuals receiving the education still pay the major portion of the costs of a college education. (If you don't believe this just ask the parent of any college student.)

Recently, I tried my own hand at estimating returns to investment in higher education.¹⁵ I worked with a post-World War II cohort who had graduated from college in 1950. I picked this cohort so that by and large I would have real historical data with which to work as opposed to speculative data about such things as future earnings, taxes, social costs, and foregone. I began by gathering data on the subsidies provided the average college graduate from 1946 to 1950 by all 48 states. This subsidy was viewed as an investment in higher education. Next I used census data to calculate the additional income stream received by average college graduates above the average high school graduate from each state. Then I estimated the additional taxes paid by the average college graduate above and beyond the average high school graduate. I reduced both the income streams and the stream of taxes by 25 percent to adjust for ability differences; and I used the consumer price index to adjust for the effects of inflation. Then these data were plugged into the formula for discounting discussed above. Solving this equation for i gave me an estimated rate of return to states for the subsidy provided to the average college graduate.

¹⁴ For supporting data see: The Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, **Higher Education: Who Pays? Who Benefits? Who Should Pay?** (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1973), p. 33.

¹⁵ Garland R. Hadley, **An Economic Analysis of the Effects of Migration on Expenditures for Higher Education by State and Local Governments**, Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Missouri, 1974, pp. 94-133.

EXHIBIT 3. COSTS OF HIGHER EDUCATION BORNE BY INDIVIDUALS, STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS, THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT, AND PHILANTHROPY FOR SELECTED YEARS (IN MILLIONS OF CURRENT DOLLARS)

COSTS BORNE BY	YEARS				
	1939-40	1949-50	1959-60	1969-70	1979-80
Individuals ^a	777.5 (69.9%)	2,427.5 (52.6%)	7,166.7 (73.2%)	23,466.3 (65.8%)	64,838.6 (66.4%)
State & Local Governments ^b	176.2 (15.8%)	555.8 (12.0%)	1,298.3 (13.2%)	7,155.0 (20.1%)	19,965.9 (20.4%)
Federal Government ^c	39.5 (3.6%)	1,399.9 (30.3%)	665.7 (6.8%)	3,238.6 (9.1%)	8,902.8 (9.1%)
Philanthropy ^d	119.1 (10.7%)	234.3 (5.1%)	667.8 (6.8%)	1,783.3 (5.0%)	3,984.7 (4.1%)
TOTAL COST:	1,112.3 (100%)	4,617.5 (100%)	9,798.5 (100%)	35,643.2 (100%)	97,692.0 (100%)

^aIncludes tuition and fees and income foregone less student aid received.

^bIncludes direct appropriations, grants and contracts, and state-supported student aid programs.

^cIncludes only 25 Per Cent of Federal Research Grants and Contracts, all Educational and other Grants, Veteran's Benefits, and Social Security Dependent's Benefits.

^dIncludes Grants to Institutions of Higher Education and Scholarships and other Financial Aid to Individuals.

Source: Carnegie Commission on Higher Education. Higher Education: Who Pays? Who Benefits? Who Should Pay? (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, June, 1973) Appendix A, PP. 131-163, AND

U.S. Office of Education Digest of Educational Statistics, 1982 (Wash.,DC: U.S. Government, 1982) PP. 137, 139

I was surprised to discover that, based only upon increased taxes paid by college graduates, the State of Texas realized a 7.0 percent return on its investment. When you compare this with a long-term real interest rate of 3 to 3½ percent over that period, this was a pretty fair return. The average return to investment in higher education for all states was slightly higher, 7.3 percent. This is probably due, to a large extent, to the fact that tax structures in Texas is less progressive than most states. States with high state income taxes did better. For example, New York realized a 12.0 percent return on investment; Virginia a 10.0 percent return; and Colorado an 8.3 percent return.

I also attempted to estimate the return to the federal government. Remember, the federal government was making substantial investments due to payments to World War II veterans and their dependants during the 1946-50 time period. Based simply upon additional income taxes paid by college graduates, the federal government realized a return of 9.5 percent on its investment in higher education. Again this high return is largely due to the progressiveness of the federal income tax.

Keep in mind that these numbers are based only on direct monetary return in terms of additional taxes paid by college graduates. This is only a portion of the total external benefits. We have not included social costs foregone, nor have we attempted any estimate of contributions to general social welfare which may be appreciable. Nevertheless, it is clear that by merely noting monetary returns that are easily quantifiable both state governments and the federal government have been getting a fair return on their investments in higher education. Indeed, if one considers the other external benefits to be considerable, then it seems just as logical to conclude that state governments and the federal governments have been underinvesting in higher education.

Because of our inability to make complete and accurate estimates of returns to investment in higher education, it is dangerous to attempt to use human capital

theory as a policy tool in deciding how to allocate resources to institutions of higher education. Many people consider the study of the economic value of education an intrusion into an area that does not lend itself to economic analysis. They believe that the concept of equating education to increased production of goods and services and greater earning power is far too narrow a view of education and will result in the debasement of the cultural purposes of education. They often express fear that analysis and evaluation based upon economic considerations alone will result in the adoption of that single criterion for making decisions concerning educational expenditures. These fears are valid. Certainly it would be a mistake to evaluate outlays for education solely upon its contribution to increasing the production of goods and services in their narrow sense. And, unfortunately, our ability to measure the full benefits of education in the broader sense is limited. The best we can hope is that policy makers will keep in mind these limitations, recognize the many benefits that cannot be easily quantified, use sound judgment in evaluating the additional benefits society derives from better education, and will continue to fund higher education accordingly. If this is the case, then our little studies to try to better understand the various roles education plays in our society will have done little harm, and in the long run may even add up to a better understanding of the total value of education.

RICHARD WAGNER AND NATIONAL SOCIALISM: AN EVALUATION

by

Dirk Lindemann

Though the German composer Richard Wagner has been dead for a hundred years, his art, his ideas and his personality continue to foster interest and generate varied reactions. Historically, he had a dynamic effect upon the course of the development of western music. His grand scale music dramas, the **Leitmotif** and his theoretical writings revolutionized musical and theatrical expression and his influence continues to be felt to this day. Conductor Zubin Metha once expressed it very directly: "Wagner is the trunk from which sprang some of the best music we have." Though recognizably influential in the realm of music, Wagner remains a very controversial artistic-political figure, for the composer's reputation has long been tarnished by a proto-Nazi association stemming in part from Adolf Hitler's war-time assertion that "Whoever wants to understand National Socialist Germany must first know Wagner." In essence his enduring image as an alleged intellectual-spiritual forerunner of Nazism through both his music and prose works still stirs passion and causes misgivings and aversion among various critics. Indeed, in some circles the automatic and indiscriminate abuse of Wagner has become a test of liberal orthodoxy. This paper will therefore examine the elements and development of this nefarious association and discern whether it has any serious validity today, forty years after the second world war.

A brief background account of Wagner and Wagnerism reads, on the surface, like the inevitable union of the composer's art and ideals with National Socialism. Even during his lifetime, Wagner was a very controversial figure who, reflecting most strongly the ideals, temper, and even contradictions of 19th century Europe, seemed for some larger than life. This one-time social revolutionary, some-time rascal and full-time visionary thought of himself as the supreme composer of his time as well as a significant poet and thinker. His drive to become the arbiter of his world, coupled with an overly animated spirit and a compulsion to dominate, caused people to either worship or to detest him. Yet late in life, after breaking new ground in musical technique and expression, Wagner had achieved near universal acclaim as a mighty genius with what he called the "Music of the Future" (a combination of heroic-romantic music, awesome stage spectacle and overpowering orchestral effects). There was, however, never a shortage of detractors who maintained that the master's mature music-works, resplendent with dynamic Germanic myths, gods, and heroes, gave intense symbolic expression to secret desires of aggression, nihilism and eroticism that promoted debasement of character. His select socio-political essays such as "What is German?" and "Judaism in Music" were roundly condemned for their zealous Germanism, anti-democracy and severe anti-semitism. These allegedly vulgar Wagnerian

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music works and attitudes then, became associated by his foes with a “fin de siècle” decadence.¹

Yet though Wagner’s music can sometimes stir obscure forces within the listener, the concepts of love and redemption pervade throughout many of his operas. Also, a major Wagnerian goal was to spur the spiritual regeneration of the German people—supposedly weakened by cultural borrowing and shallow materialism—through the experience of his inspiring musicdramas; and preferably at the German town of Bayreuth, where was situated his permanent theatre shrine—the **Festspielhaus**—consecrated solely to the performance of the master’s works. With Wagner’s passing in 1883, this intertwining of art and ideology was furthered by his widow, Cosima, and her intellectual circle at Bayreuth. An elaborate pseudo-philosophy of Teutonic superiority, racial purification and a Germanized Christianity was soon grafted onto the Wagnerian ethos and this “Wagnerism” became consciously associated with German political power and the aggressive interests of the Second Reich. The resulting negative image of Wagner caused the Allied nations, during World War I, to ban his musical works from their opera stages.²

After the first world war the Bayreuth circle appeared to act as a spiritual bridge between Wagner and the Nazis since the Wagner family gave its enthusiastic support, during the early 1920s, to that aspiring demagogue, Adolf Hitler. Hitler, for his part was flattered because he had been devoted since age twelve, to Wagner’s art, believing it to be the highest expression of the German soul. It is debatable which Wagner opera was **Der Führer’s** favorite but he saw **Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg** performed at least 200 times. For some, this fact seemed to confirm the opinion that Hitler indeed suffered from masochistic tendencies. Many critics agree though, that Hitler gained an immense fund of psychic energy and quasi-religious fulfillment from Wagnerian performances. Wagner also became one of Hitler’s favorite writers on politics and race especially where the master praised the inherent qualities of the German people or condemned the Jews as a sinister, corrupting force in the world.³ Hitler’s speeches even appeared to be a parody of Wagnerian music “with their fluent spate of sound, their constant reiterations of the same leading motifs and their continually rising climaxes.”⁴

¹ Max Nordau, **Degeneration** (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1895). Culture critic Nordau labeled Wagner “the last mushroom on the dunghill of romanticism.” An often-times penetrating analysis of “Wagnerian decadence” is found in the celebrated **The Case of Wagner** by Friedrich Nietzsche. Walter Kaufmann, ed., **The Birth of Tragedy** and **The Case of Wagner** (New York: Vintage Books, 1967).

² David C. Large, **Art, Ideology and Politics at Bayreuth, 1876-1976, Journal of the History of Ideas**, Vol. 39 (January-March 1978), pp. 149-156. See Michael Karbaum, **Studien zur Geshichte der Bayreuther Kreis: Wagnerkult und Kultur-reform im Geiste Volkischer Weltanschauung** (Munster: Verlag Aschendorf, 1971); Geoffrey G. Field, **Evangelist of Race: The Germanic Viston of Houston Stewart Chamberlain** (New York: Columbia University Press, 1981).

³ August Kubizek, **The Young Hitler I Knew**, Trans. E.V. Anderson (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1955), pp. 99-101, 175-176, 188-192. See also Adolf Hitler, **Hitler’s Secret Conversations, 1941-1944** (New York: Octagon Books, 1976), p. 198; Paul Lawrence Rose, **Hitler’s Wagnerian Religion, Quadrant** Vol. 24 (July 1980), pp. 40-44.

⁴ Ernest MacMillan, **Hitler and Wagnerism, Queens Quarterly**, Vol. 48 (May 1941), p. 105. See Ernst Hanfstaengl, **Unheard Witness** (New York: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1957), p. 52.

Obviously, Hitler considered the composer to be one of the sources from which he drew his world view.⁵

Once in power the Nazi leader sanctioned a Wagner cult, sponsored free nationwide Wagner concerts and made Bayreuth his spiritual home. **Die Meistersinger** was performed to celebrate Hitler's political victory and the composer's music became very potent in creating a highly emotional atmosphere at Nazi mass rallies. Especially during the 1930's, the annual Bayreuth music festival, with Hitler temporarily in residence, became a show place of Nazi glory as the **Festspielhaus** was bedecked with Swastika banners, inundated with Nazi officials and complemented with lavish **Führer** receptions.⁶ Yet beyond the pomp and spectacle the Nazis were attempting to develop a vague Fascist religion principally from Wagner's grandiose operatic tetralogy: **Der Ring Des Nibelungen**, that among other things, dealt with frantic Nordic gods and heroes, greed and power, destruction and regeneration. In effect, a modified Nordic mythology glorifying the Aryan people was to eventually usurp Christian belief in Germany. And the **Ring** was supposed to become a gospel of the Germanic race with Wagner as its prophet. In fact, Hitler vainly suggested that swastikas be emblazoned on the shields carried by the operatic performers.⁷ This serious Nazi identification caused one critic to surmise "that had Wagner lived he would have been able to write an opera based on the life of Adolf Hitler and one can almost hear the harmonies he would have used."⁸ Fittingly, perhaps, in Spring 1945 when the projected thousand year Reich lay in ruins, the Berlin Philharmonic played at its final concert performance a selection from the **Ring** cycle entitled "Siegfried's Funeral Music."⁹

The rather easy adoption of Wagner and Wagnerism by the Third Reich caused many critics, especially in the English-speaking world, to question whether Hitler in fact found his abhorrent beliefs confirmed in the composer's art and ideas. Subsequently during the war, commentators, venturing both sweeping and thoughtful judgements over the issue, often concluded that Wagner in fact was a Nazi prophet.

Focusing initially on his musicworks, the **Ring** and **Die Meistersinger** became especially favorite targets by critics. The Wagner assault was spearheaded by German emigre intellectuals, most notably by famed novelist Thomas Mann, ironically a one-time Wagner champion. They contended that the **Ring** revealed a

⁵ Hermann Rauschning, **The Voice of Destruction** (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1940), pp. 228-231.

⁶ Hans Mayer, **Richard Wagner in Bayreuth, 1876-1976**, trans. Jack Zipes (New York: Rizzoli International Publication, 1976), pp. 131-147. See Richard Grunberger, **The 12-Year Reich: A Social History of Nazi Germany, 1933-1945** (Chicago: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971), pp. 411-412.

⁷ Otto Tolischus, **They Wanted War** (New York: Reynal and Hitchcock, 1940), pp. 10-20. See Vincent Sheean, **First and Last Love** (New York: Random House, 1956), pp. 111-115.

⁸ Jacques Ploncard d' Assac, **Doctrines du nationalisme** (Paris: Librairie française, 1958), p. 177.

⁹ Cornelius Ryan, **The Last Battle** (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1966), pp. 386-387.

Nazi-like world view that justified violence, absolute power and disdain for law.¹⁰ American critics followed and with catchy titles like “Background Music for **Mein Kampf**,” they asserted that the **Ring**, with its dark life-denying atmosphere, advanced anti-civilization tendencies that glorified the primitive, the brutal and the irrational. **Die Meistersinger** meanwhile, was seen to reflect a manifestation of rabid German chauvinism and aggressive might. Moreover, repulsive Jewish caricatures were revealed to be in both the **Ring** and **Die Meistersinger**, which supposedly helped encourage Jew hatred among the German public.¹¹ Marxist critics also joined the fray, viewing Wagner as an extreme example of bourgeois nihilism because his many decadent artistic elements pointed to the final desperate state of capitalism—that of course being fascism.¹² This intense war-time Wagner denouement finally caused the editor of the prestigious journal, **Musical Quarterly**, to demand the destruction of all the composer’s music and writings in order to help excoriate the Wagner-instigated disease of Nazism from the civilized world.¹³

The Wagner-Nazi musical association continued well after the war as exemplified by William Shirer’s immensely successful book, **The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich**. In the work he castigates Wagner’s music for triggering deep irrational and destructive drives within the German people and thus helping promote the rather easy reception of Nazism in Germany.¹⁴ But impetus was given to serious Wagner criticism with the publication of a major biography by Robert Gutman in 1968. Traditionally, Wagner biographers tended to downplay the master’s many character flaws and instead focused on his role as an artist-hero. Gutman, however, portrayed him as an evil egoist and serious forerunner of Nazism. But uncharacteristically he identified Wagner’s last musical work, **Parsifal**, not the **Ring**, as the true artistic expression of National Socialism. Operating mainly from the pronouncements of Hitler and the criticisms of the nineteenth century philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche, Gutman interpreted Wagner’s most mystical and religious musicdrama as a theatrical version of the composer’s late essays stressing Germanic blood regeneration. In essence, **Parsifal** was viewed as a racist allegory dealing with the Aryan struggle to maintain blood purity in a racially polluted world. The author delineated therefore a strong proto-Nazi inter-

¹⁰ Thomas Mann, **Listen Germany!** (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1943); Thomas Mann, **Germany and the Germans** (Washington: Library of Congress, 1945). It is perhaps significant that Mann included very little of the harsh wartime anti-Wagner writings in his collected works. See also Emil Ludwig, **The Germans: Double History of a Nation**, trans. Heinz and Ruth Norden (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1941), pp. 360-366.

¹¹ Paul Henry Lang, *Background Music for Mein Kampf*, **The Saturday Review of Literature**, Vol. 38 (January 20, 1945), pp. 5-9. After the war Lang mellowed and admitted that “Wagner is surrounded by legends, misconceptions, propaganda and counter propaganda that makes a clear appraisal of the man and of his work very difficult.” Paul Henry Lang, **Critic at the Opera** (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1971), p. 217.

¹² Theodor Adorno, **In Search of Wagner**, trans. Rodney Livingstone (London: NLB, 1981), pp. 23-26.

¹³ Carl Engle, *Views and Reviews*, **Musical Quarterly**, Vol. 27 (April 1941), pp. 243-244.

¹⁴ William L. Shirer, **The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich** (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1960), pp. 101-102. See Robert Rie, *Nietzsche and After*, **The Journal of the History of Ideas**, Vol. 13 (June 1952), pp. 305-351.

relationship between Wagner the man, his ideas, and his music. Gutman's arguments, consequently, have been very influential in helping sustain the Wagner-fascist image in some circles.¹⁵

But not only has Wagner's art become associated with sinister extramusical connotations, many of his socio-political ideas have been revealed to have a distinct proto-Nazi character as well. During the war, a number of books were written attempting to trace the cultural roots of national socialist thought and Wagner was often included in this intellectual "rogues gallery." Among this type of book, **Metapolitics**, by the poet-historian Peter Viereck gave a detailed treatment to identify the composer, through his ideas, as an important precursor of Nazism. Viereck disclosed that the basic Nazi tenets--Pan Germanism, Anti-Semitism, exaltation of force and instinct, world mission, the leadership principle and Aryan supremacy--were all part of the composer's creed. Wagner cleverly synthesized these "romantic concepts" with a form of socialism to produce the basis of Nazi ideology. The author thus concluded that the master was the most significant fountainhead of national socialist thinking. Viereck's arguments assumed importance when the terms romantic and fascist came to be recognized by various intellectuals and artists as nearly interchangeable, and that Wagner, the highest expression of late romanticism, became a certified symbol of political reaction.¹⁶

After the war, critics centered on Wagner's anti-Jewish ideas as contributing heavily to Hitlerian ideology. The composer's many repulsive remarks over Jews as being an ignoble, philistine, grasping and unartistic people were especially disclosed in the essay "Judaism in Music." Indeed the late composer Igor Stravinsky found the work to be so surprisingly contemporary "that a good deal of it could have been written by Rosenberg or Goebbels."¹⁷ It was also asserted that he was the first influential European Jew-hater to emphasize the racial element in anti-Semitism and that his anti-Jewish views helped give Judeophobia a bogus intellectual respectability across Germany.¹⁸ In the words of one writer: "Wagner's anti-Jewish ideas led immutably and inevitably in one direction--to

¹⁵ Robert W. Gutman, **Richard Wagner: The Man, His Mind and His Music** (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1968). See Harvey Gross, *Reopening the Case of Wagner, The American Scholar*, Vol. 38 (Winter 1968-1969), pp. 114-126.

¹⁶ Peter Viereck, **Metapolitics: From the Romantics to Hitler** (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1941). While Viereck was equating Wagner's proto-Nazism with romanticism, noted cultural historian Jacques Barzun was attempting to place the "fascist composer" in a materialist-determinist mold. Jacques Barzun, **Darwin, Marx, Wagner: Critique of a Heritage** (rev. 2nd ed.; Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1958).

¹⁷ Igor Stravinsky and Robert Craft, **Themes and Episodes** (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1966), p. 142.

¹⁸ Louis Snyder, **German Nationalism: The Tragedy of a People** (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: The Stackpole Company, 1952); Hans Kohn, **The Mind of Germany: The Education of a Nation** (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1960).

Hitler, the laws of Nürenberg, and the ovens of Auschwitz.”¹⁹ Thus whether drawing from Hitler, Gutman or Viereck, Wagner’s reputation for many became inextricably involved with the German catastrophe. Selections from his music and prose works with their allegedly excessive Germanism, Romanticism, and anti-Semitism not only influenced Hitler but helped hurl the Germans towards their fateful cultural-historical conjunction with totalitarianism.

From the aforementioned approach, many concluded that Wagner stands guilty in contributing to the crime of national socialism through intellectual and artistic complicity. But in truth, Richard Wagner was an exceedingly sophisticated, complex, and contradictory artist who adhered, in theory, to a broad humanitarianism throughout his life. The Wagner faithful on both sides of the Atlantic insisted that his operas advanced abstract ethical and moral concerns revolving around personal redemption not political dominion.²⁰ Therefore his identification with Nazism was earnestly challenged by Wagner champions after the second world war. The goal was to separate as quickly as possible Wagner the monumental creative force of Western music from Wagner, the alleged Nazi-sponsored totalitarian artist and thinker.

Investigating the supposedly uniform and cumulative historical line from Wagner to the Nazis, certain writers noted that the composer’s influence and popularity waned dramatically in Germany by the turn of the century; and this Wagner apathy would last to the end of the Weimar Republic in 1933. They maintained that the nationalistic Bayreuth circle had little popular appeal since its esoteric writings about merging art with politics were simply too abstract for consumption by the general public.²¹ These writers also explained that the Third Reich’s appropriation of Wagnerian myths and symbols as ineffective exploitation to cover up the Nazi movement’s own lack of solid ideology. It was revealed that Wagner, supposedly an overwhelming influence on **Der Führer**, is but rarely and then only fleetingly mentioned in Hitler’s collected writings and speeches. In addition, Hitler simply found at best some confirmation of his already crystallized political and anti-Semitic ideas in the essays of his hero. In fact, he came to Wagner’s prose writings rather late in his career. Moreover, most Nazi officials

¹⁹ Leon Stein, **The Racial Thinking of Richard Wagner** (New York: Philosophical Library, 1950), p. 149. Among leading post-war Hitler biographers, William Carr, Joachim Fest and Robert Waite have portrayed a distinct connection between Wagner and **Der Führer**. But in accounts written by Allan Bullock, Werner Maser, Walter Gorlitz and Percy Schramm, the association is hardly or never treated. This lack of unanimity also holds true concerning general works on modern German history. For example, historians Golo Mann and Ralph Flenley see specific ties while Hajo Holborn and Koppel Pinson minimize the significance.

²⁰ Ernest Newman, **The Life of Richard Wagner** (4 vols.; New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1937-1946), Vol. 4, pp. 600-601. See George G. Windell, *Hitler, National Socialism and Richard Wagner*, **The Journal of Central European Affairs**, Vol. 22 (January 1963), pp. 479-497.

²¹ Bertita Paillard and Emile Haraszti, *Franz Liszt and Richard Wagner in the Franco-German War of 1870*, **The Musical Quarterly**, Vol. 35 (July 1949), 401. See Winfried Schuler, **Der Bayreuth Kreis von seiner Entstehung bis zum Ausgang der Wilhelminischen Ara** (Munster: Verlag Aschendorf, 1971).

were compelled to attend the Bayreuth music festivals. It was not uncommon therefore to observe rows of sleeping party dignitaries during performances each summer.²² Those allegedly proto-Nazi music dramas: the **Ring** cycle and **Parsifal** were, in fact, banned from the German stage shortly after the first year of the war. This prevailing superficiality caused one of Wagner's granddaughters, during the Hitlerzeit, to complain that everything about the Nazified **Festspielhaus** was polluted by false emphasis and false values. And in true Wagnerian tradition she confessed of an almost uncontrollable impulse to burn down the theatre.²³ In sum, the Wagner champions argued that the Nazis, ever the great simplifiers, did not realize the futility in attempting to confine the master's searching artistic spirit in a distinct mold and thus only effected and promoted an adulterated image. Consequently, they maintained that Wagner should not be held responsible for the perversion and distortion of his works.

Turning now to a closer look at his art, leading postwar musicologists like Jack Stein, Robert Donington and Carl Dahlhaus have ascertained that Wagner's music creations are far more cosmopolitan than distinctly German in character and therefore are in the mainstream of the western tradition. They have also revealed the exceedingly complex interrelation of dramatic, verbal, and musical symbolism in Wagner's mature works.²⁴ This emphasis on Wagner's artistic universality and complexity was best exemplified in post-war Bayreuth where the master's grandsons, Wieland and Wolfgang Wagner, restored the prestige of the **Festspielhaus** through their fresh and innovative theatrical presentations that owed much to depth psychology and cultural anthropology. Their modernist productions thus helped emancipate Bayreuth from a narrow chauvinistic teutonic identity. Therefore, Wagner's powerful mythical images soon again came to increasingly represent the universal expression of redemption through love and grace.²⁵

The **Ring** was explained to work within a deep complex of ideas and on various levels; its overt meaning alone intertwined nationalism with International Socialism, Schopenhaurian philosophy, Buddhist teachings and Christian principles. Yet searching for an inner logic in the **Ring** has led to numerous interpretations ranging from heroic vitalism to Jungian psychology to neo-Marxism.²⁶

²² Albert Speer, **Inside the Third Reich**, trans. Richard and Clara Winston (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1970), pp. 60-61. See Klaus Vondung, **Magie and Manipulation: Ideologischer Kult und Politische Religion des National-sozialismus** (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1971).

²³ Friedelind Wagner and Page Cooper, **Heritage of Fire: The Story of Richard Wagner's Granddaughter** (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1945), p. 208.

²⁴ Jack Stein, **Richard Wagner and the Synthesis of the Arts** (Detroit: Wayne State University, 1960); Robert Donington, **Wagner's "Ring" and its Symbols: The Music and the Myth** (London: Faber and Faber, 1963); Carl Dahlhaus, **Die Bedeutung des Geistlichen in Wagners Musikdramen** (Munich, 1970).

²⁵ Geoffrey Skelton, **Wieland Wagner: The Positive Sceptic** (London: Victor Gollancz Limited, 1971); Penelope Turing, **New Bayreuth** (London: Neville Spearman, 1971).

²⁶ Deryck Cooke, **I Saw the World End: A Study of Wagner's Ring** (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979); John Louis DiGaetani, ed., **Penetrating Wagner's Ring: An Anthology** (Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1978); David Denby, *By Wagner Possessed, The New Republic*, Vol. 189 (October 3, 1983), pp. 24-30. The celebrated 1983 **Ring** by Patrice Chereau (which was televised worldwide) was loosely based on George Bernard Shaw's **The Perfect Wagnerite** the work interpreted the **Ring** as an allegory of capitalism and ultimate socialist revolution.

Parsifal too has been analyzed as a multi-layered symbolic work while Gutman's ideas have been written off, by some, as unsubstantiated sensationalism.²⁷ **Die Meistersinger**, meanwhile, that one time Nazi hymn, has come to be regarded as the most purely human of all Wagner's operas. The work celebrates German art not Germanic political power.²⁸

Thus Wagner's body of work has gradually become de-Nazified. Composer Pierre Boulez recently surmised that "perhaps a purification through shame was necessary for the myths and symbols to take on their true meanings."²⁹ Today, Wagner's music again has a worldwide appeal and his artistic rehabilitation has secured him entrance into the pantheon of universally approved great musicians. Still, it is important to recognize that Wagner's art could be and was perverted to an evil end whereas, Bach's, Mozart's or Beethoven's could not. Wagner's fusion of emotion-ridden music with ancient dynamic myths simply lent itself to easy manipulation.³⁰

But all this renewed artistic appreciation and musicology could not in themselves invalidate the proto-Nazi image of Wagner, the strident chauvinist and anti-Semite. Therefore ever since the war, scholars have tried to disentangle polemic from fact in attempting to arrive at a clearer and more balanced assessment of Wagner's controversial writings. Their conclusions showed that the master was not a serious political thinker as his writings contained a long line of political contradictions. In fact, one could select isolated passages from his writings to portray him in various political guises. But Wagner also held to certain notions that contradicted Nazi dogma, such as distrust of politics and the state, a scorn of militarism and conquest, advocacy of a humanitarian art, and solicitude for individual liberty. And, though there are chauvinistic statements scattered throughout his writings, the composer said many offensive things about his fellow Germans as well. Indeed, his sometimes intense Germanism has been explained away as an opportunistic vehicle to maintain and advance his art. In any case, Wagner's form of nationalism called for a spiritual not political regeneration of the German people. Various scholars then, have come to minimize the significance of Wagner's supposed fascist-like nationalistic writings contending that Wagner never developed a concrete political philosophy, and that his vague ideology could be viewed in some ways as the antithesis of Nazism. Still, at the least, Wagner is culpable in espousing an obscure philosophy that harbored so many variegated and incompatible elements that it became vulnerable to exploita-

27 Lucy Beckett, **Richard Wagner, Parsifal** (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981), pp. 120-124.

28 Bryan Magee, **Aspects of Wagner** (New York: Stein and Day, 1968), p. 79.

29 Herbert Barth, Dietrich Mack, and Egon Voss, eds., **Wagner: A Documentary Study** (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975), p. 9; See Peter Burbidge and Richard Sutton, eds., **The Wagner Companion** (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1979). The work is an excellent collection of essays that deals with the many facets of Wagner's art and thought.

30 Ronald Taylor, **Richard Wagner: His Life, Art and Thought** (New York: Taplinger Publishing Company, 1979), p. 107. See Derek Watson, **Richard Wagner: A Biography** (New York: Schirmer Books, 1979), pp. 315-320.

tion by opportunistic political movements like National Socialism.³¹

Various writers have also attempted to confront and clarify the thorny issue of Wagner's anti-Semitism. Some have argued that he was anti-Jewish in theory but not in practice as characterized by his frequent habit of consorting with and relying on his many Jewish associates. Others have explained that Wagner's anti-Jewish ideas were nothing new but in the mainstream of mid-19th century European intellectual thought that related the Jew to the "evils" of finance capital. Even the much vilified "Judaism in Music" was shown to possess sound judgements over Jewry's difficult transition from the ghetto into the modern world. But nearly all commentators have affirmed that Wagner's anti-Jewishness reflected a cultural anti-Semitism and his solution to the "Jewish problem" was assimilation and mass spiritual reform. Yet though the nature and limitations of Wagner's anti-Semitism have been revealed, he was still a vociferous and influential anti-Semite, and this lamentable fact remains the most vulnerable issue in his ongoing association with National Socialism.³²

Still, through the passing of time and the deliberate efforts of scholars and artists, many of the assertions of Nazism that once surrounded Wagner have been sufficiently diminished to allow most to again appreciate the composer's art without experiencing corresponding feelings of uneasiness. Though the notion of an unmistakably firm line from Wagner to Hitler no longer exists, strands of influence remain. Wagner critics today have reiterated the composer's fascist-like character traits and have reaffirmed that he was a serious and dangerous political thinker. Drawing mainly from the long suppressed diaries of Cosima Wagner, certain writers have deduced that the composer indeed possessed a concrete and consistent political world view fashioned around a compulsive Jew hatred; he not only disliked Jews but desired their physical annihilation, they insisted.³³ In Germany, scholars are busily enlarging upon Gutman's conclusions and filmmakers there are producing acclaimed *avante-garde* films that portray a distinct Wagner-Hitler spiritual link.³⁴ Because of the natural tension between his life,

³¹ Maurice Boucher, *The Political Concepts of Richard Wagner*, trans. Marcel Honore' (New York: Mand H. Publications, 1950); Frank B. Josserand, *Richard Wagner: Patriot and Politician* (Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1981); Alan David Aberbach, *The Ideas of Richard Wagner* (New York: University Press of America, 1984).

³² Curt von Westernhagen, *Wagner: A Biography*, trans. Mary Whittall (2 vols.; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1978), II, pp. 390, 407, 558, 567-572; Martin Gregor-Dellin, *Richard Wagner: His Life, His Work, His Century*, trans. J. Maxwell Brownjohn (New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1983), pp. 358-363; L.J. Rather, *The Dream of Self Destruction: Wagner's Ring and the Modern World* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1979), pp. 102-104; Magee, *Aspects of Wagner*, pp. 51-54; Taylor, *Richard Wagner*, pp. 105-107; Windell, *Hitler, National Socialism and Richard Wagner*, pp. 484-485.

³³ Paul Lawrence Rose, *The Noble Anti-Semitism of Richard Wagner*, *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 25 (1982), pp. 751-763; Elaine Brody, *The Jewish Wagnerites*, *The Opera Quarterly*, I (Autumn 1983), pp. 64-80; Peter Gay, *Blame Wagner?* *Vogue*, Vol. 173 (February 1983), pp. 302-304, 345-348.

³⁴ Hartmut Zelinsky, *Richard Wagner, ein deutsches Thema* (Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1976); James Franklin, *New German Cinema: From Oberhausen to Hamburg* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1983), pp. 164-177. German film director Hans Jurgen Syberberg has made over the last thirteen years, a series of controversial films attempting to come to terms with Germany's recent "unmastered past." Principal films include a trilogy: *Ludwig-Requiem for a Virgin King* (1972), *Karl May* (1974), *Hitler: A Film From Germany* (1977); and also *Parsifal* (1983). These films delineate the relationship of German romantic culture to German politics (Nazism) and portray Wagner as a major culpable artistic figure.

ideas, and art, Wagner will remain a controversial figure until, perhaps, one day an account of his life based on systematic and impartial examination of primary resources can be realized. In the meantime, the Wagner mystique to some degree, will continue to provoke and disturb.

Yet despite maintaining an apparent Fascist residue, it is clear that Wagner's reputation for artistic greatness has overcome nearly every obstacle. His story shows that appreciation of true genius allows for ultimate acceptance and even forgiveness. In truth Wagner's genius was neither literary nor philosophical, but musical, and it is in his artistic works, with their originality of musical thought, timeless beauty, and all encompassing universality of concept that one should seek the true measure of his achievement and influence.

ENDING INTIMATE RELATIONSHIPS: STRATEGIES OF BREAKING OFF

by

Robert E. Clark and Emily E. LaBeff*

This research represents an extension of a project begun several years ago focusing on the delivery of bad news and, as such, is part of a continuing effort to explore the strategies used by people to deliver various kinds of bad news. We began with an earlier conceptual framework constructed by McClenahan and Lofland in which they developed a continuum of bad news ranging from the news of milder troubles of routine life to news of a catastrophe or death. Our initial concern was with one extreme end of this continuum, or how physicians and other professionals relate the news that someone had died (death telling),¹ whereas McClenahan and Lofland focused on "midrange" bad news.²

In our efforts to explore the full range of bad news delivery, we are currently focusing on the strategies used by people in delivering news of a desire to end an intimate relationship. This would indeed represent in the lives of most people an occasion of bad news delivery, but would probably be considered a less serious situation than that imposed by the occurrence of death or even a situation involving the breakup of a marriage. For purposes of this research, we have chosen to define an intimate relationship as one in which there is not only a quality of seriousness and commitment, but also exclusivity in the dating arrangement. It should be noted that from time to time comparisons will be made between data encountered in this research with that of our death telling research. Because of the similarity, this research poses problems similar to those encountered in our research on death telling. Specifically, when one person wishes to inform another person of bad news, how that news is delivered becomes basically problematic in terms of performance construction. It is indeed a situation where people do not always have a sense of how to act or even a knowledge of the possible range of ways they might approach the situation. In short, the delivery situation is one that can produce considerable stress and uncertainty, and, as a result, people must somehow deal with the necessity of telling the other or avoiding the situation altogether.

Our review of the literature revealed no information focusing on our specific area of interest. Some earlier work has dealt with the breaking off of intimate relationships, or uncoupling, but did not deal primarily with the telling process.

¹ Robert E. Clark and Emily E. LaBeff, *Death Telling: Managing the Delivery of Bad News*. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, Vol. 23 (December 1982), pp. 366-380.

² L. McClenahan and J. Lofland, *Bearing Bad News: Tactics of the Deputy U.S. Marshal*. *Sociology of Work and Occupations*, Vol. 3 (August 1976), pp. 251-72.

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For example, Richardson interviewed twenty-six single women who had long term affairs which ended in one of three styles discussed. Yet she did not specifically address the delivery of the news and concentrated on the limited topic of extra-marital affairs.³ Similarly, Vaughan concentrated on the process of uncoupling (mostly divorce) as moving from one lifestyle of being with another person to another lifestyle of being single. Thus, she dealt more with identity and reality change in an individual and not with the process of telling the news.⁴ Rasmussen and Ferraro studied the actual process of divorce and the development of an unlivable situation for the married partners. Once again, the researchers did not depict the telling or the possible strategies used over time in ending the relationship.⁵ Each of these studies contributes to our understanding of terminating relationships, however, an indepth analysis of the actual telling process has been secondary at best and remains an important one for investigation.

Our initial research on death telling was exploratory in nature and the present research retains this important characteristic. The data gathering phase of the present research lasted six weeks. During this period, thirty-two indepth interviews were conducted with persons who had terminated one or more intimate relationships within the previous six months. The choice of the six months requirement was arbitrary in nature, with the intent of locating a sufficient number of informants while at the same time being able to capture the basic elements involved in the telling process in terms of recall. Our sample was one of convenience drawn from a population of students enrolled in all of the courses in a division containing five programs and general core courses required of all students in a small state university. The sample consisted of nineteen females and thirteen males, with the mean age for both groups being twenty-three. Mean length of time in the relationship was fifteen months. Even though the sample was nonrandom, some argument can be made for representativeness since our sample seemed to approximate the total student population of the university. Given the lack of research in this area, a small sample of indepth interviews was ideal in terms of generating a conceptual framework for not only comparison but for further testing in keeping with the strategies generated in our first study, as well as with the grounded theory

³ Laurel W. Richardson, *The Other Woman: The End of the Long Affair*. **Alternative Lifestyles**, Vol. 4 (November 1979), pp. 397-414.

⁴ Diane Vaughan, *Uncoupling: The Process of Moving from One Lifestyle to Another*. **Alternative Lifestyles**, Vol. 4 (November 1979), pp. 415-442.

⁵ Paul K. Rasmussen and Kathleen J. Ferraro, *The Divorce Process*. **Alternative Lifestyles**, Vol. 4 (November 1979), pp. 443-460.

concept of Glaser and Strauss.⁶ Therefore, this work required no statistically representative sample; in fact such a sample would have been essentially worthless in this uncharted area of research.

Our desire was to collect records of experiences associated with the actual event of delivering the news of a desire to terminate a relationship. Each informant was asked to speak freely about his or her encounters. We have assumed that people can report meaningful experiences about such occasions where they delivered this form of bad news to another. Accordingly, we were deliberately seeking not to contrive **a priori** topics which might not be a part of an informant's self-recognized scheme of experience or force these emerging data into previously discovered delivery strategies. Rather, we used verbatim narrative transcripts to generate classificatory and categorical schemes. By using this technique, we were concerned with more than just formulating schemes. Our hope is to generate more substantive theory in which the processes involved in the delivery of bad news may be more clearly articulated, understood, and explained.

As with all forms of social interaction, what occurs never happens in a vacuum. Instead, there is usually a mixture of events occurring which has reciprocal effects. Such is obviously the case with delivering the news of a desire to terminate a relationship. In fact, the situation must be viewed from a matrix of interconnected events. However, before discussing the various strategies that emerged for delivering the news of a desire to terminate a relationship, it seems necessary for us to comment on a number of areas which surround or are imbedded in the social environment in which this interaction occurs.

One important point of relationship termination is that it means a life change for the individuals involved. It also means the end of an important feature of a person's life. It can signal a loss of security, connection, and companionship even though the relationship has been defined as unfulfilling or inadequate. With death telling one is more concerned with maintaining one's professional demeanor and reputation, and the teller most often does not worry about the possible longterm personal-effects of the encounter. In addition, in the death telling situation, the delivery is precipitated by an external factor over which the deliverer may have had no control.

In relationship termination, the precipitation factor(s) leading up to the breakup may be internal ("we can't get along" or "I don't feel right about this") or external ("I'm moving" or "there's another person"). But perhaps the most significant of the unique features distinguishing relationship termination was the time frame of the delivery. In analyzing the narrative data, the theme of time frame emerged as central to the process of breaking off. Given the nature of relationship termination, the fact that it is less critical and immediate than death telling, tellers were allowed the luxury of procrastination and had considerably more latitude in when and how to break the news. It was readily apparent that the time frame for breaking off became extended, in some cases, dragging out, over weeks and months, even years. As one of our colleagues so succinctly commented, "this sounds like breaking up on the installment plan." Consequently, this elongation of the time frame made it difficult in a number of cases to pinpoint the exact time the news was delivered. In addition, the elongation allowed

⁶ Glaser, Barney G., and Anselm L. Strauss, *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research*. (Chicago: Aldine, 1967).

the entrance of many more factors into the process of ending a relationship than was true of death telling. This significantly increased the complexity of the interaction and the events involved in breaking up. For example, the informants felt the need to construct or realize motives for breaking off unlike the death teller who was more concerned with the effect of his or her immediate performance. Thus, the actual telling of the desire to break off must be analyzed within the context of the elongated time frame.

Other factors contributing to the uniqueness of breaking off include the myriad reasons for breaking up, the seriousness of the relationship, the personalities involved and, in some cases, practical considerations such as money and a place to live. Each of these features can influence the type as well as the number of strategies utilized in the breakup and the length of time that transpired in terminating the relationship.

With these factors in mind, we developed a loose framework for describing the delivery of breaking off news which incorporates "time frame" and many of the features identified by the informants which play a part in the process. Our processual framework consists of two broad stages which will be discussed separately: 1) the breaking down or deterioration of the relationship and 2) strategies in the breaking off of the relationship.

We discovered from the interviews that many of our informants experienced a realization that the relationship was not going well or that they were not content with it. This may have been a slow process whereby the individuals were in effect working up to a breaking off but "needed time" to build up to it. Most respondents could not talk meaningfully about the actual incident(s) when they broke off the relationship without backtracking to the factors and situations which led to the break. In some cases, this went back to the very beginning of the relationship. Most respondents were able to give a clear account of a realization of problems in the relationship. These problems included such things as uneven commitment, geographic separation, doubts about the person or self, or an incident or series of incidents which created anger, arguments, or continuing dissatisfaction. And many of these began to appear as soon as the relationship got underway. These accounts of recognizing problems are explored and presented as the first steps in working up to the breakup. For example, some informants first noted an uneasiness or an uncertainty in the involvement which rose to the surface and caused serious doubts. One twenty two year old male noted:

...there was something that wasn't quite right. I didn't feel a peace about it. I didn't feel contentment, a tranquility. So I thought, what is this problem, why is it I still feel this emptiness?

Others talked of problems of incompatibility or of going in different directions. One eighteen year old male commented:

I was going in one direction in what I was interested in and everything, and she was interested in several other things. We couldn't carry on a conversation because she didn't care what I was talking about and I really didn't care what she was talking about, so...

Many informants talked of particular negative aspects of the other's personality such as lying, jealousy, cruelty, or possessiveness which created misgivings and problems with the relationship. One twenty year old female indicated:

I found out that, I guess that it was about eight months in the relationship, that he was a very big liar. He lied about his age...just a lot of other things just piled one on top of the other.

Several spoke of finding out that the other was seeing someone else. One twenty-one year old female revealed such an incident:

Well, one of his friends had called and told me that he had been seeing somebody else. I found out that the girl he had been seeing got pregnant.

Or in some cases it was the informant who wanted to date someone else:

I told him that John was coming back around and that I had waited (for him)...I thought it was done and over (with John), but it's not...

A significant number of informants spoke of uneven commitment, of one getting too serious, precipitating the first doubts about continuing the relationship:

I was serious from the start. I think he got serious in the end when it was already over...

Or on the other hand, from a male in a relationship lasting over two years:

She started getting more serious than I cared to...I just wasn't ready for that type of commitment that she was asking me for...I didn't care to have that type of relationship with her.

Several spoke of geographic separation as causing the initial problems in the relationship. A twenty-two year old female noted:

We had been separated...I hated being away but during that time he was away, I guess that summer, I started going out and having a good time...Of course, when I did go out with guys, they knew I had a boyfriend.

Such initial problems, however recognized, usually did not precipitate the break off right away. Most informants talked of a variety of factors that kept them in the relationship despite recognized problems. As one person noted, it may have been the lack of certainty of how to go about breaking off. One male commented:

About six months before we broke up I had wanted to break up but I really didn't know how to end the relationship. I was really just waiting to figure out a way to do it.

Many of our informants talked of avoidance strategies, of not wanting to face the reality of the situation, of not wanting to face the confrontation with the other. They often reported delaying action by simply avoiding the issue or avoiding seeing the other as much as possible. One twenty-one year old male indicated that he tried not to see his girlfriend as often, when he was asked if he had started "slacking off" seeing her. He responded further:

...very much so, once a week and sometimes if I could avoid it once every two weeks...That's when I realized after I had wanted to start getting a little distance between us, I wanted to gradually fade out of it.

Some respondents, though not directly avoiding the other or the problems of the relationship, delayed the break off because they indicated that they spent some time waiting for the other to change. One twenty-two year old female expressed this view:

It'd just been a few weeks before that he started getting hung up on himself, I guess. And I guess I saw it as something's going to have to change. I kept thinking it would be him. I didn't think it would be the relationship.

In avoiding dealing directly with recognized problems, informants most often indicated that the situation worsened with the continued or increasingly negative behavior (as perceived by the informant). A kind of "pyramid of escalating incidences" seemed to occur which brought the informant closer to breaking off the relationship. This aspect in working up to the breakup is exemplified by the comment of a nineteen year old male:

I took a ten day vacation and I noticed that when I came back that (her) possessiveness was even stronger than it was at first...And things just started falling apart...and she took it as meaning that I didn't love her anymore. I said, 'well, that's not true' but I did start realizing that the feelings weren't as strong as before.

Once the difficulties escalated, we found a kind of progress-retreat phenomenon whereby the couple would go through several attempts to break up and then would back away from it in a series of what might be called "trial runs" or "rehearsals." An eighteen year old male's comment is indicative of this progress-retreat phenomenon:

It went on for about three weeks. We would discuss it and we'd say, 'well, we need to quit.' And we needed to just be friends for awhile and date other people. And then right before I'd take her home, she'd start crying and I would just say never mind, we could work it out. That went on for a long time, breaking it off then at the very last second saying that we could work it out.

This kind of vacillation and indecision was reflected in many of the interviews (one said, "sometimes I wanted him to stay and sometimes I wanted him to go") and is another important factor in the elongation of the process of breaking off.

Sometimes external factors, often practical in nature, such as economic dependence or the sharing of living quarters made the breakup more difficult and extended the progress-retreat phenomenon before the actual break. One twenty-two year old male admitted:

...and one other factor in this thing was that I was living at her place relatively cheap and I don't make much money and I had to pay for everything this semester so it was like, am I going to have to put up with her madness or am I going to go out and get a job and find a place to live and go through all that hassle?

As indicated, strategies for delivering the news of a desire to terminate an intimate relationship are shaped by a number of factors (such as the elongation factor); however, several distinct strategies comparable to those used by death tellers were generated from the narrative data. In keeping with our previous research, we classified these under the headings of direct, oblique, nonverbal, conditional, and elaborate. Unlike death telling where no strategy seemed to be pervasive, the direct form of delivery emerged as the most frequently used tactic. Oblique and nonverbal strategies also emerged. Very little support was found for either conditional or elaborate deliveries. Consequently, these two will be discussed together at the end of this section. Again, it should be noted that these strategies emerged naturally from the data and that there was no effort to force any of these data into any of the previously generated delivery tactics. Also, they are not mutually exclusive. In fact, in most situations of termination multiple strategies were used, and, in several cases, because of the elongation factor, the same strategy was used several times.

The use of direct delivery in relationship termination occurred often (many times after attempting an oblique delivery) and can occur singularly or be a part of a matrix of breaking off. In other words, as indicated earlier, because of the elongation factor, one may use direct delivery once, several times (when "it doesn't take") or in conjunction with other styles, particularly oblique. One twenty-one year old female stated:

...I started breaking it off, he would call me and my typical response to I love you was 'Oh, thanks,' hoping that he would get the point. This went on for a couple of weeks, he just would get little hints that I wasn't interested in the relationship. Finally, I wrote him a letter, a Dear John letter.

In death telling, one does not have the luxury of procrastination; the message must be delivered so that other processes can be set in motion. However, with breaking off, people might be involved in the process for months. Yet, the basic characteristics of this particular style remain the same. People who approach breaking off directly wish the message to be known forthrightly. One nineteen year old male pointed out:

I called over to her house...and I said I wanted to call it off then...and the fight lasted for a long time. I didn't want her anymore and walked off...When I say that this was it, it really was. I don't say things that I don't mean.

In addition, direct tellers are more likely to give the real reasons for wanting to end it, unlike the oblique deliverers to be discussed later. One twenty-four year old male said:

And I told her that un...I didn't love her, and I'd always told her before that I didn't love her...I never pulled any punches.

Sometimes the circumstances surrounding the relationship make a direct delivery easier to use. For example, when the breakup was mutual or when the relationship was perceived as less serious, it seemed to make direct telling more convenient. One twenty year old male noted:

Actually, it was pretty quick. I said, 'what would you think if I told you that I'm no longer in need of being in companionship?' And she said, 'Well, I was thinking about asking you something along the same lines.' She said, 'Well if that's the way you feel, that's the way it should be,' or whatever.

People who use the direct style do not appear to be as concerned with seeming cold or distant whereas this was a major concern with death tellers since it was a direct reflection of their professional demeanor. Because of the nature of the situation in ending relationships, unless it is mutual, one is quite likely to appear cold. Moreover, direct deliverers were often angry and "blew up" at the other. An example of an anger based direct telling is the following quote by a twenty-two year old female:

I guess I kind've had some anger in me, and that's what made me so quick about it. And he said, 'Well, I still love you.' And I said, 'Well, I don't think that's really the issue.' And I said, 'Good luck and good-bye.' I turned around and walked off, went back to my car. And so he yelled and he yelled, and so I got in my car and drove over this house number sign. It was real cool! Country club.

Another female, twenty years of age, also said:

It was an anger-based kind of termination, it wasn't a rational discussion where you went through all this business. It was just snap and that's it...and that's rough.

A nineteen year old female discussed reaching the breaking point:

...I just sat him down. I was really terrible. I just sat him down, and I told him that he was an old man and I didn't have any use for an old man, and to leave me alone because I didn't need him anymore, which I didn't. And I hurt him really bad, and I felt bad about it, but I had to do that, to just be selfish.

Thus, some direct deliverers felt "pushed into" telling it forthrightly and forcefully in order to get the message across; often, the other refuses to accept the break off, especially if an oblique attempt is first used by the teller.

As a part of direct deliveries, we often found people using or responding to ultimata. As with the problems inherent in discerning who has power in a relationship, ultimata often seem to reverse the telling process depending on how the ultimatum is received or responded to. One twenty-two year old female explained:

I had it in my mind that it was going to be my way, or no way at all. It was either he was going to have to talk to me about it, or we were going to have to reach some agreement on it on my grounds, or it was over.

Another twenty-two year old female commented:

Yes, I just saw him and told him to make up his mind or I didn't want to see him around anymore. I told him that it was up to him and when he got this girl pregnant that he might as well take the blame for it.

A twenty-six year old female explained:

I gave him an ultimatum. I said, either you give me a little bit of space or I'm going to take a lot. Either let me cool it off the way I want to, or I'll just stop seeing you altogether.

Direct tellers, whether angry or not, do not hedge their bets the way oblique tellers seem to do. They often put themselves in an "all or nothing" position, and become more committed to following through with the breakup.

Because of the nature of intimate relationships people are wary of how to terminate; they are often indecisive, concerned with hurting the other person, and feel a sense of guilt and inadequacy. Oblique tellers are often somewhat dishonest in not wishing to reveal the real reasons for the breakup. They make every effort to break up but keep the reasons a secret. The oblique deliverer has in his or her mind a desire to terminate the relationship but does not want to do so in a forthright manner. Concern is with softening the blow, avoiding confrontations and conflicts. Consequently, they make use of "successive preannouncements" and "preliminary suspicion announcements."⁷ These are verbal indicators that a change is imminent in the posture of the relationship. One twenty-three year old female noted:

I had even told him on the phone three months before that 'hey, I've decided I don't want to get married any time soon. I've got too much to do. I've got graduate school on my mind.' And I did. I had too much on my mind for future plans. I couldn't see where we would fit together anyhow.

Oblique tellers seem to have problems confronting the other about breaking off. In a sense, they "hit all around it" but find it extremely difficult to discuss the issue directly. One twenty-one year old female commented:

...because in each letter he would say things like 'Oh, I can't wait. I've been looking at apartments. There's a real nice one in Dallas.' And I would write him back and say, 'well, don't look too hard now because I'm really not sure on the time and all that,' when in my mind I was saying, 'No, I don't want to get married to you!'...So I was sure in my mind that I didn't want to, but I was too big of a chicken to let him know that I didn't.

The oblique teller will often make a conscious effort to plant a seed of doubt concerning the continuation of the relationship, thus leading "gently" and slowly to the breakup. One twenty-eight year old female noted:

⁷ *Ibid.*

Well I had thought about it for a long time, and tried to rehearse it, you know, the conversation of that we need to meet other people and stuff like that. Every time I talked about it, I would kind of very gently push it off on him, that I think that we ought to break up for a while or that we ought to be just friends...

This oblique style fits in neatly with the factors already discussed in the breaking down of the relationship, particularly the elongation factor. Actually, oblique telling elongates the process even more and continues the progress-retreat phenomenon. One twenty year old female explained:

And so really as far as the good-byes went, they were I'd say about six, seven months in just saying, just giving the good-byes, you know. And it was more or less through letters or phone calls whenever he could afford them.

The use of setting and staging tactics, other than attempting to establish privacy, was not a major factor in the minds of the deliverers, with little if any "presaging" noted. Since most did not feel constrained to do it "all at once," setting was less of a consideration. In addition, the oblique approach allowed "little escape routes" (for self and other) by not approaching the subject directly and forthrightly. This was particularly true in situations where the telling became elongated in time. Sometimes the person was not absolutely certain they wanted out completely nor did they want to be completely honest. One twenty year old male exemplified this after his decision to break up:

I told her I needed to get back to school, that I still cared for her, but my education is real important. Mainly, I used that as an excuse.

A twenty year old female also explained:

I didn't want to come out and say, 'you're really rotten and you're awful, I can't stand you.' It was, I mean, 'you live in Oklahoma and I live here, and this won't work.' So he did put me on a guilt trip like, 'look what you're doing,' you know. And he'd make me confuse myself like 'oh, I'm doing it; I'm messing it up. It was a good thing.' And then I think 'no, it wasn't.'

Oblique tellers mentioned problems with guilt about breaking off the relationship, and they seemed to be very concerned with doing it carefully to avoid hurting the other too much (one thirty-one year old male said, "I shouldn't have dropped it because a relationship shouldn't be terminated just immediately."). One twenty year old female explained:

I was starting to go back and forth, but I knew, but I have a thing where I don't like to hurt people's feelings. I knew that this would hurt him very badly...

People often convey information without the use of language, but communicate effectively nonetheless. People who used the nonverbal approach have a great deal of trouble coming to grips with their ultimate desire to extricate themselves from a relationship. Therefore, through the use of body posturing, behavioral changes (which could occur over a long time frame) and other nonverbal techniques, there is hope that the other person will evaluate these clues

and come to the realization that the relationship is ending or in trouble. As with death tellers who used this strategy, the hope is that the receiver will essentially accomplish the delivery. One thirty-six year old female explained:

At the time, I'm not really sure I'm doing it, and afterwards, I realize that it was what I was doing all along. I took up a technique of little things. I think that my idea was that if I did them long enough then he would leave. Then, I wouldn't have to do anything.

One nineteen year old female spoke of "ignoring him" in order to hopefully get the message across. A twenty-one year old male also spoke of trying "to drive the other away" in the following quote:

I thought it would at times before, when I first started thinking that I wanted to break it off, about how to go about it, that maybe I could come up with some way that she could not like me anymore. So I devised little methods where it would make her mad, where it would make her think that I was scum or something. I tried to present myself that way a few times and it didn't take.

Often, like oblique deliverers, the nonverbal tellers find that the strategy failed and that they had to move to a direct approach. Some people on the receiving end never picked up on (or do not want to pick up on) the implied message. Or, they begin questioning or challenging the deliverer which can elongate the telling process and will often precipitate the use of other strategies. As with our previous research, nonverbal delivery is a difficult strategy to identify from narrative data and can easily be confused with other strategies. However, this problem is mitigated by the elongation factor in the tellers' discussion of the string of incidents. In summary, then, the major characteristic of nonverbal delivery seems to be the demeanor change of the teller rather than actual words spoken with regard to the "health" of the relationship, or the change in the relationship.

Because we are involved in the overall study of the delivering of bad news, it is important to compare the results of this study, at least briefly, with those in death telling. For example, two strategies found in death telling were virtually nonexistent in these data and it is necessary to comment on the possible reasons for their lack of use.

Conditional delivery requires a complex monitoring process. It is essentially a passive strategy used by some death tellers who had considerable experience in the delivery process. The idea behind the conditional delivery is the belief that one cannot deliver the news to one person the same way one would to another. This assumes that one delivers this type of bad news regularly. Obviously, this is not a characteristic inherent in terminating relationships. Most people are not in the habit of ending relationships on a regular basis.

With the elaborate delivery noted in death telling, a large repertoire of explanations is used to reconstruct logically the sequence of events that led to the occasion of the delivery. In other words, many details in a "blow by blow" description are presented. In discussing relationship ending with our informants, we asked whether or not they typically recounted, in a detailed fashion, to the other why the teller wanted out. Several spoke of a "rehashing" in their minds of all the things that were wrong with the relationship or all the incidences leading to the break, but did not incorporate a fraction of these ideas into the actual delivery.

As indicated in the introduction, we found it impossible to discuss delivery of news of termination without also discussing the entire process of breaking up. At this point, it is necessary to come back to some of those issues. Because of the elongation involved in breaking off, we found that most tellers used several strategies in breaking off, using some of them more than once with most finally using a direct approach. It also became clear that some of these people were uncertain as to whether or not they wanted to completely break off, which complicated the process. Consequently, they participated in a kind of "wait and see" game; they were monitoring the situation to see if the other person would change. However, in most cases, we noticed that the desired change did not occur, that the factors which led to the initial decision to terminate continued and often escalated considerably.

One area that merits special attention here is the harassment that was reported by several informants. We like to refer to this as a situation where even direct delivery "did not take." The receiver of the news made extraordinary efforts, occasionally violent, to either hold on to the relationship or to make the life of the deliverer miserable. Again, this kind of behavior could drag out over weeks or months. One twenty year old female reported such an instance:

I was getting very upset, he was harassing me, I was seeing this car in my rear view mirror and I was getting very upset ...it was a couple of weeks he followed me around...Then a couple of days later he said he wanted to be friends, then he started calling me up and bothering me again...

Another feature of the elongated process of breaking up which became apparent early in the interviews was what we have chosen to call "repetitive conversations." Even though the process of breaking off might have taken several months, the principals involved often discussed the same points repeatedly. Some reported "rehashing" the same themes surrounding the breakup again and again. Attempts at reconciliation were often made through letters, phone calls, gifts and so forth. One twenty-six year old female commented:

And so he was sending me flowers just incessantly. I had more flowers in the house than I knew what to do with. They were coming to work...and it was just, you know, all kinds of things. There would be little presents left on my doorstep. Things like this. And I was being very gracious about it. And I would call him and I would thank him, and he would call and he would say, 'do you suppose we could get together and talk?'

It was impossible to analyze these data which are serious, if not tragic, accounts of a difficult life experience without also noting the humor as well as the inconsistencies in definitions of the situation that occurred occasionally. One problem that we faced in this research was that it was often difficult to ascertain who was actually terminating the relationship. In one special case, a female reported in great detail how her fiance would balk at the time of the marriage neared, calling it off several times; each time, though, he desired to get back together, and she would agree. Finally, she reported that he reached the conclusion that he did not want to marry her or even continue to date her. At that point she said:

And so finally I just asked him, I said, 'well, do you just not want to get married at all, or do you just not want to marry me?' And he said, 'it's just you.' That did it, I left and I have not been back. And I won't go back.

Another female, age eighteen, when asked why she broke off the relationship, replied: "Because he went back to his ex-girlfriend."

Also, of special note were various attempts made by receivers of bad news to "lay guilt trips" on the deliverer. One twenty-six year old female explained:

So I got on the phone and I said, 'How are you doing?' And he said, 'Oh, I'm doing fine. I have a dog.' And I said, 'Oh, that's good and you know I'm glad for that.' And he said he wanted to get a dog because it was a woman that wouldn't leave him. And I said, 'You mean you're not dating anybody?' And he said, 'No, I'll never date anybody again'...So he's still wallowing in self-pity anyway. You know, he really wants me to feel bad about it. But I really don't think with this situation I should.

Lastly, even though our informants were reported on delivery of news to terminate a relationship, we discovered that many of them were still occasionally dating the other, or had dated briefly after the breakup, or at least remained in touch. One twenty year old female commented:

...we dated a little bit after that. Not much. He came over to my house that next night with the ring, and tried to get back and I wouldn't get back with him. And then, about two weeks later, he called me and we went out and we talked for about two hours. Then there was a lot of crying and all that good stuff on both sides. And we talk about once a month.

All of this has led us to conclude that terminating relationships of which delivery of the news to terminate is a part is an exceedingly complex process, moreso than death telling. The time factor seems to be the major contributor to this complexity. Specifically, we have attempted to explain or to describe strategies for managing the delivery of the news to end an intimate relationship, hopefully, contributing to a greater understanding of the phenomenon of bad news delivery. However, we are forced to recognize that the process of breaking off is unique in many ways and deserves further attention, especially given its complexity and its import in people's lives.

PERSUASION: AN INTERACTIVE-DEPENDENCY APPROACH

by

June Kable*

Persuasion is an integral part of our everyday lives. It occurs when a father explains to his son how good eating habits lead to greater strength and skill in sports. It occurs when a daughter argues with her parents for her own apartment and her parents try to dissuade her. Persuasion is Cicero warning the Romans of Cataline or Napoleon exhorting his troops. It is the foreman seeking greater productivity from his workers; the executive telling his conferees of the reasons for a larger budget. It is our president extolling the virtues of sending troops into Granada and calling it an act of patriotism. Persons constantly interact in an effort to influence others on many levels and, at the same time, others attempt to influence them. In a free society, persuasive communication is the most effective means of influencing human conduct. Persuasion is a complex process of attempts to influence others to change their attitudinal and/or behavioral responses.

Aristotle defined rhetoric as “the faculty of discovering, in the particular case, what are the available means of persuasion.”¹ In modern times, empirical, behavioral, and rhetorical studies have been conducted in sociology, psychology, anthropology, and communication, which have given support for Aristotelian theory, as well as expanding those concepts to meet today’s needs.

Until recently, models of persuasion have been based primarily on information and cybernetic theory. An example of this approach is the Shannon-Weaver model.²

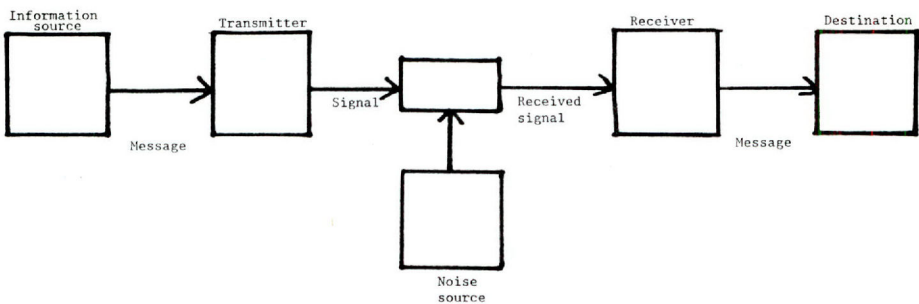


Figure 1.
Shannon-Weaver Model

¹ Lane Cooper, trans, *The Rhetoric of Aristotle* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts), 1960.

² C. E. Shannon and W. Weaver, *The Mathematical Theory of Communication* (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1949), p. 98.

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These models viewed persuasion as a linear, unidirectional activity that depended on an active source (persuader) who constructed messages with intent to influence the attitudes and/or behaviors of relatively passive receivers (persuadees). The emphasis was focused on the ability of one person to exert influence over the other. This focus, then, was to consider the effect of source on persuasive outcomes; the effect of message strategies on persuasive outcomes; the effect of receiver characteristics on persuasive outcomes. The cause was perceived to be encompassed in these antecedent variables of source, message, channel, and receiver and the effect was observed in terms of attitudes and/or behavioral influence; i.e. the persuader acted and the persuadee was acted upon.³ The variables in the model pertain only to the actor or the persuader.

In the latter seventies, communication scholars became concerned about this approach, both as a pedagogical tool and as a research design. A shift began to occur from the linear approach to a transactional approach. David Berlo, president of Michigan State University in 1977, commented on the changing view of the persuasion process in this manner.⁴

If we look on the 'source' as an intentional and initiatory sender and the 'receiver' as a passive and receptive container e.g. if the message is stimulus and the effect is response - the relationship is directional. On the other hand, if the relationship is one in which both users approach the engagement with expectations, plans, and anticipation, the uncertainty reduction attributable to the contact may better be understood in terms of how both parties use and approach a message-event than in terms of how one person uses the contact to direct the other.⁴

So it is then, that persuasive transactions are typically interactive and interdependent with the participating persons exerting reciprocal influences on each other.

One example in this nation's history of this reciprocity in action occurred during the traumatic months of Watergate. The Nixon administration utilized a variety of persuasive tactics directed at convincing the American public of the absence of wrongdoing on the part of the administration. If one analyzes this act using the linear model, the Nixon administration would be the persuader and the key segment of the American public would be that of persuadee--i.e. Richard Nixon and his cohorts would be the actors and the public would be in the position of being acted upon.

But as the daily events unfolded, it was observed that the American public exerted a powerful reciprocal influence on the President and his staff. The messages emanating from the White House were received with rising disenchantment on the part of the populace. Nixon's messages were perceived as false. As a result of these negative responses, presidential aides' attitudes were altered. Some

³ G. R. Miller and M. Burgoon, *Persuasion Research: Review and Commentary*, In **Communication Yearbook**, Vol. 2, ed. B. D. Rubin (New Brunswick: J.J. International Communication Association, 1977), p. 31.

⁴ D. K. Berlo, *Communication as Process: Review and Commentary*, In **Communication Yearbook**, Vol. 1, ed. B. D. Rubin (New Brunswick: N.J.: Transaction International Communication Association, 1977), p. 20.

aides became unsure of their moral stance; other aides became more dogmatic in their position as did the President himself. As a result, Nixon switched to alternate persuasive strategies in an attempt to prove his innocence. In so doing, he was responding to the interaction between himself and his audience.

Another concern of communication theorists has been that the study of and research in persuasion has been limited to public communication - or considered exclusively as a one-to-many activity, i.e. one person persuading a large audience. Yet when one reflects on the persuasive transaction in which most persons are involved, it becomes clear that only a very small percentage of these transactions consist of lengthy periods of uninterrupted discourse directed at sizable target audiences. In the give-and-take of dyadic dialogue and in communication in the small group is where one primarily engages in persuasive interaction.⁵

The O'Donnell-Kable model for an interactive-dependency approach applies not only to public communication, but applies to interpersonal, small group, and persuasion in mass communication, as well. This model represents a transactional process-oriented approach. G. R. Miller and M. Burgoon, communication theorists, state that "this transactional view considers persuasion as a reciprocal activity wherein the interdependent participants influence one another."⁶ In other words, both can act as participants and take on roles of persuader or persuadee in a dynamic, interactive, developmental, and continuing process. The participants come to the persuasion event with sets of goals, needs, desires, and expectations. Through communication, verbal and nonverbal, the agents affect each other and the outcome. The result depends on whether or not individual expectations are met.

Persuasion, for the purpose of this paper, is defined as a complex, continuing, interactive process in which a sender and a receiver are linked by symbols, verbal and nonverbal, through which the persuader attempts to influence the persuadee to adopt a change in a given attitude or behavior because the persuadee has had perceptions enlarged or changed.

The O'Donnell-Kable model of persuasion is characterized by four major components in the persuasive process which are:⁷ 1) Reality, 2) Persuader/Persuadee, 3) Message Processing, and 4) Environmental Context.

⁵ G. R. Miller, *Toward a Rhetoric of Counter-attitudinal Advocacy*. In **Rhetoric: A Tradition**, ed. W. R. Fisher (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1974), p. 399.

⁶ Berlo, *Communication as a Process*, p. 31.

⁷ Victoria O'Donnell and June Kable, **Persuasion: An Interactive-Dependency Approach** (New York: Random House, 1982).

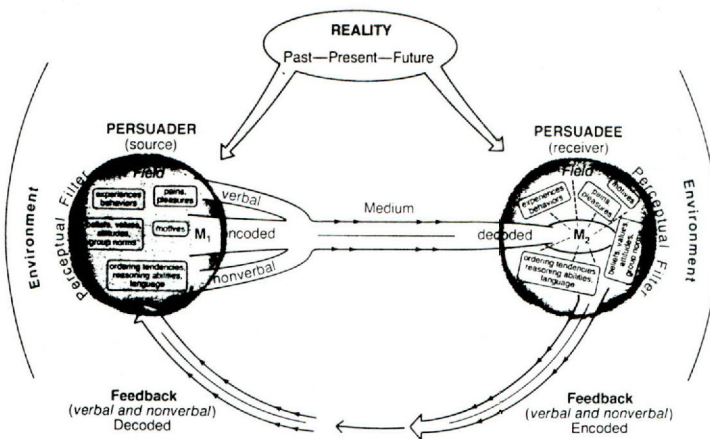


Figure 2.
O'Donnell-Kable Model of Persuasion

The first variable in the model is external reality. It includes all events from the past, present, and the future. This reality provides the information from which each individual draws new information, conclusions, and perceptions. This same reality may be perceived by two persons differently. "The temperature today is 70 degrees" is a reality statement. Most perceptions, however, move through the individual's filtering mechanism which brings the focus to the section of the model that concerns the make-up of the persuader and persuadee. Each is an autonomous individual.

Within each individual resides his or her own special blend of beliefs, values, attitudes, group norms, pleasures, pains, experiences, motives, languages, reasoning abilities, and ordering tendencies. All these attributes form the individual's field. The field concept was borrowed from Kurt Lewin who was interested in the individual's psychological field or life space. The "field" according to Lewin is not an objective world, but a subjective world. The life space is a complex and fluid field in which a person moves on the basis of the tensions of the moment. These tensions are the result of the person's physiological and psychological needs and goals. What exists in one's field influences what stimuli in external reality are responded to and how these stimuli are perceived.

Perception is the process of extracting information from the world outside or external reality as well as from within the self. Reality, then, is interpreted through perceptual filters, which are determined by the information in one's field. The sender perceives reality through perceptual filters in a way which differs from

the way in which the receiver perceives reality because of the differing fields and subsequent different perceptual filters. The process of persuasion is an attempt to create similar perceptions of reality between all parties for mutual satisfaction of goals.

Because people are unique and possess individualized experiences, values, group norms, and other characteristics represented in the persuader/persuadee circles, a persuader must seek similar or shared experiences, values, and group norms, through which he or she can communicate a message. Because of enthusiasm for what a person is presenting, he or she mistakenly believes that the enthusiastic message he or she sent is equally as enthusiastically received. Because of perceptual filtering and those variables that exist in an individual's field, there can be vast differences in "message sent" and "message received." The example of a reality statement that was stated earlier was "The temperature is 70 degrees." During 1980, when for weeks the temperatures in this section of Texas did not drop below 105 degrees, we would have considered 70 degrees a cool spell. A friend's mother, who lives in Scotland, commented to her daughter that it was 70 degrees there and she referred to it as a "heat wave." The friend and her mother's circles obviously did not overlap on the subject of the weather.

In order for the persuasive act to be satisfactory to all parties involved, the circles must overlap due to commonalities discovered and expressed. According to Kenneth Burke, these two autonomous individuals became consubstantial, i.e., they come together in substance because they share thoughts, words, and deeds. Consubstantiality unites the two parties because they, through the process of communication, now share a common substance.

If the transaction is successful, the perceptions of both participants may be enlarged or changed. The important factor in this process is that the changes will be voluntary ones, because each person has evaluated the messages according to the needs and goals within his or her field and thus should experience a sense of satisfaction. Successful persuasion causes the participants to feel that agreement has occurred because something has been gained by it and not because agreement has been forced.

When one looks at the environmental context which surrounds all the other variables, one becomes aware that the persuasion act always occurs inside a given environment whether it be at the breakfast table or at the Oval Office. There is a wealth of research on the environment and its effect on communication, but it has never been included as part of a communication model until now. In this portion of the model, the persuader and the persuadee are viewed as perceiving the elements of external reality through their perceptual filters within a given environment. The environment includes the cultural milieu, architecture, and other aspects of the physical setting--the time, temperature, conditions of comfort or discomfort, and the demands of the situation.

The environment itself can be persuasive and can influence the persuasive act. Environments can be manipulative and dissonance-producing. For example, hotel lobbies and airport gate terminals are designed for short waiting periods. They are not comfortable and do not lend themselves to conversation with another person. It is the hope that if an extended wait is in store for a person, he or she will move to the shops, the restaurants, or the bars.⁸

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 100.

An industrial engineer who designs bar stools that are placed in downtown lunch counters commented in an interview in Dallas in 1980:⁹

I have several customers in the downtown sections of large cities. They make 95% of their money between 11:00 and 2:30 in the afternoon. During the lunch rush, their problem is to turn over those seats often enough so they may serve a set number of lunches everyday. With people waiting in line for those seats - and they do wait - you lose money if someone lingers over their BLT or leans back to smoke a cigarette. So for these customers I design a stool that is initially comfortable but within about 15 minutes it becomes uncomfortable due to the angle at which the spine is resting. It keeps the customer from dawdling.

Adolph Hitler was acutely aware of environmental effects. Not only did he surround himself with an atmosphere of colorful and emotion-building pageantry, he always chose a space for the event which would assure the fact that the audience would be observing the events in extremely crowded circumstances. Everyone is aware from observation that people behave differently in crowded stadiums and coliseums than they do in people's living rooms or at a not-so-crowded meeting. In early studies, Hitler's methods were referred to as "herd psychology." The environment in which the persuasion act is going to occur must be a serious consideration if the persuader is going to elicit a favorable response.

It is true that people do respond to persuasion that corresponds with their goals or promises to help them in some way by satisfying a want or a need. If we are to be successful as persuaders, it is appropriate to remember what Charles Henry Woolbert said over sixty years ago:¹⁰

To study persuasion is to study human nature minutely. Without a guide to men's action probabilities, without appreciating and understanding their action grooves, a speaker or writer works in a vacuum and so has no possible basis for insuring success...More than half of success in winning men (women) is in understanding how they work.

In the remainder of this paper, a closer look at the element of the individual's field and the variables that contribute to source credibility will be discussed in order to better understand how men and women work.

Within the circle of each autonomous individual exist beliefs, attitudes, values, and group norms which provide anchors. An anchor is a starting point for a change, because it represents something that is already accepted by the persuadee. When Henry Kissinger commented on the film for television "The Day After," he stated that the film showed that no one wants a nuclear holocaust. Who can disagree with that? The second comment or the implied "then" of his remarks was "the way to keep the tragedy from occurring was to maintain a

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ C. H. Woolbert, *The Fundamentals of Speech: A Behavioristic Study of the Underlying Principles of Speaking and Reading* (New York: Harper Brothers, 1920).

balance of power.” Because his first statement, “No one wants a nuclear holocaust,” was a strong anchor, there existed a greater possibility that the second portion of his statement might also be accepted. Since beliefs provide strong anchors, it is important for the persuader to: a) know what a belief is and b) to know what beliefs the persuadee has before developing a strategy for change. A belief is an inference and a cognition that a person makes about the world, about the existence of things, events, ideas, and persons. Milton Rokeach states that a belief is a simple statement preceded by “I believe that...” “I believe that I am intelligent.” “I believe that Ronald Reagan is honest.”¹¹ Beliefs, as well as values and attitudes, are derived from significant others, authority figures, and other beliefs.

Rokeach and Daryl Bem indicate that beliefs exist in hierarchies of primitive, authority, derived, peripheral, and inconsequential beliefs. Primitive beliefs are almost impossible to change. The concentration by the persuader needs to be on change of peripheral beliefs, and if the change can be anchored to a primitive or authority belief, the chances for change are more realistic. For example, if you believe in Christian brotherhood, then you would agree that an international food-sharing program is needed. Or if the persuadee believed in the president as an authority, the if-then reasoning might be “If you believe in the president, then you would be willing to support his food-sharing program.”

Our most enduring beliefs are values. Rokeach defines a value as “an enduring belief that a specific mode of conduct or end-state of existence is personally or socially preferable to an opposite or converse mode of conduct or end-state of existence.”¹² Values are preserved in successive generations through one or more of society’s institutions.

In 1962, E. Steele and W. C. Redding analyzed American values and concluded that Americans value the puritan and pioneer morality, individualism, achievement, change and progress, equality, optimism, and pragmatism.¹³ So much for 1962. A more recent survey conducted in 1978 cited power, money, and sex as prime American values.¹⁴

It is difficult to get agreement on values because they are highly personal and some may be unconscious. Values also tend to be general and abstract and are applicable to a variety of situations. “I value justice, honesty, and the work ethic; therefore I have a positive preference for a political candidate who appears to possess these qualities.” This kind of application anchors a value to an attitude and possible voting behavior. Rokeach states that we have only a few dozen values, but they may serve as anchors upon which numerous attitudes are based. Rokeach also states that values are organized into hierarchies or systems that become guides to action.

Different people will rank their values in different orders, but they will also rank their values differently, depending on the situation. We, as parents, declare we love all our children equally. Yet, if one child is ill, the parent is forced to show

¹¹ M. Rokeach, **Beliefs, Attitudes, and Values: A Theory of Organization and Change**, (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1969), p. 4.

¹² M. Rokeach, **The Nature of Human Values**, (New York: The Free Press, 1973), p. 5.

¹³ E. Steele and W. C. Redding, *The American Value System*, **Western Speech**, Vol. 26 (1962), pp. 83-91.

¹⁴ National Public Radio News, KERA-FM, Dallas, Texas, December 4, 1980.

a preference for that child in that situation. A value also becomes important when it is threatened. The fundamentalists who follow the Jerry Falwell view equal rights for women as a dissolution of the family unit and a threat to basic Christian values. As a result we hear a lot of paranoid rhetoric based on fear or threat to these important values. Values are then, measuring sticks by which we assess behavior and obtain goals. They consist of concepts of right and wrong, good and bad, true and false. If a conflict in values exists between the persuader and the persuadee, the propensity for a communication breakdown is great.

The problems our nation is experiencing in its communication dealings with the Latin American countries and the countries in the Middle East stem from the fact that their cultures' value systems are different from ours.

Georgie Anne Geyer, in her syndicated article in 1983 on Syrian president Assad, stated it this way.¹⁵

We are living again in a period when many Americans do not want to believe that people or leaders in other countries are really much different from us; that we need only deal with them in a Western style "rational" manner and they will respond. Assad shows the folly of such innocence.

Another important anchor is group norms which are both beliefs and values that are derived from membership in groups or from positive references to non-membership groups. Daryl Bem, a Stanford psychologist, says that the major influence on people is people. We tend to accept judgments made by people who are like us and whose approval we seek and by groups to which we belong.¹⁶

Lawyers who select jurors often use group norms to weed out undesirable jurors. Percy Foreman stated in a television interview that he prefers women and members of oppressed minorities as jurors because "they will be more sympathetic to the underdog." He also says he avoids members of "exacting professions like architects and mathematicians because they demand precise proof."¹⁷

Clarence Darrow had his own formula for jury selection: "Never take a German, they are bullheaded. Rarely take a Swede; they are stubborn. Always take an Irishman or a Jew; they are the easiest to move to emotional sympathy. Old men are generally more charitable and kindly disposed than young men; they have seen more of the world and understand it."¹⁸

When a persuader looks at the persuadee's psychological sets in his or her field, he or she must not only look at beliefs, values, and group norms as anchors, but also look at attitudes as well. An attitude according to this model is defined as a learned and relatively enduring predisposition to respond favorably or unfavorably to an idea, an object, or behavior. An attitude is expressed in specific evaluative statements such as "I like" or "I don't like," "I am for or against." Attitudes have some characteristics which are derived from salient beliefs and tend

¹⁵ Georgie Anne Geyer, *The U. S. Must See Into Assad*, *Wichita Falls Record News*, Friday, December 2, 1983.

¹⁶ D. Bem, *Beliefs, Attitudes, and Human Affairs* (Belmont, California: Brooks/Cole, 1970), p. 75.

¹⁷ L. Allen, *The Jury Selection Game*, *Dallas Morning News*, August 17, 1975, p. F1.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

to be lasting in nature. They are indicative of a relationship between the person and his/her perception of an object or idea; and attitudes vary in degree along a continuum, and are characterized by direction and intensity of ego-involvement.

To understand attitudes and attitude change it is necessary to understand human nature through the study of consistency and attribution theories. Consistency theories account for conflicts in attitude and behavior, the resultant psychological discomfort, and the possibilities for or reduction of conflict. These theories are useful to the persuader if he/she is to reduce the conflict or dissonance through persuasive appeals. Attribution theory gives the persuader knowledge about what attributes to attach to an attitude object in order to create favorable responses to persuasion.

Early research in attitude theory identified attitudes as precursors of behavior or behavioral change. Many studies that tried to link attitude to behavioral change were unsuccessful. Recent studies by Thomas Steinfatt and Dominic Infante,¹⁹ and Rokeach and Peter Kliejunas²⁰ indicate that if the researcher measures people's attitudes toward the situation in which the behavior will occur, rather than one's attitude toward the object, the results are better predictors of behavior change. Three sample studies were conducted by Jaccard, King, and Pomozal²¹ to discover if a person's attitude toward a specific behavioral criterion was the best attitude predictor of behavior.

In one of the studies, students were given questionnaires concerning blood donations. This distribution of forms occurred one week prior to a student blood drive on campus. Two attitude measures were acquired: 1) attitude toward "donating blood at the upcoming drive" and 2) attitude toward "blood donation in general." This study which measured attitude toward an object and an attitude toward a specific behavioral situation revealed interesting results.

During the week following the blood drive, all subjects were contacted by phone and asked if they had donated blood. These answers were checked against the official blood donor records. There was a much more significant correspondence between attitude toward "donating blood at the upcoming blood drive" and subsequent behavior, than between the general attitude toward "blood donation" and behavior.

Impression management studies conducted by Tedeschi and associates reveal that people will appear to change attitudes if it means fulfilling expectations of significant others.²¹ Others will resist attitude change so as not to appear weak. The bogus pipeline theory provided the basis for a study which showed that the subjects would engage in behaviors counter to their attitudes if they believed no one would know. Those subjects, however, that were in a monitoring situation maintained consistency in attitude and behavior.

The internal workings of the persuader and the persuadee have been discussed, but equally important is what the persuadee thinks of the persuader, and on what the persuadee bases his or her perceptions.

¹⁹ T. Steinfatt and D. Infante, *Attitude-Behavior Relationships in Communication Research, Quarterly Journal of Speech*, Vol. 62 (1976), pp. 267-78.

²⁰ M. Rokeach and P. Kliejunas, *Behavior as a Function of Attitude-toward-object and Attitude-toward-behavior*, *Journal of Personality and Sociology*, Vol. 22 (1972), pp. 194-201.

²¹ J. Tedeschi, (ed), *The Social Influence Process* (Chicago: Aldine, 1972).

Since Aristotle's time scholars have been aware of the element of ethos and source credibility on communicator image. In this electronic age, however, huge sums of money are spent in the political arena to create these images. Serious questions arise as to whether voters are voting for a candidate or for an image that has been created for their benefit. It would be remiss to discuss the persuasion process without addressing source credibility or more specifically, how one is perceived, how one perceives others, and what variables influence these perceptions. Source credibility is defined in relation to the model as the perception of the attitude toward the persuader that exists in the mind of the persuadee at a given time in a given situation.

Gary Cronkhite and Jo Liska's process model of source credibility was chosen to explain this variable as it relates to the interactive-dependency approach. They introduce their approach in this way: "People choose to participate in the process of persuasion with others who are most likely to satisfy needs and achieve goals which are most salient and important at the moment of choice."²²

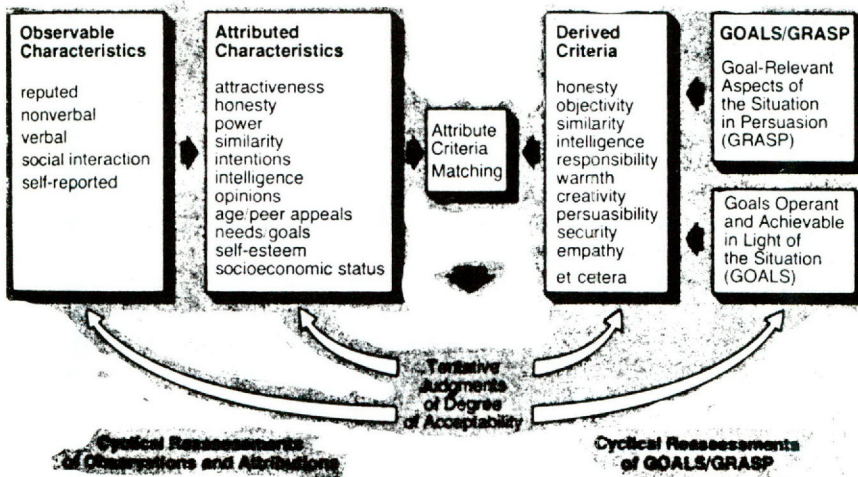


Figure 3.
Cronkhite and Liska's Process Model of Source Credibility

²² G. Cronkhite and J. Liska, *The Judgment of Communicant Acceptability*, In *Persuasion: New Directions in Theory and Research*, ed. L. Roloff and G. Miller (Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage, 1980), pp. 101-39.

In this process model of source credibility the many variables are under the broad headings of observable characteristics, attributed characteristics, derived criteria; goal relevant aspects of the situation in persuasion (acronym GRASP), and goals operant and achievable in the light of the situation (acronym GOALS). Included is the interaction of these variables.

Observable characteristics. Because of wide dissemination of knowledge due to the increases in all kinds of communication sources, one very seldom comes to a persuasive act without information concerning the potential persuader. Once the contact is made, one observes the person's nonverbal and verbal behavior. According to the Albert Mehrabian studies, over 95% of one's communication is nonverbal. Often to the disadvantage of the communicator, the nonverbal behavior contradicts the verbal behavior. These studies reveal that the nonverbal behavior is more persuasive when this situation occurs.²³

Sometimes shy people who avoid eye contact are perceived as deceitful. Those who keep more than the appropriate distance from others are perceived as aloof.

Clothing is an important observable characteristic. In fact if the person is unknown, it is the first information one processes. If a male is dressed garishly, he may be perceived as "a used-car salesman" type. If a woman is clad in tight, revealing attire and too much make-up she may be perceived as "sexy and dumb."

One of the primary characteristics that one observes in a person's social interaction is one's ability to listen. Does he or she listen as much as he or she talks? There are people who are effective in a one-to-many situation but do not function as well on a one-to-one basis and vice versa.

Self-reported characteristics fall into the category of intrinsic credibility or ethos. These characteristics are inherent in what the communicator says. Self-reporting communication can work both ways. Some communicators in an effort to impress others, are perceived as braggarts.

Attributed characteristics. Persuadees tend to attribute unobservable characteristics based on observable characteristics. Attractiveness, honesty, power, similarity, intentions, opinions, age or peer appeals, needs or goals, self-esteem, and socio-economic status are some of the characteristics attributed to the persuader based on observable characteristics.

Attractiveness is one quality that is inferred from several variables. Studies by Byrne, Izard, and Griffitt tell us that attitude, need, and personality similarities contribute to one's perception of attractiveness of others. Norton and Pettigrew conducted three studies using the communicator-style variables in terms of dominant, open, dogmatic, relaxed, conscientious, animated, friendly, and attentive. The results showed that the dominant or open style was considered most attractive. This could be due to the fact that attractive people receive positive feedback and ego-gratification so they, as a result, develop styles that represent a dominant and open style of communicative behavior.

There was a time in teaching persuasion when the use of authorities was thought to be a powerful source. It is "in the same boat," or someone who is a

²³ A. Mehrabian, *A Semantic Space for Nonverbal Behavior*, *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, Vol. 35, No. 2 (1970), pp. 248-57.

²³ _____ and S. Ferris, *Inference of Attitudes from Nonverbal Communication in Two Channels*, *Journal of Consulting Psychology*, Vol. 31 (1967), pp. 248-52.

peer that, however, that seems to wield more persuasive power. There are still advertisements on television using famous people, the famous actress or a prestigious person but more often than not there are children doing children's commercials, housewives talking about household cleaners, and coal miners recommending Anacin.

Goals that are operable and achievable in the light of the situation (GOALS) focuses on the situation and its relevance and importance to the achievement of the persuadee's goal. The persuader, in order to be successful, must anchor in to an immediate or long-range goal in order to be successful. Conversely, if the persuadee perceives the persuader to have goals which are opposite or if accomplished would be counter-productive to the persuadee's goals, he or she will reject the persuader due to lack of commonality.

Goal Relevant Aspects of the Situation in Persuasion (GRASP) refers to the fact that the persuadee must review the persuader's message as personally realistic as far as his or her life space if concerned. An investment counselor is not going to be scrutinized as carefully for honesty and expertise by a person whose life style is one that is based on his or her entire income as a person who is considering investment alternatives. He or she wishes to envision pleasant consequences, so the proposition of the persuader must appear realistic and within the grasp of the persuadee.

The goals of the persuadee must be a primary focus from which to build source credibility in that the persuader must be concerned for the persuadee's goals and convince him or her that the proposition for change in attitude or behavior is relevant and that there is a possibility for goal achievement.

Within the framework of the interactive-dependency concept, both participants must understand all the variables in order to progress in the persuasion process toward a solution. And if one fails, this knowledge and awareness helps participants to understand why.

Successful persuasion is, in the last analysis, an understanding of oneself, of how one is perceived, but most importantly, it is a sensitivity and understanding of what motivates the person or persons one wishes to influence. It is this tolerance for and understanding of both roles in the process that provides a foundation upon which to build relationships and to make decisions which are commensurate with the goals of all parties involved.

BRAZIL IN THE 1980's

by

Michael A. Preda*

The most crucial issue in Brazil today is its \$100 billion foreign debt. Brazil has been seen as a nation with a tremendous amount of hope for rapid progress toward modernization. The dream has been shattered in recent years by an inflation rate of 230 percent and unemployment of 40 percent, while a large portion of the workforce continues to be underemployed.

Brazil is important because it is the largest Latin American nation, not only in terms of size and population, but also in terms of natural resources. It is potentially a great nation.¹ During its decade of growth, 1972-1982, Brazil's economy prospered at an astounding level to the point at which it was ranked as the 10th industrial power in the world. That kind of growth is significant for a Third World Nation. Its citizens never let American visitors forget that Brazil has made significant strides, but it is still a Third World country. The people feel that they had hope for a chance to get out of the Third World status, but today that hope has been shattered by the economic crisis.²

Much of the modernization and industrial growth took place during the golden decade when construction grew at a rate as if there was no tomorrow. The frantic pace was set by the military governments in their construction of "pharaonic" projects. The pharaonic projects remind Brazilians of projects undertaken by the pharaohs. Some of these projects include a nuclear power plant in southeastern Brazil, a joint Brazilian-Paraguayan hydroelectric dam at Itaipu, and a trans-Amazon highway. None of these projects has been completed, nor is there any likelihood of completion. The vast amount of foreign debt incurred by the military government to pay for construction of such projects was justified by the government in terms of Brazil's need for the projects. They were also to be symbols of Brazil's success and modernization. They are seen by many Brazilians as unnecessary projects, which were to be like other pharaonic projects, shrines to the memory of former leaders. In other words, the military leaders wanted to be remembered forever, and the highways, dams and nuclear plants would be their "pyramids."

While, at first, some Brazilians felt that they shared in the national pride in attempting to build such major projects, they later soured on them. Of course, the reason for the disenchantment is that as costs escalated, and the need for more dollars increased, the government borrowed more and more money from foreign banks. Foreign corporations were also strongly encouraged to invest in produc-

¹ *Brazilian Economic Review, News and Views* (July 15, 1985), No. 7, p. 7.

² Armino Fraga Neto and Andre Lara Resende. *Deficit, divida e ajustamento: uma nota sobre o casa brasileiro*, *Revista de Economia Politica*, Vol. 5, No. 4 (Oct-Dec) 1985, pp. 57-66.

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tion facilities in Brazil and so they also borrowed heavily for capital investment purposes. These two factors, government construction projects and capital investment, brought the country to a point of tremendous economic growth. However, it also added to its debt burden. Private investment bankers were willing to loan Brazil, and investors in Brazil, money because the high level of industrial output was sufficient evidence that Brazil was a good debt risk. But OPEC (Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries) did not cooperate. Beginning with the sharp rise in OPEC prices for imported crude oil in late 1973, Brazil had to continue to pay for imported crude oil in dollars, and that had to be borrowed dollars because of Brazil's negative balance of payments record.³ Without a doubt, the increase in demand for petroleum arose from the increased industrial production and modernization. Yet this increased demand had to be serviced by imported crude oil in very large quantities. Since Brazil's transportation system is based almost entirely on highways, the gasoline and diesel had to be refined from imported crude oil. The majority of the oil had to be imported from OPEC and the payment had to be in dollars. This activity proved to be a major factor in the increase in Brazilian debt.⁴ Today Brazil is a net producer of crude oil. Off shore exploration, east of Rio de Janeiro, has been successful. Current production is at 500,000 barrels per day, and imports total 440,000 barrels per day.⁵

This author visited Brazil in the spring of 1984 sponsored by Rotary International. Most of the time was spent in the states of Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo, and in the rural and industrial states of Parana and Santa Catarina. Interviews and discussions were mostly with middle-class Brazilians, but some upper and lower class citizens were contacted. People were interviewed at home, at their place of work, at civic meetings, and at places of sports and recreation. While cordial, the large majority of people showed a high level of dislike for the U.S. This dislike was based more on jealousy of the rich "North Americans" and their government, rather than on an inherent hatred of U.S. government policies and capitalism.

This author spoke with students at five universities and lectured at one of them. He interviewed ten prefects, three judges, five district attorneys, five mayors, two police chiefs, two prison wardens, one bishop, numerous economics professors, bank managers, businessmen, and lawyers. He also visited various farms and orchards (poultry, hog, cattle, cotton, sorghum, rice, banana, sugar cane, manioca and apple), factories (tractor parts, muffler, dairy processing, sawmills, etc.), schools (public, private, vocational-trade), and schools for the mentally retarded. By interviewing students and many unemployed individuals, the author was able to get a better understanding of the attitudes regarding the foreign debt, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and the U.S.

³ International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD). **Brazil Economic Memorandum.** (Washington, D.C.: The World Bank, 1984), pp. xxiii.

⁴ Pierre Salama. *Endividamento e acentuacao da miseria.* **Revista de Economia Politica**, Vol. I, (Jan-Mar, 1985), p. 85.

⁵ Andre' Franco Montoro Filho. **Moeda e Sistema Fianceiro no Brasil** (Rio de Janeiro: IPEA/INPES), 1982, p. 29.

Brazil's foreign debt of \$100 billion is the largest foreign debt of any nation. Roberto Filho, editor of *Gazeta Mercantil* of Sao Paulo, says that it is a relatively low figure on a per capital basis, compared to Mexico and Argentina. That sounds good, but Brazil's population of 130 million contributes to the overall burden. As the world's sixth largest nation it has had to cope with many serious problems brought on by such a large population.⁶

While Brazil is going through this economic crisis it is still rich. The country is the largest in South America and is high on the list of production of coffee, cocoa, sugar, tobacco, automobiles, and alcohol fuel. During the period 1972-1980 industrial production doubled, steel production doubled, and 13 million new jobs were created in industry and agriculture. Per capita income, corrected for inflation, doubled in the past ten years and many signs of modernization were evident. The number of telephones increased by a factor of four, and a national highways system was built very quickly. Yet, too much money was spent. When the crisis came, money was no longer available to even maintain the infrastructure that was built during the era of modernization. For example, southern Brazil was devastated by major floods during the fall of 1983 and many of the new bridges and roads were washed out. No funds are available for repairs. Citizens assume that the repairs will never come and it is likely that they are correct. Investment came at a very fast pace and many unnecessary projects were built. The country has excess capacity of electrical generation, but the demand is continuing to decline. This decline is due, in part, to the economic recession and mistaken forecasts of progress and prosperity for Brazil. The government encouraged major investments in new plants, but many are now obsolete and have never been used. Unemployment is currently at forty percent, even though the official government statistics say that it is only twenty percent. Unemployment varies by industry. Some companies have gone bankrupt, while others, like Volkswagen of Brazil are operating at 30 percent of capacity.

Brazil's inflation rate of 230 percent in 1984, and 220 percent in 1983, was a major factor in the development of the current economic crisis. While the debt continues to be \$100 billion, the IMF has given guidelines to the Brazilian government regarding the repayment of the debt and, in the meantime, the IMF continues to loan Brazil additional funds. Specifically, the IMF agreed to loan Brazil \$4.5 billion in three annual payments if the banks (some 700 of them) would roll over their coming maturities and add \$6.5 billion of fresh-term money, and also agree to continue to roll a significant portion of their short-term loans that are used primarily to finance trade.⁷ The assumption was that this money could tide Brazil through the current economic crisis, and in time, it would be able to repay its debt with trade surpluses. The intent was to have Brazil achieve a balance of payments surplus of \$9 billion in 1984. But 1984 was a disastrous year. The balance of payments surplus was \$3 billion. However, the attempt to comply with the guidelines of the IMF placed the domestic economy into a state of recessionary shock. The IMF wanted Brazil to reduce its inflation rate, but severe

⁶ Roberto Muller Filho. *Brazil's Debt Struggle, and Interview* *World Press Review* (November 1984), p. 29.

⁷ Geraldo def. Forbes. *How not to do it, or the Brazilian Renegotiation Affair*. *Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 38, No. 1 (Summer, 1984), p. 84.

austerity programs crippled the Brazilian people. The Brazilian government has played an entirely passive role limiting itself to accepting, in total, the proposals put forth by the American banks and the IMF with some occasional assistance from the Federal Reserve.⁸ One well-known Brazilian analyst said that he called attention:⁹

to the incredible lack of initiative among our economic ministers, who, for want of a better idea, have simply accepted, without criticism, and without any consideration of the best interests of our country, all the suggestions presented by the IMF. These 'suggestions,' in fact conditions for the granting of its own credits and the new monies from the banks, have now become the master guidelines for Brazilian economic policy.

The public has reacted to this by blaming good-old Uncle Sam. Many Brazilians feel that the debt will never be paid, and that it is in the interest of the U.S. government to bail out American banks which would get into trouble over non-payment of outstanding Brazilian loans. Evidence of such a bail-out was found in 1984 when the U.S. Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation bailed out Continental Illinois Bank in Chicago with \$4 billion. Continental Illinois had made some bad decisions on loans, including a total of \$6 billion to Brazil. A popular song in Brazil today is titled "Brazil is going down the drain and America is to blame." The most widely seen graffiti in Brazil in "FMI US." In other words, the FMI (acronym for IMF in Portuguese) is equivalent to the U.S. dollar or economy. The United States could save Brazil if it wanted to, but it does not want to bother to save Brazil.¹⁰

It should be noted, however, that IMF staff at its Washington D.C. headquarters disagree with the public statements made by Brazilian officials on the subject of austerity programs. Staff members clearly believe that political leaders avoid imposing strict austerity programs until economic conditions are at a crisis level and only then turn to the IMF for assistance. When austerity programs are implemented voluntarily, it is easy to deflect domestic criticism by blaming the IMF.¹¹

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 83.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 84.

¹⁰ Celso Furtado. **No to Recession and Unemployment: An Examination of the Brazilian Economic Crisis.** (London: Third World Foundation for Social and Economic Studies, 1984), p. vii.

¹¹ International Monetary Fund. Interviews conducted with International Monetary Fund Staff, Washington, D.C., January-February 1986 (Anonymity was required). For further information on the Brazilian economic situation see: Fassy, Baer, Balveas, Gustavo da Costa, Alfonso and Arruda, Cruz, Batista, Filho, Rangel, and Simonsen. See also the following journals: **Revista de Ciencias Sociais, Banco Central do Brasil Boletim Mensual, Revista Industria and Productividade and Conjuntura a analise de atualidade economica.**

Brazilians feel that they are optimists. Some of the upper middle-class Brazilians commented that the poor, middle-class and wealthy Brazilians are all happy and optimistic. The following Brazilian attitudes are prevalent: the current economic crisis will probably go away sometime in the future; the U.S. government will pay off the American banks; and the debt will be forgiven because Brazil will never be able to afford to pay off its \$100 billion debt. Carnival, Samba, and football (soccer) are the joys of life (i.e., bread and circus), and people live for those joys. Whatever else happens between those events is not important. The eternal optimism and no real concern perhaps were fueled by the high rate of alcohol consumption by its citizens. The sadness and apathy on the faces of the more than 1,000 people interviewed by this author was overwhelming. The greatest amount of sadness was found among middle-class Brazilians who were experiencing phenomenal economic shocks. Twenty-five percent of the nation considers itself middle class, but that percentage is declining rapidly. Five percent are upper class and seventy percent are lower class. As the unemployment rises, more of the middle class people are slipping out of that category. There is no social security or unemployment compensation.

Are they happy or sad? They are happy at times when they celebrate; few nations celebrate with such zest as Brazil, with their "Carnival" lasting four to five weeks, and recuperation a week. But at other times, they appear very sad and complacent. They have felt that they could do nothing about their fate. They say, of course, the U.S. and its puppet, the International Monetary Fund are to blame.

Many Brazilians looked forward to the January, 1985 election. The hope was for some changes in the government and, especially, new leadership. If a new leader were to be elected, that leader should help the Brazilians resolve their debt crisis and economic turbulence caused by high inflation.

The election of 75 year-old Tancredino Neves as Brazil's president in January came as a great surprise to Brazil and the world. He was scheduled to be inaugurated March 25, 1985, but, unfortunately, only his Vice President, Jose Sarney was sworn in as interim President. President-elect Neves was to have taken the oath upon his release from the hospital. This opposition leader, who served as head of the PDMB (Democratic Movement Party), was the first civilian leader to be elected in twenty-one years. His election by the Electoral College came as a shock to the military-backed candidate of the PDS (Social Democratic Party), Paulo Salim Maluf, because the Electoral College was hand-picked by the military government's outgoing President Joan Figueredo. The military has had five generals as president since the coup of 1964 and President-Elect Neves was to bring civilian rule to Brazil. The 686 member Electoral College is composed of the Chamber of Deputies, the Senate, and delegates from the 23 states. This success was labeled by Neves as "the last indirect election of the country." His opposition party won by a margin of 480 to 180 votes.¹²

During a post-election whirlwind tour, in February, President-Elect Neves travelled to many important capitals. In Washington, he met with President Reagan and he promised strong support for the U.S.-Brazilian alliance. President Reagan stated that Brazil should now have more hope than ever before. In a televised news conference at the National Press Club, Neves discussed his nation's hope for recuperation from the current economic crisis. He further said that he

¹² Anastasia Toufexis. *Victory for the 'Great Conciliator.'* *Time* (January 28, 1985).

would push for a constituent assembly to write a new constitution. The mandate for the assembly would be to have direct elections as early as 1988. The trust and enthusiasm of the Brazilian citizens for their government will come only with direct elections and relief from the economic crisis, concluded Neves. He assured the audience that Brazil has as its goal the payment of its foreign debt.

The politically moderate Neves had been in public office since the age of 23. He had served as City Councilman, Congressman, Justice Minister, Interior Minister, Senator, Prime Minister and Governor. He was referred to as the Great Counciliator. This is a conservative term. Miracle worker would be a better term, since his coalition included supporters from the left, center, and right. It was through this coalition that Neves hoped to achieve his goals and with the military temporarily on the defensive and a popularity rate of 67%, it appeared that his chances were good.¹³ But it was not to be. Shortly before the inauguration Neves became ill and after many months in the hospital, he died. Vice President Jose Sarney was inaugurated in his place.

Sarney lacks the charisma and popularity of Neves so the high hopes generated by Neves' election have faded considerably. There may still be an opportunity for the new civilian government to effect change, but few observers are betting on it.

¹³ *Ibid.*

THE BIOLOGY OF THE ANT-MIMIC SPIDER, *Peckhamia americana* IN NORTH-CENTRAL TEXAS

by

Norman V. Horner*

On an entomology field trip to Montague County, Texas, in the fall of 1979, I observed an ant-mimicking salticid spider. This was my first experience with the spider in north-central Texas. It is a member of the family Salticidae, known as jumping spiders. The vast majority of the salticids pounce on their prey at distances of several inches, inject venom, wait for their prey (usually an insect) to die, and then feed on the body fluids. This species of ant-mimic is not only ant-like in appearance, but is almost always found with its model, ants. The specimens were identified as belonging to the genus **Peckhamia**, a genus that is widely distributed throughout North America but which, due to its small size, is often overlooked by collectors. George and Elizabeth Peckham did some research on this genus in the late 1800's¹ but a search of the literature revealed limited information on the biology of the genus. Therefore, the present study was undertaken. Edward Matelski, then a graduate student, completed his master's thesis on the biology of ant-mimics and the present paper is based partly on his findings.²

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Habitat. -- Two species, **Peckhamia americana** and **P. picata**, are present in north-central Texas. The major habitat of **Peckhamia** is the post oak tree, **Quercus stellata**. The ant-mimic spiders constructed their hibernacula (web retreats) in rolled oak leaves, fissures in oak bark, under small rocks and decaying logs under the oaks, and in the bag produced by the psychid moth larvae.

Mimicry. -- **Peckhamia** exhibits a surprisingly accurate mimicry of ants. Both physical and behavioral ant-like characteristics are demonstrated. Two species of ants were used as models in our study: **Crematogaster laeviuscula** and **Crematogaster lineolata**. Size, shape and coloration of the spiders are very similar to that of the ants. The spiders appear to have a head, thorax and abdomen as do ants. The cephalothorax (fused head and thorax) in spiders is shaped to resemble the ant's head and thorax. The cephalothorax is separated from the abdomen in ant-mimics by the pedicel, a structure also present in

¹ G. W. Peckham and E. G. Peckham. *Ant-like spiders of the family Attidae*, **Occasional Papers of the Natural History Society of Wisconsin**, Vol. 2, No. 1, pp. 1-83; plates 1-7 (1892).

² E. A. Matelski. *The Bionomics of Peckhamia* in north-central Texas. (Unpublished M.S. thesis. Dept. of Biology, Midwestern State University, 1982).

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ants. Legs, cephalothorax and the anterior one-third of the abdomen of ant-mimics are reddish brown as in the ants. The remaining portion of the abdomen is a shiny black. Both ants and **Peckhamia** are alike in size.

Peckhamia exhibits an unique ant-like behavior. The spider's normal activity consists of almost continuous imitation of ants. The second pair of legs are raised above their cephalothorax, to imitate antennae of ants. The spiders move in processions with ants, imitating their movements closely. When the ants elevated their abdomens the spiders did so also. **Peckhamia** seldom pursued a straight course, but wandered from side to side, as do ants. During feeding the spider continued to imitate ants through antennae movements and violent twitching of the abdomen. No predation was observed in the field; the ants did not feed on **Peckhamia** and **Peckhamia** did not eat ants. Mimicry seems to give total immunity to the spiders. Since it is in such close association with the ants, it is an example of the Wasmannian-type mimicry.

Measurements Adults. -- Two species of **Peckhamia** inhabited the study area: **P. americana** and **P. picata**. Length of **P. americana** females averages 4.4 mm as compared to 4.1 mm for the males. Females of **P. picata** average 3.3 mm in length as compared to 3.2 mm for the males. The two species are somewhat difficult to separate under field conditions.

Morphology of Genitalia. -- Examination of the genitalia was necessary for speciation. The males were identified by the configuration of the embolus. **P. picata** exhibits a spiral embolus while the embolus of **P. americana** is a closed loop. Females were identified by the configuration of their epigynal plate. The epigynum of **P. picata** has two partial loops opposing each other with a lightly sclerotized bar below. On each side of the bar is an inverted comma configuration. **P. americana** females have two well-defined closed loops opposing each other with a heavily sclerotized bar below the loops.

Rearing. -- A laboratory stock of **P. americana** was established by collecting adults and immatures found moving about on the vegetation. Different sized glass tubes (10 x 100 mm or 20 x 100 mm) plugged with cotton were used to rear the spiders. The colony was maintained on a diet of fruit flies, corn-leaf aphids and greenbugs. Adult spiders were offered three adult fruit flies three times a week. Aphids and fly larvae were fed to spiderlings, and also used to vary the diet of adults. Field collected insects that were fed upon by **Peckhamia** included sorghum webworm, mosquitoes, midges and aphids.

Mating. -- Virgin females and mature males were mated in clean petri dishes. In natural habitat, mating probably occurs in the female's hibernaculum. Five successful matings were observed in petri dishes. As soon as the male was introduced it approached the female from the front and attempted to block her of any forward movement. When the female remained still, the male extended its first pair of legs to expose the iridescent colors on the underside. The male then proceeded with the courtship dance, elevating its abdomen to an angle of approximately 45°. With the abdomen tilted, the male would lower its legs on one side of the body, causing the abdomen to tilt in that direction. Lateral movement of about 1 cm was made to the lowered side. The legs were then lowered on the opposite side and the process repeated. This back and forth display continued as the male gradually approached the female. If the female made a threatening gesture the male would retreat and begin the dance over. Once a successful approach had been made, the male would start caressing (lightly touching) the female's cephalothorax with the first or second

pair of legs. Some females were observed reciprocating this touching behavior.

When a female was receptive, the male would climb over the cephalothorax of the female, just past the pedicel. Using this first pair of legs, he would rotate her abdomen approximately 160° . The right pedipalp was used to transfer sperm to the right seminal receptacle of the female. The male then rotated the abdomen of the female 320° in the opposite direction and inserted the left pedipalp into the left seminal receptacle. The mean time for sperm transfer (papal insertion) was 23 minutes.

Noteworthy variations did occur. At the end of one mating, the female mimicked the courtship dance of the male. One male was determined to mate with a female that had positioned itself on the underside of a petri dish cover. After approaching and attempting unsuccessfully to mate, the male would fall to the bottom, climb back and try again. After the second attempt, the female moved to the bottom and a successful mating occurred.

Oviposition. -- *Peckhamia* deposits a relatively small number of eggs (2-4) per egg sac in the hibernaculum. An average of 10 sacs per female was deposited during a season; higher than the average for most spiders. This low reproductive potential may be due to the small body size of the female and the fact that *Peckhamia* provides excellent maternal care. Once eggs were deposited, the female stayed in or near the hibernaculum until the young were mature enough to obtain their own food.

Females deposited eggs within 2-10 days after mating, with an average of 7.2. Time between egg sac deposition ranged from 3-19 days. The average number of eggs produced per season was 28.4; a range from 13-50. Mean incubation period was 24.9 days and young were observed leaving the hibernaculum after 6 weeks. Young in the second instar removed from females refused to feed and dies. Those left with females successfully molted into the third and fourth instars. This indicates that the female provides food for the young spiderlings.

Adults. -- The adult spiders were frequently found during the warm months but immature spiders were dominant in hibernacula during the winter. Data indicate that there is a gradual increase in percentage of immatures as the year progressed from 13 September to 21 February. Immature spiders increased from 83 to 100 percent while adults decreased from 17 to 0 percent. It would appear that the average life expectancy of *Peckhamia* is limited to one year.

Conclusions. -- Additional research should provide a method for successfully rearing very small salticids. Once this is accomplished, the total number of instars for both males and females and the duration of each instar can be determined.

COMPUTER APPLICATIONS IN HÜCKEL MOLECULAR ORBITAL THEORY

by

John Meux*

The starting point of this study hinged on the fact that various properties of molecules can be determined by the solution of Schrödinger's equation. This equation was formulated in 1926 and can be written in the simplified form

$$H \phi = E \phi$$

where H is a Hamiltonian operator (square symmetric matrix), E is an eigenvalue expressed as a scalar multiple of the identity matrix, and ϕ is the associated eigenfunction (wave function) of the eigenvalue.

The Hamiltonian operator is a complicated expression to formulate, but with certain approximations it can be set up to represent a given molecule. The problem in quantum mechanics is then to find the appropriate eigenvalues and eigenfunctions associated with this operator.

For even the simplest of molecules (the hydrogen molecule with two atoms), the direct application of the Schrödinger equation is extremely cumbersome. For this reason, chemists have found it expedient to use approximations which simplify the mathematics.

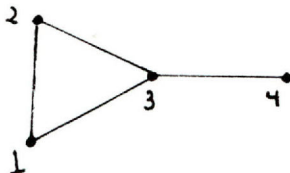
With these approximations, relatively simple molecules of no more than three or four atoms can be handled with the aid of a hand calculator. For more extensive systems, however, the situation may best be described in a quote by P. A. M. Dirac in the year 1929. "With development of the Schrödinger equation," Dirac stated, "the underlying physical laws necessary for the mathematical theory of a large part of physics and the whole of chemistry are thus completely known and the difficulty is only that the applications of these laws lead to equations much too complicated to be soluble."

Interestingly enough, Erwin Schrödinger and Paul Dirac shared the 1933 Nobel Prize for physics. Dirac, writing in 1929, probably did not foresee the impact which the development of computers would have in improving the solubility of these equations. Even with the use of computers, however, difficulties remain.

Hückel's contribution was to develop a simplified method which enabled chemists to find approximate solutions to approximate Hamiltonians. Even though this procedure is somewhat inexact, chemists generally find that the importance of quantum mechanics does not depend on exact calculations from first principles. The true value to a chemist is that quantum mechanics provides heuristic concepts and insights in establishing qualitative and quantitative semi-empirical correlations of experimental data. In short, quantum mechanics facilitates reasoning by analogy.

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In order to demonstrate Hückel's method, the model chosen is the simplified molecular arrangement corresponding to a molecule of methylenecyclopropene. It is of the form



consisting of four carbon atoms.

Hückel's method yields a determinant of the form

$$\begin{vmatrix} \lambda & 1 & 1 & 0 \\ 1 & \lambda & 1 & 0 \\ 1 & 1 & \lambda & 1 \\ 0 & 0 & 1 & \lambda \end{vmatrix},$$

where λ is an eigenvalue and the entry in row "i" and column "j" is a "1" if the i and j atoms are bonded and is a "0" if the i and j atoms are not bonded.

Mathematically speaking, this is the determinant of the coefficient matrix of a system of four linear homogeneous equations which can be expressed as

$$\lambda X_1 + X_2 + X_3 = 0$$

$$X_1 + \lambda X_2 + X_3 = 0$$

$$X_1 + X_2 + \lambda X_3 + X_4 = 0$$

$$X_3 + \lambda X_4 = 0$$

or, as in the form of Schrödinger's equation,

$$AX = -\lambda IX.$$

This can be rewritten as

$$(A + \lambda I)X = 0$$

and, since the system is homogeneous, $\det(A + \lambda I) = 0$ in order to obtain non-trivial solutions of the system. Hence, λ must be chosen so that $\det(A + \lambda I) = 0$.

The standard method for determining such values of λ consists of expanding $\det (A+\lambda I)$ to obtain a polynomial equal to zero and solving for the roots of this polynomial. In the model case of methylenecyclopropene, this equation is

$$\lambda^4 - \lambda^3 - 3\lambda^2 + 2\lambda + 1 = 0$$

Unfortunately, this expansion cannot be performed directly on a computer as the values of λ are unknown. Several numerical methods exist that will overcome this difficulty and Krylov's method was selected for use in this work. Certain modifications of Krylov's method were made in order to reduce the time needed to derive the coefficients of the characteristic polynomial.

As a measure of the need for a computer, it was noted that 288 additions, 256 multiplications and 4 divisions were required to find the five coefficients of the characteristic polynomial for methylenecyclopropene. In another 23-atom molecule, 280,899 additions, 279,841 multiplications and 23 divisions were required.

Once the coefficients of the characteristic polynomial were obtained, the next step was to solve for the n roots (eigenvalues) of the characteristic equation. The Newton-Raphson technique was employed for this purpose. These values were then used as parameters in the calculation of energy levels.

This portion of the computer program was the most difficult, primarily because of the extremely small differences in the values of the roots. In all molecular arrangements thus far considered, all roots were found to lie in the interval $(-3,3)$ so that as the number of atoms increased, the differences between roots decreased.

The major difficulty encountered was the choice of a starting value for each sequence of approximations that were generated by use of the Newton-Raphson technique. Several different choices of a starting value often generate sequences of approximations that converge to the same root.

The technique of depressing the equation was attempted but proved to be unsatisfactory because the propagated error induced by the thousands of calculations led to completely meaningless results even though extended precision of sixteen significant digits was used.

This problem was finally resolved by a "brute-force" technique which had no elegance whatsoever but did accomplish the desired results. This technique was simply a keyboard interaction with the operator entering a value to start each sequence, and having the screen display not only the root but also the first and second derivatives of the polynomial function at this root. This information allowed the operator to analyze the behavior of the function in neighborhood of the root by considering the slope and curvature at the root. In this way, the next starting value could be selected with a higher probability that the new sequence would converge to a different root. The primary drawback to this method is that the operator must understand enough basic calculus to perform the needed analysis.

Once all the roots were found, the next step was to determine the corresponding eigenfunction associated with each root. For the n -atom problems this required the solution of n systems of n linear homogeneous equations in n unknowns. For example, with methylenecyclopropene, four systems were required. The Gauss-Jordan technique was employed to solve these systems.

Since the eigenvalues are precisely those values which make the determinant of the coefficient matrix zero, each system was dependent and therefore at least

one of the values could be arbitrarily chosen. Propagated error again proved to be a difficulty which was resolved by using extended precision, finding approximate solutions and then refining these solutions by resolving each system for the residual errors.

The resulting solutions (eigenfunctions) were then checked for mutual orthogonality and were normalized in preparation for the next step; that of determining the probability that an electron would be found in a small region of space associated with a given atomic orbital.

In order to accomplish this, the calculation of total electron densities at each atom was required. These quantities are defined as the sum of the electron densities contributed by each electron in each molecular orbital. In a strict mathematical sense, the total electron density is the sum of scalar multiples of the inner products of each normalized eigenfunction with itself, with the scalar multiple being the number of electrons occupying the particular molecular orbital.

Bond orders were then determined. The bond order of two adjacent atoms is merely a conveniently defined quantity which has a rough physical significance that is associated with the binding power between two atoms. Mathematically, the bond order is the sum of scalar multiples of the inner products of the various pairs of normalized eigenfunctions with the scalar multiple chosen as in the determination of electron densities.

The entire process consisted of the construction of a mathematical model to obtain information which would approximate results of an actual laboratory experiment. This would enable a chemist to quickly assess the tendencies and probable results of a speculation without the actual performance of the experiment or, alternatively, verify the tendencies and results obtained in an experiment.

In summary, the significance of this work is strictly one of utility. Existing mathematical and numerical techniques were modified, enhanced, and organized into a whole with the one goal being the facilitation of calculations needed to employ the Hückel method in chemical research.



