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GRADUATE COLLEGE

CULTURE, POLITICS AND TELEVISION:
A CROSS-CULTURAL COMPARATIVE STUDY OF KOREAN AND U.S.
TELEVISED PRESIDENTIAL DEBATES

A Dissertation

SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the

degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

By

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Norman, Oklahoma

2000

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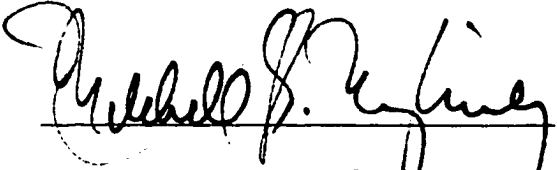



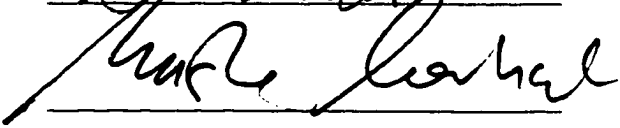
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CULTURE, POLITICS AND TELEVISION:
A CROSS-CULTURAL COMPARATIVE STUDY OF KOREAN AND U.S.
TELEVISED PRESIDENTIAL DEBATES

A Dissertation APPROVED FOR THE
DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNICATION

BY

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Codebook

Appendix B

Code Sheet

CULTURE, POLITICS AND TELEVISION:
A CROSS-CULTURAL COMPARATIVE STUDY OF KOREAN AND U.S.
TELEVISED PRESIDENTIAL DEBATES

Abstract

From a communication perspective, it is imperative to include cultural variables in one's analysis of the content of televised debates, as communication is so closely tied to cultural norms. The participants and viewers of these communicative events are embedded in a specific culture, and thus their interpretations of the interaction will be influenced by the culture's style of thinking and feeling, value system, and attitudes.

This dissertation treats televised presidential debates as a mirror of culture. However, the study sees the televised presidential debate as a traditionally Western or American political event. The televised presidential debate was invented and developed under American political traditions and values. Korea, which has different political traditions and communication patterns, adopted debate as a forum for campaign communication, but the nature of debate may conflict with general Korean communication and rhetorical patterns.

This comparative analysis reviews differences in communication and rhetorical patterns between the U.S. and Korea. Following this review of literature, the study addresses three primary goals: First, this study develops an alternative way of examining televised political debates from a communication perspective based on cultural assumptions – how culture influences what presidential candidates say and how they deliver their messages in televised debates. Second, applying a systematic content analysis, this study analyzes the 1997 Korean and the 1992 U.S. televised presidential

debates, evaluating and comparing the debate dialogue from these differing cultures.

Finally, this study analyzes the similarities between Korean and U.S. televised debates based on the notion of an “Americanization” of Korean televised debates.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Culture, Politics, and Television

Culture, knowledge and language have their basis in social and material life and are not independent or autonomous of it. (Hall, 1979, p. 319)

Culture and communication are tightly interrelated. Hall (1959) treated culture as a form of communication in his book, *"The Silent Language,"* and concluded that "culture is communication" and "communication is culture". Although many definitions have been suggested, culture can be defined as "an integrated system of learned behavioral patterns which are characteristics of members of society and which are not the result of biological inheritance" (Hoebel & Frost, 1976, p. 6). This definition indicates that culture is transmitted and maintained solely through communication and learning, and that everything that a person experiences is part of his or her culture (Samovar & Porter, 1991). Thus, we can conclude that culture influences how we send and receive messages.

Television, as one communication channel, also is under the influence of culture. Many critical theorists view television production as cultural goods and define its production system as "cultural industry" (e.g., Adorno, 1991; Berman, 1989; Garnham, 1979). Such a view suggests that television's production and delivery system directly relates to social, political and cultural values. Different cultural backgrounds, including a society's philosophy, social and political traditions, as well as economic systems, have a great influence on each nation's media system. Therefore, the media reflects all of these components. Media systems have been classified into four broad categories, delineating

the official or governmental relationship to media systems, media goals, and ownership of media. These media systems are categorized as: (a) A Communist System that regards media as a means to relay social policy; (b) An Authoritarian System that uses the media to promote governmental goals; (c) A Social Responsibility System that allows a free press, but the press has responsibilities and obligations to fulfill to society, and finally (d) A Libertarian System that provides great freedom to the media and promotes a free marketplace of ideas (Siebert, Peterson, & Schramm, 1956).

Despite the different philosophies and management of mass media systems, many studies (e.g., Cohen, Adoni, & Bantz, 1990; Gurevitch & Blumler, 1990; Gurevitch, Levy, & Roeh, 1991; Kaid, Holtz-Bacha, 1991; Kaid, Holtz-Bacha, & Johnston, 1992; Tak, Kaid, & Lee, 1997; Wakeman, 1988) have found similar patterns and changes in mass media systems, and particularly media production, in various forms of democracies. Global trends in political campaign practices, some have argued, have resulted in a homogenization of media systems and productions. The process of media globalization results not only from the international spread of media contents and forms but also through the assimilation of contents and forms found in different countries (Mancini & Swanson, 1996).

Elections are important political events because they allow citizens the freedom to actively participate in the processes of learning about and comparing political candidates, and finally in selecting leaders. The political election campaign can be describe as a deliberative process in which the electorate receives information, reasons about the alternatives available to it, and ultimately chooses an alternative. Thus, the election is an essential element of a democratic system (Trent & Friedenberg, 1995).

With the development of democratic parties in many countries throughout Asia, Eastern Europe and South America, more people are now freely engaged in elections and participate in the choice of their civic leadership. As McLuhan (1962) already defined our world as a “global village,” each nation can not be isolated from cultural or political influences from the outside. Although many nations have their own cultures and unique political systems, American political events, including the actions of political leaders as well as political consultants, have influenced democracies throughout the world, including Korea. Political and governmental officials from throughout the world have visited the U.S. to study election campaigns and to observe the operations of U.S. political institutions (Mancini & Swanson, 1996).

As a consequence of these trends, many democratic countries share common themes in their mediated political discourses, despite great differences in their political cultures, histories, and institutions. Several studies have found, for example, (e.g. Elebash, 1984; Johnson & Elebash, 1986; Sharman, 1983; Tak, Kaid, and Lee, 1997) that political commercials, despite differences in culture or national origin, often advance similar appeals based on a candidate’s image rather than on specific issues or policy. Technical campaign experts and media professionals from the U.S. have taken significant positions in international campaigns to advise campaign communication strategies and to help produce mediated campaign messages (Patterson, 1993; Mancini & Swanson, 1996). Consequently, the role of mass media has become central in political campaigns throughout the world (Graber, 1996; Patterson, 1993; Mancini & Swanson, 1996).

Role of Television in Electoral Politics

Doris A. Graber (1996, p. 230) noted that “the advent of television and its ready availability in every home, the spread and improvement of public polling, and the use of computers in election data analysis have vastly enhanced the role of the mass media in elections.” Without question, television plays an important role in a democracy by providing information and news to the public, and has contributed to a radical transformation of election campaigns in the United States as well as in all other major democracies. Mancini and Swanson (1996) argued that the changes often spurred by social, economic, political, and technological development are found in many democracies.

Sydney Kraus (1988) suggests that television not only influences the public’s perception of political events, but TV, in fact, changes the politics of campaigning and significantly alters the political process itself. The impact of television on the election process has changed the relationship among political parties, candidates, and voters. Political candidates now go directly to the public via television to gain support. In such a direct access system, political candidates most often turn to the electronic media as their chief means of campaigning to communicate with voters (Iyengar, 1997). Graber (1996, p. 231) has argued more comprehensive consequences of television’s impact on the campaign process in an age of mediated politics: a sharp decline in party influence, an increase in the power of journalists to influence the selection of candidates, the requirement for candidates to “television well,” and the emergence of made-for-media campaigns.

The media do much more than simply convey a candidate's message. The media, as a powerful and independent force, affect voter's choices from the early phase of political campaigns until election day as they interpret and craft messages based on their own value system. Patterson (1993, p. 56) noted that "the dominant schema for the [news] report is structured around the notion that politics is a strategic game." Thus, the media tend to interpret information during an election within a schematic framework of how candidates play well or fight the game of politics, and which candidates are ahead and behind. Such media bias has been revealed through numerous systematic content analyses. Many studies (e.g., Graber, 1996; Lichter, Noyes, & Kaid, 1999; Patterson, 1993; Patterson & McClure, 1975) have found that both broadcast and print media are much more likely to cover campaign strategy and tactics, focusing on winners and losers and the "horse race," than to give voters substantive policy issues and in-depth analysis of those issues.

The trend of horse race and candidate image or personality centered politics has received heavy criticism. Wattenberg (1991) argued that media politics has changed the traditional political process to a more image-centered politics. The voters have come to depend more on information regarding the candidates' personalities or images rather than their policies. Patterson (1993) has even argued that the voter's reliance on candidate image is a potential threat to democracy since it hinders informed decision-making in candidate evaluation and voting.

Another powerful influence of the media on the campaign process is that the mass media are often the only connection between the electorate and the candidates in our present electoral system. Neuman, Just, and Crigler (1992), for example, have applied a

media dependency hypothesis to test how citizens actually depend on the media. Their analysis concludes that citizens often have nowhere else to turn for information about public affairs, and particularly for cues on how to frame and interpret such information. Similarly, Patterson (1980) concluded that, for a majority of voters, a national political campaign has little reality apart from its media version. The candidates' issue stands and policy plans become familiar to the electorate only through the mass media. These findings suggest that voters no longer experience politics firsthand but rather through the eyes and ears -- the lens and screen -- of the mass media system.

Role of Televised Debates in Electoral Politics

Denton (1982) argues that the essence of politics is "talk" or human interaction. In the political campaign, especially, such interaction is usually persuasive as candidates attempt to gain votes through messages designed to persuade citizens to accept one candidate and reject all others. A televised campaign debate provides a unique and effective forum for political candidates to advance comparative messages that allow citizens to choose between competing candidates and ideas.

First of all, the usefulness of televised debates in electoral politics has been argued by the fact that debates historically attract more viewers than any other single campaign event (McKinney & Lamoureux, 1999; Trent & Friedenberg, 1995). Presidential candidates are physically limited to the number of cities they can visit, speeches they can give, and hands they can shake. In a televised campaign debate, a candidate can gain exposure with millions of voters in a way which other media and avenues do not provide (Jones, 1995). Since the very first presidential U.S. debate, the 1960 Kennedy-Nixon debates that reached over 60% of the adult population (Katz &

Feldam, 1962), the number of viewers has increased steadily every four years, with the exception of the 1996 presidential debates.

Second, televised debates provide the candidates an opportunity to gain exposure to more potential voters in a more sustained length of time than in any other campaign forum (Jamieson, 1987). This exposure, it is believed, provides a more accurate or unscripted picture of a candidate and the policies she or he advocates, more so than short news clips or political advertisements sponsored by the candidates.

Finally, televised debates provide a unique opportunity in modern day elections. An election is a choice between two (or more) candidates. On the voter's side, the televised presidential debate provides a helpful way for voters to choose between the candidates through learning about and comparing each candidate's issue positions, as well as learning and comparing candidates' character traits (Benoit, Blaney, & Pier, 1998; Jamieson & Birdsell, 1988).

Overall, the televised campaign debate allows candidates to develop messages at greater length. Each candidate can expand and develop his or her opinions on various issues in a way which campaign speeches do not allow. Jamieson and Birdsell (1988, p. 126) argued that "the debates offer the longest, most intense view of the candidates available to the electorate." Therefore, the voter is given an opportunity to evaluate candidates, issue stands, and candidate character without journalistic or editorial intervention.

However, presidential debates have often been criticized as debate formats hinder a free exchange between candidates by providing candidates only a few minutes for discussion of each issues raised. The nature of television, time constraints, debate

moderators, and television producers' desire to provide an entertaining show, have created a format for the debates which does not always allow for a real debate or clash between candidates (Jones, 1995). As the inaugural televised presidential debates, the 1960 debates between Kennedy and Nixon were referred to by some as "The Great Debates" (Kraus, 1962). However, after examining the structure, format, and presentation of the 1960 debates, Kerr (1961) argued that the 1960 "Great Debates" were neither great nor debates. Instead, it was argued that the debates were superficial, and that they substituted personality for a serious examination of issues. From the first attempt at televised presidential debates, many scholars (Auer, 1962; Auer, 1981; Bitzer & Rueter, 1980; Jamieson & Birdsell, 1988; Kerr, 1961; Kraus, 1979; Salant, 1979; Siepmann, 1962; Tiemens, Hellweg, Kipper, & Phillips, 1985) have argued for modification in their design and implementation.

Berquist and Golden (1981) argued that it was television that shifted the attention of viewers away from the political process and onto issues such as each speaker's delivery, appearance, and overall presentation skills. They concluded that current television debate formats in use favor perceived candidate advantage rather than a focus on public interest. In addition, presidential candidates have learned to shape the form and content of their message to accommodate media norms. Zarefsky (1992) argues that candidates now provide dialogue which is more adapted to the evening news rather than to engage in crafting detailed positions and arguments.

Focus of This Study

In their first essay calling for a theoretical framework for a comparative cultural analysis of communication, Blumler and Gurevitch (1975) questioned the relationship between a country's mass media systems and its political institutions and how this relationship affects the processing of political communication content and the impact of such content on the political orientations and evaluations of audience members. The relationship between political and media institutions reveals not only structural linkages, but also a cultural influence between institutional and political practices. These scholars argued that comparative political communication research can be conducted by holding the assumption that different parameters of political systems will differentially promote or constrain political communication roles and behaviors within those systems (Gurevitch & Blumler, 1990, p. 306-07).

Conventional comparative communication research largely reflects the economic and political interests that follow the dominant social ideology (i.e. an American ethnocentric tendency) and such research is guided largely by a Western perspective (Hardt, 1988). However, the time has come to strive to replace such Western dominance with theories of more global applicability. In this way, we can extend the theoretical applicability for the study of cross-cultural communication processes (Tak, 1993).

In particular, there is a general lack of systematic inquiry into the relationship between politics and the mass media within the comparative political communication literature (Johnson & Elebash, 1986). Furthermore, previous research has focused primarily on the level of media systems, not on media content (Hardt, 1988). Recently, an expanding corpus of comparative media content studies has evolved, especially in the

area of advertising (Choe, Wilcox, & Hardy, 1986; Dowling, 1980; Dunn & Yorke, 1974; Hong, Muderrisoglu, & Zinkham, 1987; Kim, 1992; Singh & Huang, 1962; Tanaka, 1984; Unwin, 1974) and political advertising studies (Haiman, 1988; Johnson & Elebash, 1986; Johnston, 1991; Kaid & Holtz-Bacha, 1991, Tak, Kaid, & Lee, 1997), with much less work devoted to other forms of political messages such as televised presidential debates (Schrott, 1984). Most existing studies, however, tend to isolate cultural difference and the primary emphasis of such work tends to reflect a Western perspective without full consideration of differing cultural perspectives. Other studies (e.g., Choe et al., 1986; Kim, 1992; Tak et al., 1997; Tanaka, 1984) have employed a cross-cultural approach between Eastern and Western cultures and have analyzed the relationship between culture and communication patterns. However, these studies are strongly focused on general cultural differences and have often ignored sub-dimensions such as political systems and media systems.

In the analysis of campaign televised debates, only a very few studies (Baker & Norpoth, 1981; Brook, 1986; Yu, 1996) have analyzed televised campaign debates throughout the world, with the notable exceptions including West Germany and Taiwan. Only one study (Schrott, 1984) has attempted an actual comparative analysis of televised political debates in two industrialized Western nations, the United States and the Federal Republic of Germany. Schrott (1984) found that the styles of the participants in both countries were rather personalized and dependent on whether one was the incumbent or the challenger; but the study compared similar countries in terms of culture—both western cultures. Still, there is no comparative study of campaign debates between Western and Eastern cultures.

The lack of comparative analysis may be due to the fact that most Western countries share common political philosophies that stress similar political systems and values (Tak, 1993). It is relatively difficult to find unique political philosophies and political cultures among Western countries. This raises an emerging need for an expanded approach to our analysis of political communication by comparing cultural assumptions as they are found in Western cultures with those political assumptions operating within Eastern cultures. This effort should be based on a new or comparative perspective rather than holding a Western perspective as the standard.

The current comparative research will be guided by theoretical approaches to the study of political communication that are compatible with the political and cultural realities of Korea, a reality that clearly differs from political communication as it is practiced in the West, particularly the United States.

With the advent of televised presidential debates in the U.S. in 1960, other nations followed this lead by eventually establishing televised debates as part of their election campaigns (e.g., Italy, Sweden, Germany, Finland, and Japan) (Mickelson, 1972). Now, more nations, including both Western and Eastern democracies, have instituted campaign debates, such as France, New Zealand, South Africa, Taiwan, South Korea and Mexico. In Eastern nations, three countries have experimented with televised campaign debates, starting with Japan in 1969, followed by Taiwan in 1994, and South Korea since 1995. Many countries that have now established a televised debate tradition have developed these candidate encounters, and particularly the format for the exchanges, based on various particular and cultural communicative practices. Most of the scholarly analysis and literature, however, examining televised presidential debates and their effects on

voters emanates from analysis of U.S. presidential debates. The findings from such research may certainly differ when applied to the unique debate structures and dialogues of other countries and cultures. For example, in their first use during the 1997 Korean presidential election, the Korean televised presidential debates allowed for an open cross-examination by candidates, where each candidate was allowed to pose direct questions to his opponents. In addition, all camera shots and angle were standardized. Such an open cross-examination format and standardized camera shots and angels have never been features in U.S. presidential debates.

From a communication perspective, it is imperative to include cultural variables in one's analysis of the content of televised debates, as communication is so closely tied to cultural norms. The participants and viewers of these communicative events are embedded in a specific culture and thus their interpretations of the interaction will be influenced by the culture's style of thinking and feeling, value system, and attitudes (Hallowell, 1972).

This study will treat televised presidential debates as a mirror of culture. However, the study sees the televised presidential debate as a traditionally Western or American political event. The televised presidential debate was invented and developed under American political traditions and values. Korea, which has different political traditions and communication patterns, adopted debate as a forum for campaign communication, but the nature of debate may conflict with general Korean communication and rhetorical patterns.

This comparative analysis will review differences in communication and rhetorical patterns between the U.S. and Korea. Following a review of relevant literature,

the study will address three primary goals: First, this study will develop an alternative way of examining televised political debates from a communication perspective based on cultural assumptions – how culture influences what presidential candidates say and how they deliver their messages in televised debates. Second, applying a systematic content analysis, the study will analyze the 1997 Korean and the 1992 U.S. televised presidential debates, evaluating and comparing the debate dialogue from these differing cultures. Finally, this study will analyze similarities between Korean and U.S. televised debates based on the notion of an “Americanization” of Korean televised debates.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Culture, Communication and Rhetoric

Communication is the basic social process, and as such it is influenced by culture. Indeed, according to Hall (1959), culture is communication, and communication is culture. Thus, culture and communication are tightly inter-related. This close relationship indicates the importance of understanding cultural differences between national cultures through cross-cultural communication studies. Many scholars have presented various dimensions to help explain differences between Eastern and Western cultures. Gudykunst (1987) has argued that society, social systems, and culture are all inter-related and have an impact upon communication. He explains this inter-relationship as a sociocultural variability that is influenced by two major factors: ecology (or resources) and history that affect the formation of specific values and norms in each country's culture.

Hall (1977) and Hofstede (1980) develop the concept of sociocultural variability to help explain differences in behaviors between Eastern and the Western cultures. Hofstede (1980) presented four dimensions of sociocultural variability: individualism-collectivism, uncertainty avoidance, power distance, and masculinity-femininity. Hall (1977), on the other hand, has developed the notion of low- and high-context cultures, focusing on cultural differences in communication processes.

Many scholars have utilized these dimensions in their intercultural or cross-cultural communication analyses. However, the dimensions have many limitations when attempting to make broad cultural generalizations. According to Hall (1977) and

Hofstede (1980), most Asian countries may be placed within the same cultural group. Realistically, however, there are many subgroups within Asian countries. East Asia, including Korea, China, and Japan, has been strongly influenced by Confucian philosophy, while other Asian countries have been under strong philosophical influences such as Buddhism, Moslem or other philosophies or religions that differ from Confucianism.

Cushman and Kincaid (1987) provide a more specific approach based on theoretical principles to understand communication differences between Eastern and Western cultures, including (a) philosophical principles; (b) processual principles; and (c) practical principles. The philosophical principles which constitute one's perspective on life form the network of attitudes, values and beliefs, or traditions which shape a way of looking at and thinking about experience. Processual principles govern and guide the process by which information is shared and processed within a particular social and cultural context. Finally, practical principles govern and guide how communication is to be employed to obtain goals -- to persuade -- beyond those of information processing (Cushman & Kincaid, 1987). The second level, the processual principles, govern our interpretations of all levels of communication content as well as our daily interaction patterns, so audience studies concerning the interpretations of appropriate messages and interaction may reveal processual principles.

Situating the present study within Cushman and Kincaid's (1987) levels of cultural understanding, this analysis will utilize the first level (philosophical principles) as a cultural lens through which to analyze the third level (practical principles) between Eastern (Korean) and Western (U.S.) presidential candidates. However, in developing

philosophical principles, this analysis will be guided by broader Asian principles, including Korean, Japanese and Chinese cultural studies. Particularly, Kincaid (1987) has argued that these three East Asian countries have been most influenced by Confucian philosophical principles.

Korean philosophical foundations and value systems are quite different from those of the U.S. Korean culture has been influenced by three main philosophical roots, including (a) a Korean indigenous belief system that has evolved since prehistoric periods; (b) Confucianism originating in China; and (c) Buddhism originating in India but imported to Korea through China (Yum, 1987a). These religious and philosophical systems have had the greatest impact on the social, behavioral, and thought patterns of Koreans. However, Confucianism, more than other philosophical and religious systems, has influenced the development of Korean social and political value systems for over one thousand years. Confucianism in Korea has been translated into a broader system of education, ceremony, and civil administration. With the passing of the monarchical system in the early 20th century, only the educational function has remained important. However, the deeply ingrained Confucian mode of manners and social relations is still a major factor in the way Koreans think and act (Korean Overseas Information Service, 1994).

Confucianism is a philosophy of human nature which considers proper human relationships as the basis of society (Yum, 1988). Confucius set up an ideal ethical-moral system intended to govern relationships within the family and the state in harmonious unity. It was basically a system of subordination--of the son to the father, of the younger to the elder brother, of the wife to the husband, and of the subject to the throne. Under

this philosophical basis, the goal of communication within Eastern culture is to achieve a spiritual harmony between humanity and nature. Thus, Eastern perspectives emphasize the principle goal of communication selflessness and submission to central authority as an institutional means for achieving unity and harmony between humanity and nature (Cushman & Kincaid, 1987).

Due to differences in the function of communication, East Asia's emphasis on social relationships is one in which communication is perceived to be an infinite interpretive process (Cheng, 1987). In contrast, the goal of communication within Western culture, especially the United States, is to establish and maintain political, social, and economic freedom for the individual. Thus, the communication goal is to provide for individual self-realization (Yankelovich, 1981) and it is employed in order to rationally manipulate others to assist one in the achievement of personal goals (Cushman & Kincaid, 1987). Americans tend to believe that the individual has control of, and is responsible for, his or her life. Under this philosophical influence, competition is encouraged and frontal attack is considered as a matter of course (Stewart, 1972). Thus, the outcome of communication is more important than the process of communication. Table 2.1 presents differences when comparing North American and East Asian communication patterns.

Confucianism's legacy of consideration for others and concern for proper human relationships has led to the development of identifiable communication patterns. Kim (1994) found that Americans focus on task constraints (conveying the message clearly and efficiently) while Koreans focus on social-relationship constraints (avoiding damage to the relationship or loss of face by the hearer). The use of the indirect mode of

Table 2.1

Comparison Between North American and East Asian Orientations to Communication Patterns

East Asian Orientation	North American Orientation
1. Process Orientation: Communication is perceived as a process of infinite interpretation.	1. Outcome Orientation: Communication is perceived as the transference of messages.
2. Indirect Communication Emphasis: The use of indirect communication is prevalent and accepted as normative.	2. Direct Communication Emphasis: Direct communication is a norm despite the extensive use of indirect communication.
3. Receiver Centered: Meaning is in the interpretation. Emphasis is on listening, sensitivity, and removal of preconception.	3. Sender Centered: Meaning is in the message created by the sender. Emphasis is on how to formulate the best messages, how to improve skills.

Source: (Yum, 1988, p.378)

communication is pervasive in East Asia. Some researches (e.g. Hirokawa, 1981; Pascale, 1978) have compared Japanese and American communication patterns in organizations and found that American employees prefer to use a clear, precise, and explicit manner, whereas Japanese communicate in a vague and indirect manner. Reischauer (1977) concluded that “the Japanese have a genuine mistrust of verbal skills, thinking that these tend to show superficiality in contrast to inner less articulate feelings that are communicated by innuendo or by nonverbal means” (p. 139).

Yum (1988) described these different communication patterns in terms of receiver- versus sender-centeredness. North American communication very often centers on the speaker, and much emphasis has been placed on how speakers formulate better

messages, improve source credibility, polish their delivery skill, and so forth. In contrast, East Asian communication emphasizes listening and interpretation. Therefore, with the emphasis on an indirect communication mode, the receiver's sensitivity and ability to capture "under-the-surface" meaning and to discern implicit meaning becomes critical (Yum, 1988).

The perspective of practical principles focuses attention on those cultural norms that govern and guide how communication is to be employed to obtain goals beyond those of information processing. These differing principles guide the practical uses of communication and rhetorical strategies between Eastern and Western cultures. These differences in practical uses of communication can be most clearly understood when analyzing two levels of communication: verbal and nonverbal communication.

The perspective of practical communication principles has been analyzed in a great deal of mass communication research. Many studies (e.g., Choe, Wilcox, & Hardy, 1986; Dowling, 1980; Dunn & Yorke, 1974; Hong, Muderrisoglu, & Zinkham, 1987; Kim, 1992; Singh & Huang, 1962; Tanaka, 1984; Unwin, 1974) have found that advertising reflects the unique indigenous culture in which it is embedded. Tak, Kaid, and Lee (1997) analyzed political advertising based on a cross-cultural approach and found significant differences in nonverbal communication expression between Korea and U.S. political advertising. In explaining the existence of cultural differences in communication, Millum (1975) points out that advertising practitioners select, reflect, and reinforce particular meanings that are familiar in their culture. The audience also receives and interprets the verbal and nonverbal messages based on their cultural

background. Thus, advertising can be defined as a product of the shared cultural norms and values within a particular cultural system (Kim, 1992).

As an illustration of practical principles of a culture, televised campaign debates can be seen as an expression of cultural communicative norms. The content of televised campaign debates consists of the discourse of participants who are oriented to their particular cultures (Korean and U.S.). Audiences, who also share the same cultural norms and values, interpret this persuasive discourse. Like advertising, the televised campaign debate consists of verbal and nonverbal communication. While the importance of verbal and nonverbal cues in communication has been well established, there has been very little effort to compare the communication in political debates between Eastern and Western cultures. This may be due to the fact that advertising and political advertising has been more popular in many countries than has televised campaign debates. In addition, the content of advertising may be more amenable to content analysis than that of televised campaign debates.

The preceding section has discussed differences in communication patterns between Eastern and Western cultures based on philosophical differences. The next section will narrow the theoretical focus to rhetoric itself, and finally to campaign communication that is presented through televised presidential debates.

Verbal Expression

This study analyzes televised presidential debates as one form of political communication. Nimmo and Swanson (1990) noted that the study of political communication is devoted to the strategic uses of communication designed to influence

public knowledge, beliefs, and actions on political matters; furthermore, they regard the political campaign as the paradigmatic instance of the subject. Thus, political communication consists primarily of persuasive or rhetorical discourse.

Okabe (1997) has outlined differences in the rhetorical approaches between Japan and the U.S. based on Scott's (1969) "nuclear" concepts including "substance," "form," "style," and "tone." Scott (1969) defines these concepts as key constituents of communication and rhetoric: (a) "substance" as that which enables the speaker to link the stuff of his commitments to those of his listener; (b) "rhetorical form" concerns the problem of ordering and organizing discourse; (c) "rhetorical style" is the way in which language works to embody the communicative intentions of its users; and (d) "tone" as the way in which a speaker's attitude is conveyed to his listener. Okabe (1997) argues that both Japan and the U.S. are grounded on quite different rhetorical theories and practices.

To understand cultural differences, and particularly the political and social values that are shared between speaker and listener, this study has first reviewed the primary philosophical differences between the U.S. and Korea. On the basis of such philosophical differences, this study next explores differences in patterns of thinking that are directly related to rhetorical differences between Eastern and Western cultures.

The critical difference between Western and Eastern philosophy is that Western thought has a different epistemological stance, one that focuses on the separation of humanity from nature. Western thought has its antecedents among the Greek philosophers. Most Greek philosophers, including Plato and Aristotle, conceived of perfect knowledge as absolute and unchanging, while the world of senses seemed

continually in motion and change (Woelfel & Kincaid, 1987). Such epistemological assumptions directly relate to a way of thinking. Oliver (1959, p.363) defined rhetoric as “a way of thinking” and, drawing on Aristotle’s definition, concluded that rhetoric is the faculty of discovering in any particular case all the available means of persuasion. Particular ways of thinking have influenced the rhetorical tradition in Eastern and Western cultures. Major rhetorical differences are rooted in the difference between Aristotelian modes of reasoning prevalent in Western cultures and the non-Aristotelian systems of the Orient (Oliver, 1962).

Through the influence of Aristotle, Western culture’s foundation of persuasion differs from an Eastern approach. According to Aristotle, the purpose of the speaker is limited by two factors beyond his or her control: (a) truth and justice, which are one’s duty to maintain; and (b) the emotional nature of auditors, which requires the speaker to utilize emotion and one’s own ethos as supplements to the “essence of persuasion,” which properly consists of argument and proofs (Oliver, 1959, p. 363).

On the contrary, Confucian rhetoric is concerned almost exclusively with the uses of truth and justice. Confucian thought assumes that truth and justice exists; since they exist, they can be identified; hence the purpose of the dialectic is to discover truth and justice, and the purpose of rhetoric is to win their acceptance by the auditor. The purpose of inquiry and argument is not merely to influence auditors but particularly to influence them to accept what is eternally right (Oliver, 1959).

Okabe (1997) summarizes several concepts to connote Eastern and Western ways of thinking. Eastern thinking patterns are illustrated by the concepts of synthetic thinking, relativism, and idealism. Contrary to these Eastern ways of thinking and

knowing, the American approach to knowing is based on the concepts of analytical thinking¹, absolutism², and realism³.

Consequently, the philosophical differences differentiate perceptions of communication. Korean perceptions of communication are characterized by the inarticulate or prelinguistic process of the mind (Yum, 1987a). Truth must be gained without trying and in every spoken truth the unspoken has the last word. Words are approximations, sometimes helpful, sometimes misleading (Oliver, 1962). In Western culture, people believe that words do, in fact, mean what they say; thus, Americans regard communication as a tool for conflict resolution (Hall & Hewitt, 1973).

However, the Eastern view holds that communication is of limited value in solving problems because truth and solutions become apparent in the natural course of events. Thus, rhetoric, in the Western sense of the word, is concerned with persuasion pursued in public forums such that American rhetoric is basically argumentative and logical -- much more so than that of Eastern cultures (Condon & Yousef, 1975). Rather, like the Japanese, Korean rhetoric functions as a means of disseminating information or seeking consensus that is by nature intuitive, emotional, and adaptive (Okabe, 1997; Oliver, 1962). This belief has made Koreans seem less communicative and less expressive in both verbal and nonverbal behavior than Americans (Kim, 1992). Elliot and Arthur (1982) also concluded that while the more highly verbal individual appears to be more positively perceived within American culture, the less verbal individual is more positively perceived within Korean culture.

This section has explored the philosophical influences of Western and Eastern

rhetoric and communication. The next section discusses differences in the practice of communication and rhetoric.

Form

The first difference in communication style between the two cultures emanate from a primary concern with the problem of ordering and organizing discourse (Scott, 1969). As mentioned above, a usual goal of a speaker in American culture, and particularly during political argumentation, is confrontation and persuasion, so that a speaker's form should stress those points that show differences with one's opponent often presented in a polarized, dichotomous or confrontational mode of organization. On the contrary, in Eastern cultures, the communicative form is likely to be "cautious, tentative, or complementary toward others, incomplete and seeking others to make the position complete" because the speaker's goal is that of harmony and consensus (Condon & Yousef, 1975, p. 243).

Okabe (1997) explained the difference between the polarization pattern of American culture and the aggregation pattern of Japanese culture in terms of linear and circular forms of argumentation. American logic and rhetoric values step-by-step observation in a problem-solution pattern or the cause-to-effect pattern of organization. This kind of form reinforces speaker and listener independence. By contrast, Japanese logic and rhetoric emphasizes the importance of a dotted, pointlike method of structuring discourse. In this culturally influenced communicative style, no sense of rigidity or logicity is required but the speaker needs to observe the other's response very carefully (Okabe, 1997).

Rhetorical Proof

In many ways, cultural assumptions influence strategy in rhetorical communication. Aristotle posits three key elements to any persuasive appeals: logos, pathos, and ethos. In simplistic terms, logos is the dimension of logic, pathos is the emotional appeal, and ethos is the credibility of the speaker. Aristotle argued that “ethos is the most potent of all the means to persuasion” (Cooper, 1932, p. 9). Western rhetorical theorists have been concerned with the role of ethos in communication and many rhetorical studies also have focused on analyzing the strategy of ethos in political communication (e.g., Golden, Berquist, & Coleman, 1993; McCroskey & Young, 1981; Powell & Wanzenried, 1992; Rieke & Sillars, 1993). As discussed in the previous section on the cultural ways of thinking, the American values of specificity, objectivity, and precision tend to rely heavily on logos and reason with using logical proofs, facts, figures, and statements from authority figures (Okabe, 1997).

On the other hand, Korean traditional rhetoric is based on moral authority within a framework of universal values. In public life, the policies that politicians advocate, or the depth of one’s technical understanding is less significant than whether one comports oneself with propriety and in accordance with traditional customs (Oliver, 1959). In addition, in Korean culture, words are sometimes helpless in an effort to speak “truth,” so that speech styles tend more toward the abstract (Oliver, 1962). Very similarly, Japanese speakers are extremely skilled in expressing complicated emotional nuances, though they may be weak in employing logic for the precise expression of intent and purpose (Okabe, 1997). Thus, “pathos” is more important and “logos” is less important in East Asian rhetoric than in American communication styles.

Style

Scott (1969) defined rhetorical style as “the way in which language works to embody the communicative intentions of its users” (p. 13). The rhetorical canon of style also is under the influence of cultural assumptions (Okabe, 1997). As discussed in the section on differences of communication perceptions, Americans tend to use explicit words as the most noteworthy characteristic of their communicative style because they view communication as a tool to solve conflict. Americans prefer to employ such words as “absolutely,” “certainly,” and “positively.” Moreover, English syntax dictates that the absolute “I” be placed at the beginning of a sentence in most cases, and that the subject-predicate relation be constructed in an ordinary sentence (Kishimoto, 1967).

By contrast, the cultural assumptions of interdependence and harmony require that Japanese speakers limit themselves to implicit and even ambiguous use of words. In order to avoid leaving an assertive impression, they like to use such words as “maybe,” “perhaps,” “probably,” and “somewhat” (Condon & Yousef, 1975). Unlike English syntax, in Korean it is not necessary for a clause to have a subject in order to be grammatical (Hwang, 1987). Thus, Korean leaves much room for ambiguity. The “I” is not dominant; its nature is rather determined by its relationship with others (Hwang, 1987). In Korean syntax, thus, the “I” is less likely to be used than American, and even Japanese, communication.

In Korea, the term “*uye-ri*” has influenced interpersonal relationships and communication patterns for a long time. The term “*uye-ri*” can simply be translated as “we” but this term has many social and cultural meanings. One such meaning is that it indicates the proper or close relationship between people, between lord and retainer, or

between friends (Yum, 1987b). As a result of cultural influences, Koreans tend to prefer to use “we” rather than “I.”

Nonverbal Expression

Many scholars (e.g. Burgoon, Buller, & Woodall, 1989; Ekman & Friesen, 1971; Hall, 1959; Harrison, 1974) have noted the importance of nonverbal and visual cues in message reception. Culture determines the form of nonverbal messages as well as the circumstances calling for their expression and the amount of expression permitted (Porter, 1972). Hall (1966) refers to the unconscious phenomenon of nonverbal communication as the hidden dimension of culture because nonverbal messages are embedded in the contextual dimension of communication. Culture and nonverbal behavior are learned, passed on from generation to generation, and involve shared understanding. Thus, culture and nonverbal communication are inseparable.

We learn ways of behavior within social norms and rules from our culture. Culture is a teacher and our behavior is the subject matter of that education (Samovar & Porter, 1991). Nonverbal messages help us to interpret the total meaning of a communication experience along with verbal and other contextual cues (Gudykunst & Kim, 1992). Morris, Collett, and O’Shaughnessy (1980) analyzed how cultures transform simple behaviors into many different messages. People from different cultures use different nonverbals with special meanings unique to their own culture and subculture (Matsumoto, 1991). Thus, studying nonverbal behavior can lead to the discovery of a culture’s underlying attitudes and values.

Despite the importance of nonverbal behavior and culture, there has been no cross-cultural study incorporating nonverbal elements in televised campaign debates. In the U.S. as well, very little actual research has been done on the importance of nonverbal communication in U.S. presidential debates (Hellweg, Pfau, & Brydon, 1992). In addition, most studies (e.g., Brownlow, 1992; Burgoon, Birk, & Pfau, 1990; Hellweg, Pfau, & Brydon, 1992; McCroskey & Young, 1981; Patterson, Churchill, Burger, & Powell, 1992) that examine the effects of nonverbal communication in presidential debates have focused on the credibility of candidate nonverbal behavior.

Nonverbal cues can be divided into kinesic/proxemic cues, and vocalic cues. The kinesic/proxemic cues identified in research are: eye contact, gaze, body lean, distance, orientation, smiling, facial pleasantness, facial expressiveness, illustrator gestures, self-adaptors, object-adaptors, body tension, and random trunk and limb movement. Vocalic cues include: fluency, pauses, response latencies, voice quality, pitch variety, tempo variety, amplitude, loudness, tempo, pitch, and fundamental frequency (Burgoon, Birk, & Pfau, 1990).

While most of these categories could be applied to televised debates, this study will limit the analyzed nonverbal aspects of culture mainly to Smiling, Hand and Arm Gesture, and Posture. Other nonverbal behaviors are not applicable to compare between both countries' televised presidential debates because of format differences and difficulties in developing systematic criteria to apply to such non-discursive communicative behavior as nonverbal cues.

Body Movement (Posture and Gestures)

Use of body movement allows one to express attitudes toward others, and to indicate the intensity of an emotional state. Much research has indicated that through nonverbal behavior we signal, either intentionally or unintentionally, feelings of affiliation, friendship, warmth, and rapport (Burgoon, Buller, & Woodall, 1989). Culture shapes our patterns of body movement and its interpretation. Posture may well offer insight into a culture's deep structure. For example, in many Asian cultures, including Korea, the bow is much more than a greeting. It signifies a culture's concern with status and rank (Samovar & Porter, 1991). Culture also influences bodily gestures. Some people gesture broadly and often while others do so narrowly and seldom (Eisenberge & Smith, 1971). In Western culture, strong expressive gestures are likely to be used in conversation and one's communication ability is indicated by his or her verbal and nonverbal expressive skills (Kim, 1992). On the other hand, Korean adults who use excessive gestures in their speaking are considered to be childish, because repression of overt bodily expression connotes self-control (Ramsey, 1984).

In U.S. presidential debates, body movements have been studied as an important nonverbal cue for the candidate in debate. A great deal of research has found that the way a candidate stands, the amount of tension, and the orientation of the body all affect the perceptions of credibility for the candidate (Buller & Aune, 1987; Burgoon, Birk, & Pfau, 1990; Zuckerman, Fischer, Osmun, Winkler, & Wolfson, 1987). In addition, the use of gestures that convey specific meaning has a direct impact upon perceptions of credibility for candidates (Burgoon et al., 1989).

Smiling

In cross-cultural analysis, examination of facial expression of emotion has been a central topic in the study of nonverbal behavior because of its importance in social interaction. Matsumoto (1991) notes that “facial expressions convey discrete emotions, making them the most specific and precise nonverbal signal system as well as facial expressions to illustrate speech, regulate conversation, and provide social impression” (p. 128). Comparing facial expression between different cultures is not easy because there is no universal definition of facial expressive cues. According to Ekman and Friesen (1971), however, happiness indicated by smile is one of six human emotions that is universally understood in the world.

Emotional expression can be influenced by cultural, contextual, and personal experience. Research has found (Morse, 1982; Kraut & Johnston, 1979) that smiling is a significant social interaction but the cultural rules about smiling are quite different in interpretation of its meaning, use of frequency, and the degree of expansiveness. Traditionally, Koreans learn to use the face to conceal rather than reveal emotion. Korean men even go so far as to hide expressions of anger and sorrow (Yim, 1970). Traditions help shape cultural rules. For example, among strangers neutrality of expression is the normal rule in Korean culture. Related to smiling, adult men are not expected to smile frequently as smiling is considered a sign of weakness (Kim, 1992).

Facial displays are perhaps the most overt nonverbal cues which communicate emotions (Chovil, 1991) because the ability of facial expression is critical in persuasion (Tucker & Riggio, 1988). In the literature of U.S. televised presidential debates, the smile is a major means by which the candidate can simultaneously project confidence,

control, and “the nice guy image” (Martel, 1983). Thus, a candidate who is skilled in encoding facial cues is more likely to be perceived as credible (Brownlow, 1992).

Eye Contact

Watson (1970, p. 48) noted that “eyes are the window of the soul” reflecting the importance of eyes as a gage of emotion. Like other nonverbal behavior, culture modifies how much eye contact and gaze we engage in and who is the recipient of the eye contact. People in Western societies usually interact with a directive to “look them in the eye” (Samovar & Porter, 1991, p.198), so Americans tend to have direct eye contact while communicating with each other. Many Americans consider a person who shuns eye contact as shy or lacking in self-confidence (Kim, 1992). However, direct eye-to-eye contact is not a custom throughout the world. Koreans do not use eye behavior in the same ways as Americans. Operating in a Confucian culture, Koreans believe that too much eye contact is a sign of bad manners (Samovar & Porter, 1991) and an inappropriate form of behavior (Kim, 1992). With eye gaze, according to Watson’s study (1970), Arabs, Latin Americans, and Southern Europeans placed their gaze on the eyes or face of their conversational partner. In contrast, Asians, Indians, and Northern Europeans showed peripheral gaze (indirect gaze or no gaze at all).

In U.S. televised presidential debates, the eye contact of a candidate is of vital importance to the credibility of that candidate as well as the effective use of gaze in building audience rapport and communicating sincerity to an audience (Burgoon, Buller, & Woodall, 1990). Buller and Aune (1987) found that if a candidate maintains eye contact, as opposed to rapid gaze shifts, this tends to communicate credibility, while the

ineffective use of eye contact can destroy any credibility the candidate may have gained up to that point.

Culture, Mass Media and Politics in Korea

Culture, Mass Media and Politics

In Korea there is a single race, a single language, and common cultural assumptions. Korea remains a transitional society between the old and new, traditional and modern. While the Western democratic perspective has made inroads into the Korean political consciousness, traditional factors still contribute significantly to Korean political behaviors. Given the importance of loyalty, hierarchy, family relationships, unity, and uniformity emphasized by Confucianism, the potential for arbitrariness and authoritarianism is imbedded within the culture. While these traditional cultural values are changing slowly, aversion to individualism, diversity, rationalism, and abstract conceptualization is still deeply ingrained (Lee, 1990). People generally approve of strong leadership, giving the executive dominance over the other branches of government so long as the leader is respected and policies are seen as bringing practical benefits to the lives of the people (Clough, 1987).

Influenced by its culture, the Korean political system differs from the U.S. and many Western nations in several very important aspects (Morriss, 1996, 1998), including: (a) strong president-centered system, (b) limited one-term presidency, (c) weak party system, and (d) strength of regional voting. The fact that Korea has a strong presidential system of government obviously appealed to authoritarian rulers and the system has been retained since 1987. But the method of electing the President has changed, depending on

which method the current ruler thought was most likely to secure his re-election⁴ (Morriss, 1996). In 1987, the Korean Constitution was amended and a direct presidential election was again employed. According to the Constitution, the President is elected by the method of direct ballot for a single fixed term of five years. The fixed five years of a one-term presidency means that no candidate in the presidential elections in 1987 and 1992 was judged on his incumbent or administrative record (Morriss, 1996).

The party system in Korea is very weak as political parties are little more than electoral machines for their leaders (Morriss, 1998). As a consequence, Korean party politics largely consists of personal maneuverings for power. In addition, under these circumstances, the presidential candidates depend largely on their personal standing and their political alliances. The alliances that contested the 1997 election were all consolidated within seven weeks of the election itself (Morriss, 1998).

Traditionally, the rural areas of Korea have voted in strength for the (authoritarian and/or military) government, and the large cities for the (more democratic and liberal) opposition, until the late 1980s (Morriss, 1996). However, this division was destroyed because of unfair economic development that resulted from region-based voting. The presidents who held office from 1961 to 1993 came from the same region, Taegu. By pushing developmental projects in the region, they secured the loyalty of their supporters. On the other hand, the Cholla provinces received the least government support during this same period, and they reacted by fanatically supporting their spokesman, Dae-Jung Kim, who received over 95 percent of the region's vote in the 1987 and 1992 presidential elections⁵ (Morriss, 1996). All of these political circumstances made Korean politics

peculiarly “winner takes everything” rather than a “zero-sum struggle” for power, because there is really only one political office worth striving for, that of the Presidency.

The role of the mass media in the Korean political process has changed drastically according to changes in the nation’s political development toward democracy. The Korean political system is making strides in transforming itself from one featuring prolonged authoritarianism to a more democratic and pluralistic political system (Lee, 1995). With this transformation, the role of the mass media has become much more important in the political process. After the Korean War, the nation’s security and rebuilding of its infrastructure were the most important issues affecting the control of mass media in Korea. As potential military threats from North Korea were of foremost concern, the priority of national security gave each successive dictatorship a good excuse to exploit the mass media system as a tool of national propaganda. The mass media was also expected to function as a part of national efforts to achieve the modernization of Korea (Han, 1978). Under these imposed values, the mass media took on a very limited role as watchdog of the government and political processes. Military governments before the nation’s 13th president continued this media policy.

On two occasions, presidential power in the 1987 and 1992 presidential elections has been transferred peacefully, though not between parties but rather within the ruling party (Lee, 1995). Since the 13th President, elected in 1987, the government has employed a deregulation policy with the mass media. The result of such deregulation has been that the Korean mass media has enjoyed much more freedom. However, the mass media were not a significant means for political campaigning, as candidates were not allowed to use mass media for campaigning under Korean election law. Moreover, the

ruling party's presidential candidates had more advantages in governing news coverage. The fairness issue has been critical in campaign news coverage in that the ruling party's candidate would always receive more positive news coverage, quantitatively and qualitatively (Park, 1998).

Although the candidate television address was introduced in the 13th presidential election in 1987, and political advertising was allowed in the 14th presidential election in 1992, the role of television in these elections was still very limited. Presidential campaigns relied heavily on massive and costly mass rallies. Candidates were devoted to the massive outdoor rallies as the total number of citizens attending a rally was considered to be a gage of voter support for a particular candidate. However, the 1992 election can be described as the start of a mediated political system in Korea. For the first time in Korean history, televised political advertising was allowed and the Korean press could report political polls during a presidential election.

In the 15th presidential election of 1997, the election law was changed to allow for an expansion of the role of television in the election process. The most significant change in Korean campaign history is that a new Election Law now strictly prevented the massive outdoor rallies. In addition, the law allowed for televised presidential candidate debates. This change in 1997 marked the end of the mass rally campaign and the beginning of the televised political campaign in Korea. Table 2.2 presents a brief history of the Korean presidential election system and the role of television in the campaign.

During the 1997 campaign, throughout the non-official campaign period, major-party candidates used television extensively to appear before voters in a variety of news

Table 2.2

History of Korean Presidential Election System

Presidential Election	Election System	Special Role of Television
1 st Election (1948)	The first President was elected by the Constituent Assembly	
2 nd (1952) to 4 th (1960)	Universal, equal, direct, and secret ballot election	
5 th (1963) to 9 th (1978)	Universal, equal, direct, and secret ballot election	
10 th (1979) ⁶	Electoral college	
11 th (1980) – 12 th (1981) ⁷	Electoral college	
13 th (1987)	Universal, equal, direct, and secret ballot election	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Television addresses
14 th (1992)	Universal, equal, direct, and secret ballot election	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Television addresses • Political Ads
15 th (1997)	Universal, equal, direct, and secret ballot election	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Television addresses by candidates and sponsors • Political Ads • Television debates
Basic Information Source: Presidential Election History (Korean politics, 1997)		

and entertainment formats--interviews with panelists and "Town Hall" meetings with citizens, and other "light" forums such as talk shows, and even cooking and entertainment programs. Specifically, the candidates appeared individually in more than 80 televised forums that were conducted at the local and national levels ("Lesson," 1997). In the

official campaign period (22 days from November 26 to December 17, 1997), the candidates mainly relied on a television campaign for direct contact with the public. Under the reformed election law, each candidate could air up to 22 television addresses and up to 30 television political advertisements. Also, for the first time in Korean presidential campaign history, the major-party candidates confronted one another during three joint debates that were televised throughout Korea by all three national networks and one cable news channel.

Role of the Televised Debates in Korean Electoral Politics

During the 1997 Korean presidential election, the press showed strong interest in the possibility of televised presidential debates. Most major Korean newspapers and television networks reported on the debates heavily before they occurred, and particularly on the potential influence of the debates on the outcome of the election. They also reported, through polls, public support for the various candidates. Korean media described the debates as “a last genius match” that would be a critical factor in the outcome of the election. After the election, the Korean press evaluated the 1997 Korean election as a media election, especially focusing on the role of the televised debates.

Many political commentators, journalists and even communication scholars agreed with the fact that the televised debates had a critical consequence on the ups and downs of the candidates’ support. The Korean debates played a significant communication role in the electoral process in that the debates received an average 53% viewing rating among all households. This rating indicates that a majority of voters watched the debates at least one time (Lee, 1999). In addition, the debates contributed to

Korean democracy in terms of political learning and socialization through the political campaign.

Lee (1999) identified even more comprehensive effects from the televised debates. First, the debates were found to have an influence on candidates' public polls. Using a time-series analyses in which 103 separate polls were conducted on the day following each of the televised debates, candidate support increased or decreased from one to five percentage points. Secondly, the debates were also shown to influence voters' learning of election issues as well as candidate character. A panel survey used to collect data after the first and third debates indicated that voters who watched the debates were more likely to learn election issues and about candidate character than the voters who did not.

Regarding the aspect of image-politics, Korean political commentators deplored that the negative characteristics of image-politics were strengthened by media-centered campaign practices used during the 1997 presidential election. The candidates, for example, devoted considerable time preparing for the televised debates in the final stage of the campaign. Lee (1998) found that the voter's perception of the images of candidates who participated in the televised debates changed substantially during the last month of the election campaign. Also, candidate images had a direct influence on voter's attitudes toward the candidates and their final voting intentions.

According to a national survey⁸ conducted by the Korean Broadcasting System (KBS) at two different times -- after the first debate and after the election -- 81.6 percent of the respondents indicated they had received necessary information to help make their voting decision from television sources. About 80 percent of the respondents noted that

Table 2.3

Results of the 1997 Presidential Election

Candidates	Final Vote Received (%)
Dae-Jung Kim (National Congress for New Politics)	40.3
Hoi-Chang Lee (Grand Nation Party)	38.7
In-Je Lee (New People's Party)	19.2
Young-Gil Kwon (People's Victory 21)	1.2
Han-Sik Kim (Right Politics for a Right Country)	0.2
Kyung-Young Hur (Republican Party)	0.2
Jeong-Yil Shin (Unification Korea Party)	0.2

Source: Election Results (1997).

the televised presidential debates helped them make their voting decision. Finally, the survey measured the effect of presidential debates on voting behavior. The survey showed that the presidential debate was one of the crucial factors that determined the outcome of the presidential election. About 15 percent of the respondents noted that they changed their candidate choice after watching the debates ("Voters Get," 1997). Lee (1999) concluded that the Korean televised presidential debates had critical consequences not only for changes in candidate support but also for increases in political learning. With these survey findings, the final election results of the 1997 Korean presidential election also support Lee's (1999) argument. The 1997 Korean presidential election was a close competition between Kim (NCNP) and Lee (GNP). Kim (NCNP) won 40.3

percent or 10,326,275 voters out of the total 25,642,438 voters cast. The runner-up Lee (GNP) won 38.7 percent or 9,935,718 votes, and Rhee (NPP), 19.2 percent or 4,925,591 votes ("Election Results," 1997). The winner, Kim (NCNP), received just 1.6 percent more votes than did the second candidate, Lee (GNP). The final results indicate that the televised debate directly influenced the outcome of the Korean presidential election. Table 2.3 indicates results of the 1997 Korean presidential election.

Televised Presidential Debates in Korea

History of Korean Presidential Debates

The first attempt at presidential debates in Korea was in the 1987 Korean presidential election. Television networks attempted to host an "American type" presidential debate, but failed due to disagreements among the presidential candidates and the lack of a supporting law. However, the Korean Press Club hosted individual candidate forums for each of the major candidates. The appearances consisted of one moderator and several journalists serving as a panel of questioners, and the event was televised as a recorded program. The format of these candidate interviews, of course, was more like a press conference held by each presidential candidate (Lee, 1997).

In the 1992 presidential election, liberal civic organizations, major Korean newspapers, and communication scholars argued for the creation of debates for qualified candidates (Lee, 1997). These debate advocates argued that realistic presidential debates could serve to increase peoples' support in the electoral process. The Korean Central Election Management Committee developed official guidelines for televised debates within existing election laws, but the ruling party candidate hesitated because of the

inherent advantages he had as the ruling party leader; and too, he was not a particularly telegenic candidate (Lee, 1997).

A new Korean Election Act was passed in 1994 that introduced the possibility of conducting the first presidential debates. The Act provided that the press could host and televise debates with agreement from all qualified candidates. According to the Act, the press could also decide the debate format through negotiations with the candidates.

The first Korean televised political debates occurred during the 1995 Seoul mayoral election. Three television networks hosted five televised debates during the election, and the viewer rating reached over 20 percent (Korean Broadcasting Institute, 1995). Although these televised exchanges were not presidential debates, they did influence people's voting behavior. According to results of a survey conducted by the Korean Gallup and Chosun Ilbo (a major Korean daily newspaper), many respondents noted that televised debates were their influential information source in deciding how to vote (30.4%). Their own judgment without outside influence (18%) was next; campaign bulletins and pamphlet were 16.3 percent; media news was just 10.8 percent and interpersonal communication with friends and family was 7.6 percent (Lee, 1997). These initial mayoral televised debates helped Korean citizens realize the significance and value of televised presidential debates.

In the 1997 presidential election, newspapers, television networks, and social organizations again hosted more than 80 individual televised candidate forums ("Lesson," 1997); but these appearances, again, were not joint debates. Such televised events consisted of an individual candidate appearing with a panel of questioners. However, these televised candidate appearances faced heavy criticisms for their failure to

thoroughly scrutinize the qualifications of the candidates. Civic groups charged that the televised discussion sessions only exchanged “bland” questions and answers, without presenting deeper insights into the candidates’ positions (“Parties Declare,” 1997). In response to the growing calls by civic groups for real candidate debates, the major parties finally agreed with the need to revise the existing election law.

In the first stage of negotiations between the candidates, the ruling party refused to hold debates; but finally Lee, the ruling party's presidential candidate, accepted the debates. Lee was leading in public opinion polls during the early stages of the campaign, but his public support dropped after announcement of his son's military scandal and Lee then lost his front-runner status. Such “debating the debates” among candidates is consistent with the experiences of American presidential elections, in which strong incumbents may be able to refuse debates, and a close race with a weak incumbent tends to encourage televised debates (Dover, 1994; Lamoureux, Entrekin, & McKinney, 1994; Trent & Friedenberg, 1995). On November 14, 1997, about one month before Election Day, the Korean National Assembly passed a revised Election Law to establish procedures for the joint televised debates. The Law required public broadcasting to host at least three debates and broadcast them during the official campaign period⁹ (Nam, 1998).

Structure of Korean Televised Presidential Debates

As mentioned in the introduction section, cultural factors do influence a nation's media system. The media systems in both the U.S. and Korea operate differently. While the American media system is governed by free enterprise principles, electronic media have traditionally been state-owned and operated in Korea. In the 1980s, Korean

broadcasting entered into the age of public management. During this period all radio and television stations (except one commercial broadcasting station and one religious radio station) were integrated into a public corporation, the Korean Broadcasting System (KBS).

The main purpose of this arrangement by the government was to protect the broadcast media from misuse by commercial enterprises and to guarantee the audience's rights by returning the benefits of broadcasting to the public (Kim, Kim, & Kang, 1994). With the development of democracy, the Korean government decided to allow the establishment of additional commercial television and radio stations; thus, Korean broadcasting is now a mixed system, consisting of public and commercial broadcasting entities. However, broadcasting and programming are still highly regulated by the Broadcasting Act. The philosophy that is deeply grounded in Korean broadcasting is that the public interest should take precedence over other values. This was also the dominant philosophy that guided the development of official policies used in crafting the Korean televised presidential debates.

The impetus for Korean televised presidential debates began with strong support and interest from the Korean people. As experienced in U.S. televised presidential debates, many issues had to be determined in the planning of the debates. Both fairness and objectivity were critical issues in each stage of building the structure for the debates. The following section will briefly present the structure of Korean televised presidential debates, comparing the Korean debate model to the U.S. structure of televised presidential debate. Debate structure will be examined through external and internal factors.

External Structure

Sponsorship

A mainstay in the history of candidate debates in the U.S., the League of Women Voters (1996) raises several key questions relating to the issue of debate sponsorship. For example, Who should sponsor debates?; What are the characteristics of ideal sponsoring organizations?; And what should be the regulations governing the sponsorship of debates? In Korea, such issues were very critical because they directly relate to election fairness, a major issue in recent Korean election history. First, civic organizations held several forums to collect public opinion regarding the development of presidential debates. Many scholars, as well, suggested several different types of sponsorship modeled primarily on American and Western European debate types (Lee, 1997). Most suggestions focused on sponsorship by television networks, or independent organizations modeled on the nonpartisan and nonprofit U.S. Commission on Presidential Debates. Finally, just one month from Election Day, the new Election Law was passed with revised articles to set up the debates.

The Election Law required that only public broadcasting¹⁰ could host presidential debates and a national debate committee was developed for the debates. The sponsorship question can be seen as a mixed model in which the TV networks were directly involved in the Korean Debate Committee. Under the new law, the Television Presidential Debate Committee was made up of a total of eleven representatives from broadcasting, political parties, and academic and social organizations. To maintain fairness in managing the committee, the law prevents partisans, other than party representatives, from being committee members (Nam, 1998). The Committee decided to hold three debates and to

Table 2.4

Formation of Korean Television Presidential Debate Committee

Organizations Represented	Number of Members
Public Broadcasting Representatives	2
Political Party Members whose party holds at least one seat in the National Assembly	5
Korean Broadcasting Association Representative	1
Korean Journalist Association Representative	1
Korean Bar Association Representative	1
Civic Organization Representative	1
Total	11

allow all networks and one cable news channel to televise these debates live throughout the nation in prime time.

Criteria to invite candidates

After constituting the Debate Committee and deciding how many debates to hold, the next task was to develop criteria that would be used to determine which candidates should be invited to participate in the debates. In American debate history, there have been rather ambiguous criteria for dealing with candidates other than nominees of the Democratic and Republican parties. The issue of candidate inclusion in debates becomes particularly problematic when independent or third-party candidates emerge a force in the presidential campaign. On August 9, 1980, the League of Women Voters' Board

announced three specific criteria by which invitations would be extended to presidential candidates in League-sponsored presidential debates. The criteria were based on one's constitutional eligibility, ballot access and demonstrated significant voter interest and support¹¹ (League of Women Voters Education Fund, 1980).

The Commission on Presidential Debates (CPD), established in 1987, has sponsored the U.S. televised presidential debates since 1988. The CPD has also developed criteria for who would be invited to Commission-sponsored debates. The Commission has employed three criteria for invitation that includes a comprehensive review of a candidate's (1) evidence of national organization, (2) signs of national newsworthiness and competitiveness, and (3) indicators of national enthusiasm or concern. These criteria are used in making the judgement of whether a candidate has a realistic chance of election (Carlin, 1999).

The Commission's criteria for inclusion of independent and third-party candidates has been tested most recently with the independent, and then Reform Party, candidacy of H. Ross Perot. In 1992, Perot was invited by the CPD to participate in the three presidential debates, marking the first time that three general election candidates for the U.S. presidency have ever debated one another at the same time. In 1996, however, Reform Party candidate Perot was deemed ineligible based on the Commission's criteria and thus was not invited to participate in the two 1996 presidential debates.

In the 1997 Korean presidential election, there were seven party candidates who were vying for the presidency -- two major party candidates and five minor party candidates¹². The Korean Television Debate Committee developed criteria for inviting

candidates to participate in the debates. These criteria, including constitutional eligibility, consist of (Nam, 1998, p.15):

- a. A candidate must be nominated by a party/ parliamentary group which holds more than 20 seats in the 299 seat National Assembly¹³.
- b. A candidate must have obtained at least 10 percent support, on average, during the 10 days preceding the candidacy registration day as determined by nationwide newspapers and networks appointed by the Korean Television Debate Committee.

These criteria were based largely on the political and social conditions in Korea. For example, unlike the American political system, Korean politics is based on a multi-party system in which there is no formal distinction between major and minor parties. The Debate Committee thus considered a major party candidate as any representative of a parliamentary group.

Minor candidates excluded from the debates appealed to the Korean Central Election Management Committee. However, unlike debate practice in the U.S., the Committee accepted the minor candidates' appeal and developed some type of equal opportunity for debate by those candidates who were qualified under the Korean Constitution (Nam, 1998). Based on the criteria developed by the Korean Debate Committee, one minor-party candidate received sufficient public support in nationwide polls and was thus included in the three presidential debates with the two major party candidates. The Debate Committee also decided to host one television debate for the remaining four minor candidates, based on the idea that "reasonable discrimination"

should be applied to distinguish major and minor candidates (Korean Television Debate Committee, 1998).

Guidelines for News Coverage of Debates

The Korean Election Law provides provisions to protect the fairness of campaign coverage and for equal time to be allotted to political candidates. However, the law does not provide specific provisions for the coverage of presidential debates. Section 82 (1) of the Election Law only defines who can host the debates but does not define how the debate should be structured. Public broadcasters have a duty to hold at least three debates and televise them, inviting one or several presidential candidates during the official campaign period (Korean Television Debate Committee, 1998). As presented in the previous section, the Korean Television Debate Committee invited just three candidates based on their stated criteria, but minor candidates argued that their exclusion was a violation of the equal time principle granted by the Constitution and thus appealed to the Korean Election Committee. In the end, the Committee held one televised debate for all minor presidential candidates.

In terms of candidate inclusion in debates, the Korean structure differs significantly from the U.S. model of presidential debates. First, the Korean structure is much more sensitive to multiple (more than two) candidate inclusion. As stated earlier, as a multiple party system, including the representatives and voices of multiple parties is a much more common feature than in U.S. political dialogue. The U.S. CPD sponsored debates, in fact, start with automatic inclusion of only the two traditional parties (the Republicans and Democrats) and then set rather high standards to exclude all other possible candidates from debate.

Another major difference between the Korean and U.S. model is treatment of minor party candidates who are excluded from the official presidential debates. As stated, in the Korean model of debate an opportunity is given to provide at least one forum for all declared presidential candidates to participate in televised debate. The U.S. debate model does not provide such an opportunity for declared candidates who may not be invited to the official U.S. presidential debates¹⁴.

In the history of U.S. televised debates, the notion of equal time for political representatives and candidates has been an important and often troubling principle for broadcasters. The so-called Equal Time section, Section 315 (a), of the Communication Act of 1934 stated that if a station provided equal time to a legally qualified candidate for public office it must provide equal time to other legally qualified candidates. In terms of broadcasting candidate debates, the Equal Time provision has been a particularly difficult issue for broadcasters. Preceding the first televised presidential debate in the U.S., in 1960, the U.S. Congress temporarily suspended Section 315 (a) making it possible for the networks to broadcast the Kennedy-Nixon debates without giving time to all minor candidates (Kirkpatrick, 1979). However, the temporary suspension was not to be repeated as a solution for broadcasters.

In anticipation of the 1976 debates, the FCC ruled on September 2, 1975, in the so-called Aspen case, that a presidential press conference, as well as any appearance by one or more candidates, could be covered and televised by the media as a “bona fide news event” (Zapple, 1980). The Aspen case, in effect, allowed debates to be freed from the constraints of the “fairness doctrine,” and thus, broadcasters could legally cover and broadcast such events, not as a sponsor of the event, but rather as a news event to which

the broadcaster had been invited to report. Even though these debates have usually excluded all but the major party nominees, the courts have consistently found that such broadcasts do not violate the rights of excluded candidates (Lanoue & Schrott, 1991).

Internal Structure

Format

The format of a debate has been found to be a critical factor in achieving an effective debate exchange, particularly in terms of encouraging useful debate dialogue and facilitating viewer learning from debates (e.g., Becker, Sobowale, Cobbey, & Eyal, 1979; Carlin, 1991; Chaffee, 1978; Hellweg, 1984; Katz & Feldman, 1962; Kirkpatrick, 1979; Pfau, 1983a). As discussed in the previous section, the early attempts at televised candidate forums in Korea, and the numerous individual appearances by candidates in various televised forums, received many criticisms in terms of the fairness and objectiveness of these televised appearances.

The criticisms of these forums centered largely on the roles that panelists and the moderator played in the forums. The forums were criticized as inefficient in the sense that panelists failed to ask candidates about issues that the public really wanted to hear the candidates address. The Debate Committee considered these criticisms and decided to employ a single-moderator format rather than a journalist-panelist format (Nam, 1998). The Debate Committee also decided to employ cross-examination among candidates to encourage a true clash or debate between candidates. The cross-examination by candidates (Oregon-style debating) is a rare feature in the history of U.S. presidential debates except for occasional use in intra-party or primary debates.

The Korean Election Law required that questions and responses by candidates should be through the debate moderator (Korean Television Debate Committee, 1998). Under this definition, the Debate Committee developed two distinct debate formats (See Table 2.5):

- a. Moderator Questioning Format: The moderator poses a question to one of the three candidates; the candidate responds for 90 seconds; the other two candidates have 60 seconds for a rebuttal; finally, the first candidate responds to the other candidates' rebuttal for 60 seconds. Each candidate receives three different questions (three questions dealing with the same topic) from the moderator with each round. The format consists of a total of nine questions—three rounds—with two rounds of questioning (six questions) before the cross-examination period and one round (three questions) following the cross-examination period.
- b. Open Cross-Examination Format: This format allows for direct questioning and responses among candidates, but questioning and answering through the moderator¹⁵. Candidate A first poses a question to the others (Candidates B and C) for 60 seconds; Candidate B and C respond respectively for 90 seconds; Candidate A refutes with additional questions or counter-arguments to Candidate B and C for 60 seconds; finally Candidates B and C reply for 60 seconds. Each candidate has one chance to ask questions of the other candidates within the chosen topic area. This format consists of a round of three topics (Korean Television Debate Committee, 1998).

Table 2.5

Time Table of Korean Debate Format

Moderator Questioning Form	Open Examination Form
Moderator question for candidate A (30 seconds)	Candidate A question (60 seconds)
Candidate A response (90 seconds)	Candidate B response (90 seconds)
Candidate B rebuttal (60 seconds)	Candidate C response (90 seconds)
Candidate C rebuttal (60 seconds)	Candidate A rebuttal (60 seconds)
Candidate A re-rebuttal (60 second)	Candidate B response (60 seconds)
	Candidate C response (60 seconds)
Total: 5 minute	Total: 7 minutes

The candidates also had one minute for an opening statement and two minutes for a closing statement. The Debate Committee purposefully placed the open cross-examination period after the initial round of moderator questioning to prevent negative and direct attacks on candidate's personal affairs from being featured during the opening portion of the debate (Nam, 1998). The committee decided to hold three debates during prime time (8:00 to 10:00 p.m.) on December 1, 7, and 14, 1997 during the official campaign period and before the December 18 election. For the minor candidates, the committee decided to hold one television debate that occurred on the morning of the third debate for major candidates (9:00 a.m.-12:00 p.m.) and to employ a format consisting of two moderators who asked all questions without candidate rebuttal. The minor

Table 2.6

The Format of Korean Televised Presidential Debate

Forms	Time
Opening Statement	One minute x three candidates
Moderator Questioning	Five minutes x six rounds
Open Cross-Examination	Seven minutes x nine rounds
Moderator Questioning	Five minutes x three rounds
Closing Statement	Two minutes x three candidates
	Total two hours

candidates had two minutes for opening statements. They were allowed from 90 seconds to two minutes to respond to moderator questions, and no closing statements.

Moderator Selection

To maintain fairness, the Debate Committee had several screening procedures for selecting the debate moderator. First, each member of the Debate Committee recommended five candidates for moderator. Next, the committee shared the proposed moderator list with the three major candidates' campaigns and each candidate was allowed to exclude any unfavorable moderator. Finally, five moderator candidates were left after the initial screening by each campaign. The Debate Committee then selected one moderator for the first debate, Dr. Chung, Bum-Gu, the moderator of a current-affairs talk show produced by the Christian Broadcasting Network (Nam, 1998). The committee

decided that the moderator for the second debate would be chosen following the first debate. Following the first debate, candidates expressed their support for Dr. Chung who was then selected to moderate the remaining two debates.

Topic and Question Selection

The Debate Committee decided that each debate would cover a specific topic: economic affairs for the first, political affairs for the second, and social/cultural affairs for the third debate. The Debate Committee selected a sub-committee to decide sub-topics for each of the three topical debates. The Sub-Committee collected questions suggested by the civic debate committee and civic organizations, and then, the Sub-Committee submitted these sub-topics and questions to the Debate Committee. Finally, the Debate Committee chose seven sub-topics for each debate. Three of the seven sub-topics were provided to the candidates for their cross-examination period. The remaining other four sub-topics were used for the moderator questions.

Three television networks collected questions suggested by civic organizations and academicians and submitted these questions to the Debate Committee. Finally, the Debate Committee selected the questions for the moderator to use in his questioning just two and a half hours before the debate started; and all committee members and the moderator were kept in a controlled area without contact with the candidates or their campaign staffs (Nam, 1998, p. 16-20). The purpose of this procedure for selecting questions was to keep questions unknown.

Guidelines for Broadcasting Debates

The Debate Committee also developed detailed guidelines for broadcasting the debates. As one of the most sensitive matters of fairness, visual cues, such as camera

angles and shots, were standardized as strictly as possible. The following general guidelines illustrate the type of visual requirements that were followed (Korean Television Debate Committee, 1998, p. 90-91):

- a. Camera: one camera for each candidate, two cameras for the moderator, and one or more cameras for shooting the whole debate stage.
- b. Angle: The shot for each candidate should be a bust shot. All shots of candidates should be quantitatively and qualitatively equal. When one candidate speaks, showing other candidates is not allowed. When the moderator speaks, the moderator or candidates are shown without audience shots.
- c. Speech Time Control: A lighted time signal system was visible to all candidates. A yellow light indicated that ten seconds remained. A red light indicated that one's speaking time was over. After ten seconds of a red light, a candidate's microphone would be turned off.

Other Features

Candidates were prohibited from having any pre-prepared notes or materials with them during the debate. Paper and pens were provided for candidates to use for note taking during the debate. A limited studio audience was allowed to view the debate, including the official Debate Committee and ten invited guests for each of the three candidates.

Candidates and Debate Issues

Candidates

The presidential race began with seven contenders; and there were no party tickets as Korea has no vice presidency. Only the top three candidates, Dae-Jung Kim of the National Congress for New Politics (NCNP), Hoi-Chang Lee of the Grand Nation Party (GNP), and In-Je Rhee of the New Party by the People (NPP) were invited to participate in the televised debates according to criteria established of the Korean Debate Committee. In campaign news coverage, these candidates garnered news coverage from the major newspapers and television networks. On the other hand, the minority presidential candidates were almost entirely excluded from media coverage throughout the campaign (Song & McKinney, 1998).

Kim, Dae-Jung

Kim, Dae-Jung (NCNP), 72, was nominated for his fourth presidential run. He lost to President Park in the 1971 presidential election; in 1987 to President Roh; and in 1992 to President Kim, Young-Sam. An ardent advocate of democracy and a defender of human rights, he had been previously—and somewhat unfairly—painted by the establishment, including the military, as a “leftist.” However, President Kim Young Sam prevented potential political influence by the military in the 1997 election (Steinberg, 1998).

Lee, Hoi-Chang

Lee (GNP) represented the continuity of power. He changed his party name from the incumbent President Kim’s New Korea Party to the Grand National Party as an attempt to escape the negative associations due to President Kim’s failures in economic

policy. A jurist and bureaucrat with a clean record, Lee had served briefly as Prime Minister under Kim's government in 1993, but resigned over policy differences. Due to his clean image, he was initially a front-runner in the race. However, his clean image suffered badly in the middle of the campaign when it was revealed that his sons had escaped compulsory military service because they were underweight¹⁶. His poll ratings fell behind the other two major candidates but in the final stages of the campaign, he closely followed the front runner, Kim (NCNP) (Song & McKinney, 1998).

Rhee, In-Je

Rhee (NPP) was governor of the province that surrounds Seoul. After losing the ruling party nomination to Lee, he formed his own New Party by the People. While calling for a new generation of leaders, Governor Rhee also cultivated an image based on his vague physical resemblance to former president Chung-Hee Park¹⁷.

Debate Issues

First Debate

The first two-hour debate was held at the studio of the Korean Broadcasting System (KBS) from 8:00 to 10:00 p.m. on Monday, Dec. 1, 1997. In the first debate, the selected debate topic was economic affairs such as employment, the economic crisis, inflation, corporate conglomerates, agriculture/fishery, and financial reform.

Second Debate

The Munwha Broadcasting Corporation (MBC) hosted the second two-hour debate from 8:00 to 10:00 p.m. on Sunday, Dec. 7, 1997. The topic for the second debate

Table 2.7

Televised Presidential Debates

	Date/Place	Subjects	Time	TV Rating
1 st debate	Dec. 1/KBS Studio	Economic affairs	2 hours	55.7%
2 nd debate	Dec. 7/MBC Studio	Political affairs	2 hours	52.5%
3 rd debate	Dec. 14/SBS Studio	Social and Cultural affairs	2 hours	51.4%

Source of viewing rating: "Evaluation," 1997.

was political affairs such as defense, unification, administration reform, foreign policy, political reform, and political power structure reform.

Third Debate

The third debate was hosted by the Seoul Broadcasting System (SBS) from 8:00 to 10:00 p.m. on Sunday, Dec. 14, 1997, just four days before Election Day. The debate's intended focus was social and cultural affairs such as private tutoring (education), the environment, the opening of Japanese culture to Korea, the electronic resident card system, welfare, the opening of telecommunications markets and unemployment.

Televised Presidential Debates in U.S.

The previous section addressed a brief history of the Korean televised presidential debates and their internal/external structures as compared to U.S. presidential televised debates. This section briefly reviews the history of U.S. televised presidential debates and examines the literature regarding rhetorical strategies in U.S. presidential debates and U.S. debate format studies.

Brief History of U.S. Televised Presidential Debates

The first televised presidential debates in the United State occurred in 1960, where John F. Kennedy and Richard M. Nixon participated in four televised debates. Many previously undecided voters cited the debates as playing an important part in their voting decision, with three million voters attributing to the debates alone their final decision to vote for Kennedy, who won the election by only 112,000 votes (Carroll, 1994). The debates, therefore, were seen as a determining factor in the final outcome of the 1960 election.

There were no presidential debates in the elections of 1964, 1968, and 1972. Since 1976, however, televised presidential debates have become a regular part of the presidential election process, with the development of vice-presidential debates in 1976 (there was no vice presidential debate held in 1980). The U.S. electorate has watched televised debates between their presidential candidates in every presidential campaign since 1976. The 1992 campaign added new twists to the practice of presidential debates by including Ross Perot as the first independent or third party candidate to be included in

the official presidential debates. The Town Hall format, where citizens are allowed to question directly presidential candidates, was also introduced in 1992.

Since the first presidential debate in 1960, where 60 percent of the adult population (or 77 million individuals) were reported to have seen at least one of the Kennedy-Nixon debates (Katz & Feldmam, 1962), debate viewership has increased steadily, except for the viewership of 1996 presidential debates. Such large viewership represents a significant number of voters and the presidential debates remain among the most watched televised campaign events¹⁸ (Fleming, 1996).

While each series of debates has differed in number, format, participants, and content, one consistent fact has emerged -- the debates are now an expected part of the U.S. election process. After the 1986 debates, Auer (1986) stated "the public has grown to expect candidates to engage in debates" (p. 216). Carroll (1994) also offers the conclusion that "there is no doubt that the televised debates [have] emerged as an institutionalized feature of presidential elections and as a significant factor in determining the outcome" (p. 185-186). The 1996 presidential campaign saw the reemergence of Ross Perot as the Reform Party's candidate. However, in 1996 Perot was not allowed into the debate, leaving only the two major party candidates to debate in two exchanges, along with one vice-presidential debate (Kraus, 2000).

Incumbent and Challenger Strategies

Debates, like campaign speeches and other campaign media events, are opportunities for candidates to express their ideas, feelings, and rhetorical campaign strategies before a large audience. Presidential debates are also opportunities for the

candidates to use symbolic rhetoric to elicit emotion, sound eloquent, or to simply fill time (Downing, 1996). Debates allow political candidates to argue who is best fit to be president and whose policies will benefit the nation (Hinck, 1987). Political rhetoric most often deals with opinion, not certifiable knowledge, and the substance of a debate often concerns future possibility, not certainties concerning policy outcomes (Aristotle, 1954). The audience deliberates on the character of the speakers by watching how they treat issues of policy and character (Mohrmann & Leff, 1982). Thus, arguments cannot always be evaluated with respect to an objective truth criterion.

Trent and Friedenberg (1995) noted that “campaign style are sets of communication strategies employed at times by all candidates” (p. 65). They (1995) outlined two dominant campaign styles -- incumbent and challenger. Incumbent strategies consist of four symbolic and eleven pragmatic or instrumental strategies. The symbolic strategies are: (1) symbolic trappings of the office: the use of symbolic trappings (the presidency stands for power) to transmit the absolute strength and importance of the office; (2) legitimacy of the office: the use of symbols that suggest the presidency stands for legitimacy; (3) competency and the office: the use of symbols that suggest the presidency stands for competency; and (4) charisma and the office: the use of symbols that suggest the presidency stands for excitement, a kind of patriotic glamour, and thus the person who holds the office takes on these characteristics (p. 66-70).

Trent and Friedenberg (1995) also outline eleven pragmatic or instrumental strategies: (1) creating pseudoevents to attract and control media attention; (2) making appointments to state and federal jobs as well as appointments to state and national party committees; (3) creating specific city, state, or national task forces to investigate areas of

public concern; (4) appropriating federal funds/grants; (5) consulting or negotiating with world leaders; (6) manipulating the economy or other important domestic issues; (7) receiving endorsements from party and other important leaders; (8) emphasizing accomplishments; (9) creating and maintaining an “above the political trenches” posture; (10) depending on surrogates to assist with campaigning; and (11) interpreting and intensifying a foreign policy problem so that it becomes an international crisis (p. 70-81).

Challenger strategies include: (1) attacking the record of opponents; (2) taking the offensive position on issues; (3) calling for a change; (4) emphasizing optimism for the future; (5) speaking to traditional values rather than calling for value changes; (6) appearing to represent the philosophical center of the political party; and (7) delegating personal or harsh attacks in an effort to control demagogic rhetoric (Trent & Friedenberg, 1995, p. 81-87).

Martel (1983) presented two broad classes of strategies—“rational” and “substance” strategies--that were found in televised campaign debates. Rational strategy determines the mode of conduct in the debate. The second type of strategy concerns the substance: it defines the issues and content areas of the debates on which the candidates should focus. Martel (1983) names five broad relational strategies: Attack, defend, sell, ignore, and “me too...me better.” An attacking strategy is recommended for the challenger, so as to overcome the incumbency effect, which tends to produce favorable attitudes among voters regardless of the incumbent’s performance. In televised presidential debates where an incumbent is involved, an effective attack by a challenger would be to address the performance of the incumbent to distinguish between the

perception of the incumbent's performance and actual performance. Wattenberg (1991) has noted that:

Presidential incumbency is not the issue per se but rather voter perception about presidential performance on issues is the single most important voter consideration. Perceptions of a president's policies may be the primary basis upon which voters decide whether they approve of his performance. (p. 141)

Instead of counterattacking, a politician might choose to defend himself against expected attacks, especially when these attacks focus on issues which are of utmost importance. A selling strategy is generally most appropriate when the candidate's credentials have been questioned or are not well-known. The selling strategy allows the candidate to concentrate not only on issues, but also on personal image and past record, and enables him or her to highlight competency and positive aspects of one's personality. Another strategy is to simply ignore one's opponent(s). Martel (1983) argues that ignoring the opponent is an especially popular strategy when the format does not involve either cross-examination or counter-rebuttals. A final strategy is "me too... me better." This strategy is preferably used when a challenged candidate's credentials in a certain area are well respected, and an attacking strategy would risk the danger of backlash against the challenging candidate.

As do Trent and Friedenber (1995), Martel (1983) also argues that generally, a non-incumbent, especially when he/she is behind, employs a more attack-oriented strategy while an incumbent prefers a strategy that is not clearly related to attack or defense. Ritter and Hellweg (1986) identified the incumbency factor in presidential televised debates through their research on the 1976 and 1980 presidential debates. They

advanced three basic characteristics of incumbent debating: (1) failure to pursue extended debate, (2) a declarative style of arguing, and (3) a focus upon the status quo rather than a vision of the future. However, these strategies are not restricted to only one candidate. Incumbents may, and often do, employ challenger strategies. On the other hand, a challenger may adopt strategies of incumbency (Kaid, McKinney, & Tedesco, 2000). The next section will explore more specific strategies utilized by candidates to achieve the candidates' image and issue goals in past U.S. televised presidential debates.

Image and Issue

Voters need and desire information about a candidate's issue positions as well as information about the candidate's personal attributes. However, the question of the relative weight of image versus issue knowledge in voter evaluations of candidates has been a contentious research topic in both the political science and communication fields. Numerous studies have found issue positions and candidate images to be two equally important predictors of voting behavior (Joslyn, 1984); but many other scholars have found that candidate's image is the most critical element in voting decisions (e.g., Jamieson & Birdsell, 1988; Kraus & Smith, 1977; Deneis, Chaffee, & Choe, 1979; Lang & Lang, 1962). On the other hand, some researchers have argued that issue and image are not separable in voting decisions. Weiss (1981) explained the relationship between issues and images as an "interface" mutually affecting in countless ways. Still other researchers (e.g., Davis, 1981; Jamieson, 1987) feel that candidate image and issue are one and the same, as issues and images meld together in the voter's decision making process. Despite various approaches to determine the relationship between issue and

image, many scholars believe that televised presidential debates place the emphasis on image rather than issues (e.g. Jamieson & Birdsell; Lanoue & Schrott, 1991)

Image

Candidate image has become the most powerful influence in presidential elections for two reasons: 1) public involvement in the election process, and 2) the growing role of the media (Jones, 1995). Since both the Electoral College and popular vote elect a president, candidates must pay close attention to the desires of the people. In addition, as the use of television has increased in political campaigns, a candidate's image has become extremely important. Televised debates bring each presidential candidate directly into the homes of the electorate, which means that even the most politically uninformed person can evaluate and assess each candidate. However, Lanoue and Schrott (1991) noted that "in reality, the viewers of televised debates are far more likely to use debates to gain insight into each candidate's personality and character rather than information about issue-oriented debating points" (p. 96).

Voters watch and assess candidates and attempt to determine what type of person the candidates are (Jones, 1995). As voters evaluate candidates based upon image, personality traits such as honesty, warmth, and intelligence become central criteria for candidate selection (Jamieson & Birdsell, 1988). Since Lang and Lang's early debate study (1962) showing that exposure to the televised debates resulted in some rather dramatic changes in candidate image, some researches have supported findings that demonstrate the importance of image information. For example, Kraus and Smith (1977) and Dennis, Chaffee, and Choe (1979) found that image information significantly influences candidate perception in presidential debates.

Voters elect a person, not necessarily policies, values and principles (Barber, 1985), and television features candidates as persons rather than policy or issue experts (Keeter, 1987). Many researchers (e.g., Conover & Feldman, 1989; Downs, Kaid, & Ragan, 1990; Fiske, 1982; Flanigan & Zingale, 1991; Gopoian, 1982; Graber 1996; Kinder, 1986; Miller, Wattenberg, & Malanchuk, 1986; Sullivan & Masters, 1988) have concurred that personal traits are the most important criteria in voting decisions.

From a candidate's perspective, a presidential debate offers an excellent opportunity to affect image perceptions as well as viewers, who also observe with great concern for the candidates' performance in the debates. A politician's goal in a debate is to fare better than the opponent(s) and to gain votes through a convincing performance. Each participant wants to improve his or her own image and, at the same time, try to damage their opponent's reputation (Wayne, 1980). Friedenberg (1997) presented specific image goals of candidates through analyzing all presidential debates since 1960. These goals include: (1) creating a more positive image of themselves, (2) creating a more negative image of their opponent, (3) positively modifying existing image of themselves, and (4) negatively modifying existing images of their opponents (p. 69).

Jamieson (1987) argued that as a result of this media-driven shift in voter priorities, the image of the candidate has become the litmus test for most voters. Consequently, "a politicians' ability to govern is increasingly intertwined with his or her public image" (Ansolabehere, Behr, & Iyengar, 1993). Thus, with the growth of negative campaigning strategies, especially in political advertising (Johnson-Cartee & Copeland, 1991), candidates in debates have attempted to create a negative opponent image.

Issues

Despite the nature of televised debates that encourage a focus on candidate images, issue development is also regarded as a significant feature of debate discourse. The usefulness of campaign debates is often argued on the basis of democratic theory. Democratic theorists believe that citizens influence government most directly through election participation, and that campaigns should contribute to the development and education of voters. It is argued (e.g., Kraus & Davis, 1981) that a primary function of televised debates is to contribute to public education for rational issue-based voting.

Based on this philosophy, issue development through debates is very important to voters. The practice of televised debates has made issue consideration more prominent in voters' decision making processes. According to Jamieson and Birdsell (1988, p. 128), "debate increases the likelihood that a candidate will take a specific stand on an issue, and will specify the ways in which goals would be reached." With a challenger able to cross-examine and press another candidate on a particular issue, candidate commitment to issue stands may be heightened, thus leading to increased voter knowledge. As the electorate becomes more informed, candidate issue positions become much more important in the election (Jones, 1995).

From the perspective of viewers of televised debates, many studies have found positive effects for political socialization and education that contribute to voter learning of policy issues and increased rational voting behaviors. Katz and Feldman (1962) found that the 1960 debates helped people learn about the issues. Kirkpatrick (1979) reported that a survey of people who voted in 1960 indicated that 57 percent of those who voted said the debates influenced their decisions. Kraus (1988) also indicates that

approximately one-half of all voters use presidential debates to provide information that they use in deciding for which candidate to vote. Drew and Weaver (1990) found that the 1988 debates were useful in making voters more aware of differences in the issue stands of the candidates and in recalling issues as more important than candidates' personal qualities in voting decisions. Along the same lines, Halford Ryan (1994) analyzed the first debate of 1988 and each of the major issues addressed, and found that presidential debates do contain significant issue content. These findings support the view that presidential debates contain significant issue development and some viewers use this information in their decision-making processes.

From a candidate's perspective, televised debates provide the candidates with an opportunity to respond to specific issue questions. Thus, the candidates employ their specific debate strategies to emphasize and distinguish their issue stands from those of other candidates. Issues, and the salience of particular issues, have varied from one election to another, so candidate strategies to address particular issues can not be generalized. However, Trent and Friedenberg (1995) note that the most successful political debaters are able to integrate specific issue appeals into an overall message framework. They present a message development strategy that the skilled political debater might employ. First, the debater will present his or her overall theme in his or her introductory statement, if the statement is allowed in the debate format being used. Then the candidate will reinforce this theme in his or her answers to as many specific questions as possible. Finally, he or she will return to this theme in a concluding statement (Trent & Friedenberg, 1995).

Friedenberg (1997) argues that most candidates develop similar issue-oriented goals for their debates. He notes the commonly used issue goals since the 1960 debates: (1) to appeal to targeted audience segments that are vital for success; (2) to develop a broad, inclusive, overall theme with which most voters can identify; and (3) to avoid the major controversies that new and specific policy proposals might entail.

This section has reviewed the U.S. literature focusing on “issue versus image” and specific strategies to achieve the candidate’s image and issue goals in past U.S. televised presidential debates. The next section will briefly explore the U.S. literature on debate format studies and briefly describe the 1992 U.S. televised presidential debates.

Format Study and the 1992 U.S. Televised Presidential Debates

Format

The formats for U.S. presidential debates have undergone various changes since televised debates were first inaugurated in 1960. The format of a single moderator with a panel of journalists asking the candidates questions was the format used in 1960, 1976, 1980, 1984, and 1988. The analysis of debate format has been examined by a number of scholars, with the goal to improve formats for presidential debates. Most scholars have criticized the traditional televised debate format (e.g., Bitzer & Rueter, 1980; Carlin, Howard, Stanfield, & Reynolds, 1991; Germond & Witcover, 1979; Hellweg & Phillips, 1981; Hellweg, 1982; Jamieson, 1987; Kay, 1983; Pfau, 1983a). These criticisms can be categorized in the following manner: (a) the use of media panelists corrupt the quality of the exchanges because journalists frequently ask inappropriate questions or unfair questions; (b) candidates can resist answering questions; (c) the format allows the

candidates to choose not to answer some difficult questions directly or to stray from the point which the question seeks to stimulate a response to; and (d) the format invites candidates to recite speeches from the campaign trail instead of providing original answers.

Many scholars have indicated that the format of debates is the primary cause of these problems, which may ultimately result in lowering the quality of the information that is provided to voters by the debates (Carlin et al., 1991; Hellweg, 1984; Lubell, 1962; Pfau, 1983a). Pfau (1983a) also points out that the result of these flaws is that political debates often contain very little clash or direct comparison of candidates' positions on issues, analysis or justifications for the policies which they recommend.

Pfau (1983a) and McCall (1984) argue that political debate formats should be designed to produce an optimal amount of clash over issues. To reach the goal of "true" or improved political debate, many scholars have recommended that other formats be tried, such as: (1) using a single moderator (Bitzer & Rueter, 1980; Germond & Witcover, 1979); (2) elimination of the media panel and use of specific debate propositions instead of a multitude of questions (Bitzer & Rueter, 1980; Seltz & Yoakam, 1962); (3) having candidates answer questions directly posed by the American people (Minow & Sloan, 1987); (4) the Oregon style debate format -- allowing open cross-examination by candidates (Kay, 1981; Minow & Sloan, 1987; Prentice, 1988); (5) a shorter version of the Lincoln-Douglas format (Bitzer & Rueter, 1980); (6) asking candidates to field the same questions at different times during the debate (Martel, 1983); and (7) having debates take place over longer time periods and using a proposition to initiate discussion (Bitzer & Rueter, 1980).

In the 1992 and 1996 televised presidential debates, the first three recommendations were featured. In 1992, two new formats -- a Town Hall meeting with citizens asking "anything goes" questions and a single moderator asking questions--were employed, along with the traditional journalist-panelist format, for the first time in the history of U.S. televised presidential debates. In 1996, only the single moderator format and the Town Hall format were used, while completely doing away with the traditional journalist-panelist format. Traditionally, journalists played an important role in the American televised debates, but the recent format changes emphasized civic participation in the debates.

Although some scholars have recommended a cross-examination by candidates (Oregon-style debating), this format has never been featured in U.S. presidential debates (although primary debates have included such a feature). Due to a lack of analyses of the effects of the cross-examination format, evaluation of such debates is controversial. From a positive aspect, an open-cross examination format in non-presidential debates has served to increase the liveliness of debates and to force candidates to stick to the issues (Kay, 1981), thus suggesting such a format could be highly informative. On the other hand, this format could produce a "shooting match" between the candidates and encourages the media to look at the debate from a winner-loser orientation (Schroeder, 1989) and may degenerate into meaningless nit-picking or exchanges of grand accusations that do little to inform voters (Swerdlow, 1984).

The next section provides a brief review of the literature regarding the quality of debate along with the issue of clash/confrontation in presidential debates.

Clash/Confrontation

In the previous section, the flaws of traditional debate formats were discussed. The issue of clash/confrontation is one element of debate dialogue that is said to impact the overall value or usefulness of debates. The flaws of debate formats have created a condition in which televised debates often contain very little clash or direct comparison of candidate's positions on issues, thus diminishing their usefulness as forums to compare competing ideas and policies (Pfau, 1983a). At first, the 1960 televised presidential debates were welcomed as a way of allowing the entire nation to watch candidates clash over election issues side by side. Due to the nature of the televised exchange -- time constraints, debate moderators, and television producer's desire to provide entertainment -- televised presidential debates have been criticized by debate researchers as lacking the characteristics of true debate (Jones, 1995).

As the inaugural televised presidential debates, the 1960 debates between Kennedy and Nixon have often been referred to as "The Great Debates." However, after examining the structure, format, and presentation of the 1960 debates, Kerr (1961) argued that the 1960 'Great Debates' were neither great nor debates. The author claimed that the debates were superficial, that they substituted personality for serious examination of issues, and that the format forced candidates to shift rapidly from one question to another without providing them an opportunity to state fully their perspective. Many scholars (e.g. Auer, 1981; Bitzer & Rueter, 1980; Jamieson & Birdsell, 1988; Kraus, 1979; Salant, 1979; Tiemens, Hellweg, Kipper, & Phillips, 1985) have supported this assessment. They believe that there must be a confrontation between the candidates with equal and adequate time in order for debate to occur.

Therefore, many scholars have argued that political debates should promote clash. According to Pfau (1983a), political debates constitute a unique forum for political argument which normally (1) requires matched agendas between the public and the candidates; (2) promotes intelligent clash; and (3) promotes appropriately directed clash. Kay (1983) and Pfau (1983b) have offered specific recommendations in procedures and formats to promote more clarity and clash in political debates. Some scholars (Carlin, 1989; Ellsworth, 1965; Riley & Hollihan, 1981; Bryski, 1978; Levasseur & Dean, 1996) believe that television debates can produce more rational discussion on the part of candidates and hence encourage the rationality of voters.

With an approach to presidential debates and their rational function, many scholars have analyzed the level of clash/confrontation or tested the effects of format on clash/confrontation since the first study of the Kennedy-Nixon debates (Ellsworth, 1965). For example, Riley, Hollihan and Cooley (1980) analyzed the level of confrontation/clash of the 1976 presidential debates. Riley and Hollihan (1981) and Prentice, Larsen and Sobnosky (1981) focused on the 1980 presidential debates. Carlin, Howard, Stanfield, and Reynolds (1991) analyzed the level of clash in the 1988 presidential debates and compared their results with earlier debates including the 1960, 1976, and 1980 presidential debates. Carlin et al. (1991) conclude that formats do not affect the level of clash. However, all of these studies analyzed the same general format used in presidential debates -- journalist-panelist format.

The 1992 U.S. presidential debates employed new debate formats, including a single moderator and the Town Hall format along with the traditional debate format, the journalist-panelist format. In the 1997 Korean presidential televised debates, the format

of direct cross-examination by candidates was featured along with the single moderator format. The comparison between a single moderator format and the cross-examination format within Korean debates, and comparison between Korean and U.S. presidential debates, may provide direct and indirect information about the effects of a direct cross-examination format on the dialogue or content of presidential debates. The current study will conduct such comparisons of the clash/confrontation as well as the presence of attack and the focus of candidate responses contained within differing formats.

The 1992 Televised Presidential Debate

The 1992 presidential debates consisted of three presidential debates and one vice presidential debate, but this study will focus only on the three presidential debates (there are no vice presidential candidates in Korean presidential elections). These debates were unique for several reasons. In 1992, the U.S. presidential debates included for the first time three candidates. H. Ross Perot, running as an Independent, was given the opportunity to debate by the Commission on Presidential Debates. In addition, the 1992 debates featured three 90-minute debates that experimented with a variety of formats.

The First 1992 Presidential Debate

The first presidential debate was held October 11, 1992 at Washington University in St. Louis, Missouri. The debate followed a traditional presidential debate format in which a moderator -- Jim Lehrer, and a panel of three journalists, Sander Vanocur, John Mashek, and Ann Compton -- asked the candidates questions. Lehrer addressed a question to each of the candidates at the debate's outset, and then the three panelists took turns posing questions to alternating candidates. A total of 18 questions covering foreign

and domestic policies were asked. The candidates had two minutes for question responses, one minute for rebuttal, and two-minute closing statements. There were no follow-up questions and no opening statements.

The Second 1992 Presidential Debate

The second 1992 debate was held on October 15, 1992 at the University of Richmond in Richmond, Virginia. It was done in a “Town Hall” meeting style, with Carole Simpson of ABC News serving as the single moderator. The questions were asked by 209 undecided voters from the Richmond area who were selected by an independent polling firm (Meyer & Carlin, 1994). A total of 16 questions (15 questions from the audience and one question from the moderator) on primarily domestic policies were directed to a particular candidate with the other two candidates allowed to comment on the question or the other answers. There was no set rotating order nor time limits for the candidate’s responses. The moderator tried to ensure equal time to answer questions for each candidate and was allowed to follow-up on audience questions.

The Third 1992 Presidential Debate

The third debate, held October 19, 1992 at Michigan State University in East Lansing, was a mixed format. In the first half of the debate, a single moderator, Jim Lehrer, asked questions and allowed rebuttal time for all three candidates. Follow-up questions were permitted. A traditional panel of three journalists -- Susan Rook, Gene Gibbons, and Helen Thomas -- was employed in the second half of the debate, using the same rules as the first 1992 debate. A total of 19 questions -- 9 in the first half and 10 in the second half of the debate -- were asked.

Research Questions

With the growing institutionalization of television campaign debates, and particularly the institutionalization of such exchanges at the presidential level in the U.S. as well as many other countries, this study employs a systematic content analysis to accomplish a cross-cultural comparative analysis of televised presidential debates between the United States and Korea. Based on a review of the literature on differences in verbal and nonverbal communication and rhetorical patterns, and structural differences in televised presidential debates between Korea and the U.S., this study is designed to help answer the following research questions.

A: According to U.S. literature on rhetorical strategies of televised presidential debates, there are strategic differences between incumbents and challengers in debating strategies (Martel, 1983; Friedenber, 1997; Trent & Friedenber, 1995). The 1997 Korean televised presidential debates marked the first joint televised presidential debate in Korean presidential election history. Although there are no applicable theoretical grounds to suggest cultural differences in the rhetorical strategies between a candidate's status (incumbent vs. challenger), the analysis of incumbent and challenger strategies will be valuable in examining how American presidential debate strategies operate in different cultural settings. The following research questions are designed to probe for similarities and/or differences between the two nations.

RQ 1.1: Are there significant differences in emphasis between incumbent and challenger rhetorical strategies used by Korean presidential candidates?

RQ 1.2: Are there significant differences in emphasis between incumbent and challenger rhetorical strategies used by American presidential candidates?

RQ 1.3: Are there significant differences in the emphasis upon incumbent and challenger rhetorical strategies between American and Korean debates?

RQ 2: Are there differences with challengers and incumbents in the pattern of target for attack (other candidates) between American and Korean candidates?

B: As Aristotle suggested, ethos is an important means of persuasion. In Western culture (U.S.), the importance of ethos has been perceived by American voters and by the candidates. In addition, American values of specificity, objectivity, and precision tend to place greater preference on the use of logos and reason with using evidence from authority (Okabe, 1997).

On the other hand, in a Confucian mode of thinking, Korean rhetoric functions as a means of disseminating information that is by nature intuitive. Korean rhetoric strongly emphasizes ethos in that Korean rhetoric is based on moral authority including cultural rules, norms, and proper behaviors. In public life, policies or issues that Korean politicians may advocate are less significant than their moral authority (Oliver, 1959). Moral authority also can be seen as an element of ethos in that such an ethos-based strategy is used to enhance the credibility and trustworthiness of a candidate. Thus, cultural traditions may influence a candidate's rhetorical form and rhetorical proof. To analyze these possible differences, the following research questions are offered:

RQ 3: Are there significant differences in the use of rhetorical appeals (pathos, logos, and ethos) between American and Korean debates?

RQ 4: Are there significant difference in the emphasis on issue and image appeals between American and Korean debates?

C: Okabe (1997) argued that the rhetorical canon of style in the use of language is also guided by cultural influences. In Western cultures, for example, communication is sender-centered so that Americans prefer to employ assertive words with the absolute “I” usually placed at the beginning of a sentence (Kishimoto, 1967). On the other hand, in Confucian societies, communication is receiver-centered; and particularly in Korea, the term “uye-ri (we)” is influential in human relationships and communication (Yum, 1987b). To examine possible cultural-linguistic differences between U.S. and Korean debate discourse, the following research question is posited:

RQ 5: Are there differences in the use of an “I” and “We” tone between American and Korean debates when presenting one’s ideas, views, and positions?

D: Influenced by the Aristotelian modes of reasoning (a Western model of rhetoric), the goal of a speaker in U.S. political argumentation is to persuade with emphasis often placed on a confrontation mode of organization. Thus, competition is encouraged and frontal attack, especially in debating, is considered as a matter of course (Stewart, 1972). American rhetorical form is basically argumentative with a direct communication pattern. On the other hand, in a Confucian mode of reasoning (an Eastern model of rhetoric), a speaker’s goal is to achieve harmony and consensus (Condon & Yousef, 1975); thus, social relationship is an important value in communication. Communication is perceived to be an infinite interpretation process so that indirect communication is prevalent (Yum, 1988). Thus, Korean candidates may tend to use less confrontation (clash), fewer negative appeals and less direct attack than do American candidates.

To examine differing rhetorical strategies based on cultural styles, the following research questions are offered:

RQ 6.1: Are there differences in the use of strategies of clash and non-clash between American and Korean debates?

RQ 6.2: Are there significant differences in the level of clash between American and Korean debates?

RQ 7.1: Are there significant differences in the level of attacking one's opponent between American and Korean debates?

RQ 7.2: Are there differences in the emphasis of attack on one's opponent (personal characteristics, issue stand and consistency, group affiliation, background and qualification, and past performance) between American and Korean debates?

RQ 8: Are there differences in the content utilized by candidates (positive/negative focused) between American and Korean debates?

E: Similar to verbal expression, nonverbal messages are also influenced by culture (Potter, 1972). Hall (1966) has referred to nonverbal cues as the "hidden dimension of culture" because nonverbal messages are embedded in the contextual dimension of communication. Guided by Confucian educational tradition, Koreans have been trained to express their emotions with less body movements and facial displays. On the other hand, strong expressive body movement and facial displays are likely to be used by U.S. communicators as increased intensity in nonverbal communication is often related to more developed communication ability (Kim, 1992). The following research questions examine nonverbal differences between U.S. and Korean presidential candidates:

RQ 9.1: Are there differences in the use of smiling between American and Korean candidates?

RQ 9.2: Are there differences in the use of gesture (arm and hand movement) between American and Korean candidates?

RQ 9.3: Are there differences in changing posture between American and Korean candidates?

RQ 9.4: Are there differences in eye-contact with the opponent candidate between American and Korean candidates?

F: Finally, this analysis also explores the effects of debate format on candidates' strategies for debating. Many communication scholars have criticized the debate format as a critical factor that determines the quality of presidential debate dialogue (e.g. Bitzer & Rueter, 1980; Germond & Witcover, 1979; Hellweg & Phillips, 1981; Hellweg, 1982; Jamieson, 1987; Kay, 1983; Pfau, 1983a). Unlike American debate formats, Korean debates employed direct exchanges between candidates using the format of cross-examination by candidates. Despite cultural assumptions, the structure of televised debates, as imported campaign communication events from the West, may influence Korean traditional communication and rhetorical patterns. Such discourse may invite more attacks and negative communication, even though a Korean or Eastern cultural tendency is to avoid attacks and negative communication.

The following research questions examine the effects of debate formats on candidate debating strategies:

RQ 10.1: Are there significant differences in the level of clash among American and Korean debate formats?

RQ 10.2: Are there significant differences in the level of attack among American and Korean debate formats?

RQ 10.3: Are there differences in the content emphasis (positive/negative focused) among American and Korean debate formats?

Footnotes

¹ Americans tend to prefer to analyze and dissect things into elements in order to understand them, while the Japanese employ synthetic thinking. They do not analyze or divide things into categories, so much as they synthesize elements into a unified whole. In this sense, their emphasis is upon the “whole” (Okabe, 1997).

² In a society that sees itself as made up of independent and equal individuals, as indeed the United State does, any thinking pattern must be predominantly universalistic and absolutistic, applying to all individuals equally. The concept of right and wrong must be clear and invariable, regardless of one’s personal status. In a society in which people view themselves primarily as members of groups, however, specific relationships may take precedence over universal principles. Criteria, in other words, may be more situational than absolutistic (Okabe, 1997).

³ Realism is factual and focuses on objective facts. However, Eastern thinking differentiates from American realism in that it is idealistic and is less concerned with factual objects (Okabe, 1997).

⁴ Even the two Presidents who seized power in military coups felt the need to legitimize their power through elections, although from 1972 to 1980 the Presidents were elected by a non-elected Electoral College of their political supporters.

⁵ In the 1997 President Election, Kim received over 95 percent in these provinces. See candidate profiles for more information about Kim.

⁶ In 1978, President Park was elected but he was assassinated in 1979. A new President was elected in 1979.

⁷ President Choe resigned the presidency under military pressure and a new President, Chun, was elected in 1980. However, the Korean constitution, Yushin Constitution, was revised to extend the years of the presidency from 4 to 7 years, but the Constitution allows only one presidential term. Under the new Constitution, the 12th

Presidential Election was held and President Chun was reelected in this 1981 Presidential Election.

⁸ The telephone interview used the same subjects at two different times to develop validity. The subject size was 1,984 collected nationwide.

⁹ The official campaign period is 22 days before election day, from November 26 to December 17, 1997. Officially, the joint television debate was prohibited before the official campaign period.

¹⁰ The Korean broadcasting system consists of public and private broadcasting companies. There are two public broadcasting stations and one private broadcasting station as nationwide networks. Only public broadcasters can host joint television debates but private broadcasters can televise any joint debates if civic organizations, the press, and academic associations hold the debates. In the first joint presidential debates, the debate committee allowed the private broadcaster to attend the committee as an observer, not as a committee member, and allowed the hosting of one of the three joint debates in order to prevent audience confusion by a flood of televised debates. The private broadcasting company agreed to follow the committee rules and not broadcast any joint debates held by others.

¹¹ Constitutional eligibility: Only those candidates who meet the requirements of the Constitution of the United States were considered. Ballot access: A presidential candidate had to be on the ballot in enough states to have a mathematical possibility of winning the election, namely, a majority of votes (270) in the Electoral College. Demonstrated significant voter interest and support: A candidate nominated by a major party, or minor party and independent candidates received a level of voter support in the nationwide public opinion polls of 15 percent or a level of support at least equal to that of a major-party candidate. (League of Women Voters Education Fund, 1980).

¹² List of presidential candidates: (1) Hoi-Chang Lee (Grand Nation Party), (2) Dae-Jung Kim (National Congress for New Politics), (3) In-Je Rhee (New People's Party), (4) Young-Gil Kwon (People's Victory 21), (5) Kyung-Young Hur (Republican Party), (6) Han-Shik Kim (Right Politics for a Right Country), and (7) Jeong-Yil Shin (Unification Korea Party).

¹³ A political party which holds more than 20 seats in the National Assembly forms one parliamentary group. At least 20 Members of the National Assembly from many parties who do not belong to any parliamentary group may form an independent group. When the parliamentary group is formed, a Member representing the group (the Floor Leader) submits to the Speaker of the National Assembly a list of the group members with their signatures attached.

¹⁴ In the 1996 presidential campaign, the minor candidates (Perot, Hagelin, Browne, and Nader) who were excluded in the official televised presidential debates were

invited to participate in a CNN Larry King “mini debate” immediately after the first televised presidential debate (Kraus, 2000).

¹⁵ Candidates posed questions and answered through the moderator. The moderator notified who needed to answer a question.

¹⁶ Rumors circulated as to how this might have happened; whatever the facts, the possibility of draft evasion by the children of a high official angered many parents in a country that lives with universal conscription and the ever-present possibility of war with North Korea.

¹⁷ Chung-Hee Park was the general who took over the presidency in a bloodless 1961 coup. Park ruled with a strong hand, but brought economic progress to Korea. The head of the Korean Central Intelligence Agency (KCIA) assassinated him in October 1979.

¹⁸ In 1976, the Ford vs. Carter contest, approximately 70 million viewers watched, and in the 1980 debates, an audience of 100 million viewers watched the debates. In the 1988 debates, 74 million viewers watched the first debate and 72 million viewers the second debate. In the 1992 debates, there was a significant increase in debate viewers over past televised debates: the first 1992 debate was viewed by 81 million people and the second debate increased to 93 million viewers (Carmody, 1992). Hellweg, Pfau, and Brydon (1992) reported that televised debates are among the most watched programs ever broadcast. However, debate viewership in 1996 was down considerably. According to the Nielsen rating for the five-network total (ABC, NBC, CBS, CNN, and Fox), the first debate was a 31.6 percent rating, approximately 46.1 million viewers. In the second debate, it was 26.1 percent rating even though the Fox network did not televise the debate because of contractual obligations to air a Major League Baseball playoff game during the second debate (Fleming, 1996).

CHAPTER III

METHODS

Content Analysis

Bernard Berelson (1952) defines content analysis as a research technique designed to achieve the “objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication” (p. 18). Content analysis is a research method that uses systematic procedures to make valid inferences from the context in which communication occurs (Krippendorff, 1980). These inferences are often about the sender of a message, the message itself, or the intended audience of the message. The rules of this inferential process vary with the theoretical and substantive interests of the investigator. However, content analysis as a method of research receives broad agreement in terms of its objective, systematic, and generalizable approach (Holsti, 1969). In communication research, content analysis has been proven a powerful and valuable research tool for making objective, systematic, and quantitative descriptions of communication content (Kaid & Wadsworth, 1989).

While little to no research exists that examines the content of non-U.S. presidential or campaign debates, a variety of political communication scholars have applied content analytic techniques to U.S. presidential debates (e.g., Benoit, Blaney, & Pier, 1998; Benoit & Harthcock, 1999; Benoit & Wells, 1996; Carlin, Howard, Stanfield, & Reynolds, 1991; Ellsworth, 1965; Kaid, McKinney, & Tedesco, 2000; Riley & Hollihan, 1981; Riley, Hollihan, & Cooley, 1980; Leon, 1993; Levasseur & Dean, 1996; Morello, 1990; Prentice, Larsen, & Sobnosky, 1981; Rowland, 1986; Tiemens, Hellweg, Kipper, & Phillips, 1985). Many of the existing studies have attempted to evaluate the

content of televised presidential debates to assess candidates' rhetorical strategies or patterns of argumentation and clash. The extant literature provides a variety of content analytic approaches to presidential debate exchanges and the current study is based on these systematic content analyses.

The primary goal of the present study is to analyze and describe, as precisely as possible, the actual content -- verbal and nonverbal -- of the debate dialogue. The aim is to gather extensive information on what was said by presidential candidates and how it was said in televised debates in the U.S. and Korea. Specifically, this study seeks to identify differences and/or similarities in political discourse in televised presidential debates between both nations regarding the following questions: Which rhetorical strategies are used by candidates when debating? How are these strategies presented? Do candidates provide the audience with issue information, or information regarding either their own or their opponents' personality or image? In general, are substantive issues discussed or are debates used as a vehicle for more personalized attacks? How do the presidential candidates display nonverbal behaviors? In all cases, the overarching goal of this study is to examine the debate dialogue of Korean presidential debates in relationship to U.S. presidential candidates.

Sample

The population of this study is defined as all 1992 U.S. and 1997 Korean televised presidential debates. As described in the earlier section on the history of Korean televised presidential debates, the 1997 debates were the first presidential-level televised debates in Korean presidential elections. To establish equivalence for comparison

between the two nations, this study chose the 1992 U.S. televised presidential debates (excluding the vice presidential debate).

There are two primary reasons to choose the 1992 U.S. debates as the sample for this analysis. First, both the 1992 U.S. and the 1997 Korean televised debates included a third party candidate. Although there is limited literature about the participation of third-party candidates in debates, it has been suggested that the presence of a third participant in a presidential debate does influence the approach and strategy that major party candidates will adopt in a three-way debate (Martel, 1983). The 1992 U.S. presidential debates were the only televised presidential debates to include a third-party candidate in U.S. presidential election history. Secondly, both the 1992 American and 1997 Korean debates utilized a rather new format with adoption of a single moderator as debate questioner. Beginning in 1992, U.S. televised presidential debates have employed two new formats – the single moderator format and the Town Hall format. Korean televised presidential debates were developed based on the 1992 U.S. presidential debates as the Korean debates also employed the single moderator format and also allowed a direct cross-examination by candidates (a format feature that has not been adopted in the U.S.).

In combining the two nation's presidential debates, a total of six televised debates are analyzed for verbal content, including the three 1992 U.S. televised presidential debates and the three 1997 Korean televised presidential debates that included major party candidates (the one Korean minor-party candidate debate was not included in this analysis.)

The analysis of nonverbal behaviors included the three Korean televised debates and two of the U.S. presidential debates. The "Town Hall" U.S. presidential debate was

not included in the visual analysis. Unlike other debate formats, the Town Hall format featured direct interactions between the candidates and audience members, questioning and answering that allowed the candidates to move freely about the stage. This condition would influence the use of candidate's nonverbal behaviors. To compare like patterns of Korean and American candidates' nonverbal behavior, only U.S. and Korean debates where candidates were stationary are utilized for the visual analysis.

For analysis of verbal content, this study used the three transcriptions of Korean televised presidential debates printed by the Korean Television Debate Committee and the three transcriptions of the U.S. presidential debates obtained from the official web site of the U.S. Commission on Presidential Debates (www.debates.org). These transcriptions of the 1992 U.S. and the 1997 Korean presidential debates were compared with videotapes of the debates to verify accuracy. For analyzing nonverbal behavior, the researcher obtained videotapes of the three Korean televised presidential debates from the Seoul Broadcasting System (SBS) that produced one of the 1997 Korean televised presidential debates and televised all of the debates. Videotapes of the U.S. presidential debates were obtained from the Political Communication Center's Presidential Debate Archive at the University of Oklahoma.

Unit of Analysis

This study's aim is to analyze the content of what the candidates said and how they delivered their messages in the televised debates. Thus, the subject of this analysis is candidate messages, including all verbal and nonverbal content. In the verbal content analysis of the televised presidential debates, different types of units have been employed

for coding purposes, depending on a researcher's goal for the study¹. The present analysis is aimed at finding and comparing similarities or differences in ways of communicating and rhetorical patterns in both Korean and U.S. televised presidential debates. In general, an entire candidate response as the coding unit is acceptable when the research goals and categories employed are of a broad nature (Budd, Thorp, & Donohew, 1967; Holsti, 1969). In a given televised presidential debate, a candidate's full response constitutes an entire item of analysis.

The present analysis employed the candidate's response as the unit for coding, including all of the candidate's answers to questions asked by a moderator, an audience member, or opponent candidate, and the rebuttals and re-rebuttals to the opponents' answers. However, an opponent candidate could -- and sometimes did -- interrupt a candidate's response and present a different viewpoint or attack the candidate while another is speaking. The candidate's interruption could be as short as a word, a phrase or sentence, or as long as a paragraph, and might also result in a "give-and-take" argument or exchange between candidates. Each interruption was carefully compared with the verbal context before and after the interruption. Finally, the interruption was considered as a single unit for coding if the interruption included the candidate's answer or response to the issues or policies raised by the candidate who was speaking before the interruption.

Based on such considerations, all transcripts of the U.S. and Korean televised presidential debates were divided into units, and the units thus served as the data to be analyzed. This analysis followed three steps to divide the transcriptions into units for analysis. First, all questions and comments by the moderator, audience, panelist, or candidates were excluded from the analysis. Second, the transcriptions were divided into

formal opening and closing statements, each candidate's formal responses, rebuttals, and re-rebuttals. Finally, interruptions were considered as a unit if the interruption fulfilled the criteria previously stated.

After applying these procedures, 258 units of discourse for the Korean televised presidential debates were obtained: 86 for the first debate, 87 for the second debate, and 85 for the third debate. In the U.S. presidential debates, 165 units were analyzed: 57 for the first debate, 46 for the second debate, and 62 for the third debate. A total was 423 units -- 165 units from American debates and 258 units from Korean debates were analyzed. For analyzing nonverbal behavior, visual content was also analyzed using the same unit as verbal analysis (candidate response). As discussed previously, the U.S. Town-Hall debate was excluded from the nonverbal analysis. After screening the data, 377 units were analyzed for the nonverbal analysis -- 119 units from American debates and 258 units from Korean debates.

Categories

As stated, the primary goal of this content analysis aims to analyze verbal and nonverbal messages presented in Korean and U.S. televised presidential debates. Due to the lack of cross-cultural study of televised presidential debates, there are no formal sets of content analytic categories to draw upon. According to Krippendorff (1980), the researcher often has to develop categories to answer the specific questions posed in the research because of the lack of agreed-upon standardized categories; however, the created categories should be exhaustive and mutually exclusive (Kaid & Wadsworth, 1989).

Based on a review of recent and relevant literature of verbal and nonverbal communication strategies from political advertising and televised presidential debates, established categories were modified and a written codebook (see Appendix A) and codesheet (see Appendix B) were developed for the present study. To analyze verbal messages, incumbent and challenger strategies, strategies of clash and non-clash, positive/negative focus, issue/image, attack (presence, target and emphasis of attack), rhetorical appeals (forms and proofs) were examined. For these many categories, coders were asked to code for all that were present in each unit, as a single unit might contain more than one strategy or rhetorical appeal. This coding procedure was used for the categories of incumbent/challenger strategies, clash/non-clash, Aristotelian appeals and emphasis of attack. For nonverbal behaviors, facial displays (smiling), body movements (hand/arm gesture and posture) and eye contact with other candidates constitute the categories to be explored.

Verbal Content Categories

Incumbent and challenger strategies

To analyze the strategies used by incumbent and challengers, the coding instruments were developed based on the incumbent and challenger strategy presented by Trent and Friedenburg (1995, see specifically p. 66-90). The categories were modified and applied to analyze the content of political advertising (Bystrom, 1995; Kaid & Davidson, 1986) and political advertising and televised presidential debates in the 1996 presidential election (Kaid, McKinney, & Tedesco, 2000). Trent and Friedenburg's (1995) categories were broadly employed in Kaid et al.'s (2000) analysis of televised

presidential debates and this analysis, following a pilot study, adopted modified categories for use here. Specifically, the current study combines four symbolic characteristics of incumbency -- symbolic trappings of the office, legitimacy of the office, competency and the office, and charisma and the office -- into one overall incumbent strategy, “symbolic characteristics of incumbency,” as Trent and Friedenbergr (1995) name it. These four symbolic incumbent strategies were very ambiguous when applied to both Korea and U.S. debates due to differences in the two political systems and cultures.

In applying these strategies to the U.S. and Korean televised presidential debates, this analysis employs a broader definition for incumbency. In Korea, there was no incumbent candidate because of the presidential election system² but the ruling party candidate (Lee) held the high governmental office of Prime Minister, and maintained the position of President of the ruling party. The Korean ruling party candidate was treated as the incumbent candidate for the purposes of this analysis.

The following incumbent-challenger categories were developed after conducting a pilot study. Incumbent strategies included as part of the coding instrument were: the symbolic characteristics of incumbency, consulting with world leaders, endorsement by leaders, emphasizing accomplishments, and “above the trenches” posture. Challenger strategies on the coding instrument include: calling for changes, optimism for future, yearning for the past (traditional values), appearing to represent the philosophical center of the party, taking the offensive on issues, and attacking opponent’s record. Within each unit, incumbent and challenger strategies were coded for all that were present as a single unit (candidate response) could employ more than one strategy.

Confrontation/clash

The levels and types of clash/confrontation in presidential debates are very significant when looking at rhetorical differences in modes of argument between U.S. and Korean candidates. In addition, such analysis allows for a comparison of the quality of the debates as the existence of clash is sometimes thought to determine a debates' authenticity (Pfau, 1983a). Since the first content analysis of the Kennedy-Nixon debates, Ellsworth's (1965) categories have been used and developed in numerous content analyses (e.g. Carlin, Howard, Stanfield, & Reynolds, 1991; Prentice, Larsen, & Sobnosky, 1981; Riley, Hollihan, & Cooley, 1980; Riley & Hollihan, 1981).

Confrontation/clash categories for the present coding instrument were based on Carlin, Howard, Stanfield, and Reynolds's categories (1991). Carlin et al. (1991) developed their categories based on Ellsworth's (1965) content analysis of the Kennedy-Nixon debates, and divided category into "clash strategy" and "non-clash strategy." Clash strategies involving direct clash with the opponent's arguments include the following six types of clash: "analysis of opponent's position—offensive," "analysis of opponent's position—defensive," "extension of position—offensive," "extension of position—defensive," "comparison of position," and "a statement to opponent" (Carlin et al., 1991, p. 127-128). Carlin et al. (1991) defined "non-clash" strategies as explaining a candidate's own position or answering a question which does not mention an opponent's argument. Two non-clash strategies that are coded in the present study are "analysis" and "policy statement" (Carlin et al., 1991, p. 127-128). Like incumbent and challenger strategies, the statements were coded for all that are present in each unit because a single unit (candidate response) could contain more than one strategy.

Strategies of positive/negative focus, issue/image and attack

These verbal content categories were developed and modified from many content analysis studies of political advertising (e.g. Bystrom, 1995; Kaid & Davison, 1986; Kaid & Johnston, 1991; Wadsworth, 1986; Tak, 1993) and also applied to the 1996 televised presidential debates (Kaid, McKinney & Tedesco, 2000). The present analysis used categories developed by these studies.

The coding instruments for positive/negative strategies include the categories of "positive focused," "negative focused" and "balanced." In categories for the issue/image content, the coding instruments include "issue focused," "image focused," and "balanced." For analyzing types of attack, first the presence of "attack" was coded followed by "focus of attack." The coding instruments for type of attack include "attack on personal characteristic," "attack on issue stands/consistency," "attack on opponent's group's affiliations," "attack on opponent's background/qualifications," or "attack on opponent's performance in the past offices."

Rhetorical proofs and styles of appeal

Verbal content categories were also included to determine how candidates differentially use rhetorical forms and proofs in debating based on their cultural orientations. Traditional Aristotelian appeals were employed for the coding instruments-- logical appeal (logos), emotional appeal (pathos) and source credibility (ethos). Such categories have been previously used in content analysis of political communication (e.g. Bystrom, 1995; Kaid & Davison, 1986; Kaid, McKinney, & Tedesco., 2000; Kaid & Johnston, 1991; Wadsworth, 1986; Tak, 1993).

To examine different language and rhetorical styles between Korean and U.S. presidential candidates, two linguistic categories were developed from Campbell (1989) and Bystrom (1995)—the “I” tone and “We” tone. These categories originally were developed in the content analysis of “masculine” and “feminine” styles and strategies in U.S. political advertisements. The current analysis adopted these categories in the cross-cultural setting, particularly for the use of assertive personal tone (“I”) as an American style, and addressing viewers as peers (“We”) for a Korean style of appeal.

Nonverbal Content Categories

The analysis of nonverbal behavior attempts to measure variables of culturally based nonverbal communication differences between the U.S. and Korean presidential candidates. Culture determines the form and use of nonverbal messages (Hall, 1966; Matsumoto, 1991; Porter, 1972). According to previous research, Koreans are less likely to use body movement (Kim, 1992; Ramsey, 1984), smiling (Kim, 1992; Yim, 1970), and eye contact (Kim, 1992; Samovar & Porter, 1991) than do Americans. In the current analysis, categories examining the nonverbal content of the televised presidential debates include smiling, hand/arm gesture, posture, and eye contact. The coding instrument for these categories was developed from Buller and Aune (1978), Brownlow (1992), Bystrom (1995), Kim (1992), Kraut and Johnston (1979), and Tak (1993).

Coding Procedures

Coders

Three coders were recruited and trained to code for both the verbal and visual content of the U.S. and Korean televised presidential debates using the written codebook and codesheet informed by categories defined through the previously mentioned relevant studies. Coders who are fluent in both languages (English and Korean) and who have experienced both cultures were recruited for this cross-cultural analysis. They consisted of three Korean-American undergraduate students at the University of Oklahoma who were born in Korea but who have lived in the U.S. at least 10 years. To maintain the same standards for coding, each coder was assigned to analyze one U.S. debate and one Korean debate.

In a similar study, comparing U.S. and Korean political advertising, Tak (1993) explained the need to utilize coders who could understand the messages of both cultures:

This kind of coder recruitment may be viewed as a limitation of the study on one hand; on the other, the racial distinction was made in an attempt to eliminate cultural biases in as much as the universe was defined as political advertisements in both countries and required interpretation of meanings in advertisements that might have been of a social or cultural nature. (p. 86)

Training Coders

A three-hour training session was conducted with the coders at which time the researcher discussed the general purposes of the study, provided the code sheet and codebook to coders, and then explained the units of analysis, categories and procedures

for coding. Next, the coders independently coded three units randomly selected from both U.S. and Korean debate transcriptions respectively and then discussed those results with the researcher to help identify and clarify any areas of disagreement.

One week after the training session, a pilot study was conducted. The pilot study was aimed at reaching an acceptable level of inter-coder agreement and to identify any problems with applying categories that were developed from U.S. political communication studies and now applied to Korean presidential debates. The coders jointly coded 10 units of U.S. and Korean debates using the transcript of a 1988 U.S. presidential debate and the transcript of the 1997 Korean minor presidential debate. After the pilot study, the coders discussed with the researcher any disagreement concerning the coding sheet and their coding results. This step was used to determine: (1) whether the categories were clear, objective, and mutually exclusive; and (2) to assess the ability of the coders to implement the analysis.

Reliability and Validity

Intercoder Reliability

After the pilot study and before the actual coding and analysis of the televised presidential debates began, intercoder reliability was tested using a total 22 units -- 9 from U.S. debates and 13 from Korean debates -- randomly selected as five percent of the total units of this analysis. The sample units were coded individually by all coders. Using Holsti's formula³ (1968), intercoder reliability was calculated for each of the 18 categories including the 46 individual variables defined in the coding instrument. Calculations of intercoder reliability on the 46 individual variables produced coefficients

ranging from .64 (“positive/negative focus” and “issue/image emphasis”) to 1.0 (e.g., “traditional value” strategy; “representing the philosophical center of the party” strategy; and “statement to opponent”). Only two categories, “positive/negative focus” and “issue/image emphasis”, were below the acceptable .80 level of intercoder reliability coefficient. The coders were re-trained to reach agreement in interpretation and coding for these categories. With this re-training session the coders then re-coded the units, and intercoder reliability coefficient of the two categories rose to .90 in “positive/negative focus” and .86 in “issue/image emphasis.” Overall intercoder reliability for the coding instrument was .88.

According to Kassirjian (1977), a coefficient of reliability above .85 is satisfactory for most content analysis studies; thus, the coders were asked to proceed to the actual coding stage. Each coder was randomly assigned a transcription and videotape containing one 1992 U.S. presidential debate, and a transcription and a tape containing one 1997 Korean presidential debate. Coding was completed within two weeks of the initial actual coding.

Assessing Validity

The validity of a coding instrument depends on its ability to measure what it is intended to measure (Holsti, 1969). The coding instrument is developed after careful study and adaptation of categories used in studies with a similar intent. Thus, the measurement validity can be assured by using an instrument from previous studies. For the current analysis, the categories and coding schemes from a number of studies that have content analyzed various types of campaign discourse, primarily political advertising and political debates, were used (e.g., Bystrom, 1995; Carlin, Howard,

Stanfield, & Reynolds, 1991; Campbell, 1989; Kaid & Davison, 1986; Kaid & Johnston, 1991; Kaid, McKinney, & Tedesco, 2000; Wadsworth, 1986; Tak, 1993). Where appropriate, previously utilized categories were revised to reflect accurately the specific attributes of the content being studied here. Further, a pilot study and pretest highlighted any definition and category problems. In addition to the content validity of the instrument, internal validity can be assessed by the plausibility of the results attained from this study.

This study used populations rather than samples because the U.S. and Korea each have had only one cycle of televised presidential debates in which three candidates participated in both nations' debates. Finally, as this study represents a pioneering cross-cultural analysis of televised presidential debates, there is no way to compare the current research to unstudied material. Considering this situation, the predictive potential (generalization) of this study is limited.

Analysis of Data

The coded data was analyzed using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS). Most of the data analysis will be presented as descriptive statistics to document the frequency of the categories because of the exploratory nature of this study. To examine the differences in the communication and rhetorical patterns, crosstabs were obtained. Chi-square statistics were used to test the differences in both verbal and nonverbal communication patterns. The differences were tested within each nation and between Korean and U.S. televised presidential debates (e.g., issue/image, types of appeal, negative/positive, clash/non-clash, presence of attack, type of attack, and

nonverbal behavior). In addition, Spearman's rho (ρ) correlation tested similarities between American and Korean debates in some categories (e.g., patterns in the use of incumbent/challenger strategies within nation and between nations).

Footnotes

¹ For example, Ellsworth (1965) counted the lines according to a specific category and calculated its percentage from total lines of debate transcription. Levasseur and Dean (1996) divided their transcriptions into 500 words. Many content analyses (e.g. Benoit, Blaney & Pier, 1998; Benoit & Harthcock, 1999; Benoit & Wells, 1996; Carlin, Howard, Stanfield, & Reynolds, 1991; Prentice, Larsen, & Sobnosky, 1981; Riely & Hollihan, 1981; Riely, Hollihan, & Cooley, 1980) employed "theme" as a unit of analysis. Some (e.g., Kaid, McKinney, & Tedesco, 2000; Rowland, 1986) used a candidate's response as a unit for coding.

² See previous section, Culture, Mass Media and Politics in Korea, for more details about the Korean presidential election system.

³ The specific formula used for intercoder reliability, as suggested by Holsti (1968) (modified for this study for more than two coders):

$$R = \frac{2 (C_1, 2)}{C_1 + C_2}$$

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

Analysis of the results generated from this content analysis of the 1992 U.S. and the 1997 Korean televised presidential debates reveals several significant differences in the verbal and non-verbal communication patterns as well as some similarities in the strategies employed by American and Korean presidential candidates during televised debate. To present these differences and similarities between American and Korean debates, frequency distributions, Spearman's rho correlation and cross tabulations with chi-square tests were used. These descriptive and inferential statistics were very important in: (1) helping to summarize the data; and (2) answering the research questions that examine how culture and debate structures influence what presidential candidates of both nations say and how they deliver their messages in the televised debates.

Overview of Data

The data generated from the procedures outlined in the Chapter III included 423 units of analysis (candidates' responses) -- 165 units of American debate discourse and 258 units of Korean debate discourse. In Table 4.1, frequency and percentage comparisons are shown for the total number of candidate responses in each debate. As revealed in the table, the number of units in each American debate is smaller than that from the Korean debates. This is due primarily to the differences in debate length and time allowed for candidate response. Korean debates consisted of two hours of debate.

For candidate response, each candidate received 90 seconds to answer a question and 60 seconds for rebuttal and re-rebuttal. Comparatively, each American debate was

Table 4.1

Number of Candidate Responses by Debate.

Nation	Category	Frequency	Percentage
America	1992 1 st debate	57	13.5
	1992 2 nd debate	46	10.9
	1992 3 rd debate	62	14.7
	Sub-total	165	39.0
Korea	1997 1 st debate	86	20.3
	1997 2 nd debate	87	20.6
	1997 3 rd debate	85	20.1
	Sub-total	258	61.0
Total		423	100.0

90 minutes and allowed 120 seconds for answers to questions and 60 seconds for rebuttal.

The exception to this rule was the U.S. Town Hall debate, the second 1992 televised presidential debate, which featured no limitation to candidate response time. Due to these format characteristics, there were fewer total units of candidate responses for the Town Hall debate than found in the two other American debates (1st & 3rd U.S. debates.)

Table 4.2 presents frequency and percentage totals by debate format. The 1992 American presidential debates consisted of four formats: (1) a single moderator format

Table 4.2

Number of Candidate Responses by Format

Format	Frequency	Percentage
<u>American Debates</u>		
Single Moderator	30	18.2
Panelist-Journalist	83	50.3
Town Hall	43	26.0
Closing Statements	9	5.5
Total	165	100.0
<u>Korean Debates</u>		
Cross-examination	133	51.5
Moderator	107	41.5
Opening Statements	9	3.5
Closing Statements	9	3.5
Total	258	100.0

used in the first-half of the third debate; (2) a journalist-panelist format featured in the first debate and in second-half of the third debate; (3) a Town Hall format used in the second debate; and (4) closing statements allowed in all three debates. The journalist-panelist format was the most often featured format (50.3%) in the three U.S. presidential

debates. Other formats included the Town Hall (26.0%), moderator (18.2%) and closing statements from the candidates (5.5%).

In Korean debates, four formats were featured: (1) a single moderator, (2) direct cross-examination by the candidates, (3) opening statements and (4) closing statements. Each debate included these four different formats. The direct cross-examination format (51.5 %) was the most commonly used Korean format, thus allowing candidates more time to control the debate dialogue. Other formats included the single moderator (41.5%), opening statements (3.5%) and closing statements (3.5%).

In Table 4.3, frequency and percentage comparisons are shown for the total number of candidate responses by candidates. The equal time provision and opportunity for speaking are very critical issues, and candidates in both nations were concerned with equal time and thus an equal chance to speak to voters. American candidates, and particularly during the more free-wheeling Town Hall debate, were strongly concerned about the issue of equal speaking time as they sometimes argued about this issue during the actual debate. For example, a short exchange occurred between George Bush, Ross Perot and the moderator in the middle part of the Town Hall debate, as Perot asked “Is there an equal time rule tonight?”

As shown in Table 4.3, each candidate differed slightly in their total number of responses although each had an equal opportunity to respond. The current analysis divided the transcriptions into units based on each candidate’s response. The slight difference in the total number of units for each candidate occurred due to candidate interruptions and a moderator mistake. In the American debates, a candidate would frequently interrupt and present his viewpoint even though it was not the candidate’s turn

Table 4.3

Number of Candidate's Response by Candidate

Nation	Candidate Name	Frequency	Percentage
America	Bill Clinton	57	13.5
	George Bush	55	13.0
	Ross Perot	53	12.5
	Sub-total	165	39.0
Korea	Dae-Jung Kim	88	20.8
	Hoi-Chang Lee	86	20.3
	In-Jae Rhee	84	19.9
	Sub-total	258	61.0
Total		423	100.0

to respond. While candidate interruptions rarely occurred in the Korean debates, during the first Korean debate the moderator skipped a candidate who had not received a question from the opponent during the direct cross-examination period. Other than this mistake by the moderator, each candidate in the Korean debates was given an equal chance to respond.

Verbal Content and Cultural Assumptions

To explore the posited research questions, this study focused on the relationship between verbal content and cultural assumptions, incumbent and challenger strategies, confrontation/clash, presence of attack, target of attack, positive/negative emphasis, issue/image appeal, and rhetorical form, proof and tone were all analyzed in both Korean and U.S. presidential debates. The research questions are outlined as follows.

Research Question 1.1: Are there significant differences in the emphasis on incumbent and challenger rhetorical strategies found in the Korean presidential debates?

To apply incumbent and challenger strategies to the Korean debates, this analysis defined the ruling party candidate as the incumbent. Table 4.4 compared the percentages of incumbent and challenger strategies used by the incumbent and the two challengers. As mentioned in the Methods chapter, the coders coded all strategies that were present in each unit. Thus, the combined total of all categories is greater than the total units for each type of candidacy¹. As shown in table 4.4, both the incumbent and challengers strongly relied on a few distinct challenger strategies and less on traditional incumbent strategies. The incumbent (Hoi-Chang Lee) maximized the “taking offensive on issues” (46.5%), “calling for change” (30.2%), “attacking opponent’s record” (25.6%), and “optimism for future” (15.1%). Using the same challenger strategies, the two challengers (Dae-Jung Kim and In-Je Rhee) strongly utilized “attacking opponent’s record” (42.9%), “calling for change” (38.2%), “taking offensive on issues” (28.2%), and “optimism for future” (17.1%).

The two challenger strategies of “taking the offensive on issues” and “attacking opponent’s record” showed significant differences in their use between the incumbent

Table 4.4

Incumbent and Challenger Strategies in the 1997 Korean Televised Presidential Debates

Category	Incumbent	Challengers	χ^2
Incumbent Strategies			
Symbolic characteristics	0 (0)	1 (.6)	.50
Consulting with world leaders	0 (0)	4 (2.4)	2.06
Endorsement by leaders	1 (1.2)	3 (1.8)	.14
Emphasizing accomplishments	4 (4.7)	3 (1.8)	1.79
Above the trenches posture	5 (5.8)	9 (5.3)	.03
Challenger strategies			
Calling for changes	26 (30.2)	65 (38.2)	1.60
Optimism for future	13 (15.1)	29 (17.1)	.16
Traditional values	0 (0)	0 (0)	
Representing the party's center	3 (3.5)	1 (.6)	3.12
Taking the offensive on issues	40 (46.5)	49 (28.8)	7.88 *
Attacking opponents' record	22 (25.6)	73 (42.9)	7.34 *
* $p < .01$, one-tailed.			

and challengers. In the category of "taking the offensive on issues," the incumbent (Lee) showed a larger percentage (46.5%) than the two challengers (28.8%) (χ^2 [1, $N = 256$] = 7.88, $p < .01$). Otherwise, the "attacking opponent's record," was utilized much more

Table 4.5

Incumbent and Challenger Strategies by Rank Order in the 1997 Korean Televised Presidential Debates

Category	Incumbent	Challengers
Symbolic characteristics	10	9.5
Consulting with world leaders	10	6
Endorsement by leaders	8	7.5
Emphasizing accomplishments	6	7.5
Above the trenches posture	5	5
Calling for changes	2	2
Optimism for future	4	4
Traditional values	10	11
Representing the party's center	7	9.5
Taking the offensive on issues	1	3
Attacking opponent's record	3	1

by the two challengers (42.9%), while the incumbent utilized this strategy less frequently (25.6%) (χ^2 [10, N = 256] = 7.34, p < .01). Overall, however, these two strategies were strongly utilized by both the incumbent and the challengers. These two strategies were the first or second most utilized strategies for both the incumbent and the challengers. In the incumbent strategy categories, there was no strategy that showed significant differences between their use by the incumbent and the challengers.

These results suggest that the pattern of use in incumbent and challenger strategies is similar among incumbent as well as challenger candidates. To test this pattern's similarity, the hierarchy of strategies was tested by Spearman's rho (ρ) correlation. Table 4.5 shows rank orders of incumbent and challenger strategies based upon the total frequencies utilized by candidates. The relationship between the hierarchies of salience in incumbent and challengers was high (Spearman's $\rho = .84$) and statistically significant ($p < .0001$). The result indicates that Korean candidates utilized incumbent and challenger strategies in a similar fashion, regardless of their incumbent or challenger status.

Research Question 1.2: Are there differences in emphasis on incumbent and challenger rhetorical strategies found in the American presidential debates?

Table 4.6 shows the percentage of each strategy for both the incumbent and the challengers. Like the Korean candidates, both the incumbent (Bush) and the challengers (Clinton and Perot) strongly relied on using challenger strategies rather than incumbent strategies. The incumbent candidate strongly relied on four challenger strategies of "taking the offensive on issues" (43.6%), "calling for change" (41.8%), "attacking opponents' record" (25.5%), and "optimism for future" (21.8%). However, the incumbent candidate also used a few distinct incumbent strategies, such as "symbolic characteristics" (16.4%) and "emphasizing accomplishments" (14.5%).

The challenger candidates similarly used challenger strategies, such as "calling for change" (60.9%), "attacking opponents' record" (43.6%), "optimism for future" (34.5%) and "taking the offensive on issues" (22.7%). However, in adapting incumbent strategies, the only incumbent strategy that was used frequently was "emphasizing

Table 4.6

Incumbent and Challenger Strategies in the 1992 American Televised Presidential Debates

Category	Incumbent	Challengers	χ^2
Incumbent Strategies			
Symbolic characteristics	9 (16.4)	6 (5.5)	5.3 **
Consulting with world leaders	0 (0)	0 (0)	
Endorsement by leaders	1 (1.8)	3 (2.7)	.1
Emphasizing accomplishments	8 (14.5)	15 (13.6)	.3
Above the trenches posture	2 (3.6)	13 (11.8)	3.0
Challenger strategies			
Calling for changes	23 (41.8)	67 (60.9)	5.4**
Optimism for future	12 (21.8)	38 (34.5)	2.8
Traditional values	1 (1.8)	2 (1.8)	0
Representing the party's center	0 (0)	0 (0)	
Taking the offensive on issues	24 (43.6)	25 (22.7)	7.7*
Attacking opponent's record	14 (25.5)	48 (43.6)	5.2 **
* $p < .01$, one-tailed. ** $p < .05$, one-tailed.			

accomplishments" (13.6%). The results of this data analysis revealed significant differences in four categories for both incumbent and challenger strategies. In the incumbent strategies, the incumbent candidate was significantly more likely to use the

Table 4.7

Incumbent and Challenger Strategies by Rank Order in the 1992 American Televised Presidential Debates

Category	Incumbent	Challengers
Symbolic characteristics	5	7
Consulting with world leaders	10.5	10.5
Endorsement by leaders	8.5	8
Emphasizing accomplishments	6	5
Above the trenches posture	7	6
Calling for changes	2	1
Optimism for future	4	3
Traditional values	8.5	9
Representing the party's center	10.5	10.5
Taking the offensive on issues	1	4
Attacking opponent's record	3	2

category of “symbolic characteristics” than were the challengers (χ^2 [1, $N = 165$] = 5.28, $p < .05$). In the challenger strategies, the challenger candidates were more likely to use “calling for change” (χ^2 [1, $N = 165$] = 5.39, $p < .05$) and the “attacking record” strategies (χ^2 [1, $N = 165$] = 5.17, $p < .05$) than did the incumbent. Comparatively, the incumbent candidate was significantly more likely to emphasize the strategy of “taking the offensive on issues” than the two challengers (χ^2 [1, $N = 165$] = 7.68, $p < .01$).

The results indicate that the incumbent (Bush) used more incumbent strategies in an attempt to take advantage of his position as President; however, Bush failed to fully use this advantage by emphasizing his accomplishments, his legitimacy, and his competency in the office. Comparatively, the two challengers (Clinton and Perot) did utilize more challenger strategies than the incumbent (Bush) did.

To test the patterns of using incumbent and challenger strategies between the incumbent and the challengers, the hierarchy of strategies was tested by Spearman's rho (ρ) correlation. Table 4.7 provides rank orders of incumbent and challenger strategies based upon the total frequency coded in each strategy. The relationship between the hierarchies of salience in the incumbent and challengers was very high (Spearman rho = .92) and statistically significant ($p < .01$). This result suggests that all candidates followed similar patterns in their use of incumbent and challenger strategies.

Research Question 1.3: Are there differences in the emphasis on incumbent and challenger rhetorical strategies between the American and Korean debates?

As can be seen in the table 4.8, five strategies -- including two incumbent strategies of "symbolic characteristics" and "emphasizing accomplishments," and three challenger strategies of "calling for change," "optimism for future," and "traditional values" -- showed significant differences between the two nations. In the strategy of "symbolic characteristics," a larger percentage (9.1%) of American candidates utilized this strategy, while only one frequency (0.4 %) was coded for this strategy in Korean debates ($\chi^2 [1, N = 421] = 20.8, p < .0001$). In the strategy of "emphasizing accomplishments," American candidates showed a larger percentage (13.9%) of use than did Korean candidates (2.7%) ($\chi^2 [1, N = 421] = 19.0, p < .01$). These findings indicate

Table 4.8

Usage of Incumbent and Challenger Strategies in American and Korean Debates

Category	American	Korean	χ^2
Incumbent Strategies			
Symbolic characteristics	15 (9.1)	1 (.4)	20.8*
Consulting with world leaders	0 (0)	4 (1.6)	2.6
Endorsement by leaders	4 (2.4)	4 (1.6)	.4
Emphasizing accomplishments	23 (13.9)	7 (2.7)	19.0*
Above the trenches posture	15 (9.1)	14 (5.5)	2.1
Challenger strategies			
Calling for changes	90 (54.5)	91 (35.5)	14.8*
Optimism for future	50 (30.3)	42 (16.4)	11.3*
Traditional values	3 (1.8)	0 (0)	4.7**
Representing the party's center	0 (0)	4 (1.6)	2.6
Taking the offensive on issues	49 (29.7)	89 (34.8)	1.2
Attacking opponents' record	62 (37.6)	95 (37.1)	.01
* $p < .01$, one-tailed. ** $p < .05$, one-tailed.			

that American candidates tend to use more incumbent strategies than Korean candidates, although neither group of candidates utilized them frequently.

In the strategy of "calling for changes," a larger percentage (54.5%) of the American debate dialogue utilized this strategy, while a smaller percentage (35.5%) of

Korean debates used it ($\chi^2 [1, N = 421] = 14.8, p < .01$). Both American and Korean candidates strongly emphasized the strategy that was the most frequently used in American debates and the second most frequently used in Korean debates. The strategy of “optimism for future” was utilized more by the American candidates (30.3%) than by the Korean candidates (16.4%) ($\chi^2 [1, N = 421] = 11.3, p < .05$). Like the incumbent strategies, the American candidates used more challenger strategies than did Korean candidates. Despite the varying amounts of the use of each strategy, both American and Korean debates showed similar patterns in using incumbent and challenger strategies.

Table 4.9 shows rank orders of incumbent and challenger strategies based upon total frequencies utilized in both American and Korean debates. To test the patterns between American and Korean debates, the hierarchy of strategies was tested by Spearman’s rho (ρ) correlation. The relationship (Spearman rho = .88) indicated a high relationship and statistical significance ($p < .01$) between American and Korean debates. This result supports the conclusion that American and Korean candidates used similar patterns of incumbent and challenger strategies.

Research Question 2: Are there differences in the pattern of the target of candidate attack between American and Korean candidates?

As shown in Table 4.10, there are no significant differences in the total use of attack among American candidates ($\chi^2 [2, N = 165] = 3.25, p > .05$). The results indicate that Perot (43.4) did use fewer attacks in his responses, while both Bush (58.2%) and Clinton (57.9%) used attacks in more than 50 percent of their responses. Table 4.11 provides a comparison of the frequency of targeted attacks from the candidates.

There were, however, significant differences in the target of attacks among

Table 4.9

Incumbent and Challenger Strategies by Rank Order in American and Korean Debates

Category	American	Korean
Symbolic characteristics	6.5	10
Consulting with world leaders	10.5	8
Endorsement by leaders	8	8
Emphasizing accomplishments	5	6
Above the trenches posture	6.5	5
Calling for changes	1	2
Optimism for future	3	4
Traditional values	10.5	11
Representing the party's center	9	8
Taking the offensive on issues	4	3
Attacking opponent's record	2	1

candidates (χ^2 [8, $N = 87$] = 133.74, $p < .01$). These results indicate that a higher number of attacks were targeted toward Bush and then to Clinton -- Bush attacked Clinton in 75 percent of his responses, Clinton attacked Bush in 90 percent of his responses, and Perot usually attacked Bush and Clinton (73.9%) together. In addition,

Table 4.10

Presence of Attack by American Candidates

Category	Bush	Clinton	Perot
Attack	32 (58.2)	33 (57.9)	23 (43.4)
No Attack	23 (41.8)	24 (42.1)	30 (56.6)
Total	57 (100)	55 (100)	53 (100)

χ^2 (2, N = 165) = 3.09, p > .05

Table 4.11

Target of Attack by American Candidates

Target of Attack	Bush	Clinton	Perot
Bush		30 (90.9)	1 (4.3)
Clinton	24 (75.0)		5 (21.7)
Perot	3 (9.4)	3 (9.1)	
Clinton/Bush			17 (73.9)
Clinton/Perot	5 (15.6)		
Total	32 (100)	33 (100)	23 (100)

χ^2 (8, N = 87) = 133.74, p < .01

the incumbent candidate (Bush) received attacks more frequently than any of the other candidates. Of the total, Bush received 48 percent of the targeted attacks, Clinton was the target of attacks in 34 percent of the responses, and Perot only 11 percent of the time. Also, the third party candidate (Perot) received fewer attacks directly from Bush (3%) than he did from Clinton (9.1%).

In the Korean debates, as shown in Table 4.12, no significant differences among candidates were found in their level of attack ($\chi^2 [2, N = 256] = 3.25, p > .05$). . Unlike the American third-party candidate (Perot), the Korean third-party candidate (Rhee) used more attack than the other candidates – Rhee (63.1%), Lee (incumbent, 51.2%) and Kim (51.2%). In the comparison of target of attack by candidates, a pattern similar to the American debates was found ($\chi^2 [10, N = 141] = 146.97, p < .01$). . First, most attacks were focused on the two major party candidates -- Lee (56.8%) attacked Kim, Kim (90.9%) attacked Lee, and Rhee (47.2%) attacked Lee. Second, the incumbent candidate (Lee) mainly received attacks from the two challengers (Kim and Rhee) -- Lee (total 86 of frequency), Kim (total 59 of frequency) and Rhee (total 23 of frequency). In addition, the third party candidate received fewer attacks from the two major candidates. However, unlike Perot who strongly attacked only Bush, the Korean third-party candidate attacked both major party candidates – Lee (47.2%), Kim (20.8) and Lee/Kim (32.1%).

Research Question 3: Are there differences in the use of rhetorical appeals (pathos, logos, and ethos) between American and Korean debates?

As shown in table 4.14, both the American and Korean candidates show the same patterns in their use of the three Aristotelian appeals -- an ethical appeal as the most common, an emotional appeal as the second, and a logical appeal as the third or least

Table 4.12

Presence of Attack by Korean Candidates

Category	Lee	Kim	Rhee
Attack	44 (51.2)	44 (51.2)	53 (63.1)
No Attack	42 (48.8)	42 (48.8)	31 (36.9)
Total	86 (100)	86 (100)	84 (100)

χ^2 (2, $N = 256$) = 3.25, $p > .05$

Table 4.13

Target of Attack by Korean Candidates

Target of Attack	Lee	Kim	Rhee
Lee		40 (90.9)	25 (47.2)
Kim	25 (56.8)		11 (20.8)
Rhee	13 (29.5)	4 (9.1)	
Lee/Kim			17 (32.1)
Lee/Rhee			
Kim/Rhee	6 (13.6)		
Total	44 (100)	44 (100)	53 (100)

χ^2 (10, $N = 141$) = 146.97, $p < .01$

Table 4.14

Usage of Aristotelian Appeals in American and Korean Debates

Category	American (n=165)	Korean (n=256)	χ^2
Logical appeal	58 (37.2)	67 (28.2)	3.55**
Emotional appeal	84 (53.8)	112 (50.8)	1.74
Ethical appeal	119 (72.1)	234 (91.4)	27.55*
* $p < .01$, one-tailed. ** $p < .05$, one-tailed.			

common appeal. In the American debates, an ethical appeal (72.1%) was most frequently used, followed by emotional appeals (53.8%) and then by logical appeals (37.2%). In the Korean debates, an ethical appeal (91.4%) was most frequently used, followed by an emotional appeal (47.1%) and then logical appeals (28.2%). The two categories of logical and ethical appeals showed significant differences in their use between the American and Korean debates.

In analyzing the use of ethical appeals, these results support the cultural assumption that Korean candidates (91.4%) would utilize an ethical appeal significantly more often than would American candidates (72.1%) ($\chi^2 [1, N = 421] = 27.55, p < .01$). In the case of cultural assumptions and logical appeals, American candidates (37.2%) actually used emotional appeals significantly more often than did Korean candidates (28.2%), although both American and Korean candidates used logical appeals less than

Table 4.15

Dominant Aristotelian Appeal in American and Korean Debates

Category	American	Korean
Logical appeal	29 (17.6)	24 (9.4)
Emotional appeal	39 (23.6)	19 (7.4)
Ethical appeal	97 (58.8)	213 (83.2)
Total	165 (100)	256 (100)

χ^2 (2, $N = 421$) = 32.63, $p < .01$

other types of appeals (χ^2 [1, $N = 421$] = 3.55, $p < .05$). These findings support cultural assumptions that suggest: (1) American candidates are likely to use logical appeals more often than Korean candidates; and (2) Korean candidates are likely to use ethical appeals more than American candidates.

The study also tested for differences in the use of the rhetorical proofs examining the category of dominant appeal employed in candidate responses. Table 4.15 shows the comparison of dominant appeal used by American and Korean candidates. In coding for dominant appeal, ethical appeals in both nations were the most frequently used appeal. Totals of emotional appeals and logical appeals for both nations were significantly lower. American candidates used logical and emotional appeals more than Korean candidates. On the other hand, Korean candidates used ethical appeals more than American candidates. In all cases, the difference in types of dominant appeals between nations was

Table 4.16

Comparison of Dominant Issue/Image Appeals Between American and Korean Debates

Category	American	Korean
Issue	110 (66.7)	134 (52.3)
Image	55 (33.3)	122 (47.7)
Total	165 (100)	256 (100)

χ^2 (1, N = 421) = 8.45, p < .01

significant (χ^2 [2, N = 421] = 32.63, p < .01).

Research Question 4: Are there differences in the use of issue and image appeals between American and Korean debates?

As shown in Table 4.16, Korean candidate based 66.7 percent of their responses on issues while only 52.3 percent of American candidate responses were classified under this category. Both American and Korean candidates emphasized issues more than personal images in their responses. The results of analysis showed that there was a strong relationship between the focus of candidate responses and cultural orientation. Korean candidates were likely to use images more often than American candidates (χ^2 [1, N = 421] = 8.45, p < .01).

Research Question 5: Are there differences in the use of “I” tone and “We” tone between American and Korean debates when candidates present their ideas, views, and positions?

Table 4.17

Usage of “I” and “We” tone in American and Korean Debates

Category	American	Korean
“I” tone	112 (67.9)	147 (57.4)
“We” tone	53 (32.1)	103 (42.6)
Total	165 (100)	256 (100)

χ^2 (1, $N = 421$) = 4.63, $p < .05$

As shown the Table 4.17, overall both American (67.9%) and Korean (57.4%) candidates were more likely to use an “I” tone when presenting their ideas, views and positions. However, the results of comparison between American and Korean candidates in the use of “We” tone and “I” tone revealed significant differences. Korean candidates used a “We” tone more frequently than American candidates (χ^2 [1, $N = 421$] = 4.63, $p < .05$). Larger percentages (42.6%) of Korean candidate responses utilized the “We” tone compared to a smaller percentage (32.1%) of American candidates adopting an inclusive “We” tone.

Research Question 6.1: Are there differences in the use of clash/non-clash strategies between American and Korean debates?

For this category of analysis, the coders coded for all types of clash/non-clash categories that were present in each unit (candidate response). Similar to the incumbent and challenger strategy categories, a single unit thus could contain more than one

Table 4.18

Usage of Clash and Non-Clash Statements in American and Korean Debates

Category	American (n=165)	Korean (n=256)	χ^2
Clash Statement			
Analysis of opponent's position-offensive	49 (29.5)	77 (30.1)	.009
Analysis of opponent position-defensive	12 (7.3)	36 (14.1)	4.58 **
Extension of position-offensive	18 (10.9)	38 (14.8)	1.35
Extension of position-defensive	10 (6.1)	21 (8.2)	.68
Comparison of position	18 (10.9)	14 (5.5)	4.23 **
Statement to opponent	17 (10.3)	0 (0)	27.49 *
Non-Clash Statement			
Analysis	129 (78.2)	127 (49.6)	34.37 *
Policy statement	59 (35.8)	104 (40.6)	1.0
* $p < .01$, one-tailed. ** $p < .05$, one-tailed			

strategy. Table 4.18 shows the comparison between the American and Korean debates and the use of the clash and non-clash strategies. As shown in the following table, four types of statements were significantly different between American and Korean debates.

In identifying differences between Korean and American presidential debaters, three types of clash statements were found to be significantly different: "analysis of

opponent's position-defensive" ($\chi^2 [1, N = 421] = 4.58, p < .05$) "comparison of position" ($\chi^2 [1, N = 421] = 4.23, p < .05$) and "statement to opponent" ($\chi^2 [1, N = 421] = 27.49, p < .01$). One non-clash category was significantly different: statement of "analysis." In the case of "analysis" as a non-clash statement, which was the most frequently coded category in both nations, a larger percentage of American candidates (78.2%) used the category, while 49.6 percent of Korean candidates employed this type of response ($\chi^2 [1, N = 421] = 34.37, p < .01$).

In the clash strategies, "analysis of opponent's position-offensive" was the most commonly used strategy in both American (29.5%) and Korean (30.1%) debates. The strategies of "extension of position-offensive" (10.9%), "comparison of position" (10.9%) and "statement to opponent" (10.3) were employed at a relatively high level by American candidates. Comparatively, Korean candidates used the strategies of "extension of position-offensive" (14.8%) and "analysis of opponent position-defensive" (14.1%) more often. The results indicate that the patterns between the American and Korean candidates in their use of clash strategies is different. A significant finding in this analysis is that interruptions were found only in American debates. The category of "statement to opponent" was coded for "candidate interruption" or a "give-and-take" conversation between candidates not in direct response to questions. However, in Korean debates, no "statement to opponent" strategy was found.

Research Question 6.2: Are there differences in the level of confrontation/clash between the American and Korean debates?

To test the level of clash between American and Korean debates, the category clash/non-clash dominant usage for each statement was used. Table 4.19 provides the

Table 4.19

Comparison of Dominant Usage of Clash and Non-Clash Statements Between American and Korean Debates

Category	American	Korean
Clash Statement	62 (37.6)	137 (53.5)
Non-Clash Statement	103 (62.4)	119 (46.5)
Total	165 (100)	256 (100)

$\chi^2 (1, N = 421) = 10.23, p < .01$

results of the comparison of dominant usage of clash and non-clash statements between American and Korean debates. Korean debates included more clashes among the candidate responses than the American debates. American candidates employed clash strategies in 37.6 percent of the total candidate responses in the three debates, but the Korean candidates' incidence of clash strategies (53.5%) was actually higher than that of American candidates with a significant difference ($\chi^2 [1, N = 421] = 10.23, p < .01$). This result indicates that clash dominated the Korean debates more so than the American debates.

Research Question 7.1: Are there differences in the level of attacking one's opponent between American and Korean debates?

As shown in Table 4.20, there were no significant differences in the frequencies of presence of attacking between American and Korean debates ($\chi^2 [1, N = 421] = .12$,

Table 4.20

Presence of Attack by American and Korean Candidates

Category	American	Korean
Present	88 (53.3)	141 (55.1)
Absent	77 (46.7)	115 (44.9)
Total	165 (100)	256 (100)

$\chi^2 (1, N = 421) = .12, p > .05$

$p > .05$). This finding rejects a cultural assumption that Korean candidates are less likely to use attacks than American candidates. However, both American and Korean candidates used attacks in their responses.

Research Question 7.2: Are there differences in the emphases of attack on one's opponent (personal characteristics, issue stand and consistency, group affiliation, background and qualifications, and past performance) between American and Korean debates?

To answer this question, coders were asked to code for all categories that were present in each candidate response. As shown in Table 4.21, differences in the categories of "personal characteristics" and "background and qualifications" were statistically significant. Korean candidates attacked opponent's personal characteristics ($\chi^2 [1, N =$

Table 4.21

Emphasis of Attack Shown by American and Korean Candidates

Category	American (n=88)	Korean (n=141)	χ^2
Personal characteristics	10 (11.4)	30 (21.3)	3.69 *
Issue stand and consistency	32 (36.4)	49 (34.8)	.62
Group affiliation	8 (9.1)	23 (16.3)	2.41
Background and qualifications	9 (10.2)	29 (20.6)	4.19 *
Past performance	46 (52.3)	62 (44.0)	1.50
* $p < .05$, one-tailed			

229] = 3.69, $p < .05$) and background and qualifications (χ^2 [1, $N = 229$] = 4.19, $p < .05$) significantly more than did American candidates. Both American and Korean candidates strongly relied on a few distinct strategies of attack. The emphases of “past performance” was used most and “issue stand and consistency” was the second most commonly used strategy, while both American and Korean candidates attacked opponent’s group affiliation the least.

Research Question 8: Are there differences in the positive/negative focus of content utilized by candidates between American and Korean debates?

As shown in Table 4.22, a significant difference was found in the frequencies of the opponent negative focused responses between American and Korean candidates (χ^2 [1, $N = 421$] = 15.66, $p < .01$). A larger percentage (44.5 %) of Korean candidates used negative focused responses, while a smaller percentage (33.0%) of American candidates utilized such negative responses. This result rejects the cultural assumption that Korean candidates would be less likely to use negative responses than their American counterparts.

Table 4.22

Comparison of Positive/Negative Focus in American and Korean Debates

Focus	American	Korean
Positive	123 (74.5)	142 (55.5)
Negative	42 (25.5)	114 (44.5)
Total	165 (100)	256 (100)
χ^2 (1, $N = 421$) = 15.66, $p < .01$		

Non-Verbal Content Categories

Research Question 9.1: Are there differences in the use of “smile” between American and Korean candidates?

Table 4.23

Presence of Smile by American and Korean Candidates

Smile	American	Korean
Never	67 (56.3)	195 (75.6)
Sometimes	50 (42.0)	58 (22.5)
Frequently	2 (1.7)	5 (1.9)
Total	119 (100)	258 (100)

$\chi^2 (2, N = 258) = 15.23, p < .01$

As shown in Table 4.23, there was a strong relationship between the facial expressions of the Korean and American candidates shown in televised presidential debates and the candidates' cultural orientations ($\chi^2 [2, N = 258] = 15.23, p < .01$). Overall, 43.7 percent of the American candidate responses included smiles, while only 24.4 percent of the Korean candidate response showed smiles. The results strongly indicated that American candidates displayed smiles significantly more often than did Korean candidates. However, both American and Korean candidates did not smile frequently during their responses.

Research Question 9.2: Are there differences in the use of “gestures (arm and hand movement)” between American and Korean candidates?

Table 4.24

Presence of Gestures by American and Korean Candidates

Hand and Arm Gesture	American	Korean
Never	3 (2.5)	96 (37.2)
Sometimes	34 (28.6)	114 (44.2)
Frequently	82 (68.9)	48 (18.6)
Total	119 (100)	258 (100)

$$\chi^2 (2, N = 258) = 102.13, p < .01$$

The findings illustrate that televised presidential debates did reflect the cultural orientations of the two nations. As shown in Table 4.24, larger percentages (97.5%) of American candidates used hand and arm gestures, while smaller percentages (62.8%) of Korean candidates used hand and arm gestures when responding. The findings show that American candidates used their hands and arms significantly more often than their Korean counterparts ($\chi^2 [2, N = 258] = 102.13, p < .01$). The majority of the American candidates used hand and arm gestures frequently (68.9%), while many Korean candidates showed hand and arm gestures only sometimes (44.2%). In addition, 37.2 percent of Korean candidate responses presented no hand and arm gestures.

Research Question 9.3: Are there differences in changing “postures” between American and Korean candidates?

Table 4.25

Posture Changes by American and Korean Candidates

Posture Change	American	Korean
Never	7 (5.9)	146 (56.6)
Sometimes	67 (56.3)	109 (42.2)
Frequently	45 (37.8)	3 (1.2)
Total	119 (100)	258 (100)
$\chi^2 (1, N = 258) = 140.97, p < .01$		

A significant difference was found in the changing postures between American and Korean candidates ($\chi^2 (1, [N = 258] = 140.97, p < .01$). American candidates changed posture significantly more often than did Korean candidates. As shown in Table 4.25, a larger percentage (94.1%) of American candidates showed posture changes than Korean candidates (43.4%) while speaking. These results indicate a strong relationship between the posture movement of the Korean and American candidates in televised presidential debates and their cultural orientations.

In the category of the use of posture, the majority of American and Korean candidates did utilize posture movement sometimes but not frequently; however, in over half of all Korean candidate responses (56.6%) absolutely no posture movement was apparent.

Table 4.26

Presence of Eye Contact by American and Korean Candidates

Eye Contact	American	Korean
Present	39 (32.8)	10 (3.9)
Absent	80 (67.2)	248 (96.1)
Total	119 (100)	258 (100)

χ^2 (1, N = 258) = 60.14, p < .01

Research Question 9.4: Are there differences in “eye-contact” with the opponent candidates between American and Korean debates?

As shown in Table 4.26, there was a significant difference in the use of eye contact with other candidates between American and Korean candidates (χ^2 [1, N = 258] = 60.14, p < .01). Larger percentages (32.8%) of American candidates’ responses showed eye contact, while only 3.7 percent of Korean candidates’ responses featured eye contact with opponent candidates.

Effect of Debate Format on Content of Debates

To analyze format effects on candidate strategies, each research question was analyzed using three phases of analysis. First, all debate formats were compared. This analysis provides information about differences in all debate formats for both American

Table 4.27

Comparison by Format of Dominant Usage of Clash and Non-Clash Statements

Category	U.S. Moderator	Journalist	Town-Hall	Cross- Exam.	Korean Moderator
Clash	15 (50.0)	34 (41.0)	13 (30.2)	91 (68.4)	41 (39.0)
Non-Clash	15 (50.0)	49 (59.0)	30 (69.8)	42 (31.6)	64 (61.0)
Total	30 (100)	83 (100)	43 (100)	133 (100)	105 (100)

$$\chi^2 (4, N = 421) = 32.44, p < .01$$

and Korean debates. Next, only Korean formats were compared to determine differences within the Korean debates. This part of the analysis provides particularly useful information regarding significant characteristics of the Korean direct candidate cross-examination format. Finally, American and Korean debate formats (excluding the unique Korean direct candidate cross-examination format) were compared to trace format effects on Korean communication and rhetoric patterns.

Research Question 10.1: Are there significant differences in the level of clash among the American and Korean debate formats?

As shown in table 4.27, the percentage of clash (68.4%) found in the direct cross-examination format was ranked highest. In addition, this format was dominated by clash strategies when examining all other American and Korean debate formats; American

Table 4.28

Comparison of Clash and Non-Clash in Korean Formats

Category	Cross-Examination	Moderator
Clash	91 (68.4)	46 (37.4)
Non-Clash	42 (31.6)	77 (62.6)
Total	133 (100)	123 (100)

$\chi^2 (1, N = 256) = 24.72, p < .01$

moderator (50%), Journalists-panelists (41%), Korean moderator (39%), and Town Hall (30.2%). Significant differences among debate formats were found ($\chi^2 [4, N = 421] = 32.44, p < .01$).

In addition, differences in the use of clash strategies within Korean debate formats were tested. Table 4.28 shows a comparison of the use of clash and non-clash strategies in Korean debates. As illustrated in this table, a larger percentage (68.4%) of the cross-examination format contained clash, while a smaller percentage (39.0%) of the moderator format contained clash ($\chi^2 [1, N = 256] = 24.72, p < .01$). The results indicate that there was a strong relationship between the use of clash strategies and Korean formats.

Finally, the differences between American and Korean debate formats, excluding the Korean direct cross-examination format, were tested. As shown in the Table 4.29, there are no significant differences in the American and Korean debates. However, the

Table 4.29

Comparison of Clash and Non-Clash by American and Korean Debates (excluding the Cross-Examination Format)

Category	American	Korean
Clash	62 (37.6)	46 (37.4)
Non-Clash	103 (62.4)	77 (62.6)
Total	165 (100)	123 (100)

$\chi^2 (1, N = 421) = .001, p > .05$

Table 4.30

Presence of Attack in American and Korean Debate Formats

Category	U.S. Moderator	Journalist	Town-Hall	Cross- Exam.	Korean Moderator
Present	20 (66.7)	49 (59.0)	17 (39.5)	91 (68.4)	44 (41.9)
Absent	10 (33.3)	34 (41.0)	26 (60.5)	42 (31.6)	61 (58.1)
Total	30 (100)	83 (100)	43 (100)	133 (100)	105 (100)

$\chi^2 (4, N = 421) = 23.23, p < .01$

comparison among all formats of American and Korean debates found in research question 6.2 showed statistically significant differences. These findings indicate that the Korean direct cross-examination format contributed to a significant increase in the overall level of clash in Korean debates.

Research Question 10.2: Are there significant differences in the levels of attack among American and Korean debate formats?

As shown in Table 4.30, the formats of cross-examination (68.4%), American moderator (66.7%), and Journalists-panelists (59.0%) were dominated by attack while the formats of Town Hall (39.5%) and Korean moderator (41.9%) contained the least amount of attack. The difference in the use of attack by format was statistically significant (χ^2 [4, N = 421] = 23.23, p < .01). These results indicate that there was a strong relationship between the use of attack and format in both the American and Korean debates. To analyze format effect on the use of attack in the Korean debates, the differences between Korean debate formats also was tested.

In the comparison between Korean formats, as shown in the table 4.31, a larger percentage (68.4%) of the direct cross-examination format contained attacks, while a smaller percentage (41.9%) of the moderator format was classified as attack (χ^2 [1, N = 256] = 19.91, p < .01). These results indicate a strong relationship between the use of attack and format in the Korean debates.

Finally, Table 4.32 shows the results of a comparison between American and Korean debates, excluding the Korean direct cross-examination format. The results indicate that Korean candidates used attacks significantly less often than did American

Table 4.31

Comparison of Presence of Attack in Korean Formats

Category	Cross-Examination	Moderator
Attack Present	91 (68.4)	50 (40.7)
Absent Attack	42 (31.6)	73 (59.3)
Total	133 (100)	123 (100)

$\chi^2 (1, N = 256) = 19.91, p < .01$

Table 4.32

Presence of Attack by American and Korean Debates (excluding the Cross-Examination Format)

Category	American	Korean
Attack Present	88 (53.3)	50 (40.7)
Absent Attack	77 (46.7)	73 (59.3)
Total	165 (100)	123 (100)

$\chi^2 (1, N = 288) = 4.54, p < .05$

Table 4.33

Comparison of Positive/Negative Focus by American and Korean Formats

Category	U.S. Moderator	Journalist	Town-Hall	Cross- Exam.	Korean Moderator
Positive	20 (66.7)	58 (69.9)	36 (83.7)	56 (42.1)	71 (67.6)
Negative	10 (33.3)	25 (30.1)	7 (16.3)	77 (57.9)	34 (32.4)
Total	30 (100)	83 (100)	43 (100)	133 (100)	105 (100)

χ^2 (4, N = 421) = 34.43, p < .01

candidates (χ^2 [1, N = 288] = 4.54, p < .05). Again, in the analysis of all formats, including the Korean direct cross-examination period, there was no significant difference in candidate attack between American and Korean debates, thus rejecting the cultural assumption that Korean candidates would attack opponents less often. Unlike the previous results, the findings revealed in Table 4.32 support a cultural assumption of less Korean candidate attack. Clearly, in interpreting traditional Korean communication patterns, one must consider format effects on candidate dialogue.

Research Question 10.3: Are there differences in the use of a positive/negative focus among American and Korean candidates based on debate formats?

As shown in Table 4.33, there are significant differences among debate formats in candidates' use of a positive/negative focus (χ^2 [4, N = 421) = 34.43, p < .01). Only the

format of “cross-examination,” was dominated by “negative focused” responses (57.9%). Other formats were characterized by a strong focus on “positive” responses. The U.S. Town Hall format was strongly dominated by “positive focused” responses (83.7%), followed by Journalists-panelists (69.9%), Korean Moderator (67.6%) and the U.S. moderator format (66.7%).

The differences between the formats of Korean direct cross-examination and single moderator were also tested. As shown in Table 4.34, the direct cross-examination format was dominated by negative focused responses (57.9%) while the moderator format showed more positive focused responses (67.6%). These results indicate a significant difference ($\chi^2 [1, N = 256] = 20.01, p < .01$). This finding suggests a strong relationship between the use of positive/ negative focus and the Korean debate formats.

Finally, the differences among American and Korean debates, excluding the cross-examination format, were tested. As shown in Table 4.35, there are no significant differences between the American and Korean debates ($\chi^2 [1, N = 288] = .758, p > .05$). This finding also rejects the cultural assumption that Korean candidates are likely to use more positive focused responses than American candidates. In the analysis of all formats, Korean candidates used opponent-negative focused responses significantly more often than American candidates, thus rejecting a cultural assumption. Unlike the previous results, this finding indicates that the cross-examination format affects Korean candidates' traditional communication patterns by encouraging a more negative focused communication.

Table 4.34

Comparison of Positive/Negative Focus in Korean Formats

Category	Cross-Examination	Moderator
Positive	56 (42.1)	71 (67.6)
Negative	77 (57.9)	34 (32.4)
Total	133 (100)	105 (100)
$\chi^2 (1, N = 256) = 20.01, p < .01$		

Table 4.35

Positive/Negative Focus by American and Korean Debates (excluding the Cross-Examination Format)

Category	American	Korean
Positive	123 (74.5)	86 (69.9)
Negative	42 (25.5)	37 (30.1)
Total	165 (100)	123 (100)
$\chi^2 (1, N = 288) = .758, p > .05$		

Footnote

¹ As explained in the Methods chapter, this coding procedure was used for the categories of incumbent/challenger strategies, clash/non-clash statements, Aristotelian appeals and emphasis of attack. All tables, including frequency and percentage of these categories, show differences between the combined total of each category and total units of analysis.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

Since the advent of presidential debates in the U.S., televised campaign debates have been featured only in Western democracies, with Japan as the only exception. However, televised candidate debates are rapidly becoming a feature of political campaigns throughout the world, incorporated now in both Western and Eastern political systems. With the rise of democratic forms of government, televised presidential debates have been implemented recently in such nations as South Africa, Taiwan, Mexico, and South Korea. While the notion of debate is fundamentally a Western form of discourse, as the roots of public debate can be traced back to the ancient Greek and Roman societies, different cultures have now adopted this form of campaign communication based on particular cultural communicative practices. As discussed in Chapter Two, the short history of Korean televised presidential debates demonstrates the adaptation of televised presidential debate procedures to one's particular cultural patterns and democratic system.¹

The 1997 Korean presidential election was very significant in the development of Korean democracy. From a political perspective, as discussed in the literature describing the advantages of U.S. campaign debates (e.g. Graber, 1996; Jamieson & Birdsell, 1988; McKinney & Lamoureux, 1999; Trent & Friedenburg, 1995), televised presidential debates have a distinct impact not only on a particular election, but also on the overall process of democracy as candidate debates symbolize the very legitimacy of a democratic system in which the people are trusted to select between competing candidates. The 1997 Korean presidential election was a milestone in Korea's political development as this

election marked the first time in Korean history that a peaceful transfer of power took place between political parties through the electoral process. While precedent-setting for Korea, such an occurrence is also rare throughout all of Asia (Steinberg, 1998, p.77).

From a communication perspective, the 1997 presidential election was also very significant. For the first time in Korean history, television played a key role in the electoral process. For the first time in presidential campaigns, candidates employed the use of television to reach voters, instead of the costly mass rallies used in the past. Particularly, the first-ever televised presidential debates allowed candidates and the public opportunities never before experienced in a Korean election, as candidates could develop their messages at greater length and reach larger audiences, with an average 53 percent viewership rating among all households for the debates; also, for the first time, the public was allowed to watch and listen to presidential candidates in a face-to-face situation discussing -- and often disagreeing about -- issues of public concern. Finally, the 1997 Korean debates were significant as communicative events as the Korean Debate Committee employed a unique debate format, the direct candidate cross-examination, to encourage a true clash or debate between candidates.

With such historical significance surrounding the 1997 Korean televised presidential debates, this content analysis examined distinctive differences in the use of communication and rhetorical patterns between American and Korean presidential candidates. Clearly, televised presidential debates, as a unique form of campaign discourse, feature the strategic use of communication designed to influence public knowledge, beliefs and actions regarding political matters (Nimmo & Swanson, 1990).

This study has also pointed out that communication, including political communication, is closely tied to a society's culture and philosophy. In the case of televised messages and debates, the structure of visual messages also connotes cultural orientations. Under the influence of Confucian philosophy and its rhetorical foundation, Koreans have not been trained in the tradition of public debates (Oliver, 1959). However, televised campaign debates were adapted as an alternative to traditional forms of Korean campaigning. As imported campaign events, televised debates may influence traditional Korean communication and rhetorical patterns because of the nature of debate dialogue which highlights a candidate's goal of improving one's own image while doing damage to an opponent's reputation.

This analysis started with a discussion of the differences in the communication and rhetorical patterns between American and Korean cultures. In addition, this analysis has focused on the effects of television debates on traditional Korean communication. On the basis of cultural differences (Western and Eastern), this analysis has examined differences and similarities in the candidates' communication patterns and strategies utilized in both American and Korean televised presidential debates. Some findings from this content analysis support the cultural assumptions regarding the use of rhetorical style ("I" and "We" tone), rhetorical appeal (formulated through Aristotelian appeals), as well as issue/image and nonverbal behaviors (smile, posture, gesture and eye contact). In all nonverbal categories, Korean candidates expressed nonverbal behaviors significantly less often than did American candidates. As one's communication ability is often judged by verbal and nonverbal expressive skills in Western culture (Kim, 1992), it is not surprising

that American candidates used nonverbal behavior more frequently. Comparatively, Korean candidates were very conservative in using nonverbal expressions.

However, other findings rejected cultural assumptions in the use of debate strategies such as clash, negative/positive focus, and the level of attack. In fact, when examining the Korean candidates' engagement in a direct cross-examination of one another, this content analysis demonstrates that debate format effects can strongly influence, perhaps override, one's culture-originated communication patterns.

This final chapter provides a summary and discussion of the significant findings that supported the assumptions of cultural influence on communication patterns, and those findings that rejected cultural assumptions. Next, debate format effects are discussed. Finally, findings from the analysis of incumbent and challenger strategies between American and Korean candidates are explicated to illustrate how the American type of debate operated in the different cultural setting of Korea.

Relationship Between Televised Presidential Debates and Cultural Assumptions

The results of the content analysis reveal differences and similarities in the verbal and nonverbal communication patterns between American and Korean debates. Some results support a cultural assumption but others reject it. The following specific findings are developed to help explain the relationship between candidates' verbal and nonverbal debate messages and cultural orientations.

Rhetorical Proof, Style, and Form

Because of differences in modes of reasoning, the foundation of persuasion in Western (Aristotelian rhetoric) and in Eastern (Confucian rhetoric) traditions differ in their perception of communication and the goals of communication. The different perceptions and goals of communication have influenced rhetorical and communicative practices such as the use of rhetorical style, appeal and form. With strong emphasis on the use of ethical appeal, American values of specificity, objectivity, and precision tend to rely more heavily on logos and reason using logical proofs (Okabe, 1983). Comparatively, Korean traditional rhetoric is based on moral authority within a framework of universal values (Oliver, 1959); thus, ethical appeal is more important than other appeals.

The results of analyzing the use of rhetorical proofs in televised presidential debates showed significant differences between American and Korean candidates: (1) American candidates were likely to use more logical appeal (logos) than Korean candidates ($\chi^2 [1, N = 421] = 3.55, p < .05$); (2) Korean candidates used ethical appeal (ethos) more often than American candidates ($\chi^2 [1, N = 421] = 27.55, p < .01$); and (3) finally, both candidates relied strongly on ethical appeal (ethos), rather than the other two appeals, in developing arguments ($\chi^2 [2, N = 421] = 32.63, p < .01$).

In considering rhetorical style as “the way in which language works to embody the communicative intentions of its users” (Scott, 1969, p.13), the current study analyzed use of the “I” tone as an American style and the “We” tone as Korean style. Results, in fact, did show a difference in the dominant use of the “I” and the “We” tone between American and Korean candidates. Korean candidates preferred to use the “We” tone as

they addressed viewers as peers when presenting their ideas, views and positions more often than did American candidates ($\chi^2 [1, N = 421] = 4.63, p < .05$). As presented previously, the findings in the use of rhetorical appeal and tone supported the cultural assumptions between American and Korean candidates in debate.

Western speakers' rhetorical form stresses those points that show differences with an opponent, often presented in a confrontational mode of organization. On the contrary, the Eastern communicative form is likely to be less confrontational because the traditional communicative form is tentative and complementary toward others (Condon & Yousef, 1975). The results of analysis of the level of clash between American and Korean debates showed that Korean candidates used clash strategies more often than American candidates ($\chi^2 [1, N = 421] = 10.23, p < .01$). These findings indicate that Korean candidates were actually more confrontational or argumentative than American candidates. This finding rejects a cultural assumption that American debates would be more confrontational than Korean debates.

Although the results of the analysis of the level of clash rejected cultural assumptions, the analysis of the use of clash strategies revealed statistically significant, culturally grounded differences between American and Korean debates. American candidates used more clash strategies of "comparison of position" ($\chi^2 [1, N = 421] = 4.23, p < .05$) and "statement to opponent (interruption)" ($\chi^2 [1, N = 421] = 27.49, p < .01$) than did Korean candidates. On the other hand, Korean candidates used the clash strategy of "analysis of opponent position-defensive" ($\chi^2 [1, N = 421] = 4.58, p < .05$) more often than American candidates. These findings suggest that American candidates

Table 5.1

Interruptions in American Debates

Interrupter	First Debate	Second Debate	Third Debate
Bush	0	5	7
Clinton	0	1	1
Perot	0		3
Moderator	0	7	1
Panelists	0		1
Audience	0	6	
Total	0	19	13

preferred to use a more polarized or dichotomous mode of organization (illustrated particularly in the clash strategy of “comparison of position”).

The most interesting finding in the use of clash strategies is that only American candidates interrupted an opponent's response (See Table 5.1). In Korean debates, no interruption occurred in any of the three debates. Korean debates showed higher levels of clash than American debates, but Korean candidates did not use interruption as a debate strategy. In political debates, an interruption may be interpreted differently based upon cultural norms. Under the influence of Aristotelian reasoning, Americans use interruptions in everyday conversation as a means to gain control of the conversation,

although such interruptions may be regarded as a violation of turn-taking norms and social etiquette (Nofsinger, 1991). Thus, interruption in American political debates may be seen as a normal argumentation strategy. In Korean culture, however, the interruption may be regarded as a more serious violation of a turn-taking norm because the principle of harmony is the most important goal in Korean traditional communication. Therefore, this finding also supports a cultural assumption that Korean candidates are less likely to use interruption as a debate strategy, although, again, Korean candidates did employ a higher level of confrontation than their American counterparts in the use of clash strategies.

Content of Candidate Response:

Issue/Image, Attack Strategies and Negative/Positive Focus

Influenced by the Aristotelian modes of reasoning (a Western model of rhetoric), communication is often regarded as a tool for conflict resolution (Hall & Hewitt, 1973). Thus, an issue in contention may be naturally developed in a problem-solution process. In the U.S. society, competition is encouraged and frontal attack, especially in debating, is considered as matter of course (Stewart, 1972). On the other hand, in a Confucian mode of reasoning (an Eastern model of rhetoric), communication is of limited value in solving problems. A speaker's goal is to achieve harmony and consensus (Condon & Yousef, 1975); thus, the development of social relationships is highly valued in communication. Hence, rhetorical function is a means of disseminating information or seeking consensus rather than solving conflict or problems per se. In Korean public life,

policies or issues that politicians advocate are less significant than the individual's moral authority (Oliver, 1959).

Based on the candidates' cultural orientations, the differences in the categories of content of issue/image, attack strategies, and negative/positive focus between American and Korean debates were explored. The analysis of issue/image content supports a cultural assumption, but other categories cannot be explained based on traditional cultural assumptions. These findings are discussed in the following sections.

Issue/Image

The results of analyzing the use of emphasis on issue and image showed a significant difference between American and Korean debates. These findings show that Korean candidates were likely to emphasize policy issues significantly less often than American candidates ($\chi^2 [1, N = 421] = 8.45, p < .01$). This result also indicates that Korean candidates emphasized their own personal attributes and qualifications, and attacked their opponents' personal attributes and qualifications more often than American candidates. The findings likewise support a cultural assumption that Korean candidates are likely to focus upon "policy issues" less often than American candidates. The findings also show a direct positive relationship in the use of "Aristotelian appeals." The ethical appeal is a proof that focuses on the personal qualifications of candidates or by attacking the personal qualifications of opponents. Korean candidates relied strongly on the use of ethical appeals, and they used such appeals significantly more often than did American candidates.

Attacking Opponent Candidates

Based on cultural orientations, this study expected that Korean candidates would be less likely to attack opponents than would American candidates. The results of analyzing the frequency of attack between American and Korean debates revealed no significant difference between American and Korean candidates willingness to attack opponents. Both American and Korean debates were dominated by candidate responses, including attack. Despite their different cultural orientation, Korean candidates also preferred attacking and the level of presence of attack was similar to that of American candidates.

In analyzing the emphasis of the attack, both American and Korean candidates showed similar patterns. Both countries' candidates mainly attacked their opponents' past performances as well as their issue stand and consistency, while they attacked opponents' group affiliations least. In the comparison between American and Korean candidates' attack strategies, however, Korean candidates attacked personal attributes and qualifications significantly more often than did American candidates. Although the level of attack rejects the anticipated cultural assumption, the finding regarding the emphasis of attack shows consistency with the results of the use of Aristotelian appeals and the content emphasis of issue or image. Korean candidates emphasized "personal attributes" and "qualifications" in their attacks more often than found in American candidates' attacks.

Negative/Positive Focus

The results of analyzing the negative/positive focus of candidate responses rejects a cultural assumption that Korean candidates are less likely than American candidates to

use opponent-negative responses. Both American and Korean debates were dominated by candidate-positive responses that focused on the candidate answering a specific question; however, Korean candidates focused on the opponent significantly more often than American candidates ($\chi^2 [1, N = 421] = 15.66, p < .01$). These results illustrate a consistency with the results of the level of presence of attack. This finding indicates that there is a relationship between the level of presence of attack and level of opponent-negative focused response.

Nonverbal Communication

Concerning nonverbal communication, four types of nonverbal expressions -- smiling, gestures, posture, and eye contact -- were compared between American and Korean debates. Major cultural differences are imbedded in nonverbal behaviors because such expressions are tied to basic core values that are slow to change (Kim, 1992). Koreans are trained not to show their emotions in communication. This has made Koreans seem less communicative and less expressive in facial expressions and body movements (Kim, 1992). The results of analyzing the four chosen nonverbal expressions between American and Korean candidates provided significant differences between the two nations. These findings indicate that there is a strong relationship between the use of nonverbal expressions and cultural orientations between American and Korean candidates.

In all four nonverbal categories, Korean candidates expressed nonverbal behaviors significantly less often than did American candidates. As one's communication ability is indicated by verbal and nonverbal expressive skill in Western

culture (Kim, 1992), it is not surprising that American candidates showed high percentages of expressing these nonverbal behaviors during their responses – “hand and arm gesture” (97.5%), “posture” (94.1%), “smiling” (43.7%) and “eye contact with other candidates” (32.8%). Comparatively, Korean candidates were very conservative in using the nonverbal expressions – “hand and arm gesture” (62.8%), “posture” (43.4%), “smiling” (24.4%) and “eye contact with other candidates” (3.9%).

Despite these differences in the use of nonverbal behaviors between American and Korean candidates, an interesting finding is that Korean candidates strongly used hand and arm gestures compared to other nonverbal expressions. In Korean culture, using excessive gestures is generally considered to be childish (Ramsey, 1984). This finding indicates, as suggested by the U.S. literature on nonverbal communication (e.g. Burgoon et al., 1989; Richmond & McCroskey, 1995), that Korean candidates considered their hand and arm gestures as a tool that might increase the visual impact of their argumentation and perhaps increase their perception of credibility with the viewing public.

Effects of Debate Formats

The analysis of debate format effects was carried out in order to (1) identify possible format effects on traditional Korean communication and rhetorical patterns, and (2) compare the quality of debate formats among American and Korean debates.

Effects on Korean Communication Patterns

To explore debate format effects, this study compared all verbal and nonverbal categories between American and Korean debates, excluding the Korean direct cross-

examination format. In the verbal categories of rhetorical form, style and tone, and the nonverbal categories of smile, gesture, posture, and eye contact, the results of the comparison (excluding the cross-examination format) support previous findings suggested by cultural assumptions. The results indicated that there were no format effects on these categories.

However, effects of debate format *were* found in the categories of content of candidate responses, such as the categories of the level of clash, presence of attack, and positive/ negative focus, in that these categories failed to support cultural assumptions. The category of the presence of attack reveals direct effects of debate format (cross-examination) on Korean traditional communication patterns. In the comparison between American and Korean debates, including all formats (research question 7.1), there was no significant differences in the level of attack between the two nations -- these results rejected cultural assumptions. However, in the comparisons excluding the Korean direct cross-examination format, Korean debates were significantly different in the use of attack. Korean candidates used attack less often than American candidates did (χ^2 [1, \underline{N} = 288] = 4.54, $p < .05$). These results supported cultural assumptions. Finally, the various Korean formats were compared to determine possible differences in the use of attack. The results of comparison between Korean formats also supported the finding that the cross-examination format was largely responsible for the presence of attack in Korean debates. The cross-examination format included significantly more attack than any other segment of the Korean debates, including the moderator format (χ^2 [4, \underline{N} = 421] = 23.23, $p < .01$). Together, these findings clearly indicate that the direct cross-

examination format influenced traditional Korean communication patterns by encouraging a more attack-oriented form of discourse.

Unlike the category of the presence of attack, the analyses in the categories of the level of clash and positive/ negative focus did not show a direct format effect on traditional Korean communication and rhetorical patterns. However, the results do help explain the debate format (cross-examination) effects. In the analysis of level of clash, the comparison between Korean debate formats reveals a significant difference. The cross-examination format included larger percentages of clash (68.4%), while smaller percentages (37%) of the moderator format were classified as candidate responses containing clash ($\chi^2 [1, N = 256] = 24.72, p < .01$). Therefore, a strong relationship exists between debate format and the level of candidate clash.

The comparison between American and Korean debates, excluding the cross-examination format, shows no significant difference between American and Korean debates ($\chi^2 (1, N = 288) = .001, p > .05$); yet the comparison including the cross-examination reveals a significant difference between American and Korean debates (See result of research question 6.2). This finding also fails to support the cultural assumption that Korean debates would be less confrontational or argumentative than American debates. Although there is no evidence to show cultural differences, the direct cross-examination format influenced Korean debates by encouraging a higher level of candidate clash than found in American debates.

In the category of the emphasis of positive and negative focus, results similar to level of clash were found. The cross-examination format was dominated by “opponent-negative focused” responses (57.9%) while “candidate-positive focused” responses

(67.6%) was the dominant response in the moderator format. This difference was statistically significant ($\chi^2 [1, N = 256] = 20.01, p < .01$). The comparison between American and Korean debates excluding the cross-examination format shows no significant difference (a finding which also rejects cultural assumptions) ($\chi^2 [1, N = 288] = .758, p > .05$), but significant difference is found in the comparison including the direct cross-examination format. This finding, again, confirms the existence of the effect of debate format.

Effects on the Quality of Debate Format

In analyzing the usefulness or quality of debate formats, the level of candidate clash has been used as one element to evaluate the quality of debate dialogue. The current analysis focused on the content of candidate response as one means to determine debate quality. The findings from comparisons in the categories of response content (such as issue/image discussion, negative/positive focus, and the level of opponent attack) can also be discussed with the level of clash. As shown in Table 5.2, the direct cross-examination format ranked first in all these categories. In this format, Korean candidates showed high levels of clash (68.4%) and attack (68.4%) and strongly relied on image-focused (54.9%) and opponent-negative focused (57.9%) responses.

In considering the level of candidate clash in debate, U.S. debate scholars (e.g. Kay, 1983; Pfau, 1983a) have argued that a direct candidate cross-examination format yields the highest level of clash between candidates (and thus supposedly leads to a higher quality debate). However, as the following figures indicate, the Korean direct candidate cross-examination format was dominated by negative messages and image-

oriented (rather than issue based) candidate responses. These findings provide evidence of negative aspects of a direct cross-examination format. Interestingly, Kay (1981) found that such a format served to force candidates to stick to a discussion of issues in non-presidential debates and concluded that such a format could be highly informative for voters. Many U.S. scholars (e.g. Kay, 1981; Minow & Sloan, 1987; Prentice, 1988) have suggested the direct cross-examination format as an alternative to the traditional debate formats. Yet Schroeder (1989) has pointed out that the format can fail to force candidates to stick to the issues; instead, he argues that the format encourages the use of negative candidate responses, an assertion that is supported by the first-ever Korean presidential debates. Therefore, extant research seems to indicate that the cross-examination format has both positive and negative aspects in the quality of debate. The present findings support these mixed results and expand empirical support from presidential debates.

The journalist-panelist format consistently ranked third in the presence of attack (59%) and the level of clash (41%), and ranked fourth in the emphasis of negative focus (30.1%). However, this format ranked first in the category of “issue focused” responses (74.4%). As these findings indicate, the traditional format showed moderate levels of negative communication but high levels of issue focus, although many U.S. scholars have criticized the journalist-panelist format regarding the issues of clash and issue focus.

In fact, the American moderator format showed relatively high negative communication – ranking second in image focused responses (56.7%), presence of attack (66.7%), and opponent-negative focused response (33.3%). In terms of the level of clash, this format ranked second (50%). As found in the direct cross-examination format, the findings here indicate that high levels of clash seem to encourage higher levels of

Table 5.2

Comparison of Debate Formats

Categories	American Debate Formats			Korean Debate Formats	
	Journalist -Panelist	Moderator	Town Hall	Cross- Examination	Moderator
Clash (%)	41.0	50.0	30.2	68.4	39.0
Issue/Image (%)	73.5/26.5	56.7/43.3	74.4/25.6	45.1/54.9	68.6/31.4
Attack (%)	59.0	66.7	39.5	68.4	41.9
Positive/Negative (%)	69.9/30.1	66.7/33.3	83.7/16.3	42.1/57.9	67.6/32.4

negative communication. Comparatively, in the Korean moderator format, the level of clash and the negative communication were consistently ranked fourth.

Finally, the U.S. Town Hall format was evaluated as a containing the least negative candidate communication. This format ranked first in issue-focused responses (74.4%), contained the least amount of candidate attack (39.5%), and the least amount of negative-focused responses (16.3%); however, the Town Hall format also contained the lowest level of clash (30.2%) among all formats. The most significant finding from the comparisons among formats is that there is a strong relationship between the level of negative communication and the level of clash.

Pfau (1983a) and McCall (1984) argue that political debate formats should be designed to produce an optimal amount of clash over issues in order to achieve “true” political debates. However, the findings from the current analysis regarding format effects indicate that a higher level of clash, in general, does not guarantee that such clash will produce substantive debate over campaign issues. As Carlin et al. (1991) note, the human element in candidate debates may be more important than the actual debate formats. Even though a particular format may encourage clash between candidates and attempt to force candidates to stick to issue discussion, debates are likely to be influenced by candidates' campaign strategies based on prevailing political realities.

The 1997 Korean televised presidential debates illustrate well the importance of this human element. The direct cross-examination format promoted clash as this format allowed for rebuttal and re-rebuttal opportunities between the candidates. The moderator posed only policy questions to the candidates during the moderator-controlled section of the debate. Despite being given specific topics on which to question their opponents during the direct cross-examination period, the Korean candidates frequently asked about personal issues during the cross-examination period and used their responses for defending their personal character or for attacking the character of their opponents.

The Use of Incumbent and Challenger Strategies Between American and Korean Debates

The U.S. literature on rhetorical strategies of campaign communication has identified different candidate styles based on incumbent and challenger candidate type (Friedenberg, 1997; Trent & Friedenberg, 1995). Kaid, McKinney & Tedesco (2000)

examined how presidential candidates utilized these strategies in the 1996 U.S. televised presidential debates. Their analysis found that the incumbent (Clinton) and challenger (Dole) clearly mixed these two strategies, though each candidate (incumbent and challenger) preferred to use the strategy linked to his type of candidacy. President Clinton relied more heavily on incumbent strategies while Dole emphasized challenger strategies (Kaid et al., 2000).

The results of the current analysis reveal slightly different utilization of these two strategies than demonstrated by Kaid et al.'s (2000) findings from the 1996 televised presidential debates. The 1992 American and 1997 Korean debates shared many similarities in candidates' use of incumbent and challenger strategies. In the Korean debates, both incumbent (Lee) and challengers (Kim and Rhee) relied heavily on challenger strategies rather than incumbent strategies, while some significant differences appear in their use of the challenger strategies. However, the overall strategies adopted by both the incumbent and the challengers were very similar (Spearman $\rho = .84$, $p < .01$). These results indicate that the type of candidacy did not influence the use of incumbent and challenger strategies.

In the 1992 U.S. presidential debates, a pattern similar to the Korean debates was found. The incumbent (Bush) and challengers (Clinton and Perot) relied heavily on the use of challenger strategies rather than using incumbent strategies. However, unlike the Korean incumbent (Lee), the U.S. incumbent (Bush) used more incumbent strategies to take advantage of his incumbent position as President. Again, like the Korean debate, the overall strategies adopted by both the incumbent and the challengers showed high relationship (Spearman $\rho = .92$, $p < .01$).

The results of a comparison between American and Korean debates in the use of incumbent and challenger strategies indicate strong similarities, despite cultural differences between America and Korea societies and political systems. However, American candidates tended to use incumbent and challenger strategies more frequently than Korean candidates. Perhaps the reason that Korean candidates adopted incumbent strategies less often than American candidates can be explained by the Korean economic crisis that arose in the middle of the ongoing presidential campaign. Korea faced economic turmoil and received emergency financial support from the International Monetary Fund (IMF). The economic crisis created a political climate in which Koreans were eager to blame all politicians and the government in general. All three of the Korean presidential candidates (both incumbent and challengers) had long records of public service², yet they avoided using their public records or drawing on incumbent strategies that would link them to the government and thus risk being seen as responsible for the crisis. The economic crisis, in fact, was a major item of discussion during the debates.

Despite some differences in the use of incumbent and challenger strategies, the analysis of correlation (to test the pattern's similarity in using the incumbent and challenger strategies between American and Korean debates) supports the claim that both American and Korean candidates' strategies in the use of incumbent and challenger strategies were very similar (Spearman rho = .88, $p < .01$).

By comparing the use pattern of incumbent and challenger strategies, the present analysis also tested the pattern of target of attacking. These results show that the pattern of attack in American and Korean debates is basically similar. First, most attacks were

focused on the two major-party candidates. Secondly, the incumbent candidate was the primary target of attack from his two challengers. Finally, the third-party candidate received fewer attacks from the two major-party candidates. However, the Korean third-party candidate used more aggressive strategies toward the two major candidates than did the American third candidate. Unlike Perot (43.4%), Rhee, the Korean third party candidate used more attacks (63.1%). In the target of attack, Perot (73.9%) mainly attacked both of the two major candidates in a joint attack (Clinton/Bush) during his responses, while Rhee used various strategies to attack the two major-party Korean candidates – Lee alone (47.2%), Kim alone (20.8%) and Lee/Kim (32.1%).

In combining the results from both American and Korean debates, this analysis suggests that the presence of a third-party candidate seemed to have helped the other challenger (Clinton and Kim). In Korea and the U.S., both third party candidates did not challenge and attack the two major-party candidates equally; Rhee spent more time criticizing Lee just as Perot spent more time criticizing Bush. In addition, the major-party challengers (Clinton and Kim) in both nations seemed to avoid challenging and attacking the third-party candidate. Finally, on particular issues, the third-party candidates from both nations would often adopt the same position as the other challenger. For example, in the final American debate, Bush argued that Clinton could not fund his economic policy without taxing the middle class. Perot argued that the middle class should be willing to pay more, implicitly challenging Bush's position. In the Korean debates, the two challengers actively helped each other to challenge or attack the incumbent on many issues, such as the incumbent's (Lee) responsibility for the economic crisis and regarding the exemption of Lee's two sons' from military service. For

example, Rhee (NPP) attacked Lee (GNP) in a rather blunt manner, concluding, "I am worried that you are not in your right mind. You are shameless." Kim (NCNP) then joined in, saying, "You make too many excuses, and do not deserve the status of the candidate from the majority party. People will be very disappointed." Interestingly, the two major-party challengers (Clinton and Kim) won their respective elections.

"Americanization" of Korean Debates

Drawing on the concept of the "Americanization" of political campaign communication, the 1997 Korean televised presidential debates revealed many similarities to U.S. presidential debates. Mancini and Swanson (1996) used the concept of "Americanization" in their book that analyzes new trends in political campaigns occurring in many democracies throughout the world. Mancini and Swanson (1996) explain Americanization as:

Campaigning in the democracies around the world is becoming more and more Americanized as candidates, political parties, and news media take cues from their counterparts in the United States. (p. 4)

As discussed in the section on Culture, Mass Media and Politics (see Chapter Two), the 1997 Korean presidential campaign became a much more American-type of campaign due to the role played by television in this election. The Korean Election Law prevented the traditional massive outdoor rallies, but allowed for televised presidential debates. During the 1997 campaign, Korean presidential candidates used television extensively to appear before voters in a variety of television formats in addition to the televised debates.

Although Korean candidates -- as well as voters -- had never experienced media-centered campaigns before, they were well-prepared for this new mode of campaigning. As in the American presidential campaign, Korean presidential candidates hired campaign professionals, particularly for the televised presidential debates. By emphasizing their personal attributes and qualifications, the major-party candidates attempted to use their televisual appearances to "repair" damaged features of their image through employing broadcasting professionals. Such tactics were part of their debate appearances.

Although it may not be due to their coaching and practice for the televised debates, results of the current study show that the content of Korean candidate responses did include more negative communication, higher levels of clash/confrontation and a stronger emphasis on personal attributes and qualifications than did the American debates. In the use of incumbent and challenger strategies, both American and Korean candidates shared similar patterns in utilizing these strategies, as well as similar patterns of attacking opponents. These findings indicate that Korean candidates' strategies for developing the content of their responses could be described as "Americanized," although Korean candidates still relied strongly on their traditional communication and rhetorical patterns in their use of rhetorical style, proof, and tone.

Limitations

While the findings from this content analysis provide valuable information about the relationship between the communication patterns in presidential debates and cultural

orientation, as well as an evaluation of various debate formats and format effects on traditional Korean communication patterns, several limitations must be noted.

The primary limitation of this study is the limited sample of Korean presidential debates. This analysis selected the 1997 Korean televised presidential debates because these debates were the first presidential-level debates in Korean election history. To find a trend regarding differences or similarities between American and Korean debates, additional televised presidential debates will need to be analyzed from both countries. Clearly, televised presidential debates may be influenced by many factors as these events will most likely involve different candidates and each campaign will take place in a different political situation. Thus, findings from the comparison between the 1997 Korean debates and 1992 U.S. debates will be limited when generalizing to future Korean and U.S. televised presidential debates. To overcome this limitation, future research must adopt a comparative approach like the current study and include analysis of more televised debates from multiple nations.

The selection of coders is another limitation of the current content analysis. It was necessary to choose coders who could understand both languages and cultures. Coders were Korean-American undergraduate students who were born in Korea but were educated at least since their middle-school years in the U.S. These coders thereby met the requirements of coders for cross-cultural research (e.g. Tak, 1993). However, these individuals may have employed different judgement criteria than would Korean or American coders, or may not have been as familiar with political meanings or references as well as coders from either Korea or the U.S. Still, an all Korean or all American coding panel may have been just as unlikely to understand political meanings from the

other country, thus the Korean-American coders utilized in this study were seen as the most appropriate compromise for coding. Future content analytic research must continue to select coders from each cultural background who can understand both languages and cultures in-depth. One possible approach may be to utilize a set of Korean for Korean debates and American coders for American debates. A test for intercoder reliability between the selected panel of coders, Korean and American, might provide useful information about which type of coders are the best for such cross-cultural research.

Another limitation to address is the use of a coding instrument developed from multiple past content analyses and instruments, including several categories that were adapted from political advertising studies. First, there exists no universally accepted format for analyzing the content of televised presidential debates. As discussed in Chapter Two, while several U.S. debate scholars have applied content analysis to past U.S. presidential debates, no two studies have utilized the same coding scheme. Also, unlike political advertising messages, candidates could not fully control the televised presidential debates. Although the candidates could prepare their strategies for each debate, the debates forced the candidates to respond in an extemporaneous fashion. Thus, many candidates' responses included mixed candidate strategies, and in a few candidate responses, there were unclear or no apparent strategies. Many problems were revealed during the coder training sessions in applying the current coding instrument to televised debate. For example, in judging dominant Aristotelian appeal, an emotional appeal (pathos) and ethical appeal were found together in many responses, and it was often difficult to identify the dominant appeal used. In developing consistent criteria to judge for dominant appeal, coders were first instructed in how to judge for dominant appeal,

and example responses were given, coded and then discussed. This procedure was repeated for all categories that requested coding for a dominant rhetorical pattern. Future content analytic research of presidential debates should strive to utilize consistent coding schemes to increase the ability to compare communication and rhetorical strategies across time within nations and between debates of differing nations.

Finally, the present content analysis used candidate response as the unit of analysis for coding. Methodologically, this type of unit has been used in several other content analyses of presidential debates (e.g. Kaid et al., 2000; Rowland, 1986). This unit for coding, however, is a limitation when interpreting results generated from the category of clash. This category was used for comparing the level of clash generated in American and Korean debates. However, clash studies commonly use smaller units such as a single theme (and each candidate response may include multiple themes) or response lengths, such as 500 word segments, to determine rate of clash (e.g. Benoit & Harthcock, 1999; Carlin, Howard, Stanfield, & Reynolds, 1991; Levasseur & Dean, 1996; Riely & Hollihan, 1981). In these studies, when analyzing the occurrence of clash, each candidate response was divided into more than one unit.

For the current study, the theme was considered as the possible unit of analysis but this type of unit was found meaningless when applying such categories as Aristotelian appeal, image/issue focus, and negative/positive emphasis. A unit divided by theme could be as short as a word or phrase or as long as a four- or five-sentence paragraph. For units consisting of a few words or a short sentence, these other relevant categories could not be measured. Because of this limitation, this analysis adopted the entire candidate response as its unit for exploring the strategies of clash and the level of

clash in both American and Korean debates. While the use of candidate response as the unit of analysis helped to identify overall trends in candidate communication and rhetorical patterns, this more broader unit may have sacrificed the specificity of thematic units.

Directions for Future Research

The results of analyzing the relationship between cultural orientation and communication and rhetorical patterns suggest several additional investigations. This content analysis found that Korean candidates strongly relied on traditional Eastern forms of rhetoric in the use of rhetorical style, proof, and tone while the candidates used an American or Western style in their use of negative communication. Although debate format effects explained the high use of negative communication by Korean candidates, there might be other possible factors that influenced traditional Korean communication patterns, such as the contemporary political situation or individual candidate campaign strategies. Future research needs to examine these possible factors.

The results of analyzing the effects of debate formats also suggest topics for additional investigation. In the U.S. literature of presidential debates, the traditional debate format has been criticized due to the lack of “true debate” or direct candidate debate. Thus, new formats were introduced in the 1992 and 1996 U.S. televised presidential debates. The results from comparisons among debate formats in the current analysis indicates that the Town-Hall format included the lowest level of clash between candidates compared to the single moderator and journalist-panelist format; however, the Town Hall format nevertheless forced candidates to stick to policy issues more

effectively than did the other formats. These findings are in opposition to the findings from the Korean direct cross-examination format, which had the highest level of clash but the lowest level of policy/issue emphasis. Future research needs to explore questions such as how we judge the quality of televised presidential debates. Of particular importance is whether other Town Hall formats reveal the same results in the level of clash and policy/ issue emphasis.

Finally, the results comparing Korean debate formats (the direct cross-examination format and single moderator format) indicate that the cross-examination format provided the highest level of clash between candidates but this format also allowed the candidates to indulge in negative communication. The Korean Debate Committee employed this format with the expectation that it would result in "true" candidate debate. With the opportunity for candidates to direct questions to their opponents, and for rebuttals and re-rebuttals, it was assumed that such dialogue would force candidates to stick to policy issues and thus allow for a deeper examination of candidate policy positions. Such dialogue did not occur in the first-ever Korean televised presidential debates. Future research should examine how candidates use their opportunity to question their opponents and how such direct-cross examination is engaged in responses, rebuttals and re-rebuttals. Such study will provide information to help construct more useful debates for future Korean debates, as well as presidential debates that may occur throughout the world.

Footnotes

¹ See Section on the History of Korean Presidential Debates.

² Dae-Jung Kim had served as a congressman and a representative of his party (NCNP). Lee and Rhee also served as politicians and high-level governmental officials.

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APPENDIX A

CODE BOOK

1. **Coder Name:** Your name or initials.
2. **Debate ID:** Number of this debate given on your list of debates.
 - 1 First Korean Presidential Debate
 - 2 Second Korean Presidential Debate
 - 3 Third Korean Presidential Debate
 - 4 First U.S. Presidential Debate
 - 5 Second U.S. Presidential Debate
 - 6 Third U.S. Presidential Debate
3. **Candidate Name:** Identify the name of the candidate.
 - 1 Dae-Jung Kim
 - 2 Hoi-Chang Lee
 - 3 In-Je Rhee
 - 4 Clinton
 - 5 Bush
 - 6 Perot
4. **Response ID:** Number of response given on your list of transcript.
5. **Type of Candidacy:**
 - 1 Incumbent (or ruling party candidate)
 - 2 Challenger
6. **Type of format:** Identify the type of format.
 - 1 Moderator (American format)
 - 2 Panelist
 - 3 Town Hall
 - 4 Opening statement (American format)
 - 5 Moderator (Korean format)
 - 6 Cross-examination
 - 7 Opening statement (Korean format)
 - 8 Closing statement (Korean format)
7. **Which strategies are present in the response?**
(Code for all that are present)

- 1 **Symbolic characteristics of incumbency:** emphasis on importance, legitimacy, competency, or charisma of office; the support and respect they are afforded.
 - 2 **Consulting with world leaders:** foreign political or governmental leaders used for support on behalf of the candidate.
 - 3 **Endorsement by leaders:** party and other important political leaders used for support on behalf of the candidate.
 - 4 **Emphasizing accomplishments:** stressing the achievements of the candidate.
 - 5 **Above the trenches posture:** candidate remains removed from politics, aloof from political battle, rarely acknowledges existence of any opponent, refrains from confrontation with opponent.
 - 6 **Calling for changes:** things need to be done differently; changes need to be made.
 - 7 **Optimism for future:** emphasizes candidate as one best able to deal with future; things can and will get better if you elect this candidate.
 - 8 **Traditional values:** emphasis on majority values (traditional values) rather than calling for value changes.
 - 9 **Representing the philosophical center of the party:** has support of his/her political party and represents its policies and platforms.
 - 10 **Taking the offensive on issues:** candidate contrasts his/her own position on the issue with that of opponent; or questions and /or challenges opponent's position on issues.
 - 11 **Attacking opponent's record:** reviewing and criticizing the past accomplishments (or failures) of the opponent without contrasting information about the candidate.
 - 12 **Other (specify):** none of the above.
8. **Which type of statement is present in the response?**
(Code for all that are present)

Clash Statement

- 1 **Analysis of opponent's position—offensive:** An analysis of position held by the opposing candidate that represents an attack on that position.
- 2 **Analysis of opponent's position—defensive:** An analysis of position held by the opposing candidate that represents a defense of one's own position.
- 3 **Extension of position—offensive:** An elaboration or further explanation of a position already stated or alluded to in the debate that can include an attack on the other candidate.
- 4 **Extension of position—defensive:** An elaboration or further explanation of a position already stated or alluded to in the debate that defends one's stand on that position.
- 5 **Comparison of position:** A statement of one's own position accomplished by a statement of the opposing candidate's position which may or may not include analysis, extension, and evidence.
- 6 **Statement to opponent:** Any interruption of one candidate's speech by another or give-and-take between candidates that was not in direct response to a question.

Non-Clash Statement

- 1 **Analysis:** Consideration of the consequences of an action or the causes of a problem.
- 2 **Policy statement:** A statement that presents or advances a desired further course or a past position.

9. **Code for dominant statement:**

- 1 Clash
- 2 Non-clash
- 3 Balanced

10. **Which type of focus does the candidate present in the response?**

(Code for only one)

- 1 **Candidate-Positive:** response will be coded as “candidate-positive” if the dominant focus of the response was on the candidate responding.
- 2 **Opponent-Negative:** response will be coded as “opponent negative” if the dominant focus was on the opponent, and if the content was criticizing or attacking the opponent.
- 3 **Balanced:** responses will be coded as those that included an equal mix of both positive and negative focus.

11. **Is there attack(s) in the response?**

Does the response include a negative, derogatory, or unflattering statement or references to the opponent candidate(s)?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

If yes, go to **Q 12-13**.

12. **Which type of attack is present in the response?**

(Code for all that are present)

- 1 **Attack on personal characteristic:** an attack on the personality characteristics of the opponent and use of negative words denoting flaws in character of opponent (e.g., attacking or questioning opponent's honesty, compassion, strength, and competence).
- 2 **Attack on issue stands/consistency:** criticizes the issue or policy stands of the opponent and criticizes the opponent's switching position on the issue or policy stands.
- 3 **Attack on opponent's group's affiliations:** attacks the opponent's ties to certain groups that have undesirable characteristics, members, and philosophies.
- 4 **Attack on opponent's background/qualifications:** attacks the opponent's background, experience, and/or qualifications for political office.
- 5 **Attack on opponent's performance in the past offices/positions:** attack focuses on past performance and record of the opponent in current or previous work or political positions.
- 6 **Other (Specify):** None of the above.

13. **Target of attack:**

Korean Debates

- 1 Dae-Jung Kim
- 2 Hoi-Chang Lee
- 3 In-Je Rhee
- 4 Kim and Lee
- 5 Kim and Rhee
- 6 Lee and Rhee

U.S. Debates

- 7 Clinton
- 8 Bush
- 9 Perot
- 10 Clinton and Bush
- 11 Clinton and Perot
- 12 Bush and Perot

14. **The emphasis of this response is primarily on?**

(Code for only one)

- 1 **Policy issue:** If the response emphasizes the candidate's policy concerns or positions on various issues, or attacks opponent policy or position on the issues.
- 2 **Image:** If the response emphasizes only the personal attributes, qualifications of candidate, e.g., honesty, experience, competence, compassion, and leaderships or attacks opponent on his personal attributes/qualifications (even if an issue was mentioned).
- 3 **Balanced:** responses will be coded as those that included an equal mix of both image and issue emphasis.

15. **Which appeals are present in the response?**

(Code for all that are present.)

- 1 **Logical appeal:** facts are presented in the candidate's response to persuade viewer that the evidence is overwhelming in favor of some position (either to support candidate or attack opponent). Evidence includes use of statistics, examples, logical arguments, etc.
- 2 **Emotional appeal:** if appeal is designed to invoke particular feelings or emotions in viewer, it will be coded as emotional appeal. For example, happiness, good will, pride, patriotism, anger, etc, can be included in this appeal.
- 3 **Ethical appeal (Source credibility):** it will be coded if response focuses on qualifications of candidate or attacks qualifications of opponent, and is designed to enhance the credibility and trustworthiness of candidate (or attack the credibility of opponent) by telling all he has done, is capable of doing, how reliable he is.

16. **Code for dominant appeal:**

(Code for only one)

- 1 Logical appeal
- 2 Emotional appeal
- 3 Ethical appeal (Sources credibility)

17. **Which tone is dominant?**

(Code for only one)

- 1 **Personal tone "I":** presents ideas, views, and positions as personal beliefs using the pronoun "I," e.g., "I'm pro-choice," "I believe in a strong national defense"; presents positions as personal conclusions, not simply facts.
- 2 **Addressing viewers as peers "We":** presents ideas, views, and positions by addressing viewers as peers using the pronoun "We," e.g., "we're all in this together"; candidate is "one of us"; "we need to work together."

Nonverbal Content Analysis (Q.18–Q.21)

(

18. **Is the candidate smiling?**

(Code for overall smiling that is present.)

- 1 **Never:** no smiling when the candidate is speaking.
- 2 **Sometimes:** some smiling when the candidate speaking.
- 3 **Frequently:** often smiling when the candidate speaking.

19. **Does the candidate use hand/arm gesture?**

(Code for overall use of gesture—pointing, waving hand/arm, etc.)

- 1 **Never:** candidate uses no hand/arm gestures when speaking.
- 2 **Sometimes:** candidate sometimes uses hand/arm gestures when speaking.
- 3 **Frequently:** candidate often uses hand/arm gestures when speaking.

20. **Does the candidate use body movement (posture)?**

(Code for overall use of body movement [posture]; includes head, chest, shoulder movements such as forward and backward leaning, expanding chest, raising and dropping shoulder and etc.)

- 1 **Never:** candidate uses no posture movement when speaking.
- 2 **Sometimes:** candidate sometimes shows posture movement when speaking.
- 3 **Frequently:** candidate often shows posture movement when speaking.

21. **Does the candidate use “eye contact” with the opponent candidate?**

- 1 Eye contact with the opponent candidate(s) is present while speaking.
- 2 No eye contact is present while speaking.

APPENDIX B

CODE SHEET

1. **Coder Name:** _____
2. **Debate ID:** _____
 - 1 First Korean Presidential Debate
 - 2 Second Korean Presidential Debate
 - 3 Third Korean Presidential Debate
 - 4 First U.S. Presidential Debate
 - 5 Second U.S. Presidential Debate
 - 6 Third U.S. Presidential Debate
3. **Candidate Name:** _____
 - 1 Dae-Jung Kim
 - 2 Hoi-Chang Lee
 - 3 In-Je Rhee
 - 4 Clinton
 - 5 Bush
 - 6 Perot
4. **Response ID:** _____
5. **Type of Candidacy:** _____
 - 1 Incumbent (or ruling party candidate).
 - 2 Challenger.
6. **Type of Format:** _____
 - 1 Moderator (American format)
 - 2 Panelist
 - 3 Town Hall
 - 4 Opening statement (American format)
 - 5 Moderator (Korean format)
 - 6 Cross-examination
 - 7 Opening statement (Korean format)
 - 8 Closing statement (Korean format)
7. **Which strategies are present in the response?**
(Code for all that are present)
 - 1 Symbolic characteristics of incumbency: _____

- 2 Consulting with world leaders: _____
- 3 Endorsement by leaders: _____
- 4 Emphasizing accomplishments: _____
- 5 Above the trenches posture: _____
- 6 Calling for changes: _____
- 7 Optimism for future: _____
- 8 Traditional values: _____
- 9 Philosophical center of the party: _____
- 10 Taking the offensive on issues: _____
- 11 Attacking opponent's record: _____
- 12 Other (specify): _____

8. Which type of statement is present in the response?

(Code for all that are present)

Clash Statement

- 1 Analysis of opponent's position—offensive: _____
- 2 Analysis of opponent's position—defensive: _____
- 3 Extension of position—offensive: _____
- 4 Extension of position—defensive: _____
- 5 Comparison of position: _____
- 6 Statement to opponent: _____

Non-Clash Statement

- 1 Analysis: _____
- 2 Policy statement: _____

9. Code for dominant statement: _____

- 1 Clash
- 2 Non-clash
- 3 Balanced

10. Which type of focus does the candidate present in the response? _____
(Code dominant focus of the response)

- 1 Candidate-positive
- 2 Opponent-negative
- 3 Balanced.

11. Is there attack(s) in the response? _____

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

If yes, go to Q 13-14.

12. Which type of attack is present in the response?
(Code for all that are present)

- 1 Attack on personal characteristic: _____
- 2 Attack on issue stands/consistency: _____
- 3 Attack on opponent's group's affiliations _____
- 4 Attack on opponent's background/qualifications: _____
- 5 Attack on opponent's performance in the past offices: _____
- 6 Other (Specify): _____

13. **Target of attack:** _____

Korean Debates

- 1 Dae-Jung Kim
- 2 Hoi-Chang Lee
- 3 In-Je Rhee
- 4 Kim and Lee
- 5 Kim and Rhee
- 6 Lee and Rhee

U.S. Debates

- 7 Clinton
- 8 Bush
- 9 Perot
- 10 Clinton and Bush
- 11 Clinton and Perot
- 12 Bush and Perot

14. **The emphasis of this response is primarily on?** _____
(Code for only one)

- 1 Policy issue
- 2 Issue
- 3 Balanced

15. **Which appeals are present in the response?** _____
(Code for all that are present.)

- 1 Logical appeal.
- 2 Emotional appeal.
- 3 Ethical appeal (Sources credibility)

16. **Code for dominant appeal:** _____

- 1 Logical appeal.
- 2 Emotional appeal.
- 3 Ethical appeal (Sources credibility).

17. **Which tone is dominant?** _____
(Code for only one)

- 1 Personal tone "I."
- 2 Addressing viewers as peers "We."

Nonverbal Content Analysis (Q.19–Q.21)

18. Is the candidate smiling? _____

(Code for overall smiling that is present.)

- 1 Never
- 2 Sometimes
- 3 Frequently

19. Does the candidate use hand/arm gesture? _____

(Code for overall use of gesture—pointing, wave hand/arm, etc.)

- 1 Never
- 2 Sometimes
- 3 Frequently

20. Does the candidate use body movement (posture)? _____

(Code for overall use of body movement (posture) includes head, chest, shoulder movements such as forward and backward leaning, expanding chest, raising and dropping shoulder and etc.)

- 1 Never
- 2 Sometimes
- 3 Frequently

21. Does the candidate use "eye contact" with the opponent candidate? _____

- 1 Present
- 2 Absent

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UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

GRADUATE COLLEGE

**'DAUGHTER OF ZION': ELIZABETH I AND THE RELATIONSHIP OF
VIRGINITY TO MONARCHICAL POWER**

A Dissertation

SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the

degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

By

D. SUSAN KENDRICK

Norman, Oklahoma

2000

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**'DAUGHTER OF ZION': ELIZABETH I AND THE RELATIONSHIP OF
VIRGINITY TO MONARCHICAL POWER**

**A Dissertation APPROVED FOR THE
DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH**

BY

Joann Davis
John Henry Caldwell
John Hall
Charles D. Johnson
Mark C. Johnson

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Acknowledgments

I always thought that when I finished my dissertation, it would be the culmination of my interest in Queen Elizabeth I. That is not the case: as with any figure whose biography has been subsumed by mythology, interest can only increase, so I imagine that I will have to continue my research on the Queen in the future -- once my exhaustion from this project wears off. Without the help and guidance of my committee members, this dissertation would not have been possible. I would like to thank Professors Hunter Cadzow and James Hart Jr. for their assistance in the areas of Renaissance literature and Tudor/Stuart history. Professor Susan Havens Caldwell provided extensive suggestions for revision and crucial insights in the areas of medieval Catholicism and the spiritual image of the Queen. Professor George Economou was invaluable in the development of Chapter One, as his direction led me to the medieval works on virginity that lent so much to my reading of Elizabethan and Jacobean texts. I would like to express my gratitude particularly toward my dissertation director, Professor Gwenn Davis, for her exemplary professionalism, scholarship, guidance, and infinite patience. As a student in Professor Davis' sixteenth-century literature courses (Sidney and Spenser; Sixteenth-Century Non-Dramatic Literature), I was introduced to new insights and the extensive historical and literary contexts which eventually led to this dissertation. I am grateful to Professor Davis for the endless numbers of hours that she devoted to meetings, reading drafts, and offering suggestions for

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Abstract

The argument of the dissertation involves the meanings of virginity and the representations of Elizabeth I during her reign and in the century after her death. Elizabeth has long been associated with the term “Virgin Queen,” and her virginity has been the subject of discussion in recent novels and film. The current definition of *virginity* refers only to sexual abstinence and the Queen-as-virgin images focus on deprivation and childlessness. The pattern established during the Restoration lost the original meanings of *virginity* and its association with strength, sanctity, ability, and worth. Chapter One discusses the images of the Queen as a virtuous, marriageable woman and covers the years 1558-1581, when marriage negotiations were part of her foreign policy. Chapter Two analyzes important changes in imagery and representation during the period of 1582-1590, when Elizabeth’s last courtship ended and it became obvious that she would never marry. Chapter Three discusses representations of Elizabeth I during the most problematic period of her reign – 1590-1603, when the Queen’s policies were criticized, Essex rebelled and was executed, and many people looked forward to a male successor. Simultaneously, the most well-known literary representations of her were being created, namely Spenser’s *The Faerie Queene*, a combination of Greco-Roman mythologies, English legends and history, and Elizabethan political propaganda. Chapter Four discusses the elegies and the revival of her images, the perpetuation of which has lasted throughout the twentieth century.

Introduction

Queen Elizabeth I has long been an object of fascination for historians and literary scholars, and contemporary writers and filmmakers are no exception.

Elizabeth I is the subject of many twentieth-century films, including: *Fire Over England* (1937), *The Lion Has Wings* (1939), *The Private Lives of Elizabeth and Essex* (1939), *The Sea Hawk* (1940), *The Virgin Queen* (1955), *Elizabeth R* (1971), *Elizabeth* (1998)¹, and a variety of novels, including *Unicorn's Blood*, by British novelist Patricia Finney. Several of these representations, particularly *Elizabeth and Essex*, *The Virgin Queen*, *Elizabeth*, and *Unicorn's Blood* focus primarily on a single aspect of the complexity of Elizabeth's character: her virginity. Whether these representations discuss the Queen as a lovelorn, frigid spinster or a sexually experienced woman who used her 'virginity' as a political construct, the contemporary emphasis has been on the physical aspects of virginity. These representations, however, perceive the Queen's virginity from a highly reductive viewpoint, having either overlooked or ignored what virginity meant to Elizabeth's sixteenth-century subjects. The argument of the dissertation involves the meanings of virginity and the representations of Elizabeth I during her reign and in the century after her death. Elizabeth I has long been associated with the term "Virgin Queen," and her virginity has been the subject of discussion in recent novels and film. The twentieth-century definition of *virginity* refers only

¹*The Internet Movie Database* <<http://www.imdb.com>>

to sexual abstinence and the Queen-as-virgin images focus on deprivation and childlessness, as in the 1998 film *Elizabeth*, which depicted Elizabeth's Virgin Queen image as a (false) role she adopted to gain national approval. Visually arresting in its focus on the Queen as a living icon, the film nevertheless followed a pattern established during the Restoration: the loss of the original meanings of *virginity* and its association with strength, sanctity, ability, and worth.

The purpose of this study is to reintroduce the original meanings of virginity from their pre-Christian origins to the assimilation into early Christian asceticism, and their transformation through Protestantism. Despite a Protestant reduction of meaning, virginity became the most powerful political symbol in Elizabethan iconography. In a hierarchical and patriarchal society, the presence of a woman monarch necessitated a return to earlier meanings of virginity that attributed divine power and spirituality to a queen regnant. The outline follows a roughly chronological order, but not necessarily a linear development. The discussion of the Queen's image is dependent upon the idea of each image of virginity, which depends on who is using it and why. The representation and symbolism of virginity in relation to Elizabeth I was informed by social, political, and cultural factors. Inherent in these representations are traditions from Catholicism which Raymond Williams refers to as "residual" :

The residual, by definition, has been effectively formed in the past, but it is still active in the cultural process, not only and often not at all as an element of the past, but as an effective element of the

present. Thus certain experiences, meanings, and values which cannot be expressed or substantially verified in terms of the dominant culture, are nevertheless lived and practised on the basis of the residue – cultural as well as social – of some previous social and cultural institution or formation. (122)

Residual images and ideas assisted in the creation of Elizabethan propaganda through representations of the Queen. Refusing to marry and procreate according to Protestant doctrines of female duty, Elizabeth recovered the power of the residual idea of virginity, relying on respect for its spiritual aspects. The dissertation analyzes these images and the politics behind them, emphasizing feminist revisitings of Elizabeth and what aspects of her reign they discuss.

Recent critics have dealt with the question of gender and its relationship to constructions of power. Carole Levin's *The Heart and Stomach of a King: Elizabeth I and the Politics of Sex and Power* focuses on how gender construction and contemporary views of women's roles influenced representations of the Queen. Some have analyzed the ways in which some literary works reveal male anxiety over a female ruler, and the writers' response to that anxiety. Susan Frye discusses in *Elizabeth I: The Competition for Representation* how courtiers attempted to construct (and constrict) the Queen by placing her within traditional female roles. Some critics have also discussed how the idea of female independence is restrained through patriarchal culture and literature, despite an able female monarch as an example to English women. Pamela Joseph Benson's

The Invention of the Renaissance Woman approaches this issue, focusing on a variety of sixteenth-century works about women, including those about the Queen herself. Still other critics view these representations as potentially empowering for the Queen. Discussions of virginity and chastity, invariably gender-related when the subject is Elizabethan England, focus on the importance of that virtue in figuring a woman monarch's power, as male courtiers fashion themselves as suitors to a virtuous lady. Philippa Berry's *Of Chastity and Power: Elizabethan Literature and the Unmarried Queen* discusses the limited empowerment of the chaste queen through the representations created by her male subjects.

Pagan and early Christian views of virginity provide detailed explanation of the "residual" theories of asceticism and virginity that later influenced the iconography and mythology of a Protestant queen. Aline Rouselle's study *Porneia: On Desire and the Body in Antiquity* discusses the Roman ideas of sexuality and the influence of Christian ideas on pagan traditions in the first four centuries A.D. This time period is discussed also by Peter Brown in *The Body and Society: Men, Women, and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity*, which focuses on the origins of asceticism and the transference of the idealization of virginity. The traditional symbol of virginity, the Virgin Mary, figures centrally through the discussion. Elizabeth is viewed by many scholars as having deliberately appropriated the image of the Virgin Mary (within acceptable Protestant limits) and encouraged her courtiers to do the same; others argue that these images were imposed upon the Queen by male courtiers, anxious at being

subservient to a female monarch. Helen Hackett's *Virgin Mother, Maiden Queen* argues that Elizabeth was not deliberately attempting to replace the Virgin Mary: rather, the images associated with the Queen were not Marian in origin, but were used for Elizabeth for the purpose of creating a national icon.

The first chapter discusses the meaning of virginity, which involved much more than the commitment to sexual abstinence in the classical age and in the medieval Christian tradition. Originally intended to influence single men, Greco-Roman theories of virginity envisioned it as a way of gaining strength through the denial of the body, and treatises claimed that chaste men were stronger intellectually, spiritually, and physically. By the fourth century, the infusion of Christianity into these theories of virginity extended the transforming power of virginity to women, as more women decided on an ascetic life in the Church. Since the prevailing ideas about women assumed automatic spiritual weakness and susceptibility to sin because of imprisonment in a weak and corrupt female body, virginity became a way for a woman to become spiritually equal to a man because of the control she must exercise over her body. This idea gave women in the medieval age a kind of autonomy they had not previously experienced.

The Reformation and the rise of Protestantism began the change in the representation of female virginity. Emphasizing women's roles as wives and mothers, Protestantism discouraged chastity as unnatural and against God's purpose, denouncing "popish" asceticism and perpetuating tales of pregnant nuns and perverted priests. Women's secondary position in society excluded them

from participating in the church as equals; this position was extended to government as well. When the Protestant king Edward VI died, national loyalty to the Tudors put the Catholic Mary I on the throne. Though Mary soon began the process of courtship and marriage to provide England with her successor, her unpopular marriage to Philip of Spain cast her queenship in doubt. Mary's determination to return the religious affiliation of England to Rome and the execution of Protestants ensured her lasting disgrace. When her half-sister Elizabeth succeeded her, national anxiety must have existed on several levels: though Elizabeth was Protestant and a daughter of Henry VIII, she was an unmarried woman. When the Queen was young, marriage was always a question, and her virginity was emphasized to accentuate her marriageability, and her courtships became a crucial part of international diplomacy.

Chapter Two analyzes important changes in imagery and representation during the period of 1582-1590, when Elizabeth's last courtship ended and it became obvious that she would never marry. In response to the existence of a Queen with no heir, writers and poets of the day created a seemingly immortal paragon of virtue. In works like Thomas Bentley's *A Monument of Matrones; or the Seven Severall Lampes of Virginitie*, a popular combination of biography, prayer, and conduct book that has never been fully analyzed, Protestant iconography was directed to a middle-class audience.

The third chapter discusses representations of Elizabeth I created by and for a courtly audience during the most problematic period of her reign: 1590-1603.

During this time the Queen's policies were criticized, Essex rebelled and was executed, rumors of her sexual misconduct and bearing of illegitimate children resurfaced, and many people looked forward to a time when they would no longer be ruled by a woman. Simultaneously, poets were creating the most well-known literary representations of her, namely Spenser's *The Faerie Queene*, which explored images of the Queen and created new ones by referring to Greco-Roman and Anglo-Saxon mythologies, English legends and history, and political propaganda. The image of Gloriana, established by this epic, praised and elevated the Queen during the most controversial period of her reign. The classical and early Christian meanings of virginity were applied to her at this time, as her image was transformed into many representations, including Britomart, the invincible Knight of Chastity and foremother of the great rulers of England.

The Queen's death in 1603 was met with a great outpouring of sorrow, but also relief and joy for the arrival of her successor King James. Yet after a few years of Stuart rule, her image was revived, polished, and held up as a mirror for James I and Charles I. She became the paragon of virtue, of womanhood, of kingship, as new elegies and tributes were published; as Christopher Haigh notes, "Elizabeth Tudor became a stick with which to beat the Stuarts." During this time, more women writers adopted her as a symbol of women's potential and worth. By the Restoration, however, the original meanings of virginity and the applications of its imagery to the Queen had been reduced to her unmarried and chaste state, and tributes focused instead on her political virtues. The Puritan

influence during the Stuart era eradicated the original metaphorical power of the state of virginity, and its effect on Elizabethan iconography, by focusing instead on her political accomplishments compared to the Stuart rulers. The fourth chapter of the dissertation discusses the elegies and the revival of her image, the perpetuation of which has lasted through the twentieth century.

The epithet “Virgin Queen” has become particularly associated with Elizabeth I from the 1580s onward, yet the mystical and spiritual origins of virginity have been lost; in the twentieth century, Elizabeth’s virgin status refers only to her unmarried and sexually inexperienced state. Since the question of her marriage was solved long ago, the focus of many contemporary representations asks only, “Was she or wasn’t she?” This reductionist view of the term has, in effect, reduced the iconography of Elizabeth and eradicated the complex system of cultural beliefs and mythological themes that contributed to the construction of her image, leaving only the literal meaning. This dissertation attempts to show that earlier Christian perceptions of virginity, once dominant in Catholic England, although suppressed by Protestantism, regained enough influence to transform an unmarried queen with no successor into a divine virgin goddess. The idealized representation of Elizabeth served a variety of purposes: the patronage of the Queen and court, the continuation of Elizabethan propaganda, the perpetuation of the idea of a once and future (eternal) monarch, and the creation and maintenance of an apotheosized queen as symbol of an entire nation. The focal point to Elizabeth’s power as queen regnant was her virginity, and although in Protestant

England women were encouraged to marry, the queen's status as exceptional woman was enhanced further by the traditional perception of virginity as a powerful moral, spiritual, and even political attribute. Though the character, reign, and representations of the Queen have been studied by a variety of scholars, my approach differs in its attempt to rediscover the mythological background of virginity that lent such a mystique to the power of a queen. In this study I have chosen to rediscover the complex background of idealized virginity and analyze its purpose in creating and maintaining the monarchical power of Elizabeth I.

Chapter 1

Precedents: The Idealization of Virginity

Virginity in Antiquity and the Christian Ascetic Movement

The idealization of virginity in Western culture began before Christianity, in Greece and Rome from the first to the fourth centuries A.D. Chastity was perceived as a form of courageous self-control and suppression of unhealthy, natural desires. In antiquity virginity for men was highly praised because it represented the model of fortitude and resistance; in fact, chaste men were reportedly taller, stronger, and healthier than unchaste men because of the pure lives they led by overcoming their bodies. Women's chastity was expected, but not necessarily considered an indication of strength. Female virginity was not emphasized during antiquity, but was a product of third to fifth century Christian asceticism, which stressed the importance of chastity for women as well as men. Aline Roussell comments that in Rome and Greece, "female virginity, which was not always the result of personal choice, can not be considered as a social model It was only because men chose this path that a whole civilization was affected by their action and the philosophical and moral, in other words ideological, arguments behind it" (136-37).

Taking a vow of chastity became popular in the wealthy classes as asceticism began to influence pagan society, especially in the third and fourth centuries. Pagan philosophies on sexual behavior argued that young men should

marry instead of visiting prostitutes or engaging in homosexual relations. In addition, class issues of privilege and power became involved in the debate. After asceticism elevated chastity to a superior state, the choice became marriage or chastity. Once the Emperor Constantine gave single people the same inheritance rights as the married in 320 A.D., living a celibate life did not cost a man his family's wealth (Rouselle 137). Concerns of property inheritance and family unity brought about the changed inheritance laws in order to sway men to choose between legal marriage or noble virginity. Frequenting prostitutes and practicing homosexuality were criticized for primarily economic reasons: neither was perceived to be useful in implementing a successful family. If men in Rome did not wish to marry, living a chaste life became a sign of strength and courage. The emphasis on virginity as a way of life was initially intended for men. John Cassian's six degrees of chastity, written in the fourth century, refers only to chaste males: the third degree, is described as the state wherein a monk is unmoved by the sight of a woman; the fourth is that the monk "no longer has erections while awake" and the sixth states that "the seduction of female fantasies does not delude him while he sleeps" (157).

For women, however, continence and chastity required a shift in gendered identity. Chastity enabled a woman to transcend her sex because the denial of the body elevated her above female inferiority. The pagan philosopher Porphyry (235-305) encouraged his wife's chastity as a means to improve her both intellectually and spiritually: "Do not consider yourself as a woman. I am not

attached to you as to a woman. Flee all that is effeminate in the soul as if you had taken on a man's body. It is when the soul is virginal and when the intellect is still a virgin that they produce the finest offspring." (Rouselle 187). The ideal of chastity creates a kind of homogenous, genderless society: "Virginity, and failing that, continence, allows a woman to arrive at the stage where there are no women and no men" (187). This belief was supported by biblical evidence: "There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female: for ye are all one in Christ Jesus" (Gal. 3:28). An individual's denial of sexual drives was a denial of the physical body, which ascetics believed hindered the spirit's quest for divine perfection. Since the female body was perceived as corrupt and vulnerable, women were encouraged to become like men by refusing to succumb to the weaknesses of the woman's body. Virginity was therefore a masculine attribute according to pagan and Christian philosophers; yet, "by means of asceticism, women understood themselves as having become virgins and men, or 'manly virgins', who could therefore live together with male virgins as complete equals." (Elm 134)

However, virginity for women was seldom discussed in these philosophies because it was considered to be an option only for men. According to Peter Brown, in this early period the "notion of perpetual virginity . . . never acquired the unambiguous association with specifically female chastity that it achieved in other ages, both in the pagan world and in later forms of Catholic Christianity" (xv). As men accepted the superiority of chastity and some began to live their

lives unmarried and chaste, Roman wives began to recognize the appeal of a chaste life (and its freedom) and then emphasized the benefits of virginity to their daughters. Aline Rouselle comments that initially virginity was not an option for many Roman women. Unless Roman girls, married off by their fathers as early as age twelve, were able to withstand the social and familial pressure to marry, they usually did not have the option of a chaste life available to them. Only girls orphaned before puberty or consecrated for virginity at birth by their parents could remain unmarried (188). The popular treatises advising virginity were also unavailable to Roman females because such they “were not in a position to understand the discourses on virginity which were written for them” (189). The main proponents of the possibility of lifelong virginity were Roman wives, who encouraged their daughters to remain unmarried virgins and to lead an independent life through continence (189).

According to Peter Brown, there were some female virgins: vestal virgins were a recognized, accepted, and revered aspect of Roman religious life. These virgin priestesses were free to marry later, but not until age 30; “they were the exceptions that reinforced the rule” (9). Their very existence was anomalous in Roman culture, and though they were respected, they were not considered the pinnacle of human existence; “their virginity did not speak to the community as a whole of long-lost perfection” (8). Their duties as priestesses required their virgin state, which was not considered indicative of the triumph of the individual will over the body, but rather as individual dedication to religious duty. The influence

of asceticism, both Jewish and Christian, would emphasize the strength of the individual will in the representation and perception of virginity.

As Christianity became dominant in the Western world, and Christians moved up the socio-economic scale, the Christianized doctrine of asceticism had a more widespread effect. When Christianity sanctified virginity for women in the church, the concept and the appeal of the ascetic life gained momentum among women. Their enthusiasm for asceticism and the idea of equality “made the women of the Empire one of the principal forces in the transformation of the ancient world” (Rouselle 193). The self-sacrifice and control required by a life of continence enabled Christians to transcend the limitations of gender, at least theoretically. Although Christ had said that women’s souls were equal to men’s, patriarchal church doctrine insisted on the inferiority and weakness of the female body. The double standard, however, created a new empowerment for women religious. Women had ‘farther to go’ to control their desires than men, so the vow of celibacy imbued the chaste of both sexes, but especially women, with a special kind of divinity, gained from the denial of the physical body and sexual desire.

Asceticism began as a method for men and women to transcend, as virgins of God, the limitations of humanity in relation to the divine. It slowly changed into a way for men as men and for women as women to symbolize the power of the Church to surpass human weakness. This coincided with the establishment of Christianity as the religion of the Roman Empire, and, not accidentally, with a

decisive shift from God the eternal source of all being, manifest in the incarnate *Logos*, to God the Father, manifest in the Son. (Elm 384)

After the conversion to Christianity of the Emperor Constantine in the fourth century, the threat of persecution abated and Christians began to embrace asceticism. Since the battles with the Roman Empire had ceased, Christianity needed a power base from which it would draw the people's admiration and respect for the purpose of eventual conversion. The move from collective courage – Christians facing torture, ferocious lions, and public execution – to the individuality of self-control that asceticism required “may be explained by the aim of recapturing the heroism of martyrdom” (Rouselle 131). Release from torture and execution created the necessity for a different kind of martyrdom, which focused on the ascetic's denial of the body – in essence, a denial of one's flawed humanity and a concentration on the divine aspects of the self. Christianity's veneration of the Virgin Mary extended the definition of chaste virtue to include women as well as men. By the fourth century, writings on sexuality by Tertullian and Cyprian were directed at women and discussed female virginity, possibly indicating that the idea of women choosing a life of virginity was commonplace (131). The writings follow a common pattern; they either

deal with the type of upbringing which prepares women for virginity or expose the errors which have led virgins to fall from grace, in other words to practise the sexual act either within or outside

marriage The bishops described to their female audience the harsh realities of conjugal life, the pain of childbirth, the bad temper of husbands, the sorrow of losing a child, compared with the abstract beauty of the ideal of virginity, depicted in platonic terms.

(Rousselle 133)

Treatises on virginity “describe the mediocrity of marriage compared with the ideal and eternal beauty of the virgin” and the view of marriage presented in the works of the Christian Fathers emphasized the negativity of the married state: the Patriarch of Constantinople, John Chrysostom, (c. 346-407) wrote to wives about their husbands: “The Apostle said, “Endure this servitude; only when he dies will you be free” (136). Basil of Ancyra wrote a similar view of marriage before 364 A.D.: “With her dowry a woman buys herself a master” (136). These viewpoints would be repeated in treatises by Christian philosophers, using virtually identical arguments, several centuries later. The necessary control of the female body would be emphasized with increasing frequency as the Church became dominant in the West. In the Christian tradition, there were two reasons for women to be chaste: spirituality and a semblance of independence. In order to live unmarried without arousing suspicion, a woman could enter a convent, claiming a spiritual calling. Her placement in a patriarchal society and its anxiety over her gender necessitated this religious connection, her servitude to Christ; otherwise, an ‘unattached’ woman would be seen as sexually threatening and dangerous. Centuries later, in a Protestant society, Elizabeth Tudor would choose not to

marry in order to keep her independence, drawing on the mystique of the power of virginity in order to enhance her power as Queen.

As Christianity's power and influence increased, so did the cult of the Virgin Mary. Mary is the ideal of traditional Christian womanhood -- virtuous, chaste, and obedient -- yet the references to virginity from antiquity still influenced Christian women. Though obedience was a requirement, particularly for women, the ascetic sense of virginity as the ultimate in self-control acquired a definite military quality. Those who lived chastely were described as 'warriors for Christ' and praised as defeaters of the flesh. Virginity in this tradition represents much more than the control of physical desires; it included the purity of the soul.

To be over-concerned with the physical aspects of virginity is, indeed, to confuse its true beauty with a false image. A virgin might have the perfect virginal body, but without the perfect virginal soul it will avail nothing. . . . Virginity allows humans to resemble God. In this lies its greatness: virginity renders the soul (though not the body) incorruptible. Physical continence and self-control are only tools to achieve the true virginity, that of the soul. A virginal soul, liberated from all desires, reflects God's incorruptible image like a clear mirror, in constant contemplation of the Scriptures.

Unfortunately, many male as well as female ascetics pay mistaken attention to the name of virginity only, that is, to its physical aspects, and by neglecting true virginity, they labour all their lives in vain.

(Elm 115-16)

Women, who were perceived as particularly weak in regard to overcoming their deficiencies, were given a kind of gender transference through virginity. This theory enabled women to claim equality with men through spirituality, and enabled them to live independently and unmarried as nuns and anchoresses. Though supposedly this view of women declined during the Reformation because Protestantism would advocate marriage and childbirth for women, the mystique of virginity remained in the background of the collective conscience. In England, Elizabeth I would draw upon that tradition to remain unmarried in a society that prescribed marriage for all women, and trusted none to rule a country. By claiming the role of physical and spiritual virgin, Elizabeth appeared to transcend contemporary views of women. Relying on a centuries-old mystique built around the fear of women's sexuality, Elizabeth's control of her sexuality qualified her as exceptional. Her self-representation relied on theories of virginity from early Christianity. In the fourth century Basil, Bishop of Ancyra, claimed that female virginity is not a natural state and maintaining it involved conquering nature itself: "A virgin . . . must therefore overcome all those natural instincts in herself which 'force' her to seek male attention; she must suppress and, finally, eradicate all urges towards the other sex" (Elm 114-115). Although Elizabeth Tudor lived twelve centuries after Basil wrote his treatise, the mysticism of virginity was probably as powerful in the sixteenth century because a woman was on the throne and drew on many of the early Christian writers' perceptions of virginity. Able to

withstand the weaknesses of the female body, virginal women have thereby withstood the spiritual weakness as well, essentially becoming like men, or in some cases, better than humanity in general. Basil's work *On the True Integrity of Virginity* praises the practice of virginity as a divine manifestation:

This is the greatest and most magnificent aspect of virginity, that it constitutes a manifestation already here on earth of the pure seed of the resurrection and the incorruptible life. If at the resurrection no one marries and is married but all are like angels and become children of God (Matt. 22:30), then all those who lead the virginal life are already angels during their human life, while still ensconced in their corruptible flesh . . . surrounded by constant temptations. . . . Here, the virgins must be most highly admired. They have a female body, but they repress this appearance of their body through *askēsis*,¹ and become, through their virtue, like men, to whom they are already created equal in their soul. And while men through *askēsis* become angels instead of men, so do women, through exercise . . . of the same virtues, gain the same value as men. So, while in this present life they are equal to men in their soul only, but are hampered in achieving equality because of their female body², they will gain, through virtue, full equality with these men who have already been

¹lit., 'disciplined training' (Elm 56)

² literally, 'they limp towards equality in their female wrapping' - 120n37

made into the angels of the future life. Because if they become angel-like . . . , then those who practise asceticism in this life have already succeeded in being just like angels: they have castrated the female and male desires to cohabit through virtue and live amongst men on earth with naked souls. (Elm 120)

Virgins served as a “constant example of divine grace” and “a living testimony to the resurrection” because of the purity of their souls and well as their bodies: “The essential aim of virginity is the pure, virginal soul, in which all external sexual distinction has been obliterated. Women become ‘male’ through *askēsis*” (Elm 121-22). Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, wrote in the fourth century that virginity represented “the unpolluted body of Christ”, and was therefore “the most powerful bulwark against any weakening of those absolutes and against corruption and sin. And nowhere did the steadfastness of the Church find a clearer symbol than in the sacred, pure body of a ‘virgin of God’” (Elm 381).

As more women began to embrace asceticism as a way of life, a shift in the perception of virginity occurred. The challenge to the patriarchy offered by spiritual equality resulted in an increase in the number of female religious. The image had to be changed in order to keep women in the subservient role, even in the Church. By the fourth century A.D. when the incorporeal idea of virginity had obliterated the idea of gender differences and offered a kind of spiritual equality for women, an image of female domesticity began to appear in the idea of the Bride of Christ. The images of the ‘warrior for Christ’ who attains male status

through chastity began to be replaced by the representation of women as holy brides. Athanasius of Alexandria wrote two letters to ascetic women in which he offers consolation to the virgins who wept when they had to leave the Holy Land in the early fourth century. Their consolation, he advises, will be that “as long as they remain pure, they will carry Christ within themselves and will preserve their own internal Holy Land.” (Elm 333). According to Athanasius,

It is the sanctity of a dove that the virgin ought to imitate in order to be a fitting bride of Christ: domestic, restrained, pure. It is to him that she has been promised; entirely out of her own free will has she ‘written that she will fight the battle’. . . . thus a fall is without excuse, a sin without remission. ‘Indeed, it is better never to profess virginity than, having once made the profession, not to accomplish it perfectly’ (Eccl. 5:4). (Elm 334-35).

The profession of chastity became one of few ways that women could be considered to have equal status to men; Basil commented that once a virgin has achieved the angelic state of mind resulting from a life of chastity, “once she adopts the appearance of a man, has given her voice a masculine firmness, and comports herself like a man . . . , then she may live with the brothers in Christ as if in a family . . . as if both were ‘born from one womb’” (120-121). Virginity became a way for women to transcend the limitations of gender, yet the image had two aspects: the incorporeal genderless warrior for Christ and the Bride of Christ, an extension of the idea of the Church itself as the Bride.

The double image of the virgin remained a constant in Catholicism, and English Catholicism was no different. The emphasis on the spiritual necessity of virginity for nuns and anchoresses appeared in treatises for women, which were published in order to provide examples of Christian female behavior for women in the Middle Ages. One such collection, known as the Katherine Group, contained narratives of the virgin martyrs Katherine, Margaret, and Juliana, a letter on the superiority of virginity called *Hali Meidhad*, (*Holy Virginity*) and *Sawles Warde*, an allegory on the custody of the soul. Written between 1190 and 1230, the Katherine Group presents a model of behavior, “a form of preaching by written instruction . . . directed toward the occupational or ‘estates’ category of its audience. For women this is usually wife, widow, or virgin” (Millet and Wogan-Browne xv). *Hali Meidhad* quotes King David, traditionally viewed as the author of the Psalms, who encourages women to “forget your people and your father’s house.” He speaks to “the bride of God” -- the virgin, explaining that

‘your people’ are . . . the carnal thoughts which crowd into your mind, which incite you and draw you on with their goadings to carnal filthiness, to physical desires, and urge you toward marriage and a husband’s embrace, and make you think what pleasure there would be in them, what comfort in the riches that these ladies have, how much that is good might come from your children. (3)

Such people -- these carnal desires -- are described as “the people of Babylon” and “the army of the Devil” who seek “to lead that daughter of Zion into the world’s

servitude” (3).

‘Zion’ was once the name of the high tower of Jerusalem; and ‘Zion’ corresponds to ‘high vision’ in English. And this tower signifies the high state of virginity, which as if from a height sees all widows below it, and married women too. For these, as slaves of the flesh, are in the servitude of the world, and live low on earth; and the virgin stands through her exalted life in the tower of Jerusalem. Not from low on earth, but from the height in heaven which is signified by this, from that Zion she sees all the world below her; and through the angelic and heavenly life that she leads, although she lives on earth in the body, she ascends in spirit, and is as if in Zion, the high tower of heaven, incomparably free from worldly troubles.(3)

In order to remain her own person, a woman must reject also the world that seeks to enslave her. Carnal desires, the agents of the Devil, constantly lay siege to this tower in order to “bring into servitude the woman who stands so high inside it.”

If the woman remains true to Christ and the virginity that elevates her above all others, she will be incorruptible, and like the tower, impregnable. In the Christian idea of the body’s corruptibility through desire, sexual knowledge was the easiest way for the devil to entice the individual to sin. The virgin occupying this holy tower is indeed in

a high position, of such great dignity, and such honour as it is to be God’s spouse, the bride of Jesus Christ, the lover of the Lord to

whom all things do homage, lady of all the world as he is lord of all; like him in integrity, spotless as he is, and that blessed virgin his beloved mother; like his holy angels and his highest saints; with such freedom for herself that she need not think about anything at all apart from pleasing her beloved with true love . . . (5).

The other side of the image is revealed, as the chaste woman is shown the ideal of the Bride of Christ, chosen for holy marriage by God. Should this unfortunate woman be brought into servitude through sin, she will go from being “God’s bride and his free daughter (for she is both together)” to being the servant and slave of a man, “to do and suffer all that he pleases . . . [you will] be made wretched so often by the worthless man you are subject to, for nothing or for a trifle, that your life will be hateful to you, and make you regret your choice . . . instead of delight you have hell on earth” (7). Though poverty is a concern, even women who marry rich men fare no better; “it is nowhere near gold, all that glitters there; but no one but themselves knows what they often suffer” (7). The author comments that the worldly miseries are nothing compared to the loss of heavenly joys resulting from such a life (5).

Created not by God but by the sins of Adam and Eve, sexual intercourse is described as “that indecent heat of the flesh, that burning itch of physical desire before that disgusting act, that animal union, that shameless coupling, that stinking and wanton deed, full of filthiness” (9). Despite the inherently evil nature of desire and intercourse, however, “it is, nevertheless, to be tolerated to

some extent within marriage” (9). God knew that most people would not be strong enough to withstand their desires, so He made marriage a sacrament so that those people would not be eternally damned for their weakness: Saint Paul wrote: “But if they cannot contain, let them marry: for it is better to marry than to burn” (I Cor. 6:9). Virgins, however, are far superior because they have managed to conquer these desires; “angels and maidens are equal in virtue through the power of virginity” (11). A variety of texts echoed this assertion; Hrotsvit (Hroswitha) of Gandersheim, a German nun, wrote the play *Abraham* in the tenth century. Abraham’s niece Mary is informed that if she lives an uncorrupt life and remains a virgin she will “become the equal of God’s angels” and will journey toward heaven after her death, until she reaches “the Virgin’s Son’s arms’ delight, / and are embraced by Him in the luminous wedding chamber of His mother”(Petroff 126). This idea recalls both sides of the virginity ideal -- she is offered genderless equality, yet also gendered as a bride. As the only virtue that foreshadows on earth the state of bliss in heaven, virginity “marks” the woman as Christ’s chosen bride, whose heavenly song is “above all the melodies in heaven” as she dances in a circle around the Virgin Mary (17). Retaining one’s virginity became synonymous with the victory of Christ over Satan, of the incorruptible over the corrupt.

Virginity is the blossom which, if it is once completely cut off, will never grow again (but though it may wither sometimes through indecent thoughts, it can grow green again nevertheless). Virginity

is the star which, if it has once traveled from the East to sink in the West, will never rise again. Virginity is the one gift granted to you from heaven; if you once dispose of it you will never regain another quite like it. For virginity is the queen of heaven, and the world's redemption through which we are saved, a virtue above all virtues, and most pleasing of all to Christ. (10-11)

Ancrene Wisse (Guide for anchoresses) advises women who were religious recluses, who had themselves sealed into cells to live an ascetic life. Their renunciation of the world, which of course included a vow of chastity, would be formalized by the singing of a mass for the dead as the anchoress was locked into her cell. The locked cell in the *Ancrene Wisse* is comparable to the tower of Zion from *Hali Meðhad*; the struggle of the anchoress with temptation is compared to a castle under siege in the allegory, which describes a destitute lady in a clay castle besieged by enemies. A powerful king, “the most supremely handsome of men” offers to protect her, though it will cost him his life. All happened as he said, but “by a miracle he rose from death to life. Would not this lady have a base nature if she did not love him after this above all things?” (113,115). The lady represents the soul, beloved of Christ, and her clay castle is the body; “this king is Jesus, Son of God, who in just this way wooed our soul, which devils had besieged” (115). By describing the lady in the castle as a metaphor for the soul, the author of the *Ancrene Wisse* prescribes the expectations for the anchoress; locked in her cell, she will be constantly besieged by temptation. The noble

knight who will save her is Christ, whose shield is the crucifix. The example of the extent of Christ's mercy for the soul (always gendered female) uses sexual references to indicate his forgiveness. Christ becomes in this allegory of courtly love the husband whose wife has committed adultery. Even if she "fornicates with the Devil for many long years, his mercy is always waiting for her when she is willing to come home and leave the Devil. . . . What is greater mercy than this?" (119)

Here is a more joyful wonder still: no matter how many mortal sins his love has been dishonoured by, as soon as she comes back to him, he makes her a virgin again. For as St. Augustine says, there is so much difference -- that is, between God's advances to a woman and a man's -- that a man's advances make a virgin into a woman, and God makes a woman into a virgin. . . . Good works and true faith -- these two things are virginity in the soul. (119)

The restoration of spiritual virginity was a widely accepted concept; it enabled women with previous sexual experience to claim new identities through the renunciation of the body. A widow, therefore, could join a convent and take holy orders as a nun. This spiritual virginity was more important than the physical state; physical virginity did not in and of itself qualify a person as pure. Without purity of spirit, physical virginity meant nothing.

Women who did not become nuns could live a solitary life of religious contemplation as anchoresses and recluses. They removed themselves willingly

from the world, having decided to live a life of chastity in a secluded cell. When the woman entered the tiny cell, an enclosure ceremony was performed, involving last rights and the prayers usually spoken for the dead. The enclosure was referred to as a “sepulcher” and the woman’s family and friends participated as mourners. After the cell was closed, the anchoress continued to receive the essentials necessary to remain alive, but was considered to be separate from the world (Elkins152). Guides for anchoresses were written by religious men, prescribing the ideals of conduct for women who chose the life of seclusion. Aelred of Rievaulx wrote such a guide for his sister, who became a recluse between 1160 and 1165. Aelred stressed the importance of virginity and emphasized “the need for solitude and on the danger of close relationships, especially friendships with religious men”(152). He also suggested that she

meditate on her virginity as a way to enflame her love for Christ.

‘Bear in mind always what a precious treasure you bear in how fragile a vessel. . . . What could be more precious than the treasure with which heaven is bought, which delights your angel, which Christ himself longs for, which entices him to love and bestow gifts? What is it he gives? I will make bold to say: himself and all that he has.’ (Elkins 155)

Anchoresses, enclosed in cells to be closer to God through contemplation and solitude, did not actively participate in the teaching of Church dogma, as priests and nuns did, but instead were unmoving “anchors,” their cells literally

attached to the walls of the church. Their lives were an odd mixture of dependence and independence, as they remained solitary but depended upon charity for their existence. They avoided the societal obligations of marriage and childbirth by taking a vow of virginity and closing themselves off from the world. Despite her secluded immobility, the anchoress could have visitors, as Julian of Norwich received a visit from Margery Kempe, who later dictated the details of their conversation to the priest who wrote them down in *The Booke of Margery Kempe* (Windeatt 12, 30). Kempe claimed that the Lord instructed her to visit Julian, who might be able to give her some insight on her visions. Julian, who received the sixteen mystical visions described in her work *The Book of Showings*, was also one of the earliest women writers in English, writing her book after several years of contemplating the meaning of her visions (De Jaeger 49). As a woman not entirely dependent on the church, yet separate from the world outside it, the anchoress could be considered a living link between the religious and the secular world, possibly more accessible than a priest or nun. Julian of Norwich was not the only anchoress to be well-known at the time. The existence of several texts referring to the women called “enclosed ones” indicates that the vocation of anchoress was not that unusual for women of the medieval period.

Eve of Wilton was the first postconquest woman known to have become an anchoress (Elm 19-20). Living in an 8-foot cell, and communicating through a small window, she was “literally an enclosed one,” living a life of contemplation but offering advice and consolation to those who sought it (21-22). Eve is known

to modernity through a letter written by a Flemish monk, Goscelin of St. Bertin, who also lived at Wilton. Goscelin, known for his narratives of the lives of Anglo-Saxon saints, wrote Eve a letter that first praises her seclusion and her becoming “an orphan of Christ.” Goscelin considered heaven a place where “community and friendship were central” and praises Eve’s choice of denying herself human companionship to contemplate the joys of heaven (24): “Since Eve had abandoned the safe, the familiar, and the friendly, Goscelin came to see her as another model of heroism Formerly her spiritual mentor, he now besought Eve for aid.” Goscelin’s letter reveals the early Christian and medieval perception of the religious vocation as a martial undertaking: “when Goscelin thought of Eve’s life, battle images came to his mind. Eve was in the army of Christ, prepared to fight the demonic, eager to engage in cosmic battle during her short time on earth” (24). Once the martyrs had fought external enemies, but Eve’s internal struggles against carnal desires, evil thoughts, and temptations were real battles as well, with a greater spiritual significance.

Being a woman did not hinder Eve in this spiritual warfare. In the battle against evil, spiritual equality overruled the inequality of gender, though the explanation of it reveals the patriarchal society’s insistence on female inferiority. In Goscelin’s view, which he shared with many, “God was especially able to confound His enemies when He acted through women, as He had with Deborah, Jael, and Judith” (24-25). Although Christ denied the prize ‘to no sex, no state, and no condition’ of person, in this life God often chose to triumph through those

the world ignored as lowly and contemptible. To emphasize that women were effective warriors in the cosmic battle, Goscelin recounted the victories of saintly women.

Like Sarah, Eve could conquer evil spirits; like the martyr Perpetua, she could overcome the devil. By being patient under torture, a woman, St. Blandina, had converted many to Christ. . . . To be a warrior in Christ's army, Eve did not need to overcome any limits resulting from her gender; since she was a powerful woman, she better revealed God's rejection of the world's false values. (25)

Goscelin's view of the 'woman warrior' for Christ is not a singular opinion; the belief was widely held in the worthiness of women to further the Christian cause, particularly now that the 'war' had become a spiritual one.

Another anchoress praised in writing was Christina of Markyate, whose *vita* was written by an anonymous monk so intent on presenting an accurate and full portrait that he interviewed Christina at her priory (27). Christina had pledged her virginity to God about 1111, when she was in her early teens: 'Grant me, I beseech Thee, purity and inviolable virginity whereby Thou mayest renew in me the image of Thy Son.' This vow to virginity became pivotal for Christina, as it enabled her to pursue a religious life despite many obstacles. Her family, obsessed with the material and social gains available from marrying her off, "begrudged her a life of virginity" (28). To sway her from her vow of chastity, they tried love potions, alcohol, and even sent a suitor to her bedroom to rape her,

but she escaped: “For women like Christina who sought independence from an arranged marriage, virginity’s fundamental importance was not its spiritual qualities but its guarantee of freedom” (Elm 28-29). Finally escaping her parents and seeking sanctuary in religious house, she relied on religious men for assistance for seven years, until she could live openly as a religious (32). The religious community’s recognition of the individual choice is indicated by “the number of people who intervened on Christina’s behalf simply because they believed she had a right to religious life” (32-33). The vow of virginity and determination to live a religious life were not without difficulty, according to Christina’s legend. The narrative of her life parallels the legends of the virgin martyrs through its presentation of the temptation to break her vow of chastity and her triumph through faith and divine grace.

A vision of Christ prevalent among anchoresses identifies him as a chaste lover or bridegroom, for whom religious women preserve their virginity. Christ’s spiritual presence released women from the carnal desires associated with the mortal body and the material world. When Gregory of Nyssa visited the Greek saint Macrina on her deathbed, he observed her detachment from the world:

. . . she seemed to me to be making clear to those present the divine and pure love of the unseen Bridegroom which she had secretly nourished in the depths of her soul, and she seemed to be communicating the disposition in her heart to go to the One she was longing for, so that, once loosed from the chains of the body, she

might quickly be with Him. Truly, her race was towards the Beloved and nothing of the pleasure of life diverted her attention.

(Petroff 81)

The spiritual marriage to Christ, solemnized with the vow of chastity, transforms the male or female religious into an ideal of Christian existence: the complete human being who combines the genders of male and female into a spiritually superior being. Elm discusses the effect on women of such legends as *The Life of Saint Macrina*, written by Gregory of Nyssa after Macrina's death in 380 A.D..

Texts such as the *Life of Macrina* were certainly intended to provide an exemplar for women aspiring to live as a 'virgin of God'. But the portrayal of Macrina was also Gregory's commentary on ways in which the newly emerging Christian roman élite (and that means in particular the clergy) might understand its public, that is to say its political role: as a composite of and perfect synthesis between the male and the female, the familial and the ascetic, the public and the private. (Elm 382-83)

This concept is particularly important for women because the assumption of spiritual equality meant that women could live a relatively independent life within the confines of the Church. For example,

Macrina, through asceticism, became a *gyn_andreia*, a 'man and a woman', a new kind of human being who combined in herself all that was most female with all that was quintessentially male.

Gregory created in her an *exemplum* for a complete human being through the creation of a new female image: that of the ascetic, the 'virgin of God', in short, that of a true saint, who, on her way to God, has progressed beyond male and female. (Petroff 102)

The early Christian image of genderless purity was extended in the exempla of the female saints. In a society based on patriarchy, emphasizing an absence of gender would lessen the accepted belief in the superiority of male over female.

Employing the device of the woman beset by sexual temptation or threatened with sexual violence, the authors of the saints' lives simultaneously reinforced social codes while presenting examples of spiritually superior women.

Saints' lives and the significance of virginity

Some of the most influential texts on English women were the popular tales of saints' lives, particularly those about virgin martyrs. The English tradition in hagiography stresses the importance of the woman's virginity, her strength under duress, and her exceptional spiritual gifts. In the narratives, virginity provides the saints with extraordinary strength, a reflection of their spiritual purity and power during persecution, torture, and death. The saints' martyrdom associates pure spirit with the purity of the chaste body and serves as a catalyst for the conversion of witnesses to their martyrdom. Generally, the lives of the virgin saints follow the same pattern; they are usually young and beautiful and take vows of virginity. They are desired by someone powerful or ordered by an abusive father to wed

powerful men. The martyrdom of virgin saints results in punishment of their tormentors, conversion of onlookers, and evidence of great strength under torture and death. The female audience of these virgin saints' legends were encouraged to "attend most earnestly to how they should love the living Lord, and live in virginity, the virtue dearest to him, so that they may, through that holy maiden we commemorate today with the honour due to virgins, sing that blessed virgins' song together with this maiden and with the heavenly host eternally in heaven" (*Sainte Margarete* 45).

The Christianization of Europe may have had an effect on the notion of womanhood, not only in the public sector, but also the private. Whereas in the classical period, women could model themselves after female deities like Diana, Aphrodite, and Hera, Christianity shifted the model of women's behavior from a female to a male source – Christ. This notion would lead to the Christian notion of the androgyny of the soul, and later of the body; through emulation of Christ, women could become both male and female. The same-sex identification with goddesses as models for female behavior was replaced by the heterosexual model of "brides of Christ" – by emulating Christ, women could endeavor to be like him, and to be worthy of his love. However, the later gendering of the concept is evident; the earlier promise of women becoming like angels had become feminized into the concept of the pure Christian soul as a virgin bride.

Saints' legends reinforced this gendering of the Christian woman's soul, as the hagiography of heroic young virginal women became prevalent. Some

legends of virgin saints involved the trial of the woman's virtue, her steadfast faith in Christ, and her torture and death. The villain who could not deprive her of her maidenhead in a sexual sense would resort to a literal version: execution by beheading. The legend of Saint Faith, popular in the Middle Ages, described a young woman in third century Agen who refused to worship Diana, claiming that she had "consecrated herself to Christ" (Butler 578). She was burned on a "brazen bed" and beheaded (578). Maxellendis (A.D. 670) was betrothed in marriage against her wishes, though her dream of her resolution of virginity had been confirmed by an angel. She fled her wedding and was murdered by the groom, who was struck blind. When he begged God for forgiveness, his sight was restored (Butler 645). Barbara, from the seventh century, was one of the most popular saints of the medieval era. Refusing to worship idols and marry, Barbara was locked in a tower, tortured, and murdered by her father. She prayed to Christ for grace and forgiveness of her tormentors and remembrance of her passion and was answered: "Come, my spouse Barbara. . . . I grant to thee that thou hast required of me" (561). Her father was immolated by heavenly fire. Cecilia (Cecily) was one of the most venerated martyrs of the early church. She was a patrician girl of Rome whose father married her to a young man, Valerian, despite her wishes "to remain a maiden for the love of God" (511). In their bridal chamber she told her husband, "I have an angel of God watching over me. If you touch me in the way of marriage he will be angry and you will suffer; but if you respect my maidenhood he will love you as you love me" (511). Valerian was

converted and later martyred with his brother Tibertius. Cecilia was condemned to be suffocated in her own bathroom, but she survived, although the furnace's heat was seven times the normal level. After a day and a night, a soldier was sent to behead her, and struck her neck three times. After lingering for three days, she died and was buried next to the papal crypt. The Cecilia legend was particularly well-known in medieval England; "The Second Nun's Tale" from *The Canterbury Tales* is the story of Cecilia's martyrdom. Given the extent of Queen Elizabeth's education, it is possible that she may have been familiar with both the legend and Chaucer's version:

She never cessed, as I writen fynde,
Of hir preyere, and God to love and drede,
Bisekyng hym to keep her maydenhede. (*SNT* 124-26)

The emphasis on female virginity throughout hagiography reflects the prevailing anxiety over the female body and its perceived vulnerability to temptation. A woman's refusal to marry and her deliberate withdrawal from a traditional social structure represented a declaration of individual will and spiritual faith, symbolized by her chaste body. The metaphor of the tower figures centrally in the Barbara legend, as the saint's purity of body and spirit serve as a fortress against corruption. The focus on female virginity and the promised marriage to Christ in the saints' lives represents a transformation in the perception of virginity for women. In a patriarchal society, the Christian promise of a genderless salvation through spiritual and physical virginity would be a challenge

to the established order. Rather than give religious women equal status to religious men, Christian saints' legends identified female virgins as Brides of Christ. Feminizing the role of women in Christian mythology removed the threat to the gender hierarchy. Yet the celebration of the virgin saint is also evidence of an attempt not only to provide exemplary models of female behavior, but also to inspire women to take holy orders. The saints' lives teach that despite women's lesser physical strength, their spiritual fortitude is equal, if not superior, to that of men.

The saints' lives presented in the collection of medieval works known as the Katherine Group are those of Katherine, Margaret, and Juliana. Like the virgin martyrs discussed above, they are beautiful women who chose to be brides of Christ, and were executed under Roman law: "this shared design and purpose make it possible for a single life to give a good idea of all three" (xxi).

According to Millett and Wogan-Browne, "The Katherine Group legends function as exemplary rather than historical biography" (xxiii). To reveal the strength of the virgin saints, the legends present a highly gendered situation: the tormenter is always the male who threatens to overpower the female saint. The violence in each legend is "highly stylized, presented as "an escalating sequence of tortures [that] leaves the virgin more untouched and the tyrant more unmanned. . . . The contest of wills and faiths between the tyrant and the virgin is of primary interest" (xxiii). The virgin is given a series of threats to her physical safety and temptations to doubt her faith, each more intense; "in its presentation of heroic

virginity *Seine Margarete*, like its sister legends, exemplifies the strength of will required to resist parental and social pressures towards marriages and aligns this with spiritual strength against temptations” (xxv). In legends like these, faith and chastity provide the saint with the strength necessary to withstand and overcome torture and temptation.

Those who die in the name of God, male or female, are perceived as “seasoned fighters” who defeated “their three kinds of foe, the Devil and this frail world and the lusts of the flesh”; their rewards are “martyrs’ crowns to Christ, [and] eternal joy and bliss” (Millett and Wogan-Browne 45). The narrator/witness of Margaret’s story, Teochimus, emphasizes the martial quality of the saint’s spirituality when he writes that Margaret “fought with the Devil and his agents on earth, and defeated and destroyed them” (45).

Margaret of Antioch’s father was “a powerful infidel”; her mother died by the time she turned 15. In many of the saints’ legends, the absence of female authority figures reinforces the isolation of the female saint. Margaret’s legend describes her as not only spiritually pure, but also one whose holiness is evident in her physical appearance: “. . . all those who saw her loved her as one who was loved by God, the heavenly Lord, who had given her the grace of the Holy Ghost, so that she chose him as love and as suitor, and commended to him her virgin honour, her will and her deeds” (47). She is a shepherdess, which is important symbolically in both pagan and Christian mythology, as indicative of an idealized state of innocence and purity. When the corrupt governor Olibrius propositions

her, she refuses him. To the virgin saint the chastity of her body is a physical manifestation of the incorruptibility of her soul. She prays to God to “deliver my body, dedicated to you, from carnal defilement, so my soul may never be soiled with sin through the fleeting pleasures of fleshly lust.” She calls her virginity “a precious jewel” and asks God to “keep it always for yourself” (47).

Margaret’s plea to God is a common one in the legends of the virgin saints, occurring in the legends of both Barbara and Winifred. Margaret addresses God as a protective lover or husband, though his protection is not one of active interference to rescue the tortured saint. Instead, Christ is the inspiration and the source of the saint’s strength under temptation, torture, and death. When Olibrius asks her what god she worships, she replies, “I honour . . . the Father on high, the Lord in Heaven, and his precious Son, who is called Jesus Christ; and have given my virginity inviolate to him, and love him as a lover and believe in Him, as Lord” (49). Margaret refuses to worship Olibrius’ idols, using the rhetoric of the faithful lover/wife to explain her refusal to commit spiritual adultery: “the only man I love and put my faith in is the one who rules and guides with his wisdom winds and tempests, and all that is encircled by sea and sun. Both above and below, everything obeys him and does him homage” (51). She counters the threats of torture with statements of faith, and during her torture by Olibrius, she praises God, and asks him to send a messenger dove “so that I may preserve my virginity undefiled for you; . . . show your power through me . . . So that I may overcome him, so that all virgins ever afterwards may put their trust in you more

through me” (55-56). As her trials increase, her concern is only for the preservation of her virginity, not her life. After being thrown into a dungeon, she prays: “For one thing I beseech you, always and everywhere, that you guard my virginity inviolate for yourself, my soul against sin, my reason and wisdom against senseless idols. In you, my Saviour, is all I desire” (59). When a dragon swallows her, she makes the sign of the cross and the dragon splits in half. This miracle made her a saint who was called on by women in childbirth, as she was a pure soul “birthed” by the wicked dragon. She claims a victory in battle, as a soldier would, but gives thanks to God for the strength to be victorious:

I have cast down the dragon and dashed his courage, and he who thought to devour me is dying himself; I am the victor and he is defeated and vanquished. But it is you that I thank for this, you who are king of kings . . . virgins’ joy and martyrs’ crown . . . (Millett and Wogan-Browne 63)

When a demon appears, she throws him to the ground and puts her foot on his neck. The demon reveals that his purpose is to entice people to desire and fornication because sin gives all demons enjoyment. They delight in watching the damnation of those who succumb to carnal pleasures because of the “sheer pleasure at seeing them fall so low from such a great height, from the highest in heaven to the lowest in hell . . . the pleasure of that physical desire ends almost at once, and the punishment for it lasts for evermore” (65). For giving in to the weakness of sexual desire, sinners “lose both the love of God and honour in the

world” and fulfill the plans of the demons (71). Margaret’s chastity, purity of spirit, and courage, however, have vanquished the forces of Hell.

The demon howls in defeat: “My weapons -- alas! -- have all been overcome. Now if it had been a man -- but it is by a maiden! And this seems worst to me, that all that race you came from and were born into are wholly in our bonds, and you have escaped from them -- the greatest of all marvels, that you on your own have been able to surpass your father and your mother, both kinsmen and kinswomen . . . and have chosen Christ alone as your lover and as lord . . . we are weak now and utterly helpless, when a maiden casts down our immense pride like this. (71)

The choice of virginity and the purity of body and spirit such a vow creates overcomes even the disadvantage of being born a woman, according to this demon. The powers of Hell attempt all the harm they can to humanity, “and especially the righteous and virgins like you. For Jesus Christ, son of God, was born of a virgin, and through the virtue of virginity mankind was saved and all that we owned was taken from us” (73). After Margaret is tortured by burning, she prays. Like Barbara, her prayers are answered, as a dove appears, summoning her to heaven: “You were blessed, maiden, when you chose virginity, which is queen of all virtues; therefore you shall enjoy for ever in endless bliss the brightest of crowns” (77). As she prays before her execution, she asks God to help those who build a chapel in her name, to help any woman in labor who “recalls my

name and my passion” and to prevent any birth deformities or handicaps. She also asks salvation for those who call her name at the last judgement. The dove -- the manifestation of Christ -- tells her that her prayers are granted, calling her his “beloved” and “bride to his bridegroom” (79).

These legends of virgin martyrs and saints, as graphic and violent as they were, held an additional message for their female audiences. The saints endured unspeakable tortures and horrible deaths, and as they are dying, their requests to Christ invoke the virtues of forgiveness and love. In addition, however, the saints also claim some control for themselves; Margaret requests that her name be honored by a church, and that women in labor can call her name to prevent birth defects or stillbirths. Similarly, Barbara asks that her suffering be remembered. Through their suffering, they adopt a position of authority, originating in their devotion to God. In a culture where women had little or no power in any sphere, the reverence in which women religious were held, as well as the fear of the dangers of childbirth, would have been one of several incentives for women to join a religious institution. In addition, women could avoid subjection to a husband and also learn Latin and read learned texts. The lives of the virgin saints, which became extremely popular among women, presented models of behavior that corresponded to the ideal of womanhood as indicated by Christian doctrine. By shifting the model for women from the independence of classical goddesses (Diana the virgin huntress) to the patriarchal model of ‘brides of Christ’, the legends reinforced Pauline doctrines of chaste and obedient womanhood;

however, the strength revealed by these women through their faith, and the tortures they endured, served to provide them with some degree of 'masculine' action and autonomy. In the Middle Ages, however, the genderless warrior for Christ faded as the cult of the Virgin came to the fore. Religious role models for women shifted to a more traditionally passive and pious female identity: Mary, the virgin mother, the handmaid of God. However, as Raymond Williams states, a residual aspect of past culture may still exist within a later culture, and "organized religion is predominantly residual" (122). Though Protestantism would attempt to eradicate the image of the virgin warrior, the Catholic influence was still present in England, and even during a period of major anti-Catholic sentiment, an unmarried queen would rely on those residual images to consolidate her power.

The Perception of Virginity and the Unmarried Queen in the English

Renaissance

In Catholic England, such role models remained prevalent until Henry VIII's break with the Church of Rome in 1534, and the vocations of nuns and anchorites were abolished. The Renaissance perception of women's roles included an emphasis on female chastity that varied only slightly from that of the Middle Ages. Though the Protestant Reformation brought about a more dignified status for marriage, the requirement of chastity for women remained practically the same. Virginity was expected for unmarried women, who would eventually become domesticated as chaste Protestant wives.

Published in 1523, Desiderius Erasmus' *The Comparation of a Virgin and a Martyr* presents a perception of virginity that differ little from those of the Middle Ages. Writing for an audience of Benedictine nuns, Erasmus reiterates the notion that virginity represents, and is a reflection of, a spiritual purity attainable only through steadfast devotion to "the spowse [Christ] that nameth himself a lillie: Lyke as the lylie is amonge thornes, so is my love amonge the doughters. What thyng else is the lily amo[n]ge thornes? But a virgyne amonge wyves" (12-13). Like *Hali Meïðhad*, *The Comparation* elevates virginity over marriage, though Erasmus gives marriage a more dignified status.

Matrymonye is an honeste thyng, but it is besette aboute with briars and thornes. For suche as be married, sythe Paule, shall have trybulacyons of the fleshe. If any man doubte, whether matrimonie have thornes, lette hym enquire of married women, what greates grefes she endureth . . . (12-13)

For example, women must endure drunken, abusive husbands, wicked children, and the problems of kin. While a wife has too many duties to attend to, "a virgyn being free from the cares of this worlde, myndeth those thynges that perteyne to our lorde, how she maye please hym" (14). Though all followers of Christ can be designated as lilies, virgins are special to him, for "amonge them he the marveyulous spouse fedeth and taketh his delyte, whyche is not enterteyned with every body." (14-15). In Erasmus' text, virginity becomes the central tenet of female holiness:

O Jesu the Crowne of vyrgins, whom she thy mother conceyved,
 whiche alone a virgyne dyd beare, accept o moste medest these our
 vowes. O what greatte purytie is in this virgin, he the prince of
 virgins, and spowse and crowne of virgins, was co[n]ceyved of the
 hevenly spirite, and borne of a vyrgin, the glorious beautie of
 vyrgynite not broken. Of wyves the husbonde is the glory, but of
 virgins Chryste is the glorye: The whiche dothe fede among lilies,
 compassed aboute with crownes of virgyns, hyghtyne and
 adournynge his spowses with glorie, and yeldynge to them rewardes.
 (17-18)

While wives may be “are stately and proude of the gyftes and dignitie of their
 husbandes,” the brides of Christ receive “doweries of the sowle: for the glorie of
 the fleshe, whiche so soone vanysheth away, he gyveth them immortall glorie.”
 (19-20). A life of chastity is described as a holy, selfless life: “Our virgins, being
 free from all care and thought of this worlde, do nothyng els, but in spiritual
 quiers, synge swete hymmes to ther spouse. For they ascribe nothyng to them
 selfe, but gyve al the gory of theyr felicitie to him, to whom onely they owe al
 thynges. . . .” (25). The ideal of chaste womanhood is represented in *The
 Comparison*, as in many other texts, by the Virgin Mary: “The more chaste that a
 virgin is, the more shamefaste she is. Here the voyce of a very virgin: Beholde the
 handmayde of our lorde. And he hath sene the humilitie of his handemayde.” (25)

Though martyrs and virgins are equal in holiness, virginity is presented as

being especially dear to Christ:

Doubtlesse thus god dothe honour his martyrs, the whiche semed here poore abjected and wretched caytyves. Thus he honourethe his vyrgyns, the whiche beyng as deed to the worlde, sette surely al theyr holle hope in theyr spowse Jesu. And they also aknowlege, that what so ever they have, cometh all of the lyberall gyfte of theyr spouse. But the glorye of martyrs doth not lyghtly glytter and shyne but after the death: where as virginitie even in this lyfe is ful gay and glorious. For who is so barbarous, that wyll not favour a virgin? In the myddes of the ruffelynge warres the fierce and cruell ennemy forbeareth virginitie. And if we beleve histories, the dumme beastis, ye the hugest, the wyldest, and most cruell of them all, beare reverence unto vyrgynitie. Howe greatly dydde the Romaynes in olde tyme honour the relygious virgyns, called *virgines vestales*? what a naturall worshyppe and glorie of virginitie is that, whiche ydolaters do aknowlege, whiche the barbarous ennemy dothe reverence, which the dumme beastis doo perceyve, and to whiche the wylde beastis obeye? (37-38)

Erasmus' comment on the vestal virgins is indicative of the Renaissance 'revival' of classical ideas. Even the humanists did not develop those ideas further; rather, they imposed Christian (and gendered) contemporary views on the classical ideas. As has been stated earlier, Roman vestal virgins were an accepted part of Roman

religious life, and vestal virgins were free to marry at age thirty. They were not viewed as examples for general female behavior.

If soo great honour be done to the vyrgins of this worlde, howe moche more honorable is the virgin of Christ? O good vyrgyne, take on this holy pride, and repute what so ever pleasures or honours this world braggeth of, to be far under thy dignitie. It is a holye thyng to pride in your spowse, and a devout thyng to glorie in him, to whome you owe all thynges. It is also a sure thyng, trusting faithfully in hym, to rise and rebelled against the worlde, which braggyngly shewethe forthe his delectable pleasures. (39-41)

The same year Erasmus published *The Comparation of a Virgin and a Martyr*, the Spanish humanist Juan Luis Vives wrote *The Instruction of a Christian Woman* for the Princess Mary at the request of her mother, Catherine of Aragon, the queen of England. Though Vives advocated educating girls in order for them to become ideal Christian women, female virtue, particularly of the body, was the most important in his estimation.

First let her understand that *chastity* is the principal virtue of a woman, and counterpoiseth with all the rest: if she have that, no man will look for any other, and if she lack that no man will regard other. And as the Stoic philosophers reckon that all goodness standeth in wisdom, and all ill in folly, insomuch that they said only the wise man to be rich, free, a king, a citizen, fair, bold, and

blessed; and a fool, poor, a thrall, an outlaw, a stranger, foul, a cowherd, and wretched; likewise it is to be judged of chastity in women, that she that is chaste is fair, well favoured, rich, fruitful, noble, and all best things that can be named: and contrary, she that is unchaste is a see and treasure of all illness. . . . (qtd. in Aughterson 70)

Like Erasmus, Vives has appropriated classical ideas for a specifically Christian and patriarchal view. His next commentary addresses the idea of women in power or the public sphere; her visibility impugns her chastity, and to desire honor is to lose her honor (i.e. chastity).

And as for honours, she will neither think herself worthy, nor desire them, but rather flee them: and if they chance unto her, she will be ashamed of them, as of a thing not deserved, nor be for nothing high-minded, neither for beauty, nor properness, nor kindred, nor riches, being sure that they will soon perish, and that pride shall have everlasting pain. (Aughterson 70-71)

Education's purpose was the furtherance of Christian doctrine for women; rather than extensive study, Vives indicates that "the devotion of holy things most agreeth for women." (71). For men, the primary virtue in the humanist view is reason; for women, however, chastity is foremost. The medieval view of women as inextricably attached to an imperfect, weak body -- and thereby subject to it -- varied little in the Renaissance. The dichotomy of male/reason and female/body

discussed by Aristotle is virtually unchanged in the sixteenth century: “For in wedlock the man resembleth the reason, and the woman the body. Now reason ought to rule, and the body to obey if man will live. Also St. Paul saith: *The head of the woman is the man* [1Cor. 11]” (Aughterson 137).

Samuel Rowlands’ poem *The Bride* exemplifies the debate over Protestant ideals for women. Mistress Susan, a virgin, has a dialogue with the bride over chastity vs. marriage. For Susan, chastity is the better life for women:

Virginity is life of chaste respect,
 No worldly burden thereupon is laid,
 Our single life all peace and quiet brings,
 And we are free from careful earthly thing.

We may do what we please, go where we list,
 Without *pray husband will you give me leave?*
 Our resolutions no man can resist,
 Our own's our own, to give or receive,
 We live not under this same word: *obey*,
Till death depart us our dying day. (85-86)

To Mistress Susan, the bride’s “boasting of honour” sounds more like imprisonment than happiness. The bride replies that those “who intend the honourable life” to be happy must know the eight duties of the wife: keep her house, entertain her husband’s friends, keep from spending all her husband’s

money, “to love her own house best” (i.e. stay at home without friends), obey her husband (if she doesn’t, she should “take breech, and give him petticoat”), “pacify his ire,” conform herself to her husband’s disposition, and above all love and respect him faithfully. (Aughterson 87-88). In the Protestant tradition of chaste marriage, in which the wife’s duties are confined only to the domestic sphere, the freedom of the virgin might have been viewed as dangerous, and too close to the Roman Catholic nun. As long as the ruler of a country was male, this doctrine posed no difficulties; however, in the case of a single woman like Elizabeth Tudor, compromises of imagery and perception of women (at least one woman) had to be made.

Most contemporary conduct books for women advised them to be ‘chaste, silent, and obedient’ in order to be good Christian (Protestant) women. Richard Mulcaster, the headmaster of the Merchant Taylors School, dedicated his 1581 work *Position* to Elizabeth I, though the text contained only one chapter on the education of girls. Mulcaster identifies four reasons for educating girls:

The first is the manner and custom of my country, which allowing them to learn will be loath to be contraried by any of her countrymen. The second is the duty which we owne unto them, whereby we are charged in conscience not to leave them lame in that which is for them. The third is their own towardness, which God by nature would have given them to remain idle or to small purpose. The fourth is the excellent effects in that sex when they have had the

help of good bringing up; which commendeth the cause of such excellency, and wisheth us to cherish that tree whose fruit is both so pleasant in taste and so profitable in trial. (Aughterson 179).

Because men's training is "without restraint for either matter or manner, by cause our employment is so general in all things: [women's] is within limit, and so must their training be" (179). Girls can be trained for marriage, "learning how to live" by a trade, ornamentation and beauty, and – this work was dedicated to the Queen – government.

If for government, not denied them by God and devised them by men, the greatness of their calling doth call for great gifts, and general excellencies for general occurrences. Wherefore having these different ends always in the eye, we may point them their training in different degrees. (179)

Mulcaster, like many writers of the day, was forced by the queen's presence on the throne (rather than any attempt at enlightenment) to add to his discussion the possibility that a woman could be designed for governing, and should be educated accordingly. The reality of Elizabeth's intellectual and political gifts created the necessity in these writings for what is currently called "the exceptional woman".

The view of women as weak and inferior was widely held by humanist scholars and English royal councillors alike, so when Elizabeth ascended the throne in 1558, her council had her marriage foremost on their minds. Eager to avoid either religious or political controversy in Elizabeth's choice of a husband,

the council searched for a nobleman who would both solidify the Protestant presence on the English throne and provide an English presence in the courts of Europe. Because of these widely held notions of womanhood, the councillors probably never thought that Elizabeth could rule as a queen regnant, but would make a fine English queen for a strong Protestant king, chosen for her by her councillors. An astute politician and accomplished scholar, Elizabeth undoubtedly was aware of the limitations placed upon her by popular notions of her sex. Refusing to marry, however, might give the English people the impression that she was unconcerned with her country and the state of the monarchy. Elizabeth's solution involved her emphasis on virginity as the source of her strength, which recalled the 'virgin warrior' image. That emphasis was promoted as evidence of her ability to rule as queen regnant. In the minds of many Englishmen, Mary I had compromised the English throne when she married, and Elizabeth was not about to make that mistake. Though Queen Mary had a good reputation as a chaste and pious woman, her marriage to Philip II of Spain produced much controversy and no heirs. English national anxiety over the possibility of Spanish control of the English throne damaged her authority even further. Hence Mary was doubly reviled because of her Catholicism and her marital alliance with Spain. The ascension of Elizabeth was met with equal anxiety, since the Queen was an unmarried woman. It was expected that she would marry and create the same sort of anxiety over national security that Mary had. In addition, she was young and probably perceived as easily influenced.

Should Elizabeth not marry, however, the question of her successor would not be solved (and in fact, remained a point of contention and concern for the entirety of her reign). She dodged initial pleas from Parliament to marry, and continued to play the marriage game for decades in order to maneuver politically.

The notion of virginity, both in its classical origins and in its Christianized form, provided Elizabeth with the rhetoric necessary to justify her position as queen regnant. While Mary I, who married a Spanish king, could have been perceived as being too weak to be a proper English monarch, Elizabeth's continence would make her strong enough; after all, if control of the senses and thereby the body rendered a woman masculine in the eyes of the church fathers, such control would indicate the ability to rule. By replicating what the female saints had done for Christianity -- sacrificing themselves for the Church -- Elizabeth claimed to have given herself wholly to the country of England, supposedly even wearing a ring on her wedding ring finger, stating that England was her husband, and her child. Though she claimed the androgyny of power, Elizabeth did not claim masculinity; rather, she insisted on her womanliness, praising God for giving her the strength to overcome her female weakness in order to serve England and rule as its queen.

Chapter Two:

The Canonization of Virtue, 1582-1590

After Elizabeth's accession in 1558, one of the most pressing issues of the reign was the queen's marriage and the question of the succession. Parliament petitioned her several times to marry, and each time she would declare the subject off limits or simply dodge the issue: "in November 1566, [she] had promised Parliament to marry 'as soon as I can conveniently' (Somerset 199). During her first Parliament she replied to a petition to marry that she would prefer that after her death "a marble stone shall declare that a Queene having raigned such a tyme, lived and dyed a virgin" (Levin *Heart* 39)¹. The Spanish ambassador, Guzman de Silva, commented to Philip II that "the hatred that this Queen has of marriage is most strange" and marveled that after the performance of a comedy ending in a marriage, the Queen "expressed her dislike of the woman's part" (38)².

At a masque in July 1564 Elizabeth told the Spanish Ambassador of her predilection for black and white, saying "These are my colours," a profession borne out by the many portraits in which she wears black and white; since black signified constancy and white

1

Levin cites the following source for the quotation: T. F. Hartley's *Proceedings in the Parliaments of Elizabeth I, 1558-1581* (Leicester: University Press, 1981), p. 45.

2

Levin cites several sources for this quotation: *CSP, Spain* I, 367-68, 633; Dennis Kay, "'She was a Queen, and Therefore Beautiful': Sidney, His Mother, and Queen Elizabeth," *Review of English Studies* XLIII, 169 (1992); Strong, *Cult of Elizabeth* 71, 74. (Levin 186).

virginity, their combination signified eternal virginity, and Elizabeth was thus giving out a strong signal of her inclination to remain perpetually unmarried. (Hackett 72)

Although Elizabeth “claimed virginity as her ideal state, and eventually resisted all demands on her to marry, she also loved proposals and courtship” (Levin *Heart* 38). Among the Queen’s English suitors were the Earl of Arundel, the Earl of Arran, Sir William Pickering, and Robert Dudley, a longtime friend and favorite whose courtship of her continued until 1575, though any hope of his marrying the Queen ended with the suspicious death of his wife Amy Robsart in 1560 (Levin 72). King Philip II of Spain offered her his hand in marriage in 1558-59, as did King Eric XIV of Sweden, the Dukes of Holstein and Saxony, the Archduke Ferdinand of Austria (Haigh 10). In the 1560s, Elizabeth received marriage offers from King Charles IX of France (she declined because he was fourteen years old), his brother Henry Duke of Anjou, the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian, and the Archduke Charles of Austria. (Somerset 178-79, 254). Questions of religion, the Netherlands, Scotland, and politics between France and Spain permeated all of the marriage negotiations.

1582 marked a midpoint in the reign of Elizabeth. She was nearing fifty, and had reigned 24 years. The departure of Francis, Duke of Alençon³ in February signaled the end of the Queen’s participation on the international

3

Alençon had become Duke of Anjou when his brother Henri was crowned as King of France; however, he is usually referred to as “Alençon” for clarification purposes.

marriage market. The French negotiations were probably the closest Elizabeth ever came to marriage, but eventually her desire for political autonomy prevailed. The prospect of an unmarried Queen with no heir influenced writers and poets to shift emphasis in representations of the monarch. Literary works published in that year indicate the change in Queen Elizabeth's role from marriageable maiden to vestal virgin. The Queen herself is believed to have written the sonnet "On Monsieur's Departure" that is widely assumed to be a farewell to Alençon. In accordance with the standards of the sonnet, the speaker burns and freezes with unrequited love. Though such a device was commonly recognized, it would provide an appropriate reference for a queen who would never wed. Thomas Blenerhasset wrote *A Revelation of the True Minerva* elevates Elizabeth to a deity, and Thomas Bentley names her as one of the "seven Lamps of Virginitie" in *The Monument of Matrones*. These works are part of a transition in literary representations of the Queen that moved toward the "Virgin Queen" image established during the 1590s that continued after 1603.

In 1590, Edmund Spenser published the first three books of *The Faerie Queene*, which would solidify the transformed image. The representation of the Queen combined nostalgia for the golden age of Arthurian England with images of idealized potential, created in part to reassure English subjects concerned over the lack of an heir to the throne. Spenser provides several versions of the Queen, in alternative narratives, in order to represent the complex, multifaceted monarch who in herself is the realization of many versions of monarchical and spiritual

power. An expansive celebration of Elizabeth and English nationalism, *The Faerie Queene* elevated the unmarried queen to the legendary Gloriana, whose virginal purity provides the moral reference for English society and who will marry only after her knights are perfected in their virtues. This perfection, set up as something to strive for, prolongs the trial and testing of courtship. The ‘virgin saint’ as ruler built on the Christian tradition of human fallibility and the quest for perfection through Christ. Though the belief in the divinity of monarchs may have begun to decline, the queen as icon added a traditional symbol to the Elizabethan political machinery. According to Philippa Berry, the gender of the monarch was directly related to that alliance; both church and state were gendered feminine, “which is clear both in the Latin terminology and in the notion of representation by means of a symbolic marriage” (67).

In other words, the power of male monarch or priest depended on the union of the ‘natural’ or mortal masculine body with the symbolic female body of the immortal state of church. It was however as the symbolic female head of both church and state that Elizabeth performed a double symbolic marriage with both these feminine domains. . . . Elizabeth as queen had a triple rather than a dual aspect, like the triune God of Christian theology. So, of course, did the moon goddess Diana, to whom she was so often compared in the latter part of her reign In this respect, Elizabeth’s rule figured *the feminine in a mystical or symbolic*

relationship with itself. . . . (67)

More than any previous monarch, the Queen became closely allied with both church and state because her gender qualified her as a representation of those institutions. That fact was also a great source of anxiety; “acknowledged or not, it must also have made her an extremely disturbing figure”(67). It is no coincidence that the more elevated representations of the Queen were created during the time of political unrest and general dissatisfaction with the Queen. Loyal courtier poets and popular writers were confronted with the necessity of associating Elizabeth with more than beauty and virtue; she must be placed in a “model of courtliness” that “stresses the mysterious coexistence of spiritual power and a specifically feminine eroticism in the figure of Elizabeth as a chaste beloved” (Berry 6). When she is no longer considered to be ‘marriageable’ the images acquire a more mythic and spiritual quality, yet completely associated with symbols of English superiority. By the end of her reign, Elizabeth had become more of a living symbol of English nationalism as the transition from divinely imposed order to a political view of government began.

Elizabeth’s authority came from the recognized tradition of Tudor royal descent, but as a woman some of her power initially came from her potential worth as a royal bride on the international marriage market. Renaissance notions of womanhood, particularly those based in Protestantism, did not include the single, independent woman; rather, marriage and childbearing were viewed as a woman’s duty and obligation. Henry VIII’s break with Rome in 1534 and the

subsequent dissolution of the monasteries and convents deprived many single women of occupation and support. The Protestant church emphasized marriage rather than celibacy, and opposed the Catholic veneration of virginity. Martin Luther declared that marriage was the natural state of humankind and through marriage people fulfilled the first commandment: 'Be fruitful and multiply' (Collinson 66).

Marriage was presented as a universal and nearly inescapable vocation, and a devastating polemic was directed against the religious vows leading to a celibate life as presumptuous and unnatural. (66)

As a Protestant, Elizabeth presented her countrymen with a dilemma: though the rightful heir to the throne, she was a woman, and therefore inadequate to rule a kingdom. To be an effective ruler, her council believed she must have a husband to rule, both her kingdom and herself. As a woman, Elizabeth was aware of this assumption of the necessity of marriage, and performed expertly in 'the marriage game'. For a foreign prince, to wed the Queen would be to wed England, thereby gaining lawful control of both. Elizabeth was well aware of this, as evidenced in her comment to Burleigh:

Here I am between Scylla and Charybdis. Alençon has agreed to all the terms I sent him, and he is asking me to tell him when I wish him to come and marry me. If I do not marry him I know not whether he will remain friendly with me; and if I do I shall not be

able to govern my country with the freedom and security and I
have hitherto enjoyed. (qtd. by Ferris 11)⁴

Elizabeth's potential suitors were probably viewed with more scrutiny as a potential bride for a king would be, as she would provide a king from outside the English royal line. With patriarchal ideals of women's inferiority in general, and Protestantism's anxiety of independent women in particular, the future husband of the English queen would displace her as the active monarch.

Once the Alençon negotiations fell through and the Duke departed and later died, the realization that the queen would never marry was widespread. The lack of a male heir put the monarchy in a dangerous position, and it could have been said that the Queen was acting irresponsibly, setting up her country for political disaster by refusing to marry and provide an heir for the succession. For over two decades, Elizabeth had been celebrated for her beauty and youth, i.e. her marriageability. In a patriarchal society, women lose their worth once they can no longer have children; a marriage then would be pointless since no heir could be produced. This idea would have been especially true when applied to a Queen, whose personal and political purpose in her society was to produce the next monarch. After the end of the Alençon marriage negotiations, the representation of Elizabeth needed some revision, as the image of the marriageable queen was no longer applicable. The question of the succession,

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Ferris quotes Martin Hume, *The Courtships of Queen Elizabeth* (New York: McClure, 1904) – "Hume found this remark quoted in Mendoza's documents." 17n

always a major factor, would have to be addressed through other means. The Queen therefore became, thorough literary representation, a larger-than-life, quasi-divine figure, the immortal daughter of God/Zeus and a figure from both classical and Christian mythology. As a 'Virgin Queen' who was to remain unmarried, Elizabeth after 1582 began to embody an additional set of virtues, some reaching back into Catholic tradition, which were then infused into Protestant and national imagery.

Late sixteenth-century England needed a special virtue in its monarch: Machiavellian politics, the Protestant ideology of individualism, and the drama of the Tudor succession created an atmosphere of dynamic change. The English may have needed the clarity and constancy of the monarchy, and the accession of Elizabeth was widely celebrated as the return to right order and 'true religion' – yet the English had to accept a woman in that powerful role. However, the problem of gender perception brought about the necessity of court-produced propaganda that attempt to solve the paradox of the able queen regnant. The English nation had been subjected first to Henry VIII's break with Rome, Northumberland's protectorate during the reign of Edward VI, and Mary I's purges of Protestants. With a female incumbent following Mary's rule of cruelty and incompetence, sexist assumptions regarding a woman's rule would present her with additional difficulties. To justify the presence of a woman on the throne, she had to be a person of superior character, ability, and virtue -- "*virtù* is central to the concept of leadership in this period" (Frye 15). The generally

accepted assumptions about women's inferiority would require even a greater degree of virtue from a queen regnant. Elizabeth's accession, viewed by many of the English as salvation from Mary I's government, had popular support despite the standard misgivings about her sex. By the time Pope Pius V issued the bull excommunicating Elizabeth on 25 February 1570, a strong sense of nationalism had disappointed any Spanish hopes of a Roman Catholic uprising against the Queen. The sense of unity focused on Elizabeth not as a Protestant queen, but an English one; that identification with nationalism would be one of her many accomplishments. When Philip II sent the Armada, he expected English Catholics to revolt against their Protestant queen, but was grievously disappointed. In fact, the display of Elizabeth's portrait was popular in the homes of English Catholics who wished to declare their loyalty to the Queen (and England) despite the difference in religion. Elizabeth as image was employed for the purpose of national unity. The Virgin Queen image began to dominate Elizabethan propaganda after the end of the French marriage negotiations as the courtier poets realized that Elizabeth would never marry. Her virginity and refusal to wed would thereby become a sign of her strength of virtue, self-control, and absolute devotion, both to God and her subjects. Elizabeth's intact body became a symbol of an intact, inviolate nation.

The evolution of the Virgin Queen image came about through religious iconography and doctrine. Many of Elizabeth's subjects would have been old enough to remember their Catholic past, and a change of religion does not

necessarily change ways of thinking; many of the early Christian saints were thinly disguised pagan heroes and religious figures. Although they may have been devout Protestants, the emotional allegiance to that belief system would have been responsive to Catholic imagery and references. Though a devout Protestant, Elizabeth is known to have said to Henry III of France that she was “an old woman, to whom paternosters will suffice in place of nuptials” (Somerset 330). Though the paternoster is not exclusive to the Catholic Church, Elizabeth’s statement recalls the nun’s vows, in which a woman could choose religious devotion over marital subservience. This is not to say that the Queen’s image was a Catholic one, though its references to earlier Christian patterns of thought may have also appealed to Catholics loyal to the queen. Official monarchical propaganda draws upon a common tradition, but without going so far as to make the Queen a religious, and Catholic, icon. In fact, the opposite would be true, as Catholics were still regarded with suspicion: Spenser, responsible for the Gloriana image, created female characters in *The Faerie Queene* who, though dressed as nuns, proved to be wicked and untrustworthy (except for Una in Book One). The Queen’s image was a combination of the receding Catholic traditional reverence of militant female chastity with the Protestant insistence on marriage for all women: she was a virgin and therefore a superior example of control and faith, and she was a ‘bride’ whose only true love was Christ (and England, God’s chosen land). Because the primary focus of the Queen’s image was the Bride of Christ representation, the dominance of

Protestantism is evident in the gendering of the idea of militant chastity, which was usually represented as being hermaphroditic for women.

Elizabeth drew on the cult of the Virgin Mary and the Roman Catholic idea of the superiority of virginity, thought of as the highest degree of chastity. Whether she consciously drew on these traditions is a matter of conjecture, but the Queen's approach to religion may provide some insight. The Elizabethan compromise did not contribute to the progress of English Protestantism, nor did it entirely quash Catholicism: "the conformity of the majority did not mean the end of traditional religion" (Duffy 589). The Queen kept the peace (for the most part) by refusing to reform religion during her reign, despite pressure from her councillors. Though called a radical and a heretic, Elizabeth was a fairly conservative Protestant: she refused to radically alter the vestments of the clergy, and though she did not punish married clerics, she preferred Court clergymen to be unmarried. Remarks from Elizabeth herself in a 1564 letter to the duke of Württemberg regarding marriage and the virgin state indicate her own personal reverence for the state of virginity.

Although shee never yet was wearie of her maiden and single life, yet in regarde shee was the laste issue her father left, and only of her house, the care of her kingdome, and love of posteritie did ever counsell her to alter this course of life. [*Somers Tract*, I, p. 175] (Doran 2)

Protestantism in England brought about shifts in the perception of the virgin by

controlling female sexuality through marriage rather than independence within the Church. The desexualization of women in the Roman Catholic concept of militant virginity was replaced by the Protestant image of female domestication and motherhood. Once the queen's withdrawal from the marriage market became apparent, writers combined the Protestant ideology of female domestication with the Catholic ideal of militant chastity. The result was the iconography of The Virgin Queen, a chaste monarch who resisted the weaknesses of the flesh but was also a loyal wife to her nation and a loving mother to her people. The image transformed the iconography of the queen into a hermaphroditic image of male and virginal (thereby unsexed) female. Poetic representation elevated her as more than human; because of her virtue she became a divine goddess.

Thomas Blenerhasset's *A Revelation of the True Minerva* presented that idea in which the gods seek a mortal to replace the lost Minerva, goddess of wisdom. Based on the notion that the gods were formerly mortals elevated to divinity through virtue, the poem seeks to honor the Queen and her realm through various themes of courtly compliment (Bennett vii). These forms of poetic flattery were relatively new in 1582, and Blenerhasset's work, an imitation of Spenser's *Shepherds Calendar*, is one of the first to show the influence of Sidney and Spenser (x). The poem is a pastoral celebration of the Queen's virtue and, by extension, her worthiness to rule. The title page describes "The effect of this booke. Who on earth be gods: and by what means mortall men may be made

immortall”, followed by a quotation from Psalm 82: “God standeth in the congregation of the gods: hee is Iudge amongst the gods.” Discovered as the new Minerva, Elizabeth is visited by the gods, who sing her praises during a tournament and celebration. The poem brings out two themes in the courtly praise: the Queen’s God-given right to rule, and her divine protection from harm.

The classical and Christian elements merge as Blenerhasset draws upon them to present the Queen's image. The goddess Minerva (Pallas Athena) was the chief of the three virgin goddesses (Athena, Vesta, Artemis) and the favorite child of Zeus ; she was entrusted with the care of Zeus' aegis, buckler, and thunderbolt. The embodiment of wisdom, reason, and purity, Minerva/Athena was called Parthenos, the Maiden (Hamilton 29). Blenerhasset's employment of Minerva as the title character to be succeeded by Elizabeth brings about some interesting parallels, even as it reveals the male anxiety over the female ruler. Mercury describes Elizabeth as “a Phoenix rare” who “is of *Saturnes* kinde, / Begot by *Mars*, preserued by *Ioue*” (A3r). The reference to Saturn is at first curious, particularly in relation to a reigning monarch: after all, the Titan Saturn was overthrown by his son, Zeus. However, the compliment to Elizabeth is revealed in the revelation of Saturn's later life: according to Edith Hamilton, the Romans said that “Saturn fled to Italy and brought in the Golden Age, a time of perfect peace and happiness, which lasted as long as he reigned” (22); this is a familiar description often applied to the Elizabethan age. Elizabeth as “begot by

Mars” would have undoubtedly brought her father Henry VIII to mind; a mother figure is conspicuously absent from the poem. Minerva was the child of Zeus alone; she sprang from his head, fully grown and in armor, an image that relates to both the virgin and the warrior. The image of Elizabeth as Minerva in Blenerhasset's poem was designed to reinforce her right and ability to rule, particularly since it emphasized her relationship to Henry VIII. Her perceived exceptionality is apparent in the image of the phoenix, a mythical creature who was said to live a thousand years, then consume itself in flames and be reborn from the ashes.

The gods vow to dwell with the Queen, and make her immortal, declaring her “the greatest goddess by degree” (E2v).

And then the Queene with more then mortall grace,
 The life (quote shee) of euery liuing thing
 Must perish quite, for death will it deface:
 But death to death by due desert to bring
 Such death on earth is life euerlasting,
 I knowe right well such immortalitie
 you haue obtainde, and such remaines for me. (F1,)

Her reply places the pastoral within a Christian context, and this notion of eternal life in Christ defeating mortality provides a contradictory perception of the succession question: Elizabeth, so virtuous as to be a goddess, will never vacate the throne, which appears to ‘solve’ the question. Later, Spenser would employ

a similiar approach in *The Faerie Queene* by focusing on the potential; the Faerie Queen is both the initiator of the quests and the future bride of King Arthur, and Britomart, the Knight of Chastity, is herself a future bride and the foremother of a great race of English rulers. *The Revelation of the True Minerva* does not indicate that the queen herself is untouchable by death, but instead praises her everlasting fame, as an angel declares that it will never fade. Blenerhasset praises her as the exception to her sex, addressing her as “Goddesse of great accompt/ . . . in so such wayes / did euer woman walke” (F1_v). Elizabeth surpasses Dido, “that courtly Carthage Queene,” Helen, Venus, Juno, Pallas, and Diana: “For shee hath that which all they had, / In much more perfect plight” (F4_r). Helen of Troy was renowned for her beauty; Venus (Aphrodite) was the goddess of love, beauty, and laughter. Juno was the queen of the gods, protector of marriage and married women; Pallas Athena was the goddess of wisdom; and Diana (Artemis, also called Cynthia) was the virgin huntress, the goddess of the moon, and the preserver of youth (Hamilton 26-27, 29, 31). In this plethora of images are parallels to Queen Elizabeth: unmarried, she is the virgin Diana, as she will be as Belphebe in *The Faerie Queene*. A beautiful woman and the Protestant mother of her country, she is also Juno. As Elizabeth is manifested in a variety of representations, she could also represent Artemis, the goddess with three forms: Selene in the sky, Artemis on the earth, and Hecate in the underworld (or in the darkness on earth). The poem’s reference to Dido is a curiosity; Dido, Queen of Carthage, committed suicide when Aeneas left her.

This apparent contradiction can be explained by the praise of Dido's ability to rule her kingdom, and her eternal faithfulness to Aeneas. Again the anxiety over the female ruler is obvious, but Elizabeth, as a Virgin Queen, would never destroy herself for love. In Blenerhasset's poem, the author praises her divine origin but hints at the queen's actual mortality: "and this to you of heaven we vowe, / whilst you her life do lend" (F2_v). The poem ends praising God: "Amongst the gods there is none like thee O Lorde" (G1_v). In "The Pilgrims post scrip" Blenerhasset addresses the queen, praising

howe vertue like a sea doth flowe
in thee, and how thou doest forsake
the bitter bent of cruell *Cupides* bowe,
free fro the force of fancies flashing fame

.
thy vertuous inclination,
is knowne to euery nation
thy learning and thy gifts most rare
make perfite declaration
nature thy equall never yet did frame. (G2_r)

Her virginity makes her invincible; by avoiding the "flashing fame" of love, she has transcended human desire for the noble vocation of monarch. The poem, however, does not take this opportunity to praise the worth of all women, with such an example as Elizabeth. Instead, patriarchal anxiety is addressed when

Blenerhasset reassures the reader that there is no other like her; therefore, referring to her as an exception addresses those anxieties while praising the Queen.

Elizabeth's status as an exceptional woman increased after 1582. The special qualities required of an unmarried and childless female monarch must render her flawless in the eyes of the court and the literate public. "A famous dittie of the Ioyful receaving of the Queens most excellent maiestie," written by Richard Harrington, was published in 1584. Echoing the sentiments of Blenerhasset's praise, the song celebrates the queen's visit to St. James on November 7, 1584. Elizabeth, "the Diamond of delight and joy" is praised as "the onely star of light / that doth amaze all Princes sight."

The peerles Pearle of Princes all
 so ful of pittie, peace, and loue:
 Whose mercy is not proued small,
 When foule offenders do her moue.
 A Phenix of most noble minde,
 unto her subjects good and kinde.
 A most renowned Virgin Queen,
 Whose like on earth was neuer seen.

The last two lines serve as a refrain for nearly every stanza in the song, emphasizing the Queen's singularity and suggesting a kind of divinity. The image of the Phoenix symbolically 'solves' the succession issue. Of course, the

Queen could not regenerate herself, but since the fact was obvious that she would not marry and give birth to an heir, poets returned to the classics to address the issue. Using a mythological bird is undoubtedly a dodging tactic, but perhaps the poet is indicating that the Queen will provide an heir, in her own time, and in her own way. Because the queen is “the servant of the mighty God” who preserves her, England is also preserved from the machinations of the Pope. The refrain then changes to “O Lord preserve our noble Queen”, etc. Her special protection is also emphasized in the stanza that declares that all conspirators against her were “confounded by God” and failed. The final stanza is a wish for her long life, and her continuing to perform God’s work: “God’s glory euermore to raise, / true Justice alwaies to maintain.”

The image of Elizabeth as a protected servant of God is not confined to the post-1582 era; prayers for the monarch’s health and long life were printed throughout her reign, as well as her predecessors’. However, after 1582, the image of the Queen’s sexual desirability (and her marriageability) is not as prevalent as that of her virtue and near-divinity, and images of her acquire a more martial quality.

Certain English verses, written for the Queen in 1586, celebrated “the most happie disclosing of the most dangerous conspiracies pretended by the late executed Traitors,” etc. The poems identify the Queen as a divine figure, triumphant through God’s power and her own wisdom and virtue. Presented by a writer identified only as ‘a Courtier,’ the poem compares Elizabeth with the

Biblical judge Deborah and refers to her as 'Our Judith,' triumphant over Holofernes.

If *David* daunst for ioy befor the Arke being a king
 If *Barac* sang when Israels foes were foild,
 Then victors wee that *Deborahs* song may sing
 Our *Judith* stout Holofernes Mates hath spoiled. (A1,)

The comparison, however, is not exact: David and Barak celebrated themselves through music and song, but the female victor does not celebrate her victory, though she is crucial to that victory. Instead, those who sing Elizabeth's praises are the victors through the Queen's triumph over the conspirators. The Biblical hero Barak, called by Deborah to lead an army against Sisera, the general of King Jabin, claims that he cannot fight without Deborah accompanying him:

If thou wilt go with me, then I will go: but if thou wilt not go with
 me, then I will not go. And she said, I will surely go with thee:
 notwithstanding the journey that thou takest shall not be for thine
 honour; for the Lord shall sell Sisera into the hand of a woman.
 (Judges 4:8-9)

Though *Certain English Verses* was written ostensibly for the purpose of praising the Queen, what comes through more than the praise is the anxiety – of Elizabeth's mortality, of external threats to the reign – and the many comparisons to classical and Biblical figures. The subtext in the poems indicate the authors' determination to reiterate Elizabeth's competence by comparing her to well-known

figures from Greek, Roman, and Biblical mythologies. By comparing Elizabeth to Deborah, and calling upon her potential strength in terms of male heroes and female goddesses from classical mythology, the poet extends the military metaphor in a reference to English Protestantism's supremacy over the Pope. The verses' praise of the Queen changes to advice when the poet places the Queen's potential strength in a category with Greek gods and heroes:

When *Perseus* sword shall snatch of[f] *Medusas* head,

When *Mercuries* whistle lulls *Argos* eies to sleep,

When *Phoebus* faulchon kills monstrous *Python* ded,

then shall *Eliza* make the Romane *Cerberus* creepe: (A4_v)

Perseus, the son of Danäe and Zeus, who killed the Medusa, did so with the help of Athena's shield and Hermes' sword. The hundred-eyed monster Argus was killed by Mercury, who was sent by Zeus to play his pipe to lull Argus to sleep. Phoebus Apollo's falcon killed the monstrous Python. The comparison is particularly interesting when one notices that it is not the heroes or gods who get credit for the victories – it is the weapons they used: Perseus' sword, Mercury's whistle, Phoebus' falcon. In this pro-Protestant poem, the author compares the Pope to Cerberus, the three-headed dog who guards the entrance to Hades. The Pope will be defeated and Protestantism will triumph, but only if the Queen is willing to use the force necessary to defeat the 'monstrous' Roman church. The poem addresses her directly as it cautions her to temper her reverence of peace with strength:

Though still you beare, the Oliue branch in breast,

Yet some with you Hermes Harpen in your hand,

Though you the Lambe imbrace, the Lion is your beast,

For mercie must with iustice ioine to rule a land. (A4_v)

Her natural tendency toward clemency (a virtue expected from female rulers) must be contrasted with her willingness to use instruments of force in order to negotiate the peace.

Though the images of female strength are not those associated with militant chastity, they place the English Queen in the category of ‘exceptional woman’. Like those women renowned for virtue, wisdom, piety, and courage, Elizabeth is placed in the ranks of victorious Greek warriors and deities. Her perceived triumphs over the Roman pontiff will be as legendary as the defeat of the Medusa. The Medusa, or monstrous woman, became a symbol for the Roman Catholic Church in Protestant literature. In Greco-Roman legend, Medusa was a beautiful woman who angered the gods and was punished; to look at her would turn anyone to stone. Beauty misshapen into pride and ugliness became the ideal representation of the Roman Catholic Church, which was termed “The Whore of Babylon” by many Protestants who disliked the opulence of the churches and their clergy and drew imagery from the Book of Revelation for what they deemed an appropriate description. This dichotomy of representation of the two religions mirrors the perception of women in the age; women’s flawed nature gave them two choices: they could be chaste (when married as well as single) or they could

be whores. Nowhere in English literature is this dichotomy more apparent than in Spenser's representations of Una and Duessa in *The Faerie Queene*. In addition to the symbolic significance of this imagery, *Certain English verses* also refers to contemporary events. With its references to traitors and rebels, the poem probably recalls the Babington Plot, a Catholic plot led by Sir Anthony Babington to assassinate Elizabeth and place Mary Queen of Scots on the English throne. The discovery of the plan eventually led to the execution of Mary, Queen of Scots. Elizabeth, reluctant to execute a sister queen, yet prudently aware of the danger her presence represented, had kept Mary under house arrest for nineteen years, despite knowing Mary's intention to eventually take Elizabeth's throne. It is significant that the author of the poem remained anonymous; earlier, John Stubbs' open critique of the possibility of the queen's French marriage had cost him and the printer their right hands. Though the queen's clemency and mercy were praised often, she did not accept public criticism or advice readily, particularly from the courtiers who sought her patronage.

When the Queen visited Woodstock during a progress in 1592, "A Handeful of Gladsome Verses" were presented to her. Written by Thomas Churchyearde, the verses refer to Woodstock as "the Phoenix Cage" (Cr). The poem declares Elizabeth to be the most honored monarch ever, even more honored than a king.

A speciall warne goodwill
for neuer king was seene

More truly serude, more followed still

More honored then our Queene. (Cv)

Addressing her as “O sacred Sovereign,” the poem prays that God will continue to protect her, and ensure

That nothing may impeach

Her heavenly graces great

For sure it passeth humane reach

To touch her sacred seat. (C2r)

She is also addressed as “our faire red rose and white,” the traditional Tudor symbol, as well as the complexion of a courtly lady. It could be said that the imagery in the poem presents the Queen, a lady who inspires courtly love, as both divinely ordained to rule and protected by heavenly forces. In addition, the poem presents the Queen as Roman emperor – “We fall on knees at Cesars feete / To see our worlds delite” (C2r).

In the same year (1592), speeches were delivered to the Queen on her progresses at Bissam, Sudley, and Ricorte. One of these anonymous speeches presented a dialogue between Pan and ‘two virgins keeping sheep’ Sybil and Isabella. Curious about some samplers the two women have been working on, Pan asks about their meaning. Sybil’s depicts the “follies of the Gods, who become beasts, for their affections” while Isabella’s celebrates the “honour of virgins who became Goddesses, for their chastity” (Aiii.). Pan notices that Sybil’s sampler is curiously decorated; Sybil explains that the decorations represent

“Mens tongues, wrought all with double stitch but not one true (Aiii.). In contrast, Isabella’s sampler presents “Roses, Eglitine, harts-ease, wrought with Queenes stitch, and all right” (Aiii.). Pan comments that he believes both men’s and women’s tongues to be double, until Sybil informs him:

Syb. Thus, weomens tongues are made of the same flesh that their harts are, and speake as they thinke: Mens hearts of the flesh that their tongues, and both dissemble, But prythy Pan be packing, thy words, are as odious as thy sight, and we attend a sight which is more glorious then the sunne rising. (Aiii.)

An incredulous Pan inquires if that sight will be Jupiter, but Sybil replies that the visitor is “one that will make Iupiter blush as quietly of his vnchast iugglings, and Iuno dismaide as wounded at her Maiesty”.

This way commeth the Queene of the Island, the wonder of the world, and natures glory, leading affections in fetters, Virginities slaues: embracing mildness with Iustice, Maiesties twinnes. In whom nature hath imprinted beauty, not art paynted it; in whom wit hath bred learning, but not without labour; labour brought forth wisdom, but not without wonder. . . . This is shee at whom Envie hath shott all her arrowes, and now for anger broke her bow, on whom God hath laid all his blessings, & we for ioy clappe our hands, heedlesse treason goeth hedlesse; and close trechery restelesse: Daunger looketh pale to beholde her Maiesty; and

tyranny blusheth to heare of her mercy.” (Aiii_{v,r})

Upon hearing this announcement, Pan yields all the flocks and fields to the Queen and wishes her happiness and long life. Viewed as the epitome of human achievement and moral grace, the Queen is therefore the only person qualified to rule the pastoral landscape.

Thomas Bentley's 1582 collection *The Monument of Matrones: conteining seuen seuerall Lamps of Virginitie*, uses adaptations from the Bible to contribute to the image of the queen as a bride of Christ (and England). A catalogue of “*Queenes, godlie Ladies, and vertuous women of all ages*,” includes Elizabeth along with Anne Askew, Bundiuca, Catherine Parr, Cleopatra, Catherina Senensis virgine, Deborah, Lady Jane Grey, Katherine of Aragon, the Virgin Mary, Queen Mary I, Margaret Queen of Navarre, Sappho, and Zenobia, to name a few (303). Designed for a female audience and Elizabeth's patronage, Bentley's work is a combination of religious devotions, conduct books, and elevated praises of the Queen. Compared to this list of women renowned for their piety, bravery, beauty, fortitude, holiness, and devotion to duty, Elizabeth is the third lamp of virginity, embodying all its virtue and spiritual splendor. Addressing the Queen in his introduction, Bentley identifies his purpose for writing:

to addresse and make readie these seuen lamps of your perpetuall
virginitie, to remaine vnto women as one entire and goodlie
monument of praier, precepts, and examples meet for meditation,
instruction, and imitation to all posteritie.

The “lampes” of the title are representative of the Queen’s role as spiritual guide to her people; according to John King, they “symbolize divine illumination and, possibly, prophetic vision” (*Godly* 72). King traces the origin of Bentley’s seven lamps through a variety of Old and New Testament sources.

His division of the collection into sections entitled the seven “Lamps of Virginitie” conflates imagery of divine wisdom and spiritual illumination drawn from Christ’s parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins (Matt. 25:1-13) and the Book of Revelation. The parable contrasts the five maidens who filled their oil lamps with the other five whose lamps were empty; only the former were prepared to meet Christ, the Bridegroom, and celebrate the apocalyptic marriage feast. Instead of the word used in Matthew, λαμπάς (“oil lamp” or “lantern”), the plural form of the word λυχνία in the original Greek text of Revelation refers literally to the seven-branched lampstand that stood in the outer room of the Temple in Jerusalem. This lampstand or Menorah appears in Hebrew prophetic visions of heaven. But in place of St. John of Patmos’ vision of seven lampstands corresponding to the seven churches of Asia that replaced the Temple for Christians (Rev. 1:11 and 20; 2:1), all Tudor translations of Revelation mentioned “seven golden candlesticks.” (King *Godly* 71)

Declaring that many hearts give thanks for her Majesty, “the praise of God, and

glorie of his deerest sonne Iesus Christ your sweet spouse,” Bentley professes a wish that God will continue to bless her with prosperity and long life and continue to protect her from “all bodilie and ghostlie perils and enimies, to your euerlasting comfort, and the reioice of all christian harts”. He praises her for having “the principall & heroicall spirit of your holie father good king Daud, doubled (yeah trebled) in your noble and princelie hart,” calls her “our good Iosias” and “our zealous Hezechias” and hopes that England will remain “a refuge from storms and tempests”

. . . so shall the harts of manie thousand virgins in England and
else-where, be ioifull and thankfull to God and your Maiestie; so
shall the daughters of Ierusalem sing ioifullie the sweet songs of
Sion in their own land, with great triumph to their celestial King,
reigning on high over all

The first lamp is a collection of prayers, hymns, and songs by various holy women in the Bible: Hagar, Miriam, Deborah, Naomi, Hannah, Esther, Judith, and the Virgin Mary. Another of the holy women mentioned is the Church, “the daughter of Zion.” The Church and the soul were perceived as being female; the imagery was ideal for the praise of a female monarch. The second lamp, a collection of prayers made by “vertuous Queens” and “other deuout and godlie women in our time,” including Margaret of Navarre, whose *Godly Meditacion of the Christian Sowle* was translated by Queen Elizabeth as a child. The third lamp is Queen Elizabeth herself – a more detailed discussion follows. The fourth lamp,

an additional collection of prayers and meditations, includes prayers for weather, times of plague, the household, the appearance of monsters, earthquakes, comets, times of war, rebellion, and foreign invaders. The fifth book contains prayers for women only, and the sixth book is a sort of conduct book, including stories of Biblical women “verie necessarie, pleasant, and profitable for all women to read and vse, both for instruction and imitation.” The seventh book presents the histories of women, “good and bad,” from the Scripture and a discussion of their actions.

The most significant book for this study is *The Third Lampe of Virginitie*, which begins with ““The KINGS Heast, or Gods *familiar speech to the QVEENE: Collected out of the holie Psalmes of good King DAVID, as they are learnedly expounded by THEODORE BEZA*” (306). God speaks directly to the Queen, “as he sometimes did vnto David, though not in so mysticall maner,” declaring his protection of her and asking for her piety and her acknowledgement of his sovereignty. King David, associated with kings throughout the middle ages, represents the ideal of monarchy who had a direct connection with God. Therefore, Bentley’s use of the Psalms as God’s speech to Elizabeth directly connects her to God as well. God speaks to Elizabeth and describes the qualities of a “godlie Prince, and wise Gouvernour” and “exhorteth hir Maiestie to the faithfull discharge of hir office and dutie in his feare and seruice, to the increase of vertue, and suppressing of vice” (306). He then promises to be her defender against all enemies and to bless her and her realme, “and to make hir partaker of

all his ancient mercies, promised long since to hir father Daud; namelie, vpon this condition: if finallie she perseuere in the perfect loue and due obedience of hir spirituall spouse Christ Iesus” (306).

Elizabeth, thou Virgin mine, the KINGS Daughter, and fairest among women; most full of beautie and maiestie: attend a little to my Heast, and marke what I shall say. Thou art my Daughter in deede, this daie haue I begotten thee, and espoused thee to thy king CHRIST, my Sonne; crowned thee with my gifts, and appointed thee QVEEN, to reigne vpon my holie mount Zion. (308)

God’s direct address of Elizabeth as his daughter (and daughter-in-law) recalls the Annunciation, but it is Elizabeth that He has begotten. Her virtues have made her daughter “in deede”. As the supreme monarch, God has “elected thee a chosen vessell of high honour and price in my house, “ and has sought to preserve her throughout danger and conspiracy. Her sovereignty over her people is also divinely ordained: God states that He has “brought into thy subiection the people, ouer whome thou hast authoritie”(308). Elizabeth’s virginity is identified as one reason for her worthiness to rule.

Thee I saie, O Daughter ELIZABETH, haue I raised up, and chosen out a pure and perfect virgin from the rest of the whole people, and that because I loued thee most deerelie aboue them all; so that now thou maiest worthilie reioice and glorie of thy dignitie and honour, yet by my singular

power and benefit, and for none other cause, but that it hath
 pleased me thy God to exalt thee aboue others, and to
 embrace and receiue thee into my special grace and fauour
 (308)

The speech continues with a curious mixture of Catholic imagery of the Bride of Christ and a Protestant admonition for an obedient wife. Rather than presenting Elizabeth as a Catholic saint/heroine or an independent woman, the address places her in an acceptable Protestant context while recalling the residual social/religious imagery of a shared Catholic past. Instead of exhorting the Queen's obedience as a wife to be confined to a domestic sphere, her duties as a Protestant spouse involve the successful and virtuous governance of the church and her country.

Now then O deere daughter, consider diligentlie with thy selfe
 awhile, what maner of husband thou art coupled and conioined
 vnto: learne of him alone, (thy spouse christ mine onlie Son I
 meane) to whom as this daie I married thee, what he requireth of
 thee: namelie, that thou shouldest forget thine owne Nation, thy
 fathers house, and all other worldlie things, now that thou art come
 vnder his authoritie, and into the familie and spirituall societie of
 thy heauenlie Bridegroom. (308)

The speech recalls the admonitions of *Hali Meiðhad* for the woman to “forget your father, and your father’s house” and leave all worldly things behind. The advice to “forget thine owne Nation,” would not be a reference to England, but

rather to the Queen's personal life. She has sacrificed being a wife and mother to be the savior of England. For Elizabeth, her duty as a virgin includes keeping the country as chaste and inviolate as she is.

The third book of *The Monument of Matrones* is Elizabeth's; she acknowledges God as the source of her power and her protector and teacher. Bentley avoids Catholic-sounding praises of her virginity, and instead focuses on her purity of spirit, clarity of judgment, and devotion to God. Several references are made to the Virgin Mary indirectly, however. Elizabeth calls herself "thy handmaid" when she makes her vow to God, echoing Mary's response to Gabriel at the Annunciation – "Behold the handmaid of the Lord; be it unto me according to thy word." (Luke 1:38). In *The Monument of Matrones*, the image of Elizabeth's chastity is partially maternal and partially militant. The medieval (and Catholic) view of militant chastity changes the gender of a woman to indicate her spiritual superiority. As a nun's vows made her a spiritual warrior for Christ and the equal of a man, so Elizabeth became the symbol of Protestant nationalism.

In Chapter Two of the Heast, God describes the Queen's duties to her people: she must relieve those tormented by violence, "defend the fatherless," maintain the poor, and deliver the godly and feeble people from extortionists and 'wringing worldlings' (310). God declares that Elizabeth will be the judge and "defence and fortress among my people, and follow me thy God with great cheerfulness . . ." (311). Her faith and devotion to God is the most important duty for the Queen; Bentley represents God's instructions in terms of wifely duty:

O kisse this my sonne Christ thy spouse betimes, least he be angrie,
 and then thou suddenly perish, when his wrath shall flame foorth.
 Worship the Lord I saie with due worship, and trust in him alone,
 as she that wholie dependeth vpon his mercie, fauour, and
 protection: so shalt thou be blessed, and thy throne shall neuer be
 shaken. (309)

If the Queen is faithful to her husband and seeks to please only him, her reign will continue undisturbed. God also advises the Queen on her councilors and courtiers, exhorting her to expel “all the unwoorthie and vngodlie men, flatters, parasites, iueters, atheists, and revengers of blood” and replace them with worthy and godly men.

O make much of them that feare the Lord, and let all thy delight be
 vpon my Saints, which are on earth: be carefull alwaie to preserue
 the vertuous, and exalt the best and most woorthie persons. Call
 such to by thy states of dignitie, Senatours, Counsellers, Judges,
 and Magistrates vnder thee, as are graue, wise, learned, godlie,
 zealous of my truth, and gelous of thy renowme. (312)

Elizabeth herself is described as beyond compare when God summons her as his daughter, calling her “most beautiful of all women, and fairer than the children of men”:

thou, O QVEENE, Virgin, I saie of incomparable eloquence and
 grace of speech; come foorth thus and shew thy beautie, so full of

maiestie and grace, that in this thy gouvernement and pastorship, there may want neither integritie and vprightnesse in taking of counsell, neither wisdom in performing of thine interprises: but doo all things prudentlie and prosperously, caried vpon the triumphant Chariot, euen the word of God, as a wise and vertuous Governour directing it: and let truth, mercie, iustice, and equitie drawe it round about thy dominion. (312)

The image of the Queen driving the chariot of God's word presents a military icon of a ruler whose faith will make her an invincible ruler. Elizabeth is both Governor and Pastor to her subjects as God's chosen ruler – yet these traditionally masculine roles are also a referent to the compromise of her title, which came about because of her sex. The reference to “Governor” reflects one of the religious compromises of the Queen's reign – the changing of the title “Supreme Head of the Church of England” to “Supreme Governour” – a solution meant to deal with the conflict between the Queen's gender and the patriarchal Church hierarchy. Terminology is fluid in Bentley's presentation – sometimes “Governour” and “Prince” refer to Elizabeth, other times to God. The Lord calls the Queen “a bountifull Daughter of this Prince and worthie Governour,” a description carrying a double meaning – not only does it reinforce the belief in the divine right of the monarch, it also brings forward the image of Henry VIII (312). God encourages her to govern with equity, punish with severity, “as shee, before whom also sitting upon thy throne of Maiestie, the two pillars, mercie and truth

are seen to stand and support thee” (312).

God promises to protect Elizabeth and bless her. God’s might, and her faith, renders her invincible: “My hand, I saie, shall establish thee, and mine arme strengthen thee: so that no enimie shall ouercome thee by subiltie, nor anie wicked man oppresse thee by force” (313). Her spiritual warfare will be waged with metaphorical weapons: her faith and the sword of the word “shalt not onlie therewith wound the hearts of thine enimies, cast them downe to the ground, and tread them vnder thy feete; but also bring maruellous things to passe in my name, by this thy mightie power” (313). She will be armed by God, and therefore will be victorious. Bentley describes this victory in active military terms, with God arming the Queen as his general.

Yea, I will arme thee with a double edged sword in thy hand,
 wherewith thou maist punish the prophane Gentiles, and auenge
 the crueltie of the proud people, and also maist drawe their kings
 and nobles bound in chaines and iron fetters, and execute the
 iudgement appointed and commanded by me thy Lord God vpon
 them. (316)

Elizabeth, God’s “first begotten Daughter,” is deserving of high renown for both her bodily and spiritual purity:

Yea, thou beign a pure Virgin borne of my kindred, (313) shalt be
 so highlie exalted of IEHOVA, which hath decreed this from all
 eternitie, that thou shalt sit a glorious QVEENE, ouer a mightie

people, and shalt haue rule and dominió ouer all thy subiects
without exception. (313-314)

Because of her majesty and worthiness, and if she keeps God's commandments, God will always support her, providing "dignitie, honour, and renowme," and protect her, even vowing to "make an horrible slaughter of the rebels and traitors euerie-where, that go about to overthrowe the Monarch, which ruleth, and shall rule, both far and neere" (315-16). Bentley transforms England in the New Holy Land. God has called Elizabeth "to this excellent estate of a Prince" so that she will rule wisely over "my people Israel" and they will never fear oppression (316). The Lord will encompass England, and will remain the source of the Queen's invincible power:

All thy fortresses and cities shall stand vnassaulted, and thy
forts, and strong castels and holds shall not be battered, nor laid
open with breaches to the spoile of passengers.

The edge of thy sword shall neuer ware blunt, thy scepter
neuer broken, nor thy crowne cast downe into the dust, nor thy
power stained.

But I will minister continuall power, and cause of ioie vnto
thee, ô QVEENE, and take awaie all courage and force from thine
enimies, so that they shall not be able to arise or stand against thy
mightie power. (317)

The vow begins to resemble the admonitions of a father to a potentially wayward

daughter: "I saie my deere Daughter, if thou carefullie behaue thy self, and walke in the waies that I haue commanded . . . I thy GOD and heauenlie Father will imbrace thee with my speciall fauour, as my deerelie beloued Dooue and obedient child" (317). In the Bible, everyone had to obey God; usually only men were shown as obeying or disobeying. Bentley's God addressing the Queen as specifically female ("my deere Daughter") refers to the Catholic Bride of Christ image, yet incorporates more of a Protestant view of women by emphasizing her obedience as a wife.

Yea so shall the KING haue pleasure in thy fairenes, and loue thy goodlie personage: and it shall come to passe, that thou shalt be more and more in the high fauour of thy spirituall spouse Christ my sonne, to whome it is meete that thou shouldst be subiect, as to thy souereigne Lord, king and head, and vnder whose gouernement thou shalt remaine most honourable and admirable, for the singular and vnspeakeable gifts of his grace . . . (317-18)

In God's house, the Church, the Queen will behold her "children and offspring (who by publishing and promoting my Gospell, thou hast borne after a maner unto thy husband Christ) flourishing, and spred both abroad and at home": through her faith and pure spirit, Elizabeth will "be fruitful and multiply" in a metaphorical sense (318). Though she has not provided an heir for the English throne, she has contributed to the spiritual development of the Protestant nation. Her reward for this accomplishment will be a type of sainthood, as she will be transformed into a

divine figure; in heaven, she will sit at God's right hand, clothed in "glorious garments" and wearing a crown of gold.

Euen thus roiallie, I saie, shalt thou then, O Virgin, ô QVEENE, O deerlie beloued Daughter, be set before the KING thy husband, with such and so pretious apparell, the Virgins thy companions waiting vpon thee, and going with thee, vnto the most glorious KING of kings, whilst that you (altogether with most great triumph, mirth, ioie, and reioicing) shall enter into the highest mansion of the heauenlie Paradise, and most holie palace, there to enioie a most certaine, vnchangeable, and euerlasting kingddome, glorie, dignitie, blisse and felicitie; and to sing praises vnto the name of the holie Trinitie, together will all kings, Queenes, Saints, Virgins, and elect people of the world, that euer were, are, or shall bee: worlds without end. (318-19)

The Monument of Matrones addresses patriarchal anxiety over the woman ruler; by speaking for God, Bentley seems to place Elizabeth in a traditionally feminine, subservient position. The work identifies the Queen as secondary to a masculine power. Creating that power as God speaking directly to the Queen would therefore propose a solution to the perception of the female monarch; though she is a woman on the throne, she is still submissive to the ultimate representation of the patriarchy: the male deity. The end result of this representation, however, is quite the opposite. Kings were in a similar position, being submissive to God and

Christ. The replacement of Mary by Elizabeth situates the Queen as higher in status than kings, who are emissaries of Christ and the Church militant. Kings, however, were never presented as *replacing* a figure in Heaven, as Queen Elizabeth was⁵.

Unlike Sidney's *The Lady of May*, in which the poet declines even to write the Queen's spoken word, Bentley's work creates her as a character in the drama. As if speaking traditional wedding vows of obedience and subservience, the Queen replies with a vow in which she acknowledges God's supremacy and his blessings on her, confesses her own unworthiness, encourages all to praise God; "and so lastlie she bindeth her selfe as it were by a solemn oth, vow and promise, to consecrate hir life wholie to the true worship and sincere service of God . . ."(320). Naming David as her spiritual father, Elizabeth refers to herself as "a Queen consecrated to the King of heaven himselfe" who has been protected by God her entire life, even from her conception (321).

Euer since I was borne, I saie, thou my God hast defended me from
dangers, both when I was strong, and in the floure of my youth:
neither hast thou forsaken me now, being in my middle age, nor
wilt (I trust) when I am graie-headed. (324)

She vows her loyalty to God, "who dooest declare thy selfe verie terrible to all the potentates and powers of the world, and cuttest off their courage, strength, and

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I am indebted to Susan Havens Caldwell for pointing this out.

glorie, throwing it in the dust, euen as the Gardener doeth twist and proine his Vine” (323). She depends on God alone, who instructed her with knowledge of him beginning in her childhood; “vpon thee, I saie, O excellent Father, haue I set all my hope, euen from mine infancie, and will doo so still euen vnto mine old age” (325). Bentley places the Queen in an exemplary position as she acknowledges God’s particular favor toward her:

Neither hath thy prouidence and mercie towards me, eased at anie time. For surely, thou hast made me a singular and euerlasting example of thy fauour and mercie to all men, in that thou beholding me alwaies with thy pleasant countenance, and and obseruing continuallie with thine heaunlie eie, what iniurie soeuer was offered me, hast not onelie woonderfullie comforted and preserued me in all my troubles: but also oftentimes most miraculouslie saued and deliuered mee out of most great and minfold miseries, imminent perils, and multitudes of mightie enemies, wherewith I haue beene assaulted, enuironed, vexed, afflicted, persecuted, and turmoiled from my tender age. (325)

God is represented as a “judge of mine innocency” and the Queen’s “valiant Champion” who has rescued and protected her (375). The image presented is not entirely passive, however. The passage uses the medieval Christian images of the faith as armor, and the faithful as an armed knight. The Queen does not try to take responsibility for the victories for herself – the triumph is God’s alone. By

placing God as the Queen's protector (the image of Elizabeth's inviolability), Bentley gives the Queen a divine purpose beyond motherhood. The narrative discreetly avoids any discussion of the future – the focus is the hope for the Queen's long life and the praise of her divinely ordained (and rewarded) virtue.

. . . yet hast thou, my God, by thine owne hand repulsed and driuen
out all those mine irreligious foes, which so wickedlie resisted thy
purpose; and to their confusion of faces, hast exalted me to the
highest degree of dignitie. (326)

She praises God's grace towards her, "whom thou hadst appointed thine elect handmaid, and chose seruant, to gouerne thy people and affaires in this kingdome" (328). God has preserved her and brought her to high standing and "gratiouslie granted all the petitions of thine handmaid" (327). Her connection to the divine is reiterated in a list of Elizabeth's responsibilities as both a queen and a spiritual example to her people:

Euen thou, O God, I saie, the selfe-same good God it is, I confesse,
which hast also consecrated ELIZABETH to thy selfe, to gouerne
thy people, ouer whome thou dooest chieflie rule: and who hast
vouchsafed in like fauour, and in as great mercie, to call me out of
the prison to the palace, and to appoint me to be the Prince and
Pastor to feede the posteritie of Jacob, and most deere people of
Israel, with the spirituall food of thine eternall word. (328)

Though she modestly claims that, "against the slanders of all men, that I neuer

desired this honour, as though I had deserued it. . . ." (329). Her claim to be only the benefit of God's grace, with no power and ability of her own, serves instead to reinforce her position both as a divinely ordained monarch and as an exceptional woman.

. . . this daie thou didst as it were beget me a deere Daughter vnto thy selfe; in that as vpon this daie thou didst so gratuslie annoint me thy Minister and Queene, to deliuer thine afflicted Church, and to reigne vpon thy holie mount Zion, there to declare to all nations the wonderfull works that thou hast done for me, and thy people Israel; as I doo at this present. (330)

Again the presentation of obedience and gratitude is also an announcement of power and worth.

The third part of the Queen's vow accomplishes a feat of propaganda that places her firmly in a feminine position even as it reinforces her legitimacy and power as a Christian monarch. She asks God, "And what I haue I deserued (who of all others haue least deserued, and am thy most vnworthie handmaid,) that thou shouldest thus regard me, and exalt me to so high dignitie before manie others?" (331). Although she refers to herself as "unworthy," her use of the Virgin Mary's self-referent "handmaid" reflects her status as a chosen ruler of divine right:

Thou hast crowned me, I saie, with great glorie and honour,
causing my renowme and fame to spread far and neere; yea thou
hast made me nothing inferiour to other Potentates of the world;

but ordeined mee Lord ouer the works of thine hands in souereigne
wise, so that thou causest all to serue me dutifullie.

Thou, my king and my God, hast powred foorth vpon me (I
confesse) all thy bountie and graces, that none is able to be
compared vnto mee. (331)

God has been her “safe refuge, and a most sure tower against all the powers of
Satan,” which explains her invulnerability against all enemies; “Mine hand, I saie,
hath taken mine enimies, O God, through thy power; and thou wilt bring to passe,
(333) that thy right hand shall apprehend them that hate me without cause” (334).
To rebel against Queen Elizabeth, then, comes close to blasphemy, because the
rebels are defying the will of God:

. . . this people, whom thou hast appointed to be gouerned by me,
to consider this thy judgement extended vpon those guiltie rebels,
that so wilfullie resist thine ordinance and authoritie in me: and to
be sufficientlie taught by their example and destruction, to
remember the feare, dread, and reuerence due vnto thee their God,
and their Prince. (334)

An additional purpose to *The Monument of Matrones* is revealed: a warning
against rebellion, and support for the punishment of those who oppose the Queen,
either for religious or political reasons. Mary, Queen of Scots, a presence in
England since 1568, remained the symbolic center of the Catholic initiative to
replace Elizabeth. The 1569 Revolt of the Northern Earls had been unsuccessful

as had the conspiracy against Cecil. Additional dangers and intrigues -- The Irish revolt in 1579, the opposition to the Alençon marriage, and the arrival of Jesuit missionaries in England in 1581 -- provided cause for such a warning (Haigh *Elizabeth I* 184).

The image of England as the New Jerusalem appears throughout the work. The inviolate status of “this little Island” is a testament to God’s protection. Divine protection is not claimed by the Queen for herself; rather, she is the legitimate heir to a throne blessed for her predecessors as well as herself.

Moreover, O Lord, I do greatly reioice, when I bethinke me
what a tower of strength, a safe haven, and unassailable
habitation thou hast euer beene, not onlie vnto me: but also
vnto my predecessours and forefathers, kings and Princes of
this land, succeeding one another in order. (334-35)

The image of the invincible tower recalls the tower of Zion metaphor from *Hali Meidhad*, in which the virgin is compared to an impenetrable fortress. In this reference Elizabeth herself is not the tower, God is – but she is enclosed and protected by that “unassailable habitation”. The Catholic imagery has shifted so that the Queen is not the martial maid, but the protected beloved of God. God is the “mightie Governour” who provides support in times of distress:

Yeah, what alterations or changes of things or times soeuer
haue fallen; yet hast thou, O most mightie Gouverneur
(whose kingdome for euer hath beene, is, and alwaie shall

be most sure, stable, permanent, vnchangable, and
 vnmoouerable) lift vp the head of thine handmaid, as it
 were of an Unicorne, being annointed by thee with fresh
 oile, and laden with new benefits continuallie. (335)

The image of the Queen as a unicorn evokes images of her uniqueness as well as her virginity. Unicorns, symbolic of purity, were said to have been placed among virgin saints to safeguard them. Although ferocious in battle, a unicorn could be tamed by a virgin's touch. The uniqueness of the unicorn and its mythological origins fits into the iconography of Elizabeth. Possibly the unicorn reference also indicates the assumption that she was an exception to the rule. The Queen, pure through physical and spiritual virtue, is a safeguard for her country. God has blessed England and defended its queen against her enemies. She rejoices that God "granted vnto me to ouercome all mine enimies . . . and how mightie soeuer; and to compose and set my kingdome in peaceable order; and to place in Juda the throne of iudgement and iustice" (335). God is her strength and shield, and she is "thine Annointed", but she declares her power comes only from Him. In addition, God's mercy and strength has transformed her:

To conclude, I doo reioice; bicause thou, O Lord, art my louing
 shepheard, and feedest me in the green pastures and sweet
 medowes of thy word with ioie and solace; making me, that was
 sometime as a barren woman, without comfort, now a ioifull and
 glad foster mother of manie spirituall children to thee. (335-336).

Bentley combines the 'martial maid' image from medieval Catholicism with the Protestant ideal of motherhood; though Elizabeth has no heir of her body, she is the foster mother of spiritual children, the people of England/Jerusalem, and therefore a far greater influence. The image serves to reinforce the idea that God, not the Queen, will provide an equally worthy ruler to succeed her, since England is His chosen land. Elizabeth calls her subjects "yee Citizens of Zion" and encourages them to praise God,

who when wee were oppressed with Pharaos tyrannie, was
mindfull of vs; and with a strong force deliuered Israel from the
slauerie of Egypt, and hath giuen this dominion to be possessed by
ELIZABETH his handmaid; for his mercie endureth for euer. (341)

The Queen calls "ye damsels and virgins" to praise God with music and song, "but voide of wantonness" (341). Elizabeth exhorts brides to celebrate as well: "Praise the Lord also, O ye brides in your marriage songs with glorie and maiestie, that ye liue to see my daies, and that the flower of your youth is not consumed in the flame of Gods furie" (342). She calls on all Englishwomen to rejoice over God's preservation of the Elizabethan state, the new Jerusalem:

Come foorth yee daughters of Zion, I saie; and breake out into
gladnesse with me, reioice you of the iust judgements of God vpon
our enimies: yeah, compassed you Zion round about, account hir
towers, consider diligentlie hir wals and bulworks, and set foorth
the praises of hir peace and palaces; so that yee may spread foorth

the memorie thereof, euen to all posteritie. And doo you let all men to understand, that this is God, euen our owne God for euer, which hath not forsaken us, neither will leaue us, no not in the last minute of our life. (342)

In Chapter 5, she continues her praise of God, calling him “my king” and herself “thy handmaid and annointed” (345). In her praise she provides a list of beings who will sing the Lord’s praises; the list is apparently in order from divine entities to corporeal beings, listed according to their place on the hierarchy:

I will, together with all Angels, Spirits, and Soules; and with all kings, Queenes, virgins, and creatures both in heauen and earth, incessantlie magnifie thee in the palace consecrated to thy Maiestie; and will sing of thy mercie and truth, because thou hast gotten vnto thee now at the length most great honour; for that thou hast so maruellouslie, aboue expectation, surelie performed vnto me that which thou didst promise in thy word. (345)

Virgins appear on that list after kings and queens, thus signifying their importance on the basis of virtue and worth. The vow again combines the images of the queen into a portrait of maternal virginity, and obedient marriage:

I, with the residue of the people of my dominion, as a mother with hir daughters, and the virgin with virgins; being for this cause replenished with incredible ioie, and comforted with thy iudgments, O Lord, will reioice in thee, which (seeing nothing in

me that should so moue thee) hast neuerthelesse embraced me with
 so great fauour, and mightilie also defended me: and with all the
 iust I will magnifie the holie remembrance of thee, so great a king
 continuallie, which sitting vpon thy most holie throne, rulest the
 whole earth . . . (345)

She praises God's clemency, which is the virtue most highly praised for queens, child monarchs, and saint/kings like Edward the Confessor. Clemency in her praise of God becomes the way to understand absolute power, as the 'chosen people' of England prosper in a sinful and flawed world.

For is there anie thing, O Lord, void of thy goodnesse? Naie, what
 is there in this whole world anie where, which doth not testifie thy
 clemencie, and euen of it selfe set foorth thy glorie in this point,
 that thou dooest suffer so mani generations and ages to passe and
 succede in this world, that is defiled so manie and sundrie waies:
 and that thou dooest cause thy chosen people to knowe, and declare
 by experience, what thy dominion and power is, that is to saie, to
 be publishers of thy praise and valiant arts, for committing the
 glorie of thy kingdome to their posteritie. (347)

The motif of the Queen as God's handmaid appears throughout the third book; her thankfulness of God's bounty to "thine handmaid being appointed Queene by thee" becomes a vow of both marriage and filial piety and obedience: "I doo vow and bind my selfe before thee this daie, to performe them in the

gouernment of the kingdome; as thou both fatherlie requirest of me, and graciouslie hast commanded” (348). Her vow then apparently changes to the vow of a bride of Christ, yet one with the power to preserve and increase God’s church: “And first I will endeuour my selfe wholie to pietie and godlinesse, and will labour diligentlie to preserue and to amplifie thy Church, that thy pure worship may be continuallie exercised therein, with as great care, deuotion, and holinesse as is possible” (348). God’s church and wisdom will guide her; “I may there learne thy iudgements, and vnderstand thy will reuealed, to doo to the uttermost of my power, whatsoeuer thou requirest and commandest a king to doo” (348-49). She will lead the people into God’s house with songs of praise and joy, as “my father David” did before her (349). The constant references to King David throughout *The Third Lampe* connect Elizabeth to a dynastic identity and further establish her worth to rule. Usually referred to only by kings, David represents the ideal of godly monarchy. Elizabeth’s calling upon David is therefore a statement of monarchical power and divine right. Though her body might be absent from God’s house, she vows that “I will cleaue vnto thee in my hart wholie, and will not cease to thinke of thee, and to meditate of thy manifold benefits powred vpon me” (350).

I am so farre from following the example of the wicked, who lie snorting in sin and securitie; that contrariwise I, beholding the excellent iudgements of thy iustice, in crowning thy gifts in the righteous, seuen times a daie doo I celebrate thy praise: neither doo

the watchmen doubtlesse so carefullie keepe their watch, as I am
diligent in meditation thy Heast and commandments. (351)

These statements contrast her earlier claims of unworthiness. Through her devotion to God, she claims the right of divine representation through monarchy.

The paradox of religious inspiration with physical desire, a standard from hagiography, is represented in her prayer. Asking for complete wisdom and thorough judgment, she prays for God to

inflame me wholie more and more with great desire, both of true
knowledge ioined with iudgement, wherby I may discerne all
things aright; and also keepe thy lawes, as well in properitie as
aduersitie, vnto the end of my life; that I may finish the whole
course of my reigne, by the direction of thy precepts, which are
mine onelie counsellors; thy mercie and thy truth being my two
keepers and assistants, wherevpon I also onlie trust. (352)

Again the prayer reinforces the Queen's communication with the divine. Her wisdom is therefore God-given, and her effectiveness as a ruler is due to her consumption of holy doctrine:

Oh how do I loue thy doctrine! Surelie thou knowst Lord, that I
am woont to consume whole daies and nights in meditating of thy
lawes. And I doo find, by experience, that I haue not done this in
vaine. For I haue proued to be much wiser by thy precepts, than all
mine aduersaries, which labour with all their power to destroie me,

of how great dignitie or authoritie soeuer they be. For I haue
obtained by thy gift, a wisdom that will neuer forsake me. (353)

Her love of God echoes the nun's vows, as she claims to be "wholie consumed, being inflamed with the love of thee; because I see thy words despised of mine adversaries" (354). As she vows obedience to God, her reference to being consumed by flame refers to similar descriptions in saint's lives, both Catholic and Protestant. The "trial by fire" metaphor would be all too familiar to an audience knowledgeable of Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, which was present in all English churches and related histories of the Protestant martyrs from Mary I's reign. Her obedience and loyalty to God makes her worthy to do God's work in the world. God's laws, as her divine model, will direct her to rule justly and with wisdom and piety:

I doo, and will still affirme, that all thy commandements are the
most certaine and perfect rule of thy iustice and truth, to direct me
to equitie and godlinesse: and therefore I vtterlie abhor, as a thing
appointed to deceiue vs, whatsoeuer leadeth vs from them: neither
will I at anie time forsake thee, nor tume from thy lawes; but rest
vpon thee, my teacher, and ghostlie instructor. (354)

God's Heast is a "Lampe ordeined of thee, for to lighten me in thy perfect paths and waie" (355). God's word is a "pretious treasure" she keeps in her heart. She vows to always remain on the path of goodness and divine truth, which is possible because "I haue appointed thy truth to be the guide and leader of my life" (357).

I will neuer set before me to doo anie wicked thing; but will
 endeuour my selfe to godlines more and more, and keepe my hands
 pure from all iniurie and wrong: that I may so liue the true life; and
 spend the whole course of this my peregrination, in setting foorth
 thy glorie. (357)

The Queen declares her loathing for God's enemies, and vows to protect the
 godly. The passage refers to Catholics, as Elizabeth claims to detest those "that
 run after another God" and refuses to offer "their drinke-offrings of bloudie
 sacrifice" -- a reference to the Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation (357).

For I, as thou knowest, loue righteousness and holinesse, and hate
 whatsoever is against it. And bicause they hate thee, O Lord,
 which art righteousness itselfe; therefore doo I againe hate them,
 and doo euen abhor them bicause I perceiue them to rise vp against
 thee. (357-358)

Her declaration places her in a powerful position, as a soldier of God. The vow to
 uphold the true religion is also a vow to uphold the power of the state, represented
 by the Queen: "All those wicked men, whom I see or heare doo abuse their
 authoritie vnder me, against the good and godlie, will I cast downe againe; but I
 will increase the iust with honours" (358). This vow of strength and revenge is
 then tempered with the intent of protecting the weak and godly:

Yea, all my delight, Lord, shall be vpon the Saints that are in the
 earth with me, to comfort thee; and to promote such as excell in

vertue and godlinesse. For otherwise, I am able to doo little or nothing that can profit thee. Neither will I suffer anie violence to bee done vnto them that be godlie, by anie man; but will rebuke euen the mightie Princes for their sakes. None shall touch thine annointed Priests, no man will I suffer to hurt anie of thy Prophets.

(359)

The Third Book concludes with the Queen's vow of her loyalty to God and His chosen people. Though Bentley's Queen Elizabeth does not claim sainthood or divine qualities, her faith in God, His protection of her during Queen Mary's reign (Mary is never mentioned by name; to the English Protestants, she represented the infidel, but she was also the Queen's half-sister) indicates her chosen status as the rightful queen. Her government, then, is an extension of God's law.

To conclude, I will surelie care for nothing so much, now that I am set peaceablie ouer the kingdome, and haue the people by thy goodnesse committed vnto me, as to institute an holie and righteous gouernement. And thou granting me grace, when the case so standeth, that the bonds of the lawes are broken, and the kingdome is in anie thing disordered or confounded; I will carefullie compose, and set the same againe in good order; and establish the pillers and foundations thereof in their places, if they be remoued. And this will I doo by the direction of thy reuealed will, that all things may remaine safe among my people, by the

difference of right and wrong preserued and mainteined; and that they may followe thee, our God, with great cheerfulness, whosoever delight in righteousness, which they see the disordered state of the Realme restored by me at the last, into the ancient most right order of discipline and iustice, prescribed by thy word. (360)

Her vow is not only one of loyalty and piety, but also of strength and ability. She will uphold God's laws, and as his annointed ruler, she must also declare her intention to keep the peace and punish the rebellious.

. . . I should loue Jerusalem with all my hart: and that I should root out all the inhabitants therein, that prophane the land with filthie superstition, and euill life; and cause all diligentlie to obserue thy statutes and lawes, giuen them of thee. And so I make a Vow I will, O Lord, I saie, according to the simplicitie of my hart, both provide faithfullie for thy people; and also guide them by good counsell, and continuallie defend and preserue them by my power; as thou in thy heast hast commanded me.

And that I may the better perfourme these my Vowes vnto thee, and thoroughlie discharge my dutie to the glorie of thine eternall Maiestie; I beseech thee, shew me thy glorie, O God; and let thine honour beautifie and adorne me, O my KING. O gouerne thou our counsels and endeouours from heauen; yea all our enterprises, and our counsels guide and gouerne thou from the

highest heauens; that thy glorie, O Lord, thy glorie may shine
 foorth in me thine humble Handmaid, to all posterities; and the
 fame thereof fill the whole world, and be perpetuallie praised of all
 thy creatures, both in heauen and in earth, uisible and inuisible, for
 euer and euer: So; euen so shall it be, O my GOD: euen so let it be,
 Amen: Amen. (361-362)

Thomas Bentley's *The Monument of Matrones* was a kind of guidebook, offering a variety of virtuous role models for women. Bentley's inclusion of "*seuen seuerall Lamps of Virginitie*" created a category of virtuous chastity that relied upon the memory of a Catholic past, yet was firmly Protestant in its presentation of ideal female virtue. As one of the Lamps of Virginitie, Elizabeth I represents the ideal of womanhood and the ideal of queenship. The work serves effectively to remove the iconography of the Queen from the marriage market to the status of near-divinity.

This removal from marriage imagery created a series of motifs that became popular in Elizabethan representation of the monarch: the Queen was a virtuous lady to be defended, a warrior in God's army, a beloved mother to her country. In 1586, *Verses of prayse and ioye, written upon her maiesties preseruatioun*, was published. The complete title of the verses is more specific: *Verses of praise and joy, Written upon her Maiestie, after the apprehension and execution of Babington, Tychborne, Salisburie, & thereft.* The discovery of the Babington Plot in 1586 was celebrated by public music and dancing, as most

official holidays were, “but the safety of the Queen was by then identified with the security of the nation, and the relief was real,” according to Christopher Haigh (158). The verses celebrate Elizabeth’s triumph through God’s protection; one poet admonished Tychborne for his treason: “God that saw thee hath preserude our Queen.” Another verse describes the “reward” of those who sought “Crown, scepter, roiall marraige bed”:

For Chaire of state, a stage of shame
 and crowes for crownes they haue:
 Their scepter to a halter changde,
 their bed become their graue.

The last of the verses addresses the Queen directly, first in Latin then in an English translation:

Raigne, liue, and blissful dayes enioy,
thou shining lampe of th' earth:
The only life of countries state,
thy subiects health and mirth.
On thee we ground our hope, through thee
with draw our breath with ioy:
God graunt thee long amongst vs breathe,
God shield thee from annoy.
To die for thee were sweete, to liue
were wretched but for thee.

Without thee, death a second life,
 life double death should be.

The verses repeat similar motifs to those of *The Monument of Matrones*: of Elizabeth as the beloved lady of the chivalric romance, to be protected and defended against all dangers, and of Elizabeth as the lamp of virtue and morality to her subjects. The 1588 poem, *An exhortacion to all English subiects to ioine for the defence of Queene Elziabeth* [sic], written anonymously, adds a more martial quality to the description of the Queen, but the strength of the English warrior is from a divine, not royal, source:

Our Queene hath courage stout, hir subiects to defend,
 her people haue as willing mindes, their goods and life to spend,
 The cause is cheifly Gods, whom euer his elect,
 Haue found most ready from their foes, to shield them & protect,
 Examples mainfold for proffe heereof most strong,
 I might alledge, but some perhaps, would think the work too long
 Let thys therefore suffice, and let vs firmly trust,
 God neuer did, nor neuer will, forget them that be iust.
 Let each repent in hart, and mend that is amisse,
 Then God no doubt our chiefe defence, will take vs to be his.
 Who grant vs all t'agree, our countrie to defend,
 And to vouchsafe into our harts, his holy spirit to send.
 That we may grace obtaine, by his most gracious will,

Let euery well disposed wight, crie out vnto him still.

Looke Lord on Englands state, we humbly pray thee then,

And grant that each true English hart, content to say, Amen.

Though the verse includes a statement of Elizabeth's courage and strength, its primary focus is the defense of the English nation, represented by the Queen. The cause is a holy one; therefore, repentance is necessary for victory. The obtaining of grace through piety will manifest itself in an English victory over the Spanish, and the verse ends with a plea for God's help to the English state.

The Monument of Matrones presents a decidedly Protestant view of the Queen and her loyalty to England. By placing her in a Biblical context and emphasizing her spiritual as well as her physical virginity, Bentley shifts the focus from the Queen's unmarried and heirless state to her near-divinity as a daughter of God. It is unlikely that Bentley was attempting to ignore the fact that the unmarried queen would provide her country with no heir, but rather chose to emphasize her many virtues as a monarch. Through the encyclopedic presentation of the ideal of woman and the ideal ruler, Bentley creates a multiplicity of images with a powerful Protestant focus, infused with residuals from Catholicism.

Politics and patronage intertwine in the use of the scriptural archetype of the Woman of Faith as an argument for universal literacy and the participation of women in devotional life as equals to men prior to the expansion of that image into the embodiment of

imperial majesty and the principle of government by woman. . . .

The cult of Elizabeth in the later sixteenth century is actually a reincarnation of the iconography of late medieval queens as well as a carefully orchestrated manipulation of the doctrine of royal supremacy by the circle of courtiers, writers, artist, and preachers who operated under the aegis of Henry VIII and Edward VI. The biblical style of Reformation kingship dominates the early iconography of the reign of Queen Elizabeth prior to its eclectic infusion into her veneration as a classicized virgin: Astrea, Diana, or even the Roman Vestal. (*King Godly* 84)

The implication may be that since God chose Elizabeth, a woman, to lead England, surely He could also provide the 'chosen people' with another monarch when the time came. James VI had been King of Scotland since 1567, and in 1582 would have been about 15. As the Queen showed no signs of illness or decline, it could be reasonably assumed that the heir was chosen, just unnamed. Shifting the emphasis from Elizabeth's beauty and marriageability to her spiritual superiority and status as God's chosen ruler for England, as Bentley does in *The Monument*, transcended traditional Elizabethan representation by infusing Catholic hagiography with Protestant doctrine. Later representations of the Queen in the 1590s, primarily by Spenser, Raleigh, and the Countess of Pembroke, would elevate Elizabeth even further by adding classical imagery to the Christian iconography employed by Bentley and others.

Chapter Three

“Mirrors More than One”: The Elevation of the Elizabethan Image, 1590-1603

The variety of Elizabethan images converged in the final decade of the Queen's reign, a time which also saw the greatest controversy and criticism of her. The necessity for propaganda to perpetuate Elizabeth's power, as well as the ongoing search for royal patronage, inspired courtier poets to create elaborate images of their monarch: "Elizabeth acquired different aspects as she was required to fulfil various symbolic needs, not only through time, but synchronically, because of her anomalousness as an unmarried and autonomous woman ruler" (Hackett 164). During this period, the "Virgin Queen" image took precedence over all others, as Elizabeth aged with no named heir. As anxiety over the succession grew, so too did the number of images associated with the Queen.

As a woman ruler, Elizabeth needed to be perceived as being no less decisive, martial, just and eloquent than a male ruler. At the same time, she needed to exercise these stereotypically masculine virtues without being regarded as unnaturally mannish or Amazonian. As a prominent woman, she needed to be perceived as a paragon of femininity and beauty. At the same time, she had to negotiate alternative models of feminine perfection: the virtue of her virginity had to be emphasised, but without representing her as

unnaturally sterile, and this gave rise to parallel images of her as mistress or metaphorical mother. (Hackett 164)

The presentation of Elizabethan mythology, already infusing Catholic imagery and Protestant doctrine, added representations from Greek and Roman mythology and the pastoral tradition to create an even more elevated image for the Queen: “As Virgin Queen of England she maintained a unique position among a court of ‘adoring’ courtiers who came to accept their woman ruler by translating her dangerous cultural anomalousness into the positive anomaly of the only virgin ruler of Europe” (Jankowski 71). To assist in upholding the propaganda machine that maintained Elizabeth’s power, the courtier poets Sir Philip Sidney and Sir Walter Raleigh contributed *The Lady of May* and *The Ocean to Cynthia*. The culmination of the images was accomplished by Edmund Spenser in *The Faerie Queene*, particularly in Books III and IV. Spenser, who was not a courtier but a national poet, is a middle figure between court and popular understanding: according to Gary Waller, Spenser planned and wrote *The Faerie Queene* at a distance from the court “and part of its intense idealization of the court arises from Spenser’s position as an outsider. . . . Spenser still tries to insist on setting the all too evident corruption of the court in the context of a redeeming ideal” (138). An alternate view of the Queen’s position as object appears in a poem by Lady Mary Sidney, the Countess of Pembroke, the only female courtier poet to publish during the Queen’s lifetime.

The Sidneys: Addressing the Queen

The poet idealized as the model courtier and Protestant hero, Sir Philip Sidney, found himself out of favor when he openly objected to the Alençon marriage. Consequently regaining the Queen's favor, particularly to a powerful member of the Sidney family, became paramount. Sidney's representation of Elizabeth in *The Lady of May* is conventional, written twenty years earlier than his sister's verses. Composed in 1578 or 1579 for the Queen's visit to Wanstead Manor, home of Sidney's uncle the Earl of Leicester, *The Lady of May* is a pastoral masque that praises Elizabeth's wisdom and temperance. Sidney's choice of Wanstead for the presentation was itself a politicized move: his uncle the Earl of Leicester was Robert Dudley, the Queen's longtime favorite, and Sidney might have been attempting to appeal to the Queen through his relationship with the earl. In 1578 Sidney was out of favor with Elizabeth for opposing the Alençon match, "against which he argued at length in a widely circulated *Letter*" (Duncan-Jones xxii). Leicester's marriage to Lettice Knollys in September of 1578 had infuriated the Queen, so he too was out of favor (Somerset 317). Sidney's masque, and Leicester's patronage of it, is an attempt to publicly recognize Elizabeth's wisdom as superior. According to Hackett, *The Lady of May* is "an early example of the dominant iconography of the later years of the reign"; the masque presents Elizabeth "as a goddess of love and fertility . . . even though, or perhaps precisely because, her singleness and childlessness had become certain" (Hackett 91). The combined imagery of justice, wisdom, virginity and regeneration drew "ancient

traditions” to the representations of the Queen (91). Yet Sidney also apparently maintains the trope of unworthiness, as he declines to write any of her words. Although she is a character and both the subject and the object of the drama, she does not speak throughout the text. Instead, silence is the best representation of her greatness, and also an effective way to avoid offending the Queen by speaking for her. In the pastoral setting, the queen’s virtue and majesty are so apparent that the other characters, even the Lady of May, recognize her as one to be revered. She is asked to judge which man is preferable: Therion the forester (“many deserts and many faults”) or Espilus the shepherd (“small deserts and no faults”) (Duncan-Jones 8). The Queen chooses Espilus, “but what words, what reasons she used for it, this paper, which carrieth so base names, is not worthy to contain” (12). According to Maureen Quilligan, at the masque’s performance Elizabeth chose “against the advice Sidney offered in the text” and judged in favor of the “sheepish shepherd” (177). Her choice of practicality and moderate temper over rashness and impulse, though not explained by Sidney, could be easily inferred: Elizabeth, the example of temperance and wisdom, would choose the more balanced and peaceful Espilus for the Lady of May. Sidney participates in the standard convention of emphasizing female beauty when he represents the queen; her beauty and virtue, not her power, are central.

Espilus kneeling to the Queen: Judge you, to whom all beauty’s
force is lent.

Therion: Judge you of love, to whom all love is bent. (9)

Elizabeth represents diverse persons/entities in one – beauty, royalty, learning, statecraft. However, the character of the Queen does not announce her judgment, but is represented as silent. According to Quilligan, Sidney's "manuscript not recording Elizabeth's refusal to follow [his] authorial intentions suppresses her reasons, using a significant strategy to do so" (177). Her judgment has to be conveyed by the author: "This being said, it pleased her Majesty to judge that Espilus did the better deserve her; but what words, what reasons she used for it, this paper, which carrieth so base names, is not worthy to contain" (12). Though obviously it would be risky to speak for the Queen, Sidney appropriates the power of the monarch to speak, but uses the language of flattery in claiming his own unworthiness. The masque focuses on the Queen as the ideal of wisdom and justice – the goddess Astrea, fled from the golden world for its lack of justice, and returned once again in the person of Elizabeth.

Elizabeth as Astrea was a favorite image in the Sidney family poetic tradition. The Platonic idea of forms that remain unchanged was paramount to the representation of the Queen, who could be aging mortal and immortal goddess at the same time. Though manifested in human form, Elizabeth is Astrea revisited, the ideal of justice returned once again to the world. The Astrea image appears in Sir Philip's *Old Arcadia* in the double sestina,¹ in which the "gentlemen-shepherds Strephon and Klaius" grieve over their lost mistress, Urania (Duncan-

¹ *The Fourth Eclogues* (Duncan-Jones 115-17).

Jones 352*n*). Their idealized mistress, “whose beauties shined more than the blushing morning” has left them bereft of her presence (l. 62). The power of her speech recalls the power of the monarch, she “whose least word brings from the spheres their music”(l.67). The absent Urania (and the absent Queen) are representatives of the departed Astrea, goddess of wisdom, whose return promises a new golden age. The trope of Petrarchan lover suits the gentlemen-shepherds of the double sestina, but issues of both gender and time affect the presentation of the Queen in the poetry of another Sidney. The Countess of Pembroke, accustomed to court flattery and appeals for literary patronage, addressed Elizabeth on a gender-related basis; she acknowledges the Queen’s power as she relates to her as another woman. One of Elizabeth’s attendants since 1575, Mary Sidney would have been aware of the many popular images of the Queen, “but for [her] the queen’s association with the divine virgin, Astraea, and with David – king, poet, and forefather of Christ – were the most significant” (Beilin 139).

Astrea, one of the most constant of all the names used for the Queen from her accession onwards, is the just virgin of Virgil’s *IVth Eclogue*, whose return to earth inaugurates the golden age, bringing not only peace but eternal springtime. (Strong 47)

The Countess’ poem “a Dialogue between two shepherds, *Thenot* and *Piers*, in praise of *Astrea*” and the dedicatory poem to the *Psalms*, referred to as “Even

now that Care²” represent the Queen with those two figures, respectively.

Elizabeth was frequently compared to Astrea, goddess of justice, particularly after 1588, when the Armada was defeated and the Queen perceived as the victorious champion of Protestantism (Hannay, Kinnamon, and Brennan 84).

In Elizabethan encomia, the promise that Astrea would bring back the Golden Age was conflated with Astraea as the image of justice and imperial rule, and with the cult of the Virgin Queen which supplanted the cult of the Virgin Mary, to produce as image of Elizabeth as the one who would usher in the Golden Age of reformed England. (83-84)

Written for an intended royal progress to Wilton in 1599, “a Dialogue between two shepherds” indicates a bold departure from convention for Pembroke, who wrote “her own pastoral dialogue, so that Queen Elizabeth would be greeted at Wilton by her host’s own words” (82). According to Hannay, Kinnamon, and Brennan, the Countess was following her brother Sir Philip’s declaration that poets should praise the ideal for the purpose of inspiring others to virtue, and the ideal figure for this poem is the queen. The poem presents a discussion of the Queen between Thenot, whose elaborate praises mirror the rhetoric of the courtier, and Piers, who prefers plain language. Set up as alternating stanzas for each speaker, Pembroke’s dialogue between Thenot and Piers is epideictic, “a classical

2

In the Hannay, Kinnamon, and Brennan edition. This poem has also been entitled “To Queen Elizabeth” (Woudhuysen) and “To the Thrice-Sacred Queen Elizabeth” from the Juel-Jensen MS (Travitsky).

tradition [that] has been closely identified with ethics" (85).

Flattery of the monarch was a subgenre of the epideictic that provided a decorous opportunity for admonition. The poet is not so naive as to believe that the monarch exemplifies all virtues, but rather holds up a mirror to the queen, to show what she should be, as Elizabeth herself recognized. . . . Praising the divine Astrea's virtue and wisdom was a recognized (and safe) way for Pembroke to remind Elizabeth to rule wisely. (86)

The poem follows the classical tradition, and "adapts the two primary strategies of encomia, the topoi of outdoing and of inexpressibility" (86). Thenot attempts to fashion the Queen through overstated poetic praise:

Astrea may be justly sayd,
A field in flowry Roabe arrayd,
In Season freshly springing. (37-39)

Piers recognizes the failure of rhetoric to convey her greatness, commenting that Thenot's elaborate declarations are lies, and that only silence is appropriate. The Countess' use of the name Piers may be a commentary to Queen Elizabeth on the flattery of courtiers, as "the name Piers was usually used for satiric comments on the abuses in the Church" from the Protestant appropriation of *Piers Plowman* (Hannay, Kinnamon, and Brennan 84).

That Spring indures but shortest time,
This never leaves *Astreas* clime,

Thou liest, instead of singing. (40-42)

Thenot attempts to use the highest praise of Elizabeth, and questions why “My meaning true, my words should lie” while Piers maintains that no words are adequate to represent her (Hannay, Kinnamon, and Brennan 91). Thenot, “a traditional pastoral name,” was familiar because of Spenser’s *Shepherds Calendar*, in which Thenot represented the voice of old age (85). However, Pembroke’s Thenot, himself an idealized figure, attempts to ‘draw’ the queen verbally through idealized rhetoric. The plain-spoken shepherd, more realistic and worldly than his counterpart, serves as the voice of Mary Sidney, providing commentary on the importance of courtier flattery, “pretending that it fails only by not being superlative enough. Pembroke thereby manages simultaneously to separate herself from fawning courtiers and to praise the queen herself” (88)³.

Words from conceit do only rise,

Above conceit her honour flies;

But silence, nought can praise her. (58-60)

This eclogue possesses a quality different from the works by male courtiers; only Pembroke could relate to the Queen as a woman and the object of flattery. As a patron herself, Mary Sidney Herbert was the subject of many dedicatory verses by Abraham Fraunce, Nicholas Breton, Nathaniel Baxter, Thomas Moffett, and Edmund Spenser (Lamb 28). The appeals to her education, virtue, knowledge,

3

“The dialogue evidently was never performed at Wilton, but the fact that Davison had a copy indicates that it had some manuscript circulation; it may have reached the queen even before it appeared in print in 1602.” (Hannay, Kinnamon, and Brennan 88).

and power flattered her even as they contained her within a specific sphere, itself the creation of male anxieties regarding the powerful, visible, and (most importantly) audible woman; “the countess of Pembroke’s writing, like her reading, was unusually public for a Renaissance woman” (Lamb 29). Thus Mary Ellen Lamb’s assertion about the inscriptions written for the Countess of Pembroke could easily be applied to texts written for Queen Elizabeth.

Their inscriptions represent attempt to hide or to bridge the contradictions posed by the strikingly public figure Mary Sidney cut as a reader and a writer to the prevailing gender ideology designed to contain women’s language – reading, speech, and writing – safely within the private sphere. Revealing more about Renaissance gender ideology than they do about the Countess of Pembroke, these inscriptions, in their bewildering divergences, make visible the symptomatic contradictions created by her power as a reader and writer (28).

The queen’s difficult position as a woman who was not silent, and obedient only to God, challenged conventional representations of the powerful monarch, particularly a queen. Though she wielded supreme power, according to patriarchal models she must be addressed as a “vertuous and beautifull Ladie” and appeals to her power should be implied through the language of courtly love. There is an element of inside humor in Pembroke’s poem, as she offers the Queen this commentary regarding the effusive praise heaped on her by ambitious

courtiers.

Another poem by the Countess, 'Even now that Care,' was written for a different purpose: not for Elizabeth's entertainment, but as a dedication to the Sidneys' translation of the *Psalms*. This translation, a gift for the queen, continues an established courtier poet tradition – the equation of the monarch with virtue and piety, "an image that the Tudors had assiduously cultivated" beginning with the saintly reputation and attempted canonization of Henry VI, abandoned by Henry VIII after the break with Rome (92). The perceived connection between the monarch and God was one reason why religious works were presented to kings and queens. Because the monarch was associated with God's word, images of power and divinity were combined in verse as well as pageantry.

When Elizabeth was received into London on 14 January 1558/9, she dramatically identified herself with the effort to disseminate the vernacular scriptures by her reception of the gift of an English Bible. As is recorded in *The Queenes Majesties Passage*, 'she thanked the citie therefore, promysed the reading therof most diligentlie, and incontinent commanded, that it shoulde be broughte.' Taking the Bible in both hands, she kissed it, 'and lay it upon her brest to the great comfort of the lookers on.' (Hannay, Kinnamon, and Brennan 97)

The gesture made the image a reality – the young queen vowing to rule according to God's law, in one display setting herself up as the antithesis to her Catholic

predecessor Mary I. The comparison of the monarch to classical and biblical figures, another standard of monarchical praise, acquires an interesting gender commentary in ‘Even now that Care.’ During his reign, Henry VIII had been compared to David, who was traditionally associated with kings. Henry was represented as King David by Holbein’s engraving for the Coverdale Bible title page (Hannay, Kinnamon, and Brennan 97). The David image was popular with Protestants, who saw Henry as David triumphing over the Pope as Goliath (97). Pembroke’s employment of the David image was appropriate to the Queen on several levels: Elizabeth would have undoubtedly been aware of earlier comparisons of her father to David, which would serve to reinforce the dynastic continuity of the Tudors. Pembroke claims that King David himself would sing Elizabeth’s praises.

Wherein yet well see thought the Psalmist King
 Now English denizend, though Hebrue borne,
 woold to thy musicke undispleased sing,
 Oft having worse, without repining worne . . . (29-32)

Many Protestants saw parallels in Elizabeth’s life and David’s – their trials, triumphs in being crowned, and then “great troubles and dangers” at home and at court (97). Pembroke was not the only writer to invoke David for the purposes of flattery and admonition to Elizabeth; others included Fulke Greville, Edmund Bunny, and Thomas Rogers (98).

As in “a Dialogue between Two Sheapheards,” in which the Countess

reminded Elizabeth of her role as the model for princely virtue, so too in 'Even now that Care' does Pembroke claim the writer's right to speak: she "addresses Elizabeth on public issues, advocating the queen's active involvement on behalf on Continental Protestants, and alluding to such contemporary events as the defeat of the Spanish Armada and the New World explorations" (98). Pembroke emphasizes Elizabeth's connection to God in her presentation of David's psalms.

A King should onely to a Queene bee sent.

Gods loved choise unto his chosen love:

Devotion to Devotions President:

what all applaud, to her whom none reprove. (l.53-56)

Though no specific mention of the Queen's virginity is made, the Countess' referring to her as God's "chosen love" represents her as a Bride of Christ as well as a paragon of virtue, similar to Bentley's *Monument of Matrones*, the image diluted from medieval Catholic asceticism. The comparison to David extends to her governance, as Pembroke comments, "ev'n thy Rule is painted in his Raigne: / both cleere in right: both nigh by wrong opprest" (l.65-66). As King David warred with the "proud Philistines," Elizabeth's enemies were also God's: "The foes of heav'n no lesse have beene thy foes; / Hee with great conquest, thou with greater blest" (l. 70-71). Pembroke focuses not on the Queen's power, but on her virtue as a woman and a monarch: "Men drawne by worth a woman to obey" (l.83). However, though her superior qualities and virtues inspire such worship, she herself is detached from it: "one moving all, herselfe unmov'd the while"

(1.84). This detachment, possible through virtue and self-control, declares her as a goddess of justice. Mary Sidney Herbert, as part of the famous Sidney family, became the manifestation of her dead brother the ideal courtier and Protestant war hero, an image which formed the basis for her fame as a writer. Pembroke's emphasizing to the Queen the difficulties of being the object of flattery looks forward to seventeenth-century women poets, who after the Queen's death appropriated her image as representative of female education, virtue, and ability.

Sir Walter Raleigh: 'the Ocean to Cynthia'

The competition for patronage required that the courtier possess the right balance of individual bravado and absolute devotion to the Queen. Many times during Elizabeth's reign, courtiers were exiled from the court or imprisoned for engaging in activities deemed inappropriate, immoral, and/or treasonous. In 1578, when the Queen's favorite, Robert Dudley, incurred her wrath by secretly marrying Lettice Knollys, the Countess of Essex, Elizabeth threatened to throw Leicester in the Tower, and though she later changed her mind about him, Lettice Knollys was never again permitted to come to court. Maids of honour who became pregnant out of wedlock were similarly banned, and their lovers imprisoned for a short time. When Queen Elizabeth discovered in 1592 that Sir Walter Raleigh had married one of her ladies, Elizabeth Throckmorton, in 1588, she ordered Raleigh and his wife sent to the Tower.

Raleigh's marriage posed no political threat to Elizabeth, but it

angered her nevertheless because it occurred without her permission and against her will; it was an assumption of personal autonomy that she was not prepared to allow her courtiers. More significantly, it violated the code of patronage whereby the courtier sued for the favor of his royal mistress and was rewarded not with sexual 'grace,' but with money and position. (Campbell 243)

Raleigh, successful and powerful from the Queen's patronage, found himself out of favor; he had been in a particularly influential position as Captain of the Queen's Guard, where he had access to the Queen (Campbell 233). As his entire career depended solely on her, regaining her favor was absolutely imperative.

Raleigh, born of lower status and raised by the Queen's patronage, had many enemies at court and no one of influence who could intercede for him; therefore, placing himself back in Elizabeth's good graces was entirely dependent on his use of language. The poems he composed, designed to indicate his repentance and placate the Queen, used classical imagery to flatter her. Raleigh attempted to fashion himself as the prodigal knight as he sought to redeem himself in her eyes. After the Queen's discovery of the Raleighs' deception, an anxious Sir Walter wrote to Robert Cecil, obviously hoping that Cecil would show it to the Queen.

My heart was never broken till this day, that I hear the Queen goes away so far off – whom I have followed so many years with so great love and desire, in so many journeys, and am now left behind her, in a dark prison all alone. While she was yet near at hand, that

I might hear of her once in two or three days, my sorrows were the less: but even now my heart is cast into the dept of all misery. I that was wont to behold her riding like Alexander, hunting like Diana, walking like Venus, the gentle wind blowing her fair hair about her pure cheeks, like a nymph; sometime sitting in the shade like a Goddess; sometime singing like an angel; sometime playing like Orpheus. Behold the sorrow of this world! Once amiss, hath bereaved me of all. (Hammond 273)

The use of the mythological imagery of Diana, Venus and Orpheus as well as the martial icon Alexander, seeks to flatter the aging queen into clemency. The placement of the queen within mythology is indicative of the importance of symbolism for the courtier poet.

It is useful to remember that the Queen was the center of a symbolic order whose existence helped to consolidate and perpetuate the power of the Tudor state. Virgin Queen, heavenly Venus, triumphant Diana, returned Astrea – these are only a few of the roles that Elizabeth played in a national mythology providing aesthetic, religious, and philosophical legitimacy to her sovereignty. (Stillman 36)

Raleigh's appeal addresses Elizabeth on many levels: her immortal chastity, beauty, eloquence, and power. The familiar use of hermaphrodism to convey the image of the Queen's power appears in his connection of Elizabeth with the

conquering emperor Alexander. If Elizabeth saw the letter to Cecil or *The Ocean to Cynthia*, neither assisted Raleigh; she sent him to the Tower anyway.

The representations of Elizabeth during the 1590s became as standardized as the official faces approved for her portraits. The courtier's recognition of those images, and his clever use of them in court poetry, was part of the patronage game. To the accepted representations of Elizabeth as a goddess (Diana, Venus), and a nymph, were added the trope of the disdainful lady and the sorrowing lover of courtly romance. The poetry written by Raleigh after his 1592 disgrace, the 'Cynthia Poems,' presents the sorrowing banished lover pleading for his mistress' forgiveness. For Raleigh, that well-known literary trope had even more importance; the furious lady was one of the most powerful sovereigns in the world. The Cynthia poems use the Petrarchan love convention to represent Raleigh as an erring and penitent lover; his exile from her favor "represents Raleigh's exclusion from a social system which confers identity upon the poet and significance on his poem" (Campbell 237). The poems, numbered 12 –15 in the Hatfield MS, reveal Raleigh's intent of regaining Elizabeth's favor; the poem now known as *The Ocean to Cynthia* is number 16 in the manuscript. The poem first in the manuscript, "If Cynthia Be a Queen" draws upon the image of Elizabeth as the goddess of the moon. Campbell comments that the "mythological conceit of the Queen as Cynthia, chaste goddess of the moon, seems to have been especially associated with Raleigh: in his prefatory letter to *The Faerie Queene* Spenser commends Raleigh on his "excellent concept of Cynthia," and a contemporary

miniature shows him wearing a costume “encrusted with pearls (the Queen’s sign of virginity), with a crescent moon of pearls in the top left-hand corner” (238-39). As a courtier whose career depended upon the Queen’s favor, Raleigh associated himself with her symbolically.

As Shepherd of the Ocean, Raleigh gives every indication that he believed in his symbolism, that the Queen and the cultic images surrounding her were one. The loss of her love changed all that, however, depriving him of everything that he had formerly valued in those symbols, and more disastrous still, of the capacity to believe in the validity of the symbols themselves and the activity of mind which produced them. (Stillman 36)

He describes the Queen’s supremacy over her courtiers and her detractors in terms of how writing about her “adds to the one disdain, to th’ other but despair”. The last line addresses her directly by being set off from the rest of the verse: “Thy mind of neither needs, in both seeing it exceeds.” Raleigh’s poem seeks to indicate his realization that the Queen surpasses anyone in her realm; needing neither courtiers nor enemies to consolidate her power, she is as a goddess. The next poem in the sequence, “My body in the walls captived” mourns Raleigh’s forced separation from “Love’s fire and beauty’s light.” The poem does not lament Raleigh’s captivity; rather, he has always been her captive – “Such prisoner was so delightful / As it desired no other dwelling place.” Since “That food, that heat, that light I find no more,” the poet is left only with despair; “. . . I alone /

Speak to dead walls, but those hear not my moan.” Intending to convey his suffering to the Queen, Raleigh attempts to convince her that her absence, not his imprisonment, is the true cause of his distress. The most famous (and cryptic) of the Cynthia poems is the one Raleigh entitled *The 21st (and last) Book of the Ocean to Cynthia*.

The title of the poem refers to the nickname Queen Elizabeth gave Raleigh – “Water” – itself a pun on Raleigh’s Devonshire accent. The poem, a pastoral wherein nature reflects the speaker’s melancholy, as the ocean laments his loss of the moon. The final line of the 21st book is also its theme: “Her love hath end: my woe must ever last.” Despite the images engendered by the title, the poem deals very little with them. Rather than representing himself as the Ocean and Elizabeth as the moon, Raleigh is the barren earth and the Queen, the sun (May 48). The apparent discrepancy could be evidence that the missing twenty other books of the poem may have used the ocean / moon imagery. However, Stephen W. May suggests that Raleigh might have numbered the poems to indicate the intensity of his sorrow, and that since they were in a single manuscript, may not have been preceded by twenty other books: his entitling the poems *The 21st Book* “implies the existence of a much longer but quite imaginary work, the better to grace his protestations of eternal love for Elizabeth” (45). Robert Stillman wryly agrees: “Who can believe, while reading, that there could have been twenty previous books like this one? (And who, if the truth be told, is not slightly relieved at having been spared them?)” (44).

Hammond's edition of "The Ocean to Cynthia" uses the stanza form of the manuscript. The first section, fifty-six lines, begins with the imagery of death and introduces several metaphors of loss and waste. The pastoral world reflects his sorrow for his loss of the queen's favor, and the subsequent removal from her patronage: "from fruitful trees I gather withered leaves" (l.21). He has no hopeful news from her, as there are "No pleasing streams fast to the ocean wending / The messengers sometimes of my great woe." She is his inspiration and muse: "O princely form, my fancy's adamant" (l. 42), whose many virtues make her "heaven on earth transparent" (l. 44).

Her regal looks my rigorous sithes suppressed,
 Small drops of joys sweetened great worlds of woes,
 One gladsome day a thousand cares redressed:
 Who love defends, what fortune overthrows?
 When she did well, what did there else amiss?
 When she did ill, what empires could have pleased?
 No other power effecting woe or bliss,
 She gave, she took, she wounded, she appeased. (l. 49-56)

The second section describes "the honour of her love" and her power over him, and his loyalty to her, more powerful than his own ambition. He comments that she called him back from the sea and he willingly went, despite forsaking others (and his own glory) to answer her summons and "leave the purpose I so long had sought / And hold both cares and comforts in contempt" (l. 63-68).

His “forsaken heart” and “withered mind” are compared to a murdered corpse that “Retaineth warmth although the spirit be gone” (l. 73-74). His heart and mind, “Widow of all the joys it once possessed” (l. 86), is represented as wounded and dying, and one who “Writes in the dust” (l. 91). The setting sun and the approach of night reflects his mind's shroud, “by sorrow woven now to end.” The “ever-shining sun” in the poem is Queen Elizabeth, whose favor has ceased, but “the eyes of my mind held her beams” (l. 108) – his imagination retains her bounty and grace.

Such force her angelic appearance had
 To master distance, time, or cruelty,
 Such art to grieve, and after to make glad,
 Such fear in love, such love in majesty.
 My weary limbs her memory embalmed,
 My darkest ways her eyes make clear as day:
 What storms so great but Cynthia's beams appeased?
 What rage so fierce that love could not allay? (l. 112-19)

The third section opens with a lamentation for the time he has spent in the Queen's service: “Twelve years entire I wasted in this war, / Twelve years of my most happy younger days” (l. 120-21). Elizabeth's anger is compared to the sun shining “with unwonted warm”: “So did my joys melt into secret tears, / So did my heart dissolve in wasting drops” (l. 134-35). He is overcome by “floods of sorrow and whole seas of woe” brought about by the sun melting the mountain snow (l. 140),

which represents the lofty position in the court previously occupied by Raleigh.

He perceives himself as cursed in his unhappiness: "My soul the stage of fancy's tragedy, / Then furious madness, where true reason lacked" (l. 143-44).

Comparing his confused and sorrowing mind with a prisoner struggling against his chains, then being forced to rest because of fatigue, he has been "struggling in vain from love's subjection" (l. 160). He is both lifeless and helpless in her disapproval of him, and his sorrow refers also to the denial of preferment: "My joys and hopes lay bleeding on the ground / That not long since highest heaven scaled." (l. 162-163). Raleigh relies upon conventional representations of the suffering lover as he is tortured by his memories, "like flames of hell". Phillipa Berry has commented that the poem reveals "his painful recognition of the concrete political authority wielded by his female object of desire" (147). His woe is not confined only to his love of her, as he readily admits all the benefits he has received through her patronage (represented in the Petrarchan mode as love).

The role of the Petrarchan mistress was particularly amenable to Elizabeth's project of self-fashioning, for it provided those elements of purity, inaccessibility, and desirability that she was so adept at manipulating. She used the codes of Petrarchanism to claim her femininity as a source of power. (Campbell 246)

Raleigh claims to be haunted by the past, and the love he has lost, a love that "outflew the fastest flying time", a sly criticism of the inconstancy of her love (l. 182). His extended complaint is also an extended compliment (or complaint),

in which he declares her power in love, anger, and life:

A beauty that can easily deceive
 Th' arrest of years, and creeping age outclimb,
 A spring of beauties which time ripeth not –
 Time that but works on frail mortality –
 A sweetness which woe's wrongs outwipeth not,
 Whom love hath chose for his divinity;
 A vestal fire that burns but never wasteth,
 That loseth naught by giving light to all,
 That endless shines eachwhere, and endless lasteth,
 Blossoms of pride that can nor vade nor fall. (l. 183-92)

Yet her love is cruel; her perfections are “tyrants that in fetters tie / Their wounded vassals, yet nor kill nor cure, / But glory in their lasting misery” (l. 196-98). This idea is one of the most important in *The Ocean to Cynthia* as it relates to the impulse to immortalize the Queen, a trope central to earlier works like *The Monument of Matrones* and *The Revelation of the True Minerva*, and later works like Spenser’s *Aprill Eclogue* and *The Faerie Queene*. The placement of the aging queen in an eternizing theme attempts to appeal to her infinite power and immortality as well as the example of her virtue through virginity. It is highly unlikely that Elizabeth took any of these compliments at face value; yet she encouraged them since the court conventions of a female monarchy required a different rhetoric when male writers attempted to represent their ruler. The

courtiers began the Platonic love convention as a method of addressing Elizabeth; this well-known type of language was at this time especially familiar to those at court, though it was more widely known through published poetry collections like Tottel's *Miscellany* (1557), *A Gorgeous Gallery of Gallant Inventions* (1578), *A Handful of Pleasant Delights* (1584) and *The Phoenix Nest* (1593).

The fourth section/poem introduces a change in tone on several levels: the wounded lover's anger, a brief attempt to shame the queen into forgiveness, and the sexism beneath the discourse of courtly love. The codes of Petrarchanism were not designed only to elevate the woman as object.

. . . those codes were double-edged: the male courtier who adopted them was able to take advantage not only of their strategies of praise and protestations of subjection, but also of their covert self-assertion in the structural privileging of the male subject over the female object. (Campbell 247)

Though Raleigh mourns the loss of Elizabeth's favor, his address acquires a more critical and accusing tone. In appealing to her clemency and love for him, he constructs himself as her servant, but at the same time he reminds the queen of her flawed humanity. The presumption is an established aspect of Petrarchan verse. The lady must be virtuous and unattainable for the poet to be inspired, yet she is also held responsible for his suffering.

Yet have these wounders want, which want compassion,

Yet hath her mind some marks of human race,

Yet will she be a woman for a fashion,

So doth she please her virtues to deface. (l. 201-04)

Her cruelty to a lover so devoted, according to the poet, is evidence that although she is a Queen, she is still, after all, 'just' a woman, and her cruelty mars her virtues. Such a comment might have had dire results, yet even a great queen realizes her own mortality. The poet tempers his accusation with more compliment:

. . . perfection, which begat her mind,

Added therto a change of fantasy

And left her the affections of her kind,

Yet free from every evil but cruelty. (l. 209-12)

Again, Raleigh tempers his bitterness, claiming that cruelty is her only flaw. He orders himself to "leave her praise, speak thou of naught but woe"" and "Write on the tale that sorrow bids thee tell"(l. 213-214), and describe her as she is now, not as she was in the past: "In love those things that were no more may be, / For fancy seldom ends where it begun" (l. 219-220). Unlike Spenser, who would locate his figures of the Queen within the historical past and a distant future, Raleigh situates his poem in the political present. He casts himself, as was the fashion, in the role of the Petrarchan lover, suffering from unrequited love. For this poet, however, the loss of love was a metaphor for the loss of power.

Such is of women's love the careful charge

Held and maintained with multitude of woes

Of long erections such the sudden fall . . . (l. 228-30)

The complaint's use of sexual imagery suggests the courtier's anxiety of emasculation by this female power as well as his view of her as the object of desire.

Raleigh's desire for power, frustrated by his fall from the Queen's favor, results also in an inability to reveal his sorrow through language: *The Ocean to Cynthia* is "not so much unfinished as unfinishable, since in Raleigh's view language lacks the resources to allow him adequately to express the greatness of his loss. . . . Words fail to satisfy desire, since mutability rules both love and language"(Stillman 38). His love and loyalty culminate in disappointment: "All is dissolved, our labours come to naught / Nor any mark thereof there doth endure" (l. 235-36). The fields and their flora are "defaced by winter's cold and sleet" (l. 241). In this verse Queen Elizabeth is once again the moon, whose displeasure has cast Raleigh into the darkness:

When she that from the sun reaves power and light,
 Did but decline her beams as discontented,
 Converting sweetest days to saddest night;
 All droops, all dies, all trodden under dust,
 The person, place, and passages forgotten,
 The hardest steel eaten with softest rust,
 The firm and solid tree both rent and rotten. (l. 250-56).

Elizabeth is referred to as "Belpheobe," a stream which "we saw our beauties in,

so were they clear”; however, she has changed her course and is removed from his sight (l. 270). Her absence is equated with mutability and decay. He declares his suffering with the ‘trial by fire’ image of burning away faults and being renewed; the “foiled and fruitless” is burned by the ploughman, and new seeds are sown (l. 278-79). The ploughman is a metaphor for the penitent courtier’s mind: “The sorrow which themselves for us have wrought / Are burnt to cinders by new-kindled fires” (l. 282-83) and are as if they have never existed. He presents a personification of love, who is cruel and merciless: “Where he is not, he laughs at those that mourn, / Whence he is gone, he scorns the mind that dies” (l. 289-90). His angry declaration of disillusionment continues the attempt to place responsibility for his actions on her: “Unlasting passion, soon outworn conceit / Whereon I built, and on so dureless trust” (l. 295-96). He claims that “Sorrow was my revenge, and woe my hate” (l. 299) and describes his intense devotion to her, which he was unable to control:

I powerless was to alter my desire.
 My love is not of time or bound to date:
 My heart's internal heat and living fire
 Would not, nor could be quenched with sudden showers.
 My bound respect was not confined to days,
 My vowed faith not set to ended hours. (l. 300-05)

He claims unending loyalty and faithfulness and mourns “The often and unjust perseverance / In deeds of love, and state, and every action” (l. 315-17). Raleigh

himself openly acknowledges the idea behind the Petrarchan ideal; in a court controlled by a female monarch, deeds of love and state are virtually the same.

Raleigh's plea as the suffering lover is therefore an appeal to the Queen's authority and control, and the power only she can bestow on him. He reiterates the steadfastness of his love for her, despite her rejection of him, which has made him an "unblessed, and ill-born creature" confronted with an unforgiving stranger (319-21). Because his love is gone from him, he wishes himself dead (326). He describes the change in her after his 'error', and the consequences for him, referring to an image that would later be made even more ideological by Spenser:

A Queen she was to me, no more Belphoebe,

A lion then, no more a milk-white dove.

A prisoner in her breast I could not be:

She did untie the gentle chains of love. (327-330)

The Belphoebe image is one that will appear later in Spenser, and one that denotes the separation of Elizabeth's female body natural from her authoritative (i.e. male) political body. Though unattainable, the Belphoebe image is one that the poet may influence.

It is no accident, therefore, that male poets preferred to represent the Queen as "Belphoebe," chaste goddess and Petrarchan mistress, rather than as Gloriana, the sovereign Queen. . . . while Belphoebe is a character inside *The Faerie Queene*, fashioned by Spenser himself, Gloriana remains outside its representative strategies, as

the goal where the powers of Gloriana are transfigured into those of God himself. No other Elizabethan poem rivals Spenser's in attempting to represent the sovereign power of Elizabeth.

(Campbell 247)

Although he has politic access to her as Belphoebe, "as Queen she is literally inaccessible to him. . . . Only as Belphoebe (or her alternative image, Cynthia) does Elizabeth provide an audience for Raleigh's verse" (247). Raleigh's poem, unlike Spenser's, devotes more time to his own representation than Elizabeth's. He does not attempt to fashion her with a plethora of images and characters because she is not the focal point of the poem. Though he is the center of the poem, he claims that "my error never was forethought" but decides to "leave th' excuse, sith judgement had been given" (l. 338, 341). To counteract a possible reaction to that statement, which impugns Elizabeth's image as Astrea the judicious, he describes her with a plethora of images:

This did that Nature's wonder, Virtue's choice,
The only paragon of Time's begetting,
Divine in words, angelical in voice,
That spring of joys, that flower of Love's own setting,
Th' Idea remaining of those golden ages . . . (l. 344-48)

This elevated praise of her as the pattern of an ideal age is soon followed by another complaint that addresses her failings as the object of his desire. Her refusal to readmit him to her presence (and thereby her power) has brought about

accusations of cruelty and disloyalty; she has a “hard heart” and has forgotten “all [his] past deserving” (l. 369, 372). Yet despite his bitterness and sorrow, he again declares his love and loyalty as he praises her:

The mind and virtue never have begotten
 A firmer love since love on earth had power,
 A love obscured, but cannot be forgotten.
 Too great and strong for Time's jaws to devour;
 Containing such a faith as ages wound not . . . (l. 380-84)

Thinking on all the blessings he has received from her, he expresses his gratitude, claiming that the memory of her favor will last forever (l. 388-90). However, throughout the poem the repentant lover remains the primary focus, and Raleigh further constructs himself as the ideal of loyalty. He offers an extensive description of his own virtues: he identifies himself as one

Whose life once lived in her pearl-like breast,
 Whose joys were drawn but from her happiness,
 Whose heart's high pleasure and whose mind's true rest
 Proceeded from her fortune's blessedness,
 Who was intentive, wakeful, and dismayed,
 In fears, in dreams, in feverous jealousy,
 Who long in silence served and obeyed
 With secret heart and hidden loyalty;
 Which never change to sad adversity,

Which never age, or nature's overthrow,
 Which never sickness, or deformity,
 Which never wasting care, or wearing woe –
 If subject unto these she could have been – (l. 392-404)

The emphasis on the Queen's invincibility to Time ends abruptly, as if interrupted by his grief. This unspoken acknowledgment of her eventual demise may be a reminder to her that she should readmit him to her favor, since she cannot last forever and will need her courtiers to continue her image beyond her.

Mutability rules both world and self. . . . History and suffering replace an exhausted mythology, as the poetic argument turns from exalting Cynthia's love above time to acknowledging time's power over her, to identifying, finally and tragically, her love with the power of time itself. (Stillman 46)

Despite his admission of error and his desire for repentance and forgiveness, Raleigh has ego enough to include this implicit criticism of the Queen, whom he sees as having failed in some way because of her perfection. Yet though some love may wear away with the passing of time, his will remain constant, despite her rejection of him.

But in my mind so is her love enclosed,
 And is therefore not only the best part,
 But into it the essence is disposed. (l. 426-28)

His heart has been "cloven" by "the sharp poisoned head of that love's dart"

which cannot be removed (l. 457). Yet he knows the fault for his sorrow is his own: "What I possess is but the same I sought: / My love was false, my labours were deceit" (l. 464-65). It is interesting that Raleigh would explain away his desire for his wife as "false"; because the love of Elizabeth has political rewards, he pleads for readmittance by 'confessing' the superiority of the Queen as the object of desire. Again he uses the metaphor of withered leaves on a tree that reflect his "sorrow-woven face, the pensive mind" and claims that "Cold care hath bitten both the root and rind" (l. 471, 473).

The final section begins with the speaker's attempt to regain control: "But stay, my thought, make end; give fortune way" (l. 474). He realizes that "Complaints cure not" and that it is a waste of time "To seek for moisture in th' Arabian sand" (l. 478). He reminds himself, "Seek not the sun in clouds where it is set" (l. 482), knowing that he will not be able to find his way, like Leander – "Hero left no lamp to guide her love" (l. 488). Deciding to cease his efforts, he protests that his love will always be loyal and as eternal as her beauty: "She is gone, she is lost, she is found, she is ever fair" (l. 493). He returns to the pastoral by instructing his thoughts to release the flocks into the fields. He constructs himself as figuratively injured by her cruelty by describing his heart as decayed and weakened by storms, "All torn and rent, become misfortune's prey" (l. 502-03). His shepherd's staff, false hope, has broken because of age, and he considers also burning the pipe he used to sing her praises. His realization that his plea will not make a difference and wishes only for his life to end: "Thus home I draw as

death's long night draws on," he mourns: "Her love hath end: my woe must ever last" (l. 514-22).

Raleigh's poem, obviously intended to flatter the Queen into forgiveness, relies upon the tradition that was resurrected in order to alleviate male anxieties regarding the female monarch: the courtly love tradition. That image was the only one available to them; they need to see her as Spenser would later portray her, as Belpheobe, inspiring loyalty, love, and desire but unattainable. Presenting himself as a distraught lover, Raleigh claims to have lost his identity and cannot regain it until he regains her favor: the poem "cannot provide the ground for a renewed self-fashioning because it is denied a feminine Other, which it requires for the construction of a masculine self, and because it no longer participates in the social system which would confer meaning upon it" (Campbell 249).

By presenting himself as the unworthy, erring, but loyal and devout lover, Raleigh seeks to remind the Queen that only her forgiveness (i.e. her authority) can rescue him, even as he claims the authority to represent her for the ages: by the end of the poem, "it is no longer Cynthia who survives time, but the poet's adoration of her" (Stillman 48). It is a poem written by a courtier who has realized where his own power originated, and his attempts to regain access to power. Because his political career was based entirely on Elizabeth's favor, Raleigh's appropriation of the role of spurned courtly lover was the ideal approach of addressing the Queen. However, by that time Raleigh, a married man, could no longer rely on the Petrarchan conceit to ingratiate himself with Elizabeth and was

thereby denied “access to the strategies of Petrarchan representation by which alone he can approach his sovereign” (Campbell 247). Having been denied this method of representing the Queen, a conceit required of successful Elizabethan courtiers⁴, Raleigh never fully regained his status at court. His self-indulgence in the poem focuses it entirely on himself; *The Ocean to Cynthia* does not offer the same apotheosis as *The Faerie Queene* because Raleigh does not connect once and future, here and always there. In accomplishing that task, Spenser’s representations of the Queen would correct the errors of Raleigh and further elevate her image to mythological status.

Spenser: Books III and IV of *The Faerie Queene*

Edmund Spenser had already contributed to the images of the Queen in the April Eclogue of his earlier work *Shepherd’s Calendar*, in which he had “codified the image of Elizabeth as the self-absorbed inhabitant of a predominantly feminine world,” a pastoral queen surrounded by nymphs (Berry 153). However, his epic poem *The Faerie Queene* accomplished an even more complex representation, in which he “distinguish[ed] between two different spheres of existence, the mythic and the historical, which paralleled the Platonic division between an ideal and a real world” (153). Two female characters represent the two persons of the Queen, identified by Spenser in a letter to Raleigh:

⁴

Sir Christopher Hatton, Elizabeth’s Lord Chancellor, never married, “and the Queen esteemed him the more highly for this” (Somerset 335).

the one of a most royall Queene or Empresse, the other of a most vertuous and beautifull Lady, this latter part in some places I doe expresse in Belpheobe, fashioning her name according to your owne excellent concept of Cynthia, (Phoebe and Cynthia being both names of Diana). (qtd. by Hamilton 737)

The Faerie Queene herself, the unseen authority in the work, represents Elizabeth as monarch, but the other two characters mirror other identities of the Queen.

According to Tonkin, Spenser's letter is indicative of his plan to situate the Queen in the historical past and the distant future, while avoiding the present.

The Letter to Raleigh intimates, and Book III makes clear, that Spenser's presentation of Queen Elizabeth takes place through a kind of historical tmesis – a separating out of her character through the insertion of narrative and history. We catch glimpses of Gloriana in particular events and characters, but time and narrative prevent us from putting these pieces together except through the processes of imagination (113)

The martial, dynastic, British, once and future knight, Britomart, is a female and foundress of an earthly paradise – a dynasty that culminates in the birth of Elizabeth herself. Belpheobe, an immortal, chaste goddess in Nature, who has a mysterious birth reminiscent of Christ's, is not to be courted or married to any mortal. In 1599, the Prologue to Thomas Dekker's *Old Fortunatus* presented a

dialogue in which an old man identifies “Eliza” as Pandora, Gloriana, Cynthia, Belphebe, and Astrea, “all by seuerall names to expresse seuerall loues: Yet all those names make but one celestiaall body, as all those loues meete to create but one soule” (qtd. Hackett 164). Spenser as creator of an English mythology situates the Queen’s many images within a timeless world where myth, religion, and reality interconnect.

Book III of *The Faerie Queene* describes the knight of Chastity, Britomart, “the martial Britonesse” (Hamilton 306*n*). Her enchanted spear renders her invincible, and her destiny compels her to go on a quest for her future husband, to “unite the progress of dynastic history with the cycle of generation” (Tonkin 165). Artegall, revealed to her by Merlin, is a noble knight, “the prowtest knight, that euer was” (III.iii.24.7). He and Britomart are destined to create a noble family which culminates in the Tudor dynasty: Britomart’s quest for “the mere shade and semblant of a knight” (III.ii.38), indicates Spenser’s emphasis on “Elizabeth’s betrothal to her country” (Wells 88). The idea of the Queen as being courted by her country was popular “from the very earliest year of her reign” as evidenced in the “Songe betwene the Quene’s Majestie and England,” written to celebrate the new Queen’s accession:

E. Come over the born Bessy,
 Come over the born Bessy,
 Swete Bessey come over to me;
 And I will the[e] take,
 And my dere Lady make
 Before all other that ever I see.

- B. My thinke I hear a voice,
 At whom I do rejoyce,
 And aunswer the[e] now I shall:--
 Tel me, I say,
 What art though that biddes me com away,
 And so earnestly doost me call?
- E. I am thy lover faire,
 Hath chose the to mine heir,
 And my name is mery Englande;
 Therefore, come away,
 And make no more delaye,
 Swete Bessie! give me thy hande.
- B. Here is my hande,
 My dere lover Englande;
 I am thine both with mind and hart,
 For ever to endure,
 Thou maiest be sure,
 Untill death us two do part. (Wells 87)⁵

Answering a petition to marry, Elizabeth is alleged to have said, "I have already joynd my self in marriage to an Husband, namely, the Kingdom of *England*."

The question of her heirs was answered with the comment that "every one of you, and as many as are Englishmen, are Children and Kinsmen to me" (Camden 27).

Although some scholars have argued that Camden's version of Elizabeth's speech is apocryphal, the popularity of the story reveals that the perception of her as wife and mother to her country echoes the Protestant focus on women in the domestic sphere. The mythology of Elizabeth does not concentrate on her powers as a 'vestal virgin,' so to speak, but on her perceived role as wife and mother.

Appearing to the Knight of Chastity to reveal her destiny, Merlin foretells

5

Wells' note: 'qtd. by Wilson, *England's Eliza* 4-5'

the reign of Elizabeth, which returns “Briton blood” to the throne: “Then shall a royall virgin raigne, which shall / stretch her white rod over the Belgian shore”(III.iii.48.6-7). The “white rod” of Elizabeth’s rule, like the knight’s enchanted spear, are phallic symbols of the patriarchy that validate female authority: “Britomart’s femininity is judged as it fits into a homosocial order as gender is subjected to structures of containment and control” (Silberman 108). Her martial success is due to her chastity, manifested in the enchanted spear. Though her beauty arouses love, her chastity prevents the pursuit of desire. One of the many designations of the Queen in Spenser’s text, the Knight of Chastity represents her power and invulnerability. Like Elizabeth, Britomart is ideally beautiful; also like Elizabeth, the “lady knight” is so chaste as to inspire honorable love, rather than lust. The character of Malecaste was created to provide a contrast for Britomart’s beauty; though Malecaste is also very beautiful, her lack of chastity and love of pleasure make her loveliness “shamelessness” and she is therefore “a loathly sight.” She uses love only to kindle lust; “such love is hate, such desire is shame.” Adhering to Protestant acceptance of sexual desire in honorable love, Spenser indicates that beauty and desirability are not necessarily shameful, as chaste desire is part of ideal love. However, if a woman participates in the expression of lustful desire, she is unchaste. For a noblewoman, this reputation would be damaging; for a Queen, it could cost her the respect of her

subjects, and then the crown, as Mary Queen of Scots discovered in 1567.⁶

However, in the figure of Britomart, Spenser recalls the residual Catholic veneration of virginity in his “celebration of the mystical love of Elizabeth for her ‘spouse’” (Wells 88). In the vision of Artegall presented to Britomart by Merlin, Artegall’s shield has an ermine on a blue field; the ermine is an emblem of chastity associated with royalty, particularly with Elizabeth.⁷ The resulting dual image celebrates the martial power of virginity even as it emphasizes its eventual transformation into marital chastity.

At the conclusion of Book III, Britomart does battle against the fears associated with sexual love, converting the definition of chastity from mere resistance to sex to an awareness of the power of generation. (Tonkin 143)

Britomart’s quest is one of regeneration through her submission to Artegall, as they create a great dynasty. As a Queen whose virginity ended a dynasty, Elizabeth the subject of the poem is implicitly criticized for her refusal to marry and reproduce. A similar commentary is made in Book V, as Britomart rescues an emasculated Artegall from the Amazon Radigund and reinstates male authority;

6

After her husband Lord Damley was found murdered and Mary married the prime suspect Bothwell, she was imprisoned and forced to sign “an Act of Abdication in favour of her son” James, thirteen months old (Fraser 21). As she was led to Edinburgh for imprisonment, the soldiers shouted, “Burn the whore! Burn her, burn her, she is not worthy to live, kill her, drown her!” (Somerset 196).

7

The Ermine Portrait by Nicholas Hillard (1595); *The Sieve Portraits* (series began 1579)

the episode could be perceived as advocating the necessity of the patriarchy. The indication of Artegall's chastity recalls also the Catholic past, but the emphasis is on married chastity in Book III -- he is destined to be a husband to Britomart and father for a great line of noble Britons. Because Britomart will perpetuate herself through the myth she creates and the children she will have with Artegall, she is not only Chastity Militant from medieval texts. Having seen her future husband in Merlin's mirror, Britomart's experience draws from the Platonic theory of the reflecting power of love, a process of reflecting oneself and recognizing the divine in another and in oneself. By holding up the mirror of Elizabeth in the figures of Gloriana, Britomart, and Belphebe, Spenser reveals to the aristocratic readership of England the true form of virtue in the person of the Queen. In Spenser's text, the Catholic residual imagery is combined with Protestant doctrine to emphasize the importance of chastity in marriage -- chastity meaning continence, not virginity: "her future motherhood is defined by the needs of a male political hierarchy" (Berry 161). Though Britomart is a warrior and a powerful woman, her "heavenly destiny" is to "submit [her] wayes unto his will" when she marries Artegall and has children; therefore, the virgin knight cannot threaten the status quo within the poem, and any anxieties about her are addressed by Merlin's revelation. However, Britomart remains a virgin in *The Faerie Queene*; her betrothal is announced but the marriage does not take place within the confines of the text. She will remain a virgin until the knights are all perfected. Like the Queen herself, Britomart is not a bride of Christ but will find a spouse only in

potential: “her marriage, like her courtship, is a mystical one; its purpose is to fulfil the ‘streight course of heauenly destiny’ (III.iii.24)” (Wells 90). Though Spenser does present the traditional Protestant emphasis on female subjection, he asks when brave warrior women like Deborah will reappear:

Where is the Antique glory now become,
 That whilome wont in women to appeare?
 Where be the braue athieuments doen by some?
 Where be the battels, where the shield and speare,
 And all the conquests, which them high did reare,
 That matter made for famous Poets verse,
 And boastfull men so oft abasht heare?
 Bene they all dead, and laid in dolefull herse?
 Or doen they onely sleepe, and shall againe reuerse? (IV.1)

These warrior women cannot be compared with Britomart, whose “pure chastity” and courage are her strongest virtues. These virtues have been passed along to Britomart’s descendant, the “faire blossom” Queen Elizabeth, the exceptional woman: “Spenser never claimed that Elizabeth was more than a woman; his point was that she was very much a woman, but a woman whose character and status freed her from the usual limits of women” (Benson 286). These long-absent warrior women and their disappearance is part of Spenser’s addressing of male anxiety – there were once powerful female knights, but they have disappeared, and may return someday.

Because he clearly believes that women are capable of military greatness and because he expresses such passionate hope for the reawakening of feminine valor here, the poet sounds like the humanist and Anglican writers for whom such abilities are natural. What would logically follow would be praise of Elizabeth as the sign of beginning of a new great age for womankind, or at least as an isolated equivalent to these great women as she was in canto ii. But this kind of praise is not forthcoming. . . . (Benson 289)

Though praise of Elizabeth as “the sign of beginning of a new great age for womankind” seems to be next, Spenser instead “increases our sense of the distance between ancient women and their feeble modern sisters rather than making us appreciate the possibility for women’s equal achievement” (289). This particular example is one of several that exist in the poem to address seemingly contradictory issues: Britomart is the idealization of Queen Elizabeth’s virginity as the key to her invulnerability; Belphebe, her image as a virgin huntress / Diana figure; Amoret, her beauty and virtue. The culmination of all these images, Gloriana, is absent from the work, as it would be impossible to accurately represent her, let alone speak for her, even as it was equally impossible to represent Queen Elizabeth herself. Susan Frye comments that Elizabeth’s physical and psychological withdrawal in the 1590s, a response to increased threats and unrest, occurred even as she was “representing herself as the youthful figure at the summit of her society’s social, religious, and political hierarchies”

(98). Since the Queen became an idealized model, the resulting division of Elizabethan imagery into multiple characters addresses a plethora of concerns regarding an unmarried “Virgin Queen” and the question of monarchical power.

Beginning with Book II, canto iii, another figure of Elizabeth is introduced -- one that attempts to reconcile the Queen’s multiple images and her location in two worlds. The first vision of Belphebe is the “most extended portrait in the poem” as Spenser describes her from stanza 21 to 30 (Hamilton 195*n*). Her eyes are illuminated by divine flame, “so wondrous bright” that her purity could blind Cupid:

In them the blinded god his lustfull fire
To kindle oft assayd, but had no might;
For with dredd Maiestie, and awful ire,

She broke his wanton darts, and quenched base desire. (II.iii.23.6-9)

Her divine virginity, invulnerability to lust, and idealized beauty make her the “glorious mirrhour of celestiall grace / And soueraine moniment of mortall vowes” (25.6-7). Belphebe is an incarnation from a heavenly pattern. Like Elizabeth in popular imagery, she is the ideal made real, which is the theme of Book III: the transformation of the image, myth-making, and transmutation. Like Sidney in *The Lady of May*, Spenser refers to the inexpressibility topos as he wonders, “How shall fraile pen descriue her heauenly face, / For feare through want of skill her beautie to disgrace?” (25.8-9). The extended description of her emphasizes her purity: her white pleated dress signifies virginity and modesty

(26.4-5); the charms she wears that “suggest the magical power that protects her virginity” (Hamilton 196*n*). She has tied her armor with golden straps – “The ends of all their knots, that none might see”-- indicating that “her armour cannot be undone, being a virgin’s knot, in contrast to Venus’ girdle which may be loosened” (196*n*). Her upbringing by the huntress Diana is apparent in her weaponry: a spear and bow with which she has hunted “the flying Libbard” – the leopard, “the emblem of incontinence in Dante’s *Inferno*”(196*n*). This extensive blazon, which describes Belpheobe literally from her head to her feet, places her character (and Elizabeth) within the imagery of Petrarchan discourse: “Supposedly an image of Elizabeth’s ‘body natural’, Belpheobe also bears the marks of sovereignty . . . she is the bodily incarnation of the *corpus mysticum* of the English state” (Berry 159). In Book II, though unnamed, she appears as the ideal of the pure virgin to provide a contrast for what Hamilton refers to as “the assault of Acrasia,” the unchaste woman. This vision of Belpheobe, designed to “sustain the reader to withstand exposure to Acrasia,” mirrors Spenser’s vision of Elizabeth (Hamilton 195*n*). The ideal of the virtuous monarch, Elizabeth is the mirror for her people. By placing her in the world of forms as the model of virtue, Spenser seeks to emphasize the importance of the queen as image.

Spenser’s choice of the name “Belpheobe” for this figure of Elizabeth referred to traditional lunar imagery “to signify her human, feminine aspect” (Hackett 193).

The moon was a dualistic symbol not only in that it was both

changeable and perpetually self-renewing, but also in that it was supposed to stand on the border of the earthly region and the heavens. . . . The moon partakes of both regions, without being wholly part of either; she is both earthly and heavenly, both human and divine, just as Elizabeth was supposed to be. (193)

Canto v of Book III reveals the origins of Belphebe and her twin sister Amoret, the daughters of Chrysogene, a nymph. Belphebe, born first, was taken by Diana “to be upbrought in perfect Maydenhed” (vi.28.4), a decision that “situates Belphebe outside the rules and boundaries of ordinary sexual exchange” (Cavanaugh 131). Amoret was spirited away by Venus, “to be upbrought in goodly womanhed” (vi.28.7). The sisters’ birth represents a “temporary reconciliation of Venus and Diana, traditional adversaries, suggests a coming together of love and virginity in a kind of productive chastity” (Tonkin 119). Their conception and birth is apparently divine; Chrysogene bore them “withouten pain, that she conceived / Withouten pleasure” (27.3-4). The notion of painless birth to goddesses and heroines was assumed also with the Virgin Mary, who was said to have been exempt from Eve’s curse (Hamilton 359*n*). Spenser’s reworking of contemporary history fused with mythology refers to Elizabeth’s birth – her mother impregnated by the sun (an image of divinity usually applied to kings) and her virtuous upbringing. Miller quotes Roche’s assertion that the twins’ birth “is the story of the incarnation of virtues already existent in Spenser’s Platonic heaven . . . the act of embodiment of the Platonic Idea, which had already

existed in Paradise” (236). In the absence of Elizabeth’s actual mother Anne Boleyn (a forbidden subject at the court), he designates a deity as her parent and guardian. His reasons for the virgin birth image were not only to compliment the Queen’s chastity, but also to address criticism of the circumstances of her birth.

. . . Spenser’s appropriation of the iconography of the Immaculate Conception can be interpreted as a direct response to the recent Catholic polemic which alleged Elizabeth to be the child of an incestuous, monstrous, carnal union, and therefore an insatiable logic of cause and effect. (Hackett 141-42).

Linking the queen’s birth with that of the Virgin Mary as well as Christ further places Elizabeth within a mythological context, and though the Immaculate Conception was not Catholic doctrine until the nineteenth century, it is probable that Mary’s exemption from original sin was assumed in the sixteenth. The presence of the twins indicates “two competing views of love signifying love expressed through the denial of sexuality and love through its affirmation. The intellectual allegiances Spenser upholds necessitates that the former is the superior” (Waller 128). The mythological version of Elizabeth is therefore “a model of sexual purity which in turn symbolises political truth and uprightness” (Hackett 142). Belphoebe, named for Diana (Phoebe), is a virgin huntress, “the Mayd” (v.36.2-3). Yet always behind this commentary is the unseen but always present figure of Gloriana, the impetus behind the poem and the ideal of virtue. Elizabeth’s sovereign presence as Gloriana provides the quest, as her character of

Belpheobe represents her as both human and divine. The subject of Petrarchan discourse, Belpheobe is the central figure of power in the Timias episode, in which Spenser combines contemporary court politics with mythological history.

The squire Timias, wounded while fighting three brothers who pursued the lady Florimell, is saved by Belpheobe's knowledge of herbal remedies. The Timias episode is an allegory of Sir Walter Raleigh's fall from the Queen's favor. The three brothers represent "the luste of the flesh, the luste of the eyes, and the pride of life" (I John 2:16) (Hamilton 348*n*). Though he is too virtuous, noble, and chaste to be defeated, he is wounded in the thigh, which "suggests the wound of lust" (349*n*). This reference to Raleigh's marriage to Elizabeth Throckmorton and his subsequent fall from fortune claims that the ministrations of a "goodly Mayd full of divinities" could cure him. Timias falls in love with Belpheobe, who has saved his life, but his love is unrequited; Belpheobe is immune to desire because of her virginity,

That dainty rose, the daughter of her Morne,

More deare than life she tendered, whose flowre

The girlond of her honour did adorne . . . (v.51.1-3)

Virginity as a fragile flower is an image from medieval Catholic iconography; the twelfth-century treatise *Hali Meïðhad* describes virginity as a "blossom which, if it is once completely cut off, will never grow again" (10). Spenser's praise of Elizabeth is his homage to Belpheobe, "this faire virgin"

To whom in perfect love, and spotlesse fame

Of chastitie, none liuing may compaire:
 Ne poysnous Envy iustly can empaire
 The prayse of her fresh flowring Maidenhead;
 For thy she standeth on the highest staire
 Of th'honorable stage of womanhead,
 That Ladies all may follow her ensample dead. (V.54.3-9)

Elizabeth's influence, couched in terms of romantic love, is also mirrored in the Belphoebe / Timias episode, which explores clemency and its limits. Though Belphoebe has cured his wound, she has "hurt his hart, the which before was sound" through his love for her (v.42.4). The political and gender-based commentary employs the Petrarchan rhetoric of blame in an attempt to transfer responsibility to the object of male desire; Belphoebe is sworn to chastity yet receives the responsibility for Timias' broken heart. Similarly, Raleigh, operating in a court culture where the Queen maintained strict rules about her ladies' and courtiers' personal lives, chose to marry Throckmorton without the Queen's knowledge and permission, yet insinuated in *The Ocean to Cynthia* that her anger was unjustified. Deciding it is better to die than "with dishonorable terms her to entreat," the squire despairs. (V.49.9). Spenser's Timias would rather die than to forsake or be disloyal to her, a claim Raleigh himself would make in *The Ocean to Cynthia*.

In Book IV, Canto vii, the Timias / Belphoebe mismatch is based on the situation involving Raleigh's exile from court. The proem of Book IV contains an

address to the Queen and to Cupid; Spenser claims that this song

Which that she may the better deigne to heare,
 Do thou dred infant, Venus dearling doue,
 From her high spirit chase imperious feare,
 And vse of awfull Maiestie remoue:
 In sted thereof with drops of melting loue,
 Deawd with ambrosiall kisses, by thee gotten
 From thy sweete smyling mother from aboue,
 Sprinkle her heart, and haughtie courage soften,
 That she may hearke to loue, and reade this lesson often.

(IV.proem.4)

In this single stanza Spenser addresses several images, or persons, of the Queen – as religious figure, powerful monarch, and beloved lady, “the Queene of loue”

(1.9). The next stanza admonishes her by calling on Cupid to chase the fear away from her “high spirit” and replace punishment with reconciliation. Miller suggests that Belpheobe’s courteousness and forgiveness of Timias represents a dual presentation of the Queen as simultaneously mortal and divine:

. . . Belpheobe’s haughtiness relents and she acknowledges her subjection to the common condition of mortality insofar as she is courteous; yet she refuses the common remedy for death and reasserts her superiority to other degrees of womanhood (54.7-8) insofar as she remains a virgin. (234)

The Queen's virginity, for years the subject of controversy because of the succession question, is converted into an idealized representation in the character of Belphebe. Spenser adopts the traditional didactic tone of courtier poetry that praises the monarch while offering commentary and advice, even criticism: Mary Villeponteaux argues that Belphebe is not as central a figure as the "temporarily virginal Britomart," who is actually the idealized representation of the Queen; by contrast, Belphebe "is a literary 'mask of youth' through which the poet implicitly criticizes his queen, portraying her chastity as obdurate and sterile" (208). In support of his patron Raleigh, Spenser asks the Queen to be merciful, though he apparently agrees with her decision to banish him. He appeals to her clemency even as he recognizes its limits, addressing her not as his sovereign, but instead as the haughty idealized lady of courtly romance.

The ill-fated squire Timias and the virgin huntress Belphebe are the contrasting example to the ideally matched (and destined) pair of Britomart and Artegall. Mismatched through class differences and her vow of chastity, Timias' love for Belphebe is not returned; Waller comments that "it is made very clear that such rejection is seen by the poet as too severe" (128). Belphebe's banishment of Timias after he breaks his faith with her -- a retelling of the Raleigh/Elizabeth story -- is a tale of Petrarchan unrequited desire and the lover's suffering. After being kidnapped by "a wilde and saluage man" who represents Lust, Belphebe's sister Amoret flees and is pursued by him until Timias intervenes. Hearing the battle, Belphebe chases the wild man back to his cave,

killing him with her bow. She returns to see the squire lovingly comforting the distressed Amoret, who he had accidentally wounded in the fight. Amoret and Timias are guilty of lust; they both bear the wound that represents sexual desire (Hamilton 478*n*). The stanza describing Belpheobe's reaction refers to Elizabeth's banishment of Raleigh from court.

Which when she saw, with sodaine glauncing eye,
Her noble heart with sight thereof was fild
With deepe disdaine, and great indignity,
That in her wrath she thought them both haue thild,
With that selfe arrow, which the Carle had kild:
Yet held her wrathfull hand from vengeance sore,
But drawing nigh, ere he her well beheld;
Is this the faith, she said, and said no more,
But turned her face, and fled away for evermore. (viii.36)

Her judgment of his is "made in the voice of Authority, a voice that embodies the power of society" (Goldberg 158). His pursuit of his own desires represents a treasonous act, as he has looked away from his beloved. Timias, keeping his distance "for dred of his displeasures vtmost prooffe," pleads for her forgiveness but is answered with the threat of her "mortall arrowes" (vii.37.5, 37.8). Distraught, he destroys his weapons and retreats to the wilderness, until "out of all mens knowledge he was worn at last" (vii.41.9). When Arthur appears, even he cannot help the squire.

He left him there in langour to remaine,
 Till time for him should remedy provide,
 And him restore to former grace againe. (Vii.47.5-7)

Though Spenser shows empathy for Timias' (and Raleigh's) plight, he observes that only time can restore him to her graces. Until she authorizes him to be visible, he must remain in exile. Like Raleigh, Timias has found "That the displeasure of the mighty is / Then death itself more dread and desperate" (viii.1.3-4). In Canto viii, the dove of concord reunites Belphoebe and Timas by leading her to him. The dove, also a symbol of divine love, is particularly appropriate to an episode involving Belphoebe as the poetic representation of the Queen. Belphoebe does not recognize him at first, but pities him. As he kisses the ground she has walked on, she urges him to break his silence. He identifies her as one of the reasons for his plight:

Ne any but your selfe, O dearest dred,
 Hath done this wrong, to wreake on worthlesse wight
 Your high displeasure, through misdeeming bred:
 That when your pleasure is to deem aright,
 Ye may redresse, and me restore to light. (Viii.17.6-9)

Her "mighty heart" and "mild regard" combined to dissipate her wrath, and she restores him to favor. The implication is that the woman, as object of male desire, is responsible for the lover's pain. The language of courtly love placed women on pedestals for the purposes of keeping them weak while giving them the illusion

of control. As long as the woman withheld her consent, she was the more powerful in the relationship. This rhetoric was essential for the Elizabethan courtiers, whose political sensibilities had to include the ideological devotion to the Queen as a the unattainable object of desire. Spenser combined the Petrarchan conceit with Platonism to create the idealized perfected form of monarchical virtue, Gloriana, to represent the Queen's sovereign power. As the one becomes many in the world of phenomena, so too Elizabeth the idealized monarch is mirrored in a variety of mythological and historical representations.

Spenser created the perfected apotheosis of Elizabeth at a time when her government was the most unpopular; the enthusiasm over the defeat of the Armada in 1588 had already begun to decline, as had the English economy. The question of the succession, left unanswered, bred anxiety among the court and the populace, and "war, heavy taxation, harvest failure, and trade disruption combined to create economic crisis" (Haigh 160). At a time when Elizabethan politics were beginning to wane, Spenser attempted to return the English aristocracy to the golden age by recreating it through the epic poetry of *The Faerie Queene*. For Spenser, poetry was a vocation, a way to re-view the world through mind, myths, and perceptions, and a female monarch was the ideal muse for his approach through a variety of forms and representations. In a society that viewed power as distinctly male, Elizabeth's sex required a multiplicity of images for her sovereignty. The Platonic statement of the ennobling effects of love transformed the male anxiety of a female monarch's court into a Petrarchan sonnet of courtly

love. The poet's attempt to place her within a historical as well as a mythological context in *The Faerie Queene* earned Elizabeth's approval and she awarded Spenser an annuity of £50 (Frye 145). The apparent fracturing of Elizabethan political consciousness became through Spenser's pen the inferior manifestation of an ideal pattern in which the one becomes many. The idealization of the Queen as a divine figure resulted from the poet's plan for his book to "fashion a gentleman or noble person in vertuous and gentle discipline" (Hamilton 737). The resulting work served to hold up an ideal image to the English court even as it celebrated Elizabeth's reign as a golden age. The Queen herself is therefore a pattern – apotheosized but also platonized as she is celebrated as the ideal of monarchy. The Astrea image in the poetry of Philip Sidney and Mary Sidney Herbert affected the Queen's image by transforming her into something beyond humanity. Though Raleigh described her as a goddess figure, his address cannot go beyond the human dimension; he cannot see beyond himself to describe her. In the Sidneyan figure of Astrea is the prefiguring of grief, as the world will be diminished by her loss. Spenser's poem recognizes this, evidenced in his emphasis on mutability in *The Faerie Queene*. As the Gloriana image remains always out of sight, yet always present, so too will Elizabeth be: assumed into heaven, yet always there, like the Blessed Virgin Mary.

Chapter Four

Posthumous Panegyric: The Deceased Monarch and the Re-Creation of Imagery

The revision of the Elizabethan image during the Stuart era would be the greatest accomplishment the contemporary English propaganda machine had ever created. The standard praise of a deceased monarch generated in 1603 would become transformed by necessity because of the contrast with Stuart politics. The elevation of Elizabeth as saint and ideal monarch created an image that would have been impossible for James I and Charles I to ignore. The persistence of the Reformation throughout the Stuart era and the call for Protestant militarist intervention in the international arena became critical issues in the seventeenth century. While she lived, Queen Elizabeth had drawn on well-known religious imagery and virtually fashioned herself as an icon, for which she was praised as the defender of the Protestant faith. After her death, however, she became the secular saint of Protestant reformers, and the Puritan ideal of virtuous and religious monarchy. Her place among other monarchs by contemporary biographers is based on two issues: religion and gender. As a Protestant queen, she is presented as God's chosen defender of the true church; as a woman, her virginity enables her to transcend the stereotypes of women's weakness and vulnerability. The devising of the Elizabethan icon of 'The Virgin Queen' was necessitated by gender and the preconceptions regarding it. In context, the Queen

was the representation of the nation, as well as the nation itself. Her intact body was the physical manifestation of the inviolate nature of England. Though she surpassed the contemporary expectations of women, placed in context she had to maintain a traditional feminine image. The notion of the monarch as Virtue became even more emphasized with a woman on the throne, and Elizabeth's virginity was part of the iconography of her worth as a ruler. The male writers who helped in the creation and maintenance of the image used the text as a medium between the reality of the female ruler and their own anxieties during the Elizabethan age. However, the Stuart era saw the revision of the image, as Elizabeth became the figure of the ideal monarch. For women writers the Queen became a model of female ability; throughout the seventeenth century, Elizabeth acquired a plethora of identities and representations, each one created through political necessity and social criticism.

The high literary praise and court propaganda designed during the 1590-1603 period to counter anti-Elizabethan rhetoric and general unpopularity would be surpassed in 1603. The last years of Elizabeth's reign did not maintain the shining allure of previous years, and the English victory over the Spanish Armada was probably its zenith. The optimism and celebrations of 1588 were rapidly replaced by criticism in the face of a variety of national problems, all of which were attributed to the presence of a woman on the throne.

Rising prices, costly wars, continuing troubles in Ireland, trade depression as well as poor harvest had overcast the glory of what

had once seemed a golden and triumphant time. No longer were eulogistic tracts and ballads and approbatory speeches and sermons attended to with the complacent assent of past decades. (Hibbert 264)

The Queen had reigned forty-five years, outliving nearly all her ministers, courtiers, and friends. As the reign approached its end, popular opinion of the Queen also waned. Christopher Haigh comments that during this time “the political misogyny of the early years of the reign re-emerged. The ills of the times were ascribed to the rule of a woman” (166). Unable to create a new role, Elizabeth remained constant while everything (and everyone) around her changed; problems of the reign were attributed to her sex, “for it held out the expectation that all would be well once the old lady died” (Haigh 166). Her subjects wanted a king, thinking that a male ruler would be inherently able to overcome the weaknesses of “female indecision” attributed to Elizabeth. The political unhappiness based in misogyny manifested itself in various ways.

From all over the country there came reports of dissatisfaction and impatience, of the resurgence of scandalous rumors of the Queen’s sexual escapades in her dotage, of plots and counterplots
(Hibbert 264)

People throughout court and country saw their salvation in James VI of Scotland – male, married, and the father of two sons, Henry and Charles. The French ambassador commented, “Certain it was, that the English people would never

again submit to the rule of a woman” (Hibbert 264). The gender stereotypes so firmly in place supported the assumption that as a man, James would be able to overcome the economic and political ills that the late Queen could not: “for many of the English the return of the rule by a king was a welcome relief” (Levin 168). According to Helen Hackett, there were fewer elegies written for Elizabeth than for Sir Philip Sidney or later for James’ son Prince Henry (219). This relief on the national level is probably the main reason why the transition to Jacobean rule occurred without incident. Yet what survived from the Elizabethan age was imagery and a queen’s reputation, soon to be resurrected after English exposure to Stuart rule.

1603: “Womens Glory, Englands Mother”

The legend that the Queen and her court created and maintained for over four decades grew even more extensive after 1603. In Queen Elizabeth’s time, the many images converged; she became both a mythic and political figure during her lifetime, and after her death was deified. Her passing on March 24 inspired a plethora of epigrams, elegies, lamentations, and dedications designed to celebrate her life and her power, but also to reassure the public and the court that the monarchy, and by extension the nation, was secure: “The king’s panegyrists produced accounts of Elizabethan glory emphasizing the continuity between the queen and her successor, thereby using the appeal of the queen’s memory to ratify James’s policies” (Perry 90). Later tributes, published around 1630, focused on

her many excellent qualities as a ruler, continuing the 'Gloriana' legend and elevating her to near-sainthood in order to illuminate the weaknesses of the Stuart court without running the risk of speaking or writing outright against the king. Many of the woman-authored works mentioning the late Queen appeared during this time. The differences between the 1603 tributes and the 1630 tributes are few, but significant: the poetic grief for Elizabeth in 1603 was usually followed by praise for James. Initially, this grief was not intended to discredit James or serve a critical purpose; "it has been assumed both that all reference to Elizabeth during the reign of James is . . . an expression of discontent with the King, and even that James himself realized this and regarded such references as personal criticism" (Woolf 170). That assumption is an oversimplification, according to Curtis Perry; "far from being univocally critical of James, depictions of Elizabeth produced during the first decade of his reign in England stand in a variety of relationships to Jacobean orthodoxies" (90). In 1603, one of the political motives behind the praise of the Queen would undoubtedly be the acceptance and praise of James as her rightful heir and godson, her spiritual child. According to Perry, the later versions of Elizabeth's life and reign would have a far more critical purpose:

The development of a London version of an Elizabethanism – a version whose emphases were quite unlike those of accounts of the late queen that responded to the king's agenda – contributed to James' failure to establish and naturalize an emotionally effective cult of monarchy. Raymond Williams would describe the presence

of the late queen's cult in Jacobean culture as a "residual" element, "effectively formed in the past, but still active in the cultural process, not only . . . as an element of the past, but as an effective element of the present." The deployment of this residual material, in Williams' analysis, is part of the process by which a dominant culture reconstitutes itself: "A residual cultural element is usually at some distance from the effective dominant culture, but some part of it, some version of it – and especially if the residue is from some major area of the past – will in most cases have to be incorporated if the effective dominant culture is to make sense in these areas."

(108)

Alternate, and subversive, uses of the Queen's image would appear within the next few years and gain a nearly mythological status during the 1630s and 1640s. This optimism for the Stuart monarchs disappears from the praise of Elizabeth published in that later period, and the writers place even greater emphasis on her virtues as a person as well as a monarch.

The shock of Elizabeth I's death, the anxiety it created, and the reassurance of a new king were subjects of the Elizabethan elegies written in 1603 and shortly thereafter. Thomas Dekker's prose piece *The Wonderful Yeare 1603* describes the "hideous tempest" that gave birth to Sickness. Sickness, dressed as a courtier, served as Death's herald by going "into the Privie Chamber of the English Queene, to sommon her to appeare in the Star-chamber of heaven" (18).

Though amazed at first, the Queen knew that the heavenly kingdom surpassed the earthly one, “and thereupon made ready for the heavenlie Coronation She dyes, resigning her Scepter to posteritie, and her Soule to immortalitie” (18). Dekker declares that her death “tooke away hearts from millions who never understood what that strange out-landish word *Change* signified” (19).

. . . how was it possible, but that her sicknes should throw abroad an vniuersall feare, and her death an astonishment? She was the Courtiers treasure, therefore he had cause to mourne: the Lawyers sword of iustice, he might well faint: the Merchants patronesse, he had reason to looke pale: the Citizens mother, he might best lament: the Shepheards Goddesse, and should not he droope? (19)

The poem praises the preservation of degree throughout the reign. Dekker comments that only the soldier, “ who had walkt along time vpon wodden legs, and was not able to giue Armes, though he were a Gentleman,” prepared himself for a war of succession, but “the Tragedie went not forward” (20). Dekker’s comment reflects the general belief that the Queen was reluctant to wage war, which had left professional soldiers with little to do; one of I.G.’s elegies in *Sorrowes Ioy* commemorates the peacefulness of the reign – “Peace she hath left behind” – and calls her “the Queen of peace” (14). However, when the Queen died without an heir, some expected civil war as rival claimants to the throne stepped forward. Fortunately, James VI of Scotland was summoned immediately and ascended the throne without incident, despite the fears that came about when

the Queen died. With Elizabeth's death, the nation is described as being afflicted by an ague that is cured by the proclamation of James I as king, and the peace of the nation is restored. Dekker's work, like many of the published elegies, assumed a popular audience and followed a long-standing moral tradition.

One popular collection of elegies and lamentations was *Sorrows Ioy, or, a Lamentation for our late deceased sovereign*, published in 1603, a collection in which "poets attempted to pose dutiful and decorous expressions of grief for the loss of the Queen against expressions of joy for the arrival of James" (Hackett 219). Referring to Elizabeth as "Heavens gift, worlds glorie, earths ioy, Englands blisse," the first elegy by I.G. describes England as a nation of orphans, "left forsaken" by the death of their "common parent" (2). I.G. assumes a popular audience, referring to the general anxiety regarding the Queen's death and her lack of an heir. However, the poet does not criticize the late monarch: he claims that the earth was "unworthy [of] such rich treasure" and God has called the Queen to "raigne in joyes eternall"(3). Nature, Art, and Fortune can never frame her equal (3). This declaration of the Queen's uniqueness and perfection becomes a motif throughout the elegies; Thomas Goodrich's refers to her as "the mirror of our blisse" whose "like [is] not to be seene" again (4). Elizabeth was a person in "whome all vertues did agree / to give their perfect tincture," who was admired by other nations and feared by her enemies. The Muses should weep for the loss of "The Earths bright Glorie, and the worlds clear light": "Oh wither should the Arts for succour flie?" The last verse of Goodrich's tribute carries a note of

reassurance; after he asks, “how can die a creature so divine?” he answers that her scepter has been passed “To one descend from her royall line . . . Elizas lawful heir in vertuous deedes” (6-7).

The reassurance of the forlorn “orphans” of England becomes a motif through the 1603 elegies. *Sorrows Joy* presents that reassurance as some of the elegies praise James even as they mourn Elizabeth. Henry Campion’s elegy claims that “Though she, Phebe, is gone, “a Phæbus now doth shine” (15). Thomas Byng also refers to the English as orphaned children praying to God to spare them, and God promises them a shepherd, in the person of King James: “Your mother gone, he shall your father hight” (11). According to R. B., the day of the Queen’s death, like the Annunciation, is also a “good Eve” because it also brought news of the new King. An anonymous elegy entitled “Stay-griefe for English men, with a motion to the Pope, and English papists” calls mourners and those who fear the return of Catholicism to have faith in James, who will “take up the rod” and “possesse and keepe with fervent heate” his “sister’s” throne. The last two lines of the elegy become a pledge of loyalty to the king: “With thee weale live, with thee wee die / In truth, faith, love eternally” (17). The elegists call for loyalty to James as a carryover from their love for Elizabeth. Thomas Milles claims that the new king “loves only those, that her did love, / And him their hearts true passions onely moove” (19).

One motif recurring through some of the elegies is the image of the phoenix. The bird, living one thousand years and immolating itself only to be

reborn in the ashes, became a popular image for the transition between Elizabethan and Jacobean rule.

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This was already a favourite emblem for Elizabeth . . . because of its independent connotations of singularity, virginity, triumph over adversity, longevity, and asexual reproduction. This reproduction could now be deemed to have taken place, with the ‘birth’ of the new King from the dead Queen’s ashes. (Hackett 220)

Thomas Cecill’s elegy claims that though his heart is broken by the Queen’s death, he is made well by James’ proclamation, as “a Phoenix is followed by a phoenix” (25). Richard Parker’s elegy also ends on a reassuring note:

(Blest God) when we for feare scarce lookt
to have seene peaces moonshine
Thou senst from North past all our hopes,
king James his glorious sunshine (6).

An epitaph by Theophilus Field calls Elizabeth’s grave an “earthen pot” which holds “the white rose and the red”; out of that bed grows “a Phoenix of her ashes bred” (14). I. Bowle refers to her as a phoenix and addresses her: “Sleep dearest Queene, your vertue never sleepeth” (20). An anonymous elegy refers also to that common image of the Queen, claiming, “One Phoenix dead; another doth survive” and that “Elizaes vertues live though shee be gone” (10). Thomas Walkington compares her to a “glorious Sunne set in the South / Which fits not heavens diurnall motion” and bodes ill, but day is brought in from the north,

where another “glorious Sunne” rises (32). The phoenix imagery had symbolized, during the Queen’s reign, her wholeness and completeness. In a sense, the image refers to her motherless state – since the name of Anne Boleyn was no longer acknowledged by Henry VIII, so Elizabeth became, symbolically, Henry’s phoenix. In Elizabeth’s lifetime, the phoenix imagery had the connotation of singularity and longevity.

Her many virtues make her the epitome of political power: “Spaines *Rod*, Romes *Ruine*, Netherlands *Relief*, / *Earths Ioy*, Englands *Iem*, *Worlds Wonder*, *Natures chiefe*” (32). “Vpon the Death of Queene Elizabeth” commends her as a paragon among virtuous and powerful women, with imagery combined from classical and Biblical sources:

A *Deborah*, a *Iudith*, a *Susanna*,
 A Virgin, a *Virago*, a *Diana*,
 Courageous, zealous, learned, wise, and chaste,
 With heavenly, earthly gifts adorn’d and grac’t:
 Victorious, glorious, beauteious, gracious, good,
 And one whose vertues dignifi’d her blood:
 That Muses, Graces, Armes, and liberall Arts,
 Amongst al *Queens*, proclaim’d her *Queen* of hearts. (32)

Richard Parker’s elegy tells “Zenobia, Bundwic, Brittaness Helen” to “give place unto the best,” for Elizabeth’s virtues place her highest (5). She is with the saints and angels, clothed in white and crowned with immortality. “Meane while let

Muses all extoll her name, / And sing to future ages her worthy fame” (10).

Henry Campion’s elegy refers to her as “That maide, that Pellican, Englands sole power” to whom Vesta, Minerva, Pallas, and Venus were captive, a “rare perfection” to be mourned – “O peerlesse prince, Englands sole Paragon” (15).

The image of the pelican was another popular metaphor for Elizabeth, especially after her death, since the legend of the pelican was one of self-sacrifice. Hackett notes that the image of the pelican, a bird that “fed its young with blood from its own breast . . . [and] was therefore primarily associated with Christ” (80). That image of maternity and self-sacrifice could also refer to the Virgin, and could be connected even further to Elizabeth, who was seen as “sacrificing the private happiness of marriage in order to devote her whole care to sustaining the nation from her own person alone” (81).

The Queen was not only “the subject of all Verse,” she was also the paragon of virtue: “*Womens glory, Englands Mother*”. Byng’s poem entitled “Upon the death of our late Queen,” speculates on the superstition of a comet appearing “When Princes baleful destinie is neare”. Though “our starre is fall’n” there has been no comet to announce her death: “For why, a comet meete to haue showne her fall / Would sure haue set on fire heaven, earth, and all” (12).

This linking of Queen Elizabeth to the Virgin Mary continues a pattern established after 1582, as the glorification of the Queen’s virginity gives her a divine quality; yet the Queen is never praised as a Catholic figure, but always as a Protestant heroine. The elegy penned by R.B., “Upon the day of our Queenes

death and our kings proclamation,” refers to the day of Elizabeth’s death as ‘evil’ because it brought “heavie tidings of our Ladies end” though it was also a fast day “Wherein our Lord that saving newes did send” (13). Her death, therefore, becomes part of a divine plan; March 24 was the eve of the Annunciation. Other elegists refer to Elizabeth as the champion of Protestantism who devoted her life to Christ and kept the Catholic church from reclaiming England. An anonymous “Stay-griefe for English men, with a motion to the Pope, and English papists” laments Elizabeth but reminds the mourners that she has “gone from earth to Christ above / To dwell with him her onely love.” The author then celebrates Elizabeth as a Protestant ruler – “While shee did live, Gods word we had” and claims that “bloodie Rome” thought it would reign England once again, and restore the Mass, only to be defeated by James (17). In his elegy “A motive in Hexameters,” L.G. views the Queen’s death as a call to the Church of England, “Hast then ye Papists to repent, and come to the true Church” (18). G.F. calls Elizabeth “the purest mortall, that the world did owe,” lent to the world by the Lord, who has taken away his “gratious Servant” but has not left them vulnerable to their enemies. The bright lights of the sky the night of the Queen’s death indicate that “a starre from earth to heauen ascended” (21).

The blessed morne fore blessed Maries day,
On angels wing our Queene to heauen flieth.
To sing a part of that celestiall lay
Which Alleluiah, Alleluiah crieth.

In heauens chorus so at once are seene

A virgin mother, and a maiden Queene.

The connection between Queen Elizabeth and the Virgin Mary is reinforced throughout the elegies. Since Protestantism was firmly ensconced in English society, comparisons to the Virgin Mary would not have been seen as treasonous to the English church. Rather, the Virgin Mary proved an ideal image for a Virgin Queen who was the mother of her people. As Mary's virginity and motherhood provided a compromise for contradicting patriarchal views of women, so Elizabeth's virginity and her metaphorical parenting of England provided a solution for the problem of the unmarried queen regnant. The result was Elizabeth's elevation to a divine status, but one wholly Protestant;

correspondences between the Virgin and Elizabeth were catalogued, not to make Elizabeth into a replacement for the Virgin, but to endue her life and characteristics with momentous symbolic and spiritual import, as a figure of virtue and the advancement of faith. (Hackett 218)

Though the elegies praise her virtue and her virginity, they also avoid making her another Catholic icon. Thomas Cecill's elegy gives her death a religious connotation: "O deare deare Saint, I could have worshipt thee: / And still I would but for idolatrie." He claims he will build a chapel for her in his heart instead (25). The medieval Catholic image of the Bride of Christ that became infused into Elizabeth's image after 1582 is extended to her posthumous memory.

Phineas Fletcher depicts her as a bride, “married to death, and we giu’n as her dowre.” She is addressed as “blessed spirit,” “the worlds late wonder / Now heavens joy” who is dear to God, and He to her (28). J. Jones’ elegy depicts her as a paragon of princes, and a bride of Christ:

Not that wise king of peace K. Dauids sonne
 In whome great grace and wisdom great did wonne,
 Had greater grace, ne more did vnderstand
 Then did Eliza Queene of Fayry lond.

 Whilst here shee liu’d, shee spent her virgin yeares
 In royall pompe amongst her wiser Peeres:
 Nor mought shee dayne with Earthly Prince to ioyne (33)
 To bring forth issue from her virgin loyne:
 Shee had espoused her selfe to th’ Lord of life,
 So still shee liues a maiden and a wife.
 He bought her deare; and it was reason good
 He should her wedd, who bought her with his blood.
 So now shee’s crown’d with blisse, amongst those spirits
 Which ransomed are, by Christs all-sauing merits. (33-34)

Another anonymous elegy refers to her as “Daughter of Warre, Mother of Peace” who attains a status in heaven second only to the Virgin Mary:

She was, and is, what can there more be said,

On earth the cheife, in heaven the second Maid. (34)

According to E. L., “Her vertues have eternall glorie wonne” and her light illuminates even the night sky (30). On earth that light, and her vertues, “lodge in his brest” (31). Thus the divine virtues of the Queen have left their mark on her mourning subjects; as she was a model of virtue in life, so she becomes a divine symbol after her death.

Interestingly, Elizabeth’s memory was as useful to King James as it was to his detractors. As his reign progressed, James did not attempt to distance himself from Elizabeth’s legacy, but rather attempted to appropriate it for his own policies. According to Woolf, James spent more on Elizabeth’s funeral than for his son Prince Henry (1612) or his wife Queen Anne (1619). He refused to enter London until after Elizabeth’s funeral so as not to disrupt the official state of mourning for the Queen (173). James rewarded poets like Samuel Daniel who praised the Queen but denied the suits of those who, like Michael Drayton, satirized her court or neglected to mention her as James’ predecessor in tributes to him (174). When he ordered a tomb for his mother Mary Queen of Scots, he also ordered one to Elizabeth’s memory, on Robert Cecil’s advice (176). For James, a link to Elizabeth had to be maintained so that he too would join her in the realm of mythology, as her spiritual heir and the Defender of the Faith. By the time Shakespeare wrote *Henry VIII* in 1611, the perfected image of Elizabeth had taken root in English cultural memory. The play includes a “prophecy” about the infant Elizabeth; of course King James would have been the audience for the speech,

which praises him nearly as much as it praises his predecessor. The speech is given by Cranmer, who describes the princess to her father King Henry VIII as a wonder of the world, and a blessing to her country:

This royal infant – heaven still move about her! –
Though in her cradle, yet now promises
Upon this land a thousand thousand blessings.
Which time shall bring to ripeness. She shall be
(But few now living can behold that goodness)
A pattern to all princes living with her,
And all that shall succeed. Saba was never
More covetous of wisdom and fair virtue
Than this pure soul shall be. All princely graces
That mould up such a mighty piece as this is,
With all the virtues that attend the good,
Shall still be doubled on her. Truth shall nurse her,
Holy and heavenly thoughts still counsel her.
She shall be lov'd and fear'd: her own shall bless her;
Her foes shake like a field of beaten corn,
And hang their heads with sorrow. Good grows with her;
In her days every man shall eat in safety
Under his own vine what he plants, and sing
The merry songs of peace to all his neighbors.

God shall be truly known, and those about her
 From her shall read the perfect [ways] of honor,
 And by those claim their greatness, not by blood.
 Nor shall this peace sleep with her

Such praise for a predecessor may appear to be potentially dangerous, but Woolf argues that James “wished to cultivate, rather than repress, the memory of Elizabeth” (173). Since Elizabeth was presented as the guarantor of James, loyalty to the Queen would thereby extend to her successor, who encouraged her elevation in poetry and drama. Perry comments that though the image of the late queen would eventually become the standard by which the king would be judged, in the early part of James’ reign, “the oppositional energy this version carried remained largely dormant” as James himself encouraged the public elevation of Elizabeth’s memory in relation to himself as her successor. Poets and playwrights, seeking James’ patronage, contributed to Elizabethan mythology. In *Henry VIII*, Shakespeare participated in royal myth-making by adding James to the Elizabethan mystique.

. . . but as when
 The bird of wonder dies, the maiden phoenix,
 Her ashes new create another heir
 As great in admiration as herself
 So shall she leave her blessedness to one
 (When heaven shall call her from this cloud of darkness)

Who from the sacred ashes of her honor
 Shall star-like rise as great in fame as she was,
 And so stand fix'd. Peace, plenty, love, truth, terror,
 That were the servants to this chosen infant,
 Shall then be his, and like a vine grow to him.
 Where ever the bright sun of heaven shall shine,
 His honor and the greatness of his name
 Shall be, and make new nations. He shall flourish,
 and like a mountain cedar reach his branches
 To all the plains about him. Our children's children
 Shall see this, and bless heaven. . . . But she must die,
 She must, the saints must have her; yet a virgin,
 A most unspotted lily shall she pass
 To th' ground, and all the world shall mourn her. (V.iv.17-63)

Shakespeare's speech reiterates the legend that had formed around Elizabeth, a unique conglomeration of Catholic and Protestant imagery; the "unspotted lily" whose virginity gives her the status of the Phoenix, from whose ashes a new self (a male self) is born to succeed her. In order for this magnificent heir of Elizabeth's blessedness to succeed, however, she must die. Shakespeare then reiterates the image of James as Elizabeth's political as well as spiritual heir; all who served her will be loyal to him. Elizabeth's purity is symbolically transferred to James, the "king of peace" who will remain steadfast and virtuous, as she was.

'Her memory much magnified': Elizabeth in the Jacobean Era

A Tudor, a Tudor! wee've had Stuarts enough;

None ever Reign'd like old Besse in the Ruffe.

Andrew Marvell, *State Poems* (1689)¹

The elegies and praise for Elizabeth I occur at different times, for different purposes: those composed around 1603 and a few years after (Shakespeare's being the latest in that grouping); compositions dating circa 1630's and those after 1640. The initial response to James' ascension was overwhelmingly positive, as patriarchy reasserted itself.

The advent of James I cast Elizabethan fashion into eclipse at court. The new regal style reverted to traditional masculine models for praising kings and downplayed the commitment to militant Protestantism which ideologues had attached without warrant to a queen whose own inclinations lay in the direction of pacifism and noncontroversial religion. At the same time, patriarchal theory of royal absolutism underwent enhancement. (King *QE* 65)

According to Curtis Perry, the elegies and praise for Elizabeth, originally written to mourn the Queen and welcome the new King, would eventually become problematic for James' image: "rather than arising in response to James' failures, these idealized memories of the queen's actions and policies in fact contributed to the formation of public perceptions of the new king and his government" (109).

¹

Woolf 167

James I, coming to power amid great rejoicing, soon proved himself to be politically unaware and generally incompetent, and his son Charles I even worse. The reign of the Stuarts did not fulfill expectations. D.R. Woolf comments that toward the end of James' reign and during Charles' reign, the new Elizabethanism increased. What were once "fond memories and vague sentiments" became a considerable wish for the perceived stability of the Elizabethan government (168). James lacked the personal touch that had endeared Elizabeth to the people and the political savvy with which she dealt with Parliament and foreign ministers, and the reign of Charles saw an increase in "the fear of Catholicism" (Ziegler 35). Middle-class writers like Thomas Heywood wrote elaborate praises of Elizabeth as Protestant saint and "invoked the conservatism of the past, the glorious reign of Elizabeth when the Church of England came into its own" (35). In addition, religious leaders began to call for a return to the virtue of the Elizabethan era: "Elizabeth herself was viewed as the epitome of English virtues – Protestant, chaste, militarily strong and full of nerve – by a Puritan regime which chose conveniently to forget her treatment of the Puritans of her own day" (Woolf 168). It was much more politically pragmatic for the Puritans to use the image of the Queen as an ideal figure to contrast the failures of the Stuart regime. The dissatisfaction first with James, then Charles, brought about a second round of elegy and praise for the late Queen.

. . . if nostalgia for the late queen in early Jacobean London at times did no more than contribute to systems of values that eroded

support for the king, the same nostalgia came also to be a means of expressing emergent dissatisfaction. Thus, after helping to create negative perceptions of James, the late queen's famous memory eventually became their vehicle. . . . (Perry 111)

Godfrey Goodman, Bishop of Gloucester, wrote of the resurgence of nostalgia for Elizabeth, even among those who remembered her last days as somewhat unpleasant:

For the Queen, she was ever hard of access, and grew to be very covetous in her old days: so that whatsoever she undertook, she did it to the halves only, to save charge; that suits were very hardly gotten, and in effect more spent in expectation than the suit could any way countervail; that the court was very much neglected, and in effect the people were very generally weary of an old woman's government. . . . But after a few years, when we had experience of the Scottish government, then in disparagement of the Scots, and in hate and detestation of them, the Queen did seem to revive; then was her memory much magnified, – such ringing of bells, such public joy and sermons in commemoration of her, the picture of her tomb painted in many churches, and in effect more solemnity and joy in memory of her coronation than was for the coming in of King James. (qtd. by Perry 89)

According to Haigh, "Elizabeth Tudor rapidly became a stick to beat the Stuarts,

first James and then Charles” (167). James was not a visible monarch to his people, preferring his court, and resented popular adulation

Unlike Elizabeth I, who mastered the technique of image projection long before the days of the modern public relations industry, James scorned the task of cultivating his regal popularity. . . . On one occasion at least, on being told that the people had come to express their love for him, he cried out (fortunately perhaps in an impenetrable Scottish accent), ‘God’s wounds! I will pull down my breeches and they shall also see my arse.’ (Coward 105)

In addition, James’ court was perceived as decadent; some of his influential subjects commented on the king’s “displays of public affection for his male favourites and his occasional bouts of drunkenness” as well as various financial corruption scandals during his reign (Coward 122). His pacifist politics also angered many through “his pro-Spanish foreign policy, conciliating England’s traditional Catholic enemies” (Hackett 231). The Stuarts were soon being attacked through Elizabethan praise, thinly disguised critiques of James and Charles, as “the glories of her reign were once more attributed to her own genius” (Hibbert 265). On the legacy of the Tudors, G. R. Elton remarks that although the Stuarts inherited some difficulties from Elizabeth’s reign, “much of the Stuart trouble was due to Stuart incompetence” (474). Though James avoided the political partisanship that had caused difficulty for Elizabeth, Charles could not.

Charles also showed that he possessed none of this father's political shrewdness or flexibility. He did not appear to know the meaning of the word compromise and often adopted extreme positions. He seemed unable to understand viewpoints that differed from his own, he interpreted the slightest hint of criticism of him to sedition, and in dealing with opponents he was not above using very dishonest . . . tactics. (Coward 158)

The literary praise of Elizabeth became the way to castigate King James and his successor for their lack of monarchical skill. These literary endeavors combined legend, truth, and revisionist history to create "a mirror reflection of James rather than a portrait of Elizabeth. A new image of Elizabeth was being created, as a weapon of early Stuart politics" (Haigh 167).

Equating the praise of Elizabeth with criticism of James involves a surprising irony; James himself brought about the creation of the image that has become a mirror to hold up to the Stuarts, and has lasted throughout the twentieth century. William Cecil, Lord Burghley, had been the patron of the antiquarian William Camden, and had requested a biography of the Queen. When Burghley died in 1598, Camden stopped working on the project, and only under the request and patronage of King James did he complete the work, entitled *Annales. The True and Royall History of the famous Empresse Elizabeth, late Queen of England*, etc. (Woolf 181). Published in Latin in 1615, the first three books covered 1558-88, and were translated into English by Abraham Darcie in 1624,

after Camden's death. James knew of Camden's intent to add an extension to the work with an additional book covering the period 1588-1603, and ordered the fourth book added, and a complete version published in Latin.

If King James, in his last year on earth, wanted to forget about Elizabeth, he was not trying very hard. It is more plausible that he simply wished her – and himself – to be remembered in the correct light, as the two great princes of England and Defenders of the Faith. Ironically, the enduring image of Elizabeth which still predominates was created by Camden only under pressure from her much-maligned successor. (Woolf 181)

Camden's representation of the queen is both highly idealized and politically motivated. It reveals assumptions about monarchy that applied to Elizabeth but unfortunately not to James. In an era of English history where religious politics were to become more volatile, Camden's celebration of Elizabeth as a martial Protestant heroine contrasted sharply with James, *Rex pacificus*, who advocated compromise with Spain and the Catholics. Writing at least ten years after the Queen's death, Camden used Cecil's papers as his primary source. In the *Annals*, the Queen's vow never to marry presents her as the bride/mother of England, referring to the Catholic image of the Bride of Christ; when Parliament requested that she marry, she answered,

But now that the publike Care of governing the Kingdome is laid upon me, to draw upon me also the Cares of Marriage may seem a

point of inconsiderate Folly. Yea, to satisfie you, I have already joyned my self in marriage to an Husband, namely, the Kingdom of *England*. And behold (said she, which I marvell ye have forgotten,) the Pledge of this my Wedlock and Marriage with my Kingdom. (And therewith she drew the Ring from her Finger, and shewed it, wherewith at her Coronation she had in a set forme of words solemnly given her self in Marriage to her Kingdom.) Here having made a pause, “And doe not (saith she) upbraid me with miserable lack of Children: for every one of you, and as many as are Englishmen, are Children and Kinsmen to me; of whom God deprive me not, (which God forbid) I cannot without iniury be accompted Barren. . . . Neverthelesse if it please God that I enter into another course of life, I promise you I will do nothing which may be prejudicial to the Commonwealth, but will take such a Husband, as near as may be, as will have as great a Care of the Commonwealth as my self. But if I continue in this kind of life I have begun, I doubt not but God will so direct mine own and your Counsels, that ye shall not need to doubt of a Successor, which may be more beneficiall to the Commonwealth than he which may be borne of me, considering that the Issue of the best Princes many times degenerateth. And to me it shall be a full satisfaction, both for the memorial of my Name, and for my glory also, if when I

shall let my last breath, it be ingraven upon my Marble Tomb, Here
lieth ELIZABETH, which Reigned a Virgin, and died a Virgin.

(Camden 27)

Traditionally, this version of Elizabeth's vow never to marry has been accepted as historical fact. The 1971 BBC production of *Elizabeth R* included this scene, virtually word for word, and the symbolical representation of the Queen as taking a vow of celibacy has become part of history as well as mythology. The epithet "The Virgin Queen" is a continuation of the image created by Camden and maintained over the centuries by poets, historians, and literary scholars.

However, recent studies indicate that the episode might be entirely apocryphal, and that the Queen made no such vow because it would not have been politically astute for her to do so. John King argues that, in an actual transcript of the Queen's speech from the Cecil papers, the vow of perpetual virginity was never spoken; therefore, "this falsification offers one indication that Camden transmits a hagiographical account that may be less accurate as a portrayal of the Tudor queen than it is of Jacobean patronage and politics" (*QE* 36). Neither the transcript of the speech from the Cecil papers nor any other contemporary records contain the Queen's vow to remain a virgin, so "one may presume that this promise is a later addition" (37).

indeed, any such vow would have violated the official disapproval of all vows, including that of celibacy, by the Church of England, of which Elizabeth served as Supreme Governor. . . . Elizabeth's

speech testifies that at the outset of her reign she fashioned a public identity not upon a vow of celibacy but upon her well-known preference for an unmarried life. (37)

According to King, the Queen's actual promise was that "if God wills that she marry, her choice of a husband would benefit the public interest" (37). Though she did not vow to remain unmarried and celibate, the Queen created a rhetorical 'loophole' by making a promise that was not without its conditions: "that she *would* be content, *should* she remain unmarried, to have on her tomb the inscription "that a Queen having raigned such a tyme, lyved and dyed a virgin" (38). Rather than writing about this speech as a conditional promise to marry, Camden instead added fictionalized details that created the "hindsight view of this epitaph as a self-fulfilling prophecy" (38). The primary addition to the factual speech, the display of the coronation ring, "suggests that this histrionic gesture is . . . one possibly modeled on the custom that nuns wear rings commemorating their vow of celibacy and wedding to Christ" (King *QE* 36-37). The "residual element" of culture described by Raymond Williams is reflected in Camden's addition of the ring; reaching into a religious past, he added the Bride of Christ image to a new Elizabethan iconography. The influence of the *Annals* on the perception of Elizabethan history and culture is immeasurable; the elevation of the late Queen, sponsored by her successor, would ironically be transformed into anti-Stuart propaganda.

Jacobean politics provided a motive for the anachronistic revival of

the cult of Elizabeth as a model ruler whose perpetual virginity symbolized political integrity, Protestant ideology, and a militantly interventionist policy against Spain. Because these values were increasingly found wanting in the court of England's Scottish king, Protestant militants praised the late queen in order to attack Jacobean pacifism. (67)

Through Camden, Spenser's Britomart is resurrected in the image of the indefatigable, victorious, virginal Protestant heroine. The return to the image of the virginal soldier of God provided a sharp contrast to Jacobean pacifism.

By 1642, some poems written about Elizabeth I were praises designed to reveal the flaws of the Stuart court, either subtly or more overtly, as seen in "The Humble Petition of the Wretched, And most contemptible, the poore Commons of *England*, To the blessed ELIZABETH of famous memory" of 1642, in which the Commons appeal to "the Blessed S^t. *Elizabeth*" to deliver their plea for help to God. She delivers their message, and the Lord's reply, in which she prophesies the woes that will befall them. Because they refused to adhere to the virtues that she exemplified during her reign, they deserve the coming chaos.

You lusted for a King, heavens King relieve you
 And grant you pardon, as I here forgive you.
 You tooke a surfet of my happy raigne,
 And paid my well deserving with disdain;
 But Oh you cast not me away, 'twas not I

You slighted, 'twas the Lord of hosts most high,
 And therefore you shall call and cry in vaine,
 Bootlesse you shall lament, bootlesse complaine;
 From forth the North the Plague is come at last,
 The Lyon is rowz'd from's Den, that shall lay wast
 Your townes and cities, who stands up alas
 To stop the gap, where such his wrath shall passe,
 England's disease is desperate, and 'tis decreed
 That e're shee con recover, she must bleed,
 Harke, harke, heavens trumpet summons me away,
 Now my commission's ended, I must not stay:
 Farewell poore soules, goe pray, repent and fast,
 The deafe and unjust Judge is won at last
 By importunitie, much more is he
 That is inclin'd and prone to clemency.
 I shall attend your prayers every hower,
 And to the utmost will extend my power
 With him, that one, that can and may relieve you,
 Ther's hope of pardon if he doe reprieve you.

 Awake, O watch, O weepe, repent and pray,
 And have in mind the last and dreadful day. (12-13)

Elizabeth's image took on a more and more mythic quality as time passed. One biographical poem written in by an anonymous author in 1639 reveals that change. The complete title of the work indicates the breadth of its scope and the near-divine status that had been attributed to Elizabeth since her death: *The life and death of Queene Elizabeth, from the wombe to the Tombe, from her Birth to her Buriall. The Many and mighty dangers, and miraculous deliuerances of the All-beloved, admired, and renowned - Queen Elizabeth, of England &c.* According to the author, poets could never write well enough

Of Englands Glorious Great *Elizabeth*;
 Her royall parentage, her birth and breeding,
 Her dangers and her troubles still exceeding:
 Her thraldomes freedome, her humility,
 Her patience, piety, and constancy,
 Her happy preservation from the hates
 of home bred treacheries and forraigne states:
 Her mind with heavenly vertues fully stor'd,
 Her life admir'd and lov'd, her death deplored;
 Of her most blessed and triumphant Raigne
 And what a government she did maintaine. (A3,)

Writers have fallen short when they praise "that Magnificent Illustrious Dame" because her virtues cannot be fully praised in written form. The writer explains that he decided to write about her because he served her, "and her memory I love."

Besides, her goodness partly I relate,

That others may her vertues imitate. (A3_v)

Her father Henry VIII is called “Englands puissant King” and her mother Anne Boleyn “beauties pearle” (A4_r). The events of Elizabeth’s life are given religious significance: her mother was crowned April 12, 1532, “which then was Easter-Eve” (A4_v). The conception and birth of the Princess is described as God’s gift to England:

. . . Gods blest eye

of mercy saw this Kingdomes misery,

and made faire *Anne* so fruitfull to bring forth

A daughter better than the Kingdomes worth.

Elizabeth was born, O happy birth,

Her Sexes Mirror, wonder of the Earth . . . (A4_v)

She was born on a Sunday, “that most sacred day of Rest” and her birth was remarkable because it was “*Maries* birth Eve (Mother of our blisse)”. Elizabeth’s death on March 24, 1603 is also given religious significance: “And sure her death deserves commemoration, / For ‘twas the Eve of the *Annunciation*”(A4_v).

The biography becomes a celebration of the royal children of Henry VIII, even as it has to alter the facts in order for the myth to be credible: Henry’s many marriages are not discussed, nor is his cruelty to his wives. Though Anne Boleyn’s beheading is mentioned, the crimes for which she was convicted are not. Mary Tudor, whose ‘bloody reign’ made her unpopular with English Protestants,

is given sympathetic treatment by the author. Mary is essentially a good woman led astray by the wrong religion, which forces her to turn against her sister Elizabeth. Eventually Mary's gentle heart is destroyed by her loss of Calais, and her death means Elizabeth's succession.

God (in his mercy) heard this Kingdomes mone,
And rais'd his humble hand-maid to her Throne.
Thus was her Meeknesse and Humility
Mounted unto the Seate of Sovereignty. (B1,)

Throughout Mary's reign, Elizabeth is said to have been protected by the hand of God because she would not be swayed from the true religion.

She honour'd God, and God did honour her,
That though her foes about her kept a stir,
He still preserv'd her from the overthrow,
And (in her weaknesse) he his power did show. (B2,)

Even when her enemies tried to dispose of her through a foreign marriage, God foiled their plans: "God ordain'd her for some better end, / And she a Virgin's life, her dayes will spend" (A8,). This image reinforces the iconography of the Queen as a Bride of Christ. Her special protection from God makes her, and therefore her country, invincible. The author summarizes her character and reign:

Thus was she guarded, by th' Almightyes might,
From treasons heere, and from all forraine spight,
By uncontrolled right, she liv'd and raign'd,

Faiths great defēdresse, the Christs faith maintain'd,
 With absolute command Imperiously.
 She was the glorious Star of Sovereignty,
 Of Principality th' Illustrious mirrour,
 Glory of Royall Majesty, and terroure
 To all her foes, joy of the Christian world,
 For through the Universall world was hurld
 (Blowne by the Trumpet of unspotted fame)
 The glorious life of this rare matchlesse Dame,
 The Diamond amongst Princes, and report
 And fame of her due praise was ever short:
 For after she had rightly gained the Crowne,
 She Empresse was, and Impresse of Renowne,
 For state, magnificence, and piety,
 For beauty, wisdom, prudence, policy,
 For constant courage, learning, and true zeale,
 The glory of the whole worlds Common-weale,
 With justice, mercy, temperance, fortitude,
 And with all vertues else she was endu'd.
 She was a Patrone, and a Patterne too,
 To shew all Princes what and how to doe.
 She made the mighty Potent power of *Spaine*,

To feele her force in her triumphant Raigne:

She brought both Armes and Armour in request,

And to th' opprest she was a friend profest. (B7,)

.

She made *Romes* Reliques vanish hence like smoak,

Rebellion she in *Ireland* curb'd and tam'd,

She was, and is, and shall be ever fam'd.

She was a *Pallas*, a *Minerva*, and

Bellona, fourty foure yeers in this land,

A good age she surviv'd, and full of dayes,

Encompast round with universall praise,

Belov'd of God and men she did decease,

And crownd in glory with eternall peace. (B7,)

In 1657, an author known only as "T. H., Gentleman" published *The General History of Women, Containing the Lives of the most Holy and Prophane, the most Famous and Infamous in all ages, exactly described not only from Poeticall Fictions, but from the most Ancient, Modern, and Admired Historians, to our Time*. The author describes his country "thrice blest and divinely happy in her most fortunate reign" when he mentions "the celebrated Princesse, *Elizabeth* of late memory, Queen of England":

She was a *Saba* for her wisdom, an *Harpalice* for her

magnanimity (witness the Camp at Tilbury) a *Cleopatra* from her

bounty, a *Camilla* for her chastity, an *Amalasuntha* for her temperance, a *Zenobia* for her learning and skill in language; of whose omniscience, pantarite, and goodness; all men heretofore have spoken too little, no man hereafter can write too much; sacred be still her memory to us on earth, as her blessed soule lives ever glorified in heaven. (168-69)

Though many works about Elizabeth were written for the purpose of magnifying Stuart excesses and failures, the fact that Elizabeth's court created and cultivated an image that survived her made the writers' task much easier.

Rewriting the Monarchs: Edward VI, Mary I, Charles I

The Stuart redefinition of the Queen's image, in addition to the established sixteenth-century imagery, created a variety of frameworks into which they began to fit representations of Elizabeth. As Protestantism continued to be a critical issue during the Stuart Age, the religious and spiritual aspect of the Queen's image was emphasized. Biographies of other monarchs published during the reigns of Charles I redefine history to critique or justify political policy. These biographies formed part of the context in which Queen Elizabeth's memory would be perceived. As the last rule from the Tudor dynasty, she was seen also as its culmination, the finest monarch of that line. Dynastic biography prompted a comparison and contrast that further enhanced her reputation as an ideal ruler. The issue of gender was the deciding factor in cementing Elizabeth's reputation.

Only women writers extended the praise of the Queen to a validation of the female sex. The Puritan critics of the Stuarts who brought her back as a victorious Amazon would also have insisted on a Protestant angle to the symbol and viewed Elizabeth's chastity as a simple refusal to marry. By the end of the seventeenth century, the image of the virgin as a hermaphroditic and divine warrior for Christ was Protestantized into the Virgin Queen, whose title meant only that she was unmarried and chaste. It is ironic that those who revived the Elizabethan image for Stuart critique would also de-emphasize the most important aspect of her image as Queen. In order to maintain the level of power left to her by dynastic right, but hindered by her gender, Elizabeth was fashioned as having a physical and spiritual connection to the divine protector of the nation.

The connection of the royal to the divine in literary representation and popular imagery was not limited to Elizabeth I. Seventeenth-century representations of other monarchs contributed to the critique of contemporary structures of power, or sought to defend them. When Charles I was executed, he became a martyr king, and many elegies presented him in that light. He was remembered by some as a hero sacrificed for the common good by infidels. The satirically titled "A Flattering Elegy, Vpon the Death of King *Charles*: the clean contrary way" was anonymously printed in 1649, the year of Charles' execution. Though primarily an attack on the rebels, the elegy compares Charles to a crucified Christ (A3,). Elegies for Elizabeth had compared her trials under Marian rule to a saint's suffering, emphasizing God's protection of a chosen

princess. Charles I is the sacrificial son and the ideal of the virtuous monarch, murdered by the sins of his people:

So wise, so just, so mercifull, so good,
 So happy, (had he well been understood)
 That we had all been happy, had we bin
 So blest as not to kill him with our sin. (A3_v)

The elegy is an attack upon the forces who ordered the king's execution and brings accusations of hypocrisy, treason and murder. Not surprising is the absence of the author's and printer's names from the poem. "Religious Villany, An Elegy on the Execrable Murder of King Charles I" was written anonymously and presents Charles, "the best of Princes and the best of Men" as "Vertues Sovereign . . . whose grand offence, / Was Vertue and a settled Conscience."

Hee's still a King, preserves one Soveraintie,
 No Rebel passion durst arise to bring
 Stains on his undeserved suffering,
 With meekness great as Innocence he dyes,
 A Royal and immaculate Sacrifice

The execution itself reveals his "inviolable Constancie" and "unconquerable Patience," as well as his mercy -- his only sorrow is for the "Deceiptful, proud, Ambitious, bloody Men" who have ordered his execution. His empathy for his accusers is also Christ-like and reminiscent of the qualities of the martyred saints. The transformation of Charles from king to martyr in popular texts resulted from

the emphasis on the spiritual qualities of the monarch. The criticism of Oliver Cromwell's government was designed to reiterate the necessity of the monarchy by representing the English king as a saint-like figure.

"An Elegy Upon the Most Incomparable King Charls the I" claims that Charles had the judgment of Solomon, the boldness of Jehosaphat, the zeal of Hezekia, and the accomplishment of repairing the "ruin'd Temple." The author urges that "*Sion of Josiah weep*" (18). Reminiscent of the high praise lavished upon Elizabeth's memory in 1603, Carolinian elgies present an idealized model of virtuous monarchy. "Caroli," another 1649 elegy, praises Charles' wisdom, majesty, intelligence, superior understanding, and self-governance: "*Charles rul'd the King, before the King rul'd Us.*" (4). The foundation of his wisdom and judgment was humility, and he was "*Rul'd by Gods Word, not Interest of State.*" He was "Incarnate Justice" tempered with mercy:

He knew that to command, his only way
Was first to teach his Passions to obey.
And his incessant waiting on God's Throne
Gave him such meek reflexions on his owne,
That, being forc't to censure, he exprest
A Judges Office with a Mothers breast. (5)

The focus on spiritual qualities creates a gendered shift in emphasis, as the elgies praise qualities that are usually perceived as feminine, such as modesty and virtue. Though medieval representations praised these for men, by the seventeenth

century modesty and virtue (meaning chastity) were feminized qualities. To one elegist, Charles was so virtuous that his court “implied his Cloyster; and his very Sport / was Self-denial.” (6). The placement of Charles within the framework of hagiography required also a return to Catholic imagery; Charles’ soul, gendered female, “wore sackcloth, and liv’d Nun”(6). The execution of such a virtuous king is viewed as “our second Crosse” (11). The representation of Charles the martyr reflected the necessity of reinforcing the connection between spirituality and the crown.

This connection would be emphasized again when the conflict between Catholicism and Protestantism would affect the monarchy directly. In 1688, the year that the Catholic King James II was deposed and replaced by the Protestants William III and Mary II, John Gybbon published *Edovardus Confessor Redivivus. The Piety and Vertues of Holy Edward the Confessor, Reviv’d in the Sacred Majesty of King James the II*. Gybbon’s defense of James II presented the king as the spiritual heir of saint and king, Edward the Confessor, the Anglo-Saxon king who died in 1066 and was canonized in 1161. Gybbon’s reclamation of Edward for James’ image may have been an attempt to negotiate between Protestant fears of a Catholic king and the relationship of the rightful king to God. Edward the Confessor had been praised for his meekness, virtue, amiability, compassion, religious devotion, wisdom in judgment, and holiness. These attributes are virtually the same as those praised in Queen Elizabeth I. In this instance praise of virtues traditionally viewed as feminine become associated with the pious ruler.

According to Gybbon, James II was the ‘new’ Edward in majesty and holiness, an attribute enhanced by James’ wearing of Edward’s crucifix, found in Westminster Abbey. The work discusses James only slightly, directing its energies more toward the praise of Edward, James’ predecessor in devotion and wisdom. John Foxe’s elegy for Edward in *Acts and Monuments* praises him as a “fountain” from whom flowed “much Godliness, Mercy, Pity, and Liberality towards the Poor, Gentleness and Justice towards all Men; and, in all Honest Life, He gave a Vertuous Example to His People” (22).

He was a Man of a Gentle and Soft Spirit, of Nature and Condition so far from all War and Blood-Shed, that being in His Banishment, He wished rather so to continue all His Life-time, in that Private Estate, than by Blood-Shed to aspire to His Kingdom. After He had taken upon Him the Government of the Realm, He guided the same with much Wisdom and Justice Twenty-four Years, save Two Months. . . . (Gybbon 22)

According to Gybbon, Warner’s *Albions England* says that St. Edward was “Religious, Chaste, Wise, Fortunate, Stout, Frank and Mild” (22). Serlo of Paris’ epitaph for Edward praises him as “Powerful in *Goodness*, and Reverend in His *Piety*.” (23). Some writers used biblical references to describe the king:

As Innocent and Harmless as a Dove: or, to the Qualifications of Moses, Numb. 12.3 Who was very Meek above all the Men upon the Face of the Earth. Farther Illustrated, Eccles. 45.1, 2, 3, 4.

concluding thus, That God chose Him for His Faithfulness and Meekness, out of all Men, &c. (23)

Gybbon comments upon Edward's "great Clemency, Mildness, and good Humor," and cites several miraculous cures that the king worked upon some of his subjects: Edward healed a lame man by carrying him to church, and healed a young woman's disfiguring facial disease by washing her face gently; he is also reported to have restored a blind man's sight. Healing the sick was a traditional sign of divine favor and faith; the king was believed to be able to cure scrofula, called "the King's Evil," and only a legitimate heir could heal (Levin 191).

Elizabeth I is said to have continued the tradition of laying on of hands, despite its Catholic origins. According to Carole Levin, William Tooker, the Queen's chaplain, and William Clowes, her surgeon, would later write about her "remarkable talent for healing [the King's Evil] through touch" (199).

Supposedly only the true heir to a throne had the power to heal, and that belief, combined with the Tudor emphasis on spectacle and power, would serve to make Elizabeth's public healing a testament to her legitimacy as the rightful monarch.

If England was God's New Jerusalem, then the monarch was His chosen one.

Gybbon writes that Edward was assured of his crown by the vision of St.

Brightwald, which indicated that "*The Kingdom of England was the Kingdom of God, and He would give it to whom He pleased. So, this Regium Cimelium, this Royal Rarity, was ordained for One Elect of God . . .*" (27). The saint's message, and Gybbon's retelling of it, is a justification of the divine right of kings, at least

in theory. James II, Catholic or not, had been chosen by God to lead the English people, as had Edward, the saint.

The discovery of Edward's crucifix and its possession by James II, "the Good and Just," is evidence to Gybbon that a divine purpose has been revealed:

No doubt, the having of this Pious Symbole and Badge, so auspiciously come by, is an evident Omen and Presage, our Sovereign (as was its Pristine Owner) will be Blessed with an happy Hand, in the Cure of the King's Evil; Be as sparing of heavy Taxes as may be; A great Conservator of the Laws of the Land; A Pattern of Piety; A Mirrour of Mercy; A Fountain of Pity and Liberality towards the Poor; Gentle and Just towards all Men: In a word, an Exchequer of all Vertue; as was the former Bearer thereof. (27-28)

Such praise suggests a Catholic loyalty; however, Gybbon indicates his Protestant sympathies in a postscript when he complains that person he will not name

"exposed me in his Popish Courant as a Red-Letter-Man; and Abused me most horribly in his *Touch of the Times* What will he think of me now?" (36).

James II would have invited the comparison with Edward the Confessor because, as a Catholic and therefore under suspicion, James needed a pious image. Rather than emphasizing Edward as a specifically Catholic saint, the Protestant writer instead concentrated on his Christian piety and virtue. Again the writer of royal praise returns to Catholic iconography and imagery to support the monarch. The

emphasis on the religious virtues that were gendered feminine, as in the elegies for Charles I, attempts to downplay the conflict of religion to focus on the Christian virtues shared by both Catholics and Protestants. The praise of the king's chastity, meekness, faithfulness, and mercy recalled the 'golden age' before the previous Stuarts – in other words, the reign of Elizabeth. Obviously Gybbon's attempt to affect monarchical politics was unsuccessful, as the figure of the previous Catholic on the English throne, Mary I, haunted James II's reign and reputation.

The re-creation of the king as a religious figure was necessary in the Stuart age as a means of addressing the issues of regicide and the later anxiety over a Catholic king. The relationship between the divine and the monarch indicated Providence's hand in the workings of the state. That connection would have to be particularly stressed when the issue of gender arose. Part of the elaborate mythology necessary to justify Elizabeth's presence on the throne involved the emphasis on the dynastic continuity of the Tudors. Throughout Elizabeth's reign and afterward, her connection with her father Henry VIII would be stressed. Stephen Greenblatt cites "the best contemporary description of the effects of romanticizing royal power," written by the Queen's godson, Sir John Harrington: ". . . she could put forth such alterations, when obedience was lacking, as left no doubting whose daughter she was" (169). The Tudor dynastic reputation, particular Henry VIII's, served a dual purpose for the establishment of Elizabeth's authority: one, it praised her as the culmination of the finest aspects of Tudor

power, masculinity, and religious devotion, and two, it provided a contrast in Mary I, which addressed the anxieties about Elizabeth's gender.

The patriarchal assumption of male superiority manifested itself in monarchical praise that placed royal power in a masculine light. The reign of Henry VIII was characterized by the king's strength of will, intense personality, and imposing presence. His heir Edward did not live long enough to reveal his father's qualities, but later biographers constructed the young King as the epitome of unrealized masculine kingship. As late as 1712, one writer describes the great promise of Edward: "He gave us an *Essay* of Vertue, tho' he liv'd not to give a *Pattern* of it" (*Observations* 110). John Hayward was another writer whose work *The Life and Raigne of King Edward the Sixth* praises the king's "noble and high virtues . . . especially Clemencie, Courage, Care, and knowledge in affaires of state" (36-37). Published in 1630, Hayward's account participates in the Tudor mythologizing resurrected by Stuart politics. The Tudor dynasty (with the exception of Mary I) is presented as the ideal of monarchy. The reputation of Henry VIII as the ideal Renaissance prince was, at that time, the most prevalent image of him. Although the dynasty was established by his father, Henry VIII was represented as the manifestation of Tudor power. Seventeenth-century writers attempting to reintroduce what they saw as the Tudor virtues to the Stuart age sought a sense of continuity. The boy king Edward thereby became a pattern of masculine power, as Hayward praised his "noble and high virtues . . . especially Clemencie, Courage, Care and knowledge in affaires of state" (36-37). His future

military prowess was evident, according to Hayward, in “the great delight he tooke in representations of Battailes, Skirmishes, Assaults, and of all kinde of military exercises, his judgment was great either for errors or fine contruances in the field” (36-37). Though unable to participate in any military exercises, Edward is portrayed as having the potential for future excellence in the field through his ability to choose the candidates for his guard who are the most masculine, “of tall and comely stature, such as were either good archers or wrastlers or casters of the barre or leapers or runners or of some other man-like qualitie” (38). Edward’s plans for strengthening fortresses are also praised as evidence of his prowess in the arena of military strategy.

Besides constructing Edward as a “new” Henry VIII, writers also emphasized his spirituality and devotion to the Protestant religion and the Reformation. One Protestant work, *The Historie of the Defendors of the Catholique Faith*, (the term ‘Catholique’ being used in the general sense – in this case referring to the Protestant church), praises Edward as

a Prince composed all of goodnesse, hauing extraordinarie amount of holinesse, so abundant was Gods grace in this Prince, as thereby he was well fitted to finish the work of Reformation, yet wee may not giue the honour of the businesse to the King, but to God, who inspired him with this abundance of grace. (126-27)

The requirement of superior spirituality for a monarch created the necessity of describing Edward as chosen by God. In this aspect of praise for the boy king,

Hayward's description echoes epithets for the medieval monarchs when he emphasizes Edward's natural inclination to virtue:

To Clemencie he was much enclined, especially in matters of blood, and most especially if it were for Religion, a vertue so much the more esteemed, by how much it had beene less vsed before, insomuch that albeit hee was most earnestly affected to that religion wherein hee had beene brought vp . . . (37)

Clemency, a virtue praised in medieval monarchs, is a feminized virtue because it was usually associated with queens, who acted as intermediaries between the king and his subjects. The medieval representation of clemency emphasized it as a Christ-like behavior, so the use of it in reference to a boy-king or a queen regnant would serve to reiterate the strength of the monarch, regardless of age or sex. The praise of clemency is therefore the recognition of the monarch's proximity to God.

Consistently maintaining the theme of sainthood, Hayward also emphasizes the manner in which Edward confronted his last illness, almost comparing his sickness to a kind of patient martyrdom, following a physical battle.

So the King hauing long wrasteld with the lingring and tormenting sicknesse, at the last his spirits yeelded to the malice of his disease, which as with great patience hee did endure, so with no lesse pietie did he end it; many feruent prayers hee made, both for himselfe and for the people of his Realmes, and some when he was

esteemed almost past sense, and so spent his last breath in
committing his sweet soule into the Almightyes hand which had
created it. (178)

When the monarch was a personage whom the ruling classes considered to be potentially weak as a ruler, both for age and health reasons, the rhetoric of England's Catholic and chivalric past served to create an atmosphere of religious mystique and heroical ability. In England's patriarchal society, the members of the society considered weakest – women and children – presented a definite problem when they were the heirs to the throne. By presenting Edward as a boy with great potential – both as a warrior and a king, even a saint – anxieties regarding his ability to rule may have been assuaged, albeit only temporarily. In the absence of physical superiority, intellectual and/or spiritual superiority had to be emphasized for the purpose of strengthening the impact of Tudor mythology. Edward is compared in some texts to the young Christ, disputing in the temple with the older scholars. *The Historie of the Defendours of the Catholique Faith* (1627), described Edward as

a Prince composed all of goodnesse, hauing extraordinarie amount
of holinesse, so abundant was Gods grace in this Prince, as thereby
he was well fitted to finish the work of Reformation, yet wee may
not giue the honour of the businesse to the King, but to God, who
inspired him with this abundance of grace. (126-27)

Edward on the throne of England is the author's example that "God decreeth the

good and deuiseth the means.” (126) Perhaps the author, recognizing the probability from those who may have had concerns with the king’s age, refers to religious doctrine to justify the Tudor reign, even if it is represented by a child. The presence of a child on the throne is explained as part of God’s plan for England. *Observations and Remarks* in 1712 calls the King “the true St. Edward” (109). The author further praises him for his “Gravity”, sweetness of temper, bounteous nature; “All Graces were in him . . . he appear’d like a *Miracle* of a Man.” (109). *The Historie of the Defendors of the Catholique Faith* claimed that Edward’s death had a divine purpose: “God took Edward in order for the martyrs to give up their lives in order to save many through the Gospel’s spreading” (180-81). As a religious reformer, Edward is compared to King Josias of Judah: though both intended reformation and were fortunate, Edward has the greater honor. Edward succeeded in reformations in five years, while Josias succeeded in thirty-one years (187-89). In addition, Edward exceeded Josias in “leaving to posterity that most famous Defendresse the Ladie *Elizabeth* his Sister, who afterwards did prove the glory of her sex, and the admiration of all the world” (190).² *The life and death of Queene Elizabeth* (1639) presents Edward as “more good thē great, / With love, faith, zeale, and piety repleat”. The “Faire Elizabeth” and her brother “beyond their ages knew Grace and Religion” and “grew in favour with both God and men.” (A5_v).

2

The fact that Edward named Lady Jane Grey as his successor is attributed by the author that to the false influence of Northumberland and Suffolk.

Their sister Mary I presented a twofold difficulty for the seventeenth-century writers. Mary was Henry VIII's inheritor as well, but her reign and attempted Counter-Reformation secured animosity against Catholics as well as women monarchs, as the burnings at Smithfield and the Queen's marriage to Philip of Spain threatened the country with civil unrest. In the interests of preserving the idea of the Tudor dynasty, some writers chose to either construct Mary as part of God's plan to test his chosen people, or as a pious and decent woman wrongfully advised by a false religion and corrupt counselors. The representation of Mary I proved to be problematic for the author of *The life and death of Queene Elizabeth* (1639); she was the half-sister of Elizabeth and Edward and the Queen of England and should be praised as such. Yet, she was also a Catholic, and a persecutor of Protestants. The author blames the influence of the Pope and the Catholic faith on Mary:

She was a Princesse of a gentle nature,
But forced teaching her good mind did sway
Quite from *Elizabeths* and *Edwards* way. (A5,)

Christopher Lever's 1607 version of Elizabeth's life during Mary's reign, *Queen Elizabeth's Teares*, commented on those who influenced Mary: "These Instigators fill her hands with blood, / (In all respects save this a vertuous Queen)"(B3,) .

Lever presents a scene between the two sisters when Elizabeth vows her innocence, and Mary's natural goodness moves her to believe Elizabeth and free her. Though this representation is highly unlikely (if not impossible), Lever,

writing four years after Elizabeth's death, might have perceived an audience then unwilling to hear negative representations of Mary because of national reverence for Elizabeth and the fact that King James' mother, Mary Queen of Scots, was a Catholic. Lever's representation of Mary creates the queen as more of a victim than a tyrant.

The History of the Life, Bloody Reign, and Death of Queen Mary (1682) announces its purpose of telling the history of the "Popish Queen" Mary I "for the use and benefit of Protestants, to establish them in their Religion against Popery" (A2_r). According to this account, a dire sequence of events for England begins with Mary's birth, which was not celebrated with any great joy; some "learned men of the Age"

attributed it to a Divine Impulse that secret wrought in the minds of men, possessing them with a fear, she was rather given for a Scourage to this Nation, then for a Blessing, which afterwards was sadly verified, as by her Reign will appear: yet was she Baptized with all imaginable Grandure and Ceremony. (2)

Mary's piety and distaste for pomp is remarked upon; rather than enjoying the grandeur of being a princess, "she would often wish herself in a Nunnery amongst the Nuns; saying, that they lived a more contented Life in their poor Cells, then Princes at the height of their Glory" (4). This comment may be double-edged; the author might be admiring Mary's piety but also criticizing her for scorning the role to which she was born. Her desire for a religious life thereby made her unfit

for a political one, to the great detriment of England.

The Historie of the Defendours of the Catholique Faith (1627) comments that Mary “made the most miserable change in the state of *England*, that ever that Nation endured” because her attempt to reclaim the country for Roman Catholicism resulted in her “extinguishing the lights of Truth, whereby men were directed in the way of life, obscuring all knowledge in the mist of *Ignorāce* and blacke error” (191-92). The author writes “in favour of *Q. Marie*” when he describes her as having “extraordinary inducements of nature” because

God hauing giuen her so much Maiesty, and princely spirit, as might serve to rule the greatest command in the world; and if to her other gifts, God had giuen her the knowledge of his *Truth*, she had well deserued to haue bene named most excellēt, and to haue exceeded all the famous Queenes in the world, save her sister the most famous *Elizabeth*, who hath exceeded her and al the world in the honour of true deserving. (192-93).

Mary’s adherence to the Roman Catholic faith kept her in spiritual ignorance, and as a result she is denied the knowledge necessary to prevent the inevitable direction of natural gifts, which are “moved to euill by their own proper motion”(195). The “motion of grace” necessary to counteract the evil tendencies of human nature is not given to Mary, so “therefore was the Queene more dangerous”; her religious zeal, along with “her great spirit and other naturall inducements, spurring her forward in her euill passage, whereby she became enemie

to her own self, mouing her self to her own destruction” (195). What made Queen Mary “monstrous” in this particular author’s representation is her oversight of corruption; “too much credit she gaue to euill counsell” in the form of Gardiner and Bonner, “who her good nature much abused.” (196). According to this account, as a queen Mary had two detriments as a ruler: she was a Roman Catholic, and a woman. The author comments, “I pittie the frailty of their Sexe, which having but weake iudgement, is the less able to make resistance against strong temptations”(246). The “Romish doctrine” converts women in something less than human, changing

the innocent disposition of gentle Ladies and Princesses into a
Leonine and *Tigerlike* savageness; that *Lupa Romana*, which as
 shee first fostered *Romulus* with the teats of a shee-Wolfe, so
 nurseth now all others with the like milke, and propoundeth the
 highest rewards of heaven to them that will most play the hell-
 hounds upon earth (247)

Even as unnatural in the author’s eyes is Mary’s persecution of her half-sister Elizabeth. Since Elizabeth was destined by God to inherit the kingdom and defend the true faith, Mary’s crime against her is even more heinous. This Protestant tract emphasizes the corruption of the female both mentally and physically; without the true faith, her female nature follows its course, her weaker mental faculties prevent her from true understanding, even as her body becomes bestial in nature.

Even with some expressions of sympathy, Mary Tudor becomes in these writings the wicked antithesis of her Protestant successor Elizabeth, the rightful heir to the crowne who “was chiefe, not onley for the holiness of life, but also for her eminence of place, and dignity . . .” (215).

. . . So we may say, that these two sisters, *Queene Elizabeth* and *Queene Marie*, haue diuided the Renowne of the world, *Queen Elizabeth* (like the day) hauing got the better part of fame, honourable and holy remembrance: and *Queene Marie* her sister (like the night) the worse part a name of blood, which being vttered, reduceth to memorie the stories of blood; and how the Saints of God were slaughtered, whereby shee her selfe is made more blacke than night, in giuing her name so blacke and so bad a remembrance. (250-51)

Mary and Elizabeth are compared to Cain and Abel, Esau and Jacob; Elizabeth (‘Mercie’) is called “the blessed protector” while Mary (‘Misery’) is a “bloody persecutor” (251). In the short work *Memoirs of Queen Mary’s Days*, written after Elizabeth’s death, Mary broke her word to the English people when she promised that she would make no alteration in religion. Again, her part in the persecution of Elizabeth by Gardiner is mentioned, and the author laments the “Burnings, the Scorchings, the Tortures and the Flames” that should never be forgotten, particularly in the time of royal succession; Mary’s story is one of “the sad Effects which follow a *POPISH SUCCESSOR* enjoying the *Crown of England*.”

Mary's crimes against England, and her sister Elizabeth, ensure that her only renown will be of intolerance and bloodshed, rebellion and loss.

She lieth buried in *Westminster*, without any Monument or
Remembrance at all, as in her Life She deserved none, so in Her
Death Her Memory is rotten; a just Reward for Her who was so
cruel and bloody

This work eulogizing Mary Tudor has as its purpose the revelation of "the blessings of a Protestant successor" in this case "Queen Elizabeth of blessed memory." *The History of the Life, Bloody Reign and Death of QUEEN MARY* (1682) describes Mary as the tyrant against whom the Christian Martyrs took a stand:

. . . now the Blessed Martyrs come to Act their parts upon the
Tragick Stage, and in a Spiritual warfare, to fight under the
Victorious Banner of their Captain the Lord Jesus, against all his
powerful Enemies *and through him that loved them were more
than conquerous*. . . (109)

In this retelling, Elizabeth was the savior of the country by bringing England back to the 'true faith'. According to John Guy, Mary's death was not greeted with public mourning, but rather "the popular mood switched immediately to optimism, though this was partly the result of a propaganda exercise" (250). In the seventeenth-century version, Mary's death was represented as the heralding of the "English Deborah" Elizabeth. The refashioning of the Tudor image defined

Mary as the foil to Elizabeth, who symbolized a return to order.

Elizabeth was not the only subject of biography and discussion in the seventeenth century, as these examples indicate. However, as an unmarried female she occupied a unique position in the presentation of spiritual and powerful monarchy. As a Tudor, she was perceived as having the best capabilities of Henry VIII; as a woman, her virgin state and connection to God helped her transcend the 'female weaknesses' that were perceived to be part of the cause of Mary's failures. The issue of gender anxiety and the attempts to address apparent conflicts in ideology would result in the breakdown of a complex system of reference. The emphasis of the elaborate Elizabethan propaganda machine had been transformed from divine right and holy virginity to dynastic inheritance. The Queen had been exceptional not because of her virginity, but because she was a Tudor, the daughter of a great king. The Catholic imagery of the virgin warrior was replaced in the Stuart iconography by the 'mother of her people,' or rather a 'spinster aunt' (albeit a very powerful one), unmarried because of her devotion to England. These elaborate systems of mythologizing the Queen, however, did not attempt to raise consciousness about the subjugation of women in English society. Elizabeth was the exception to the rule, not evidence that the rule should be changed. Yet women writers in the seventeenth century called upon the image of the late Queen as proof of women's ability and worth, both spiritually and politically.

'The glory of our Sex': Women Writers Re-presenting the Queen

Women's views on Elizabeth I began to appear more after her death; the only women who published writings on her during the Queen's lifetime were Mary Sidney, Countess of Pembroke, and Mary, Queen of Scots. The misogyny of the Stuarts was countered by the appearance of more women writing and publishing, and these writers joined the established tradition of the praise of Queen Elizabeth. The Swetnam pamphlet controversy that began in 1615 contributed further to the making of Elizabethan mythology. When Joseph Swetnam published *The Arraignment of Lewd, idle, froward, and unconstant women*, he began a debate that brought women writers into the fray (Henderson and McManus 16). The pamphlet *Esther hath hanged Haman* was published in 1617 by a writer using the pseudonym Ester Sovernam, "neither Maide, Wife, nor Widdowe, yet really all." In addition to several examples of virtuous and able women from both history and the bible, Sovernam draws upon the ideal example of the worthy woman:

And that I may name no more (since in one only were comprised all the qualities and endowments that could make a person eminent), Elizabeth our late Sovereign, not only the glory of our Sex, but a pattern for the best men to imitate, of whom I will say no more but that while she lived, she was the mirror of the world, so then known to be, and so still remembered, and ever will be.
(Henderson and McManus 230-31)

Elizabeth became “a highly visible symbol of women’s potential, a symbol which remained efficacious even after her death” (Henderson and McManus 21).

In 1611, Amelia Bassano Lanyer’s *Salve Deus Rex Judæorum* opened with a tribute to the late Queen. Lanyer had been in Elizabeth’s court; she mentions in one of the dedicatory poems that “great *Elizaes* favor blest my youth”; and a contemporary source indicates, “She hath been favored much of her mati [majestie, Queen Elizabeth] and of mani noble men & hat had great giftes & bin moch made of” (xviii). Lanyer indicates that she will “write [the] never dying fame of Lady Margaret, the Dowager Countess of Cumberland, since Queen Elizabeth has died:

Sith *Cynthia* is ascended to that rest
 Of endlesse joy and true Eternitie,
 That glorious place that cannot be exprest
 By any wight clad in mortalitie,
 In her almightie love so highly blest,
 And crown’d with everlasting Sov’raintie;

Where Saints and Angells do attend her Throne,

And she gives glorie unto God alone. (51)

The praise of Elizabeth would be first and foremost, but since she is deceased, Lanyer has chosen a living subject for praise. Lanyer’s description of Elizabeth places her in the highest levels of heaven, “crown’d with . . . Sov’raintie” like the Virgin Mary. The English Queen has transformed into the Queen of heaven,

attended by saints and angels giving glory to God (51). The verse presents the traditionally accepted image of the late Queen: the virtuous saint, crowned in heaven, who had become a celebrated heroine in the company of “the valiant Boadicea,” Saint Helena (mother of the emperor Constantine), St. Edith, Eleanor of Castile, and Elizabeth of York (McManus 229-230).

The most eloquent and detailed praise of the Queen by a woman writer was published in 1630. Diana Primrose wrote *A Chaine of Pearle, or a memoriall of the peerles Graces, and Heroick Vertues of Queen Elizabeth, of Glorious Memory*, a series of ten short poems, each celebrating a different virtue of Elizabeth. Praising the virtue of the monarch was a standard poetic convention in the Renaissance, but with a woman ruler the necessity of the virtuous image, even for a deceased monarch, was imperative. In the past, civic pageants like Sidney’s *The Lady of May* and earlier morality plays transformed the seven cardinal virtues into the attributes of a prince and “Protestantized” them. According to Primrose, Elizabeth was the paragon of the cardinal virtues: Justice, Prudence, Temperance, Fortitude, Faith, Hope, and Charity. Added to the cardinal virtues are Clemency and Science (Knowledge), virtues political and intellectual that complimented the theological virtues. The ten pearls are also a combination of desirable masculine and feminine traits, and represent spiritual, intellectual, and political virtues. Primrose’s dedication to “All Noble Ladies and Gentlewomen” exhorts the female reader to praise the late Queen by emulating her virtues: “You shall erect a Trophie to her Name, / And crowne your selves with never-fading Fame” (A₃).

Primrose herself is praised for writing the chain and evoking the memory of Elizabeth. A second dedicatory poem written by Dorothy Berry addresses “the *Prime-Rose* of the Muses nine”

(In whose sweete Verse ELIZA’S fame Fame doth shine
 Like some resplendent Star in frosty night)
 Hast made thy Natiue Splendor far more bright;
 Since all they PEARLES are peerles-orient,
 And to thy selfe a precious Ornament. (A₃)

Praises for Elizabeth reflect upon the woman writer, but also on noblewomen in general; this extension from the specific to the general differs from the traditional male-authored praise of the Queen. Elizabethan panegyric strengthens the character of the woman writer as well as the (aristocratic) woman reader. The elevation of women’s virtues through a generally recognized icon, Elizabeth I, was necessitated by the misogyny of Jacobean culture.

According to the French ambassador, Beaumont, the king took pride in showing his contempt for women: “They are obliged to kneel before him when they are presented, he exhorts them openly to virtue, and scoffs with great levity at men who pay them honor.”
 (Hogrefe 142)

James apparently disliked and distrusted women, advising his son that women ‘are no other things else but *irritamenta libidinis*’ (Coward 122). Primrose’s collection indicates that as the Queen was an ornament to England through her

virtue, so her virtues in every woman ornament the female sex in general. The Induction to *A Chaine of Pearle* calls upon the Queen as “Great ELIZA, Englands brightest Sun, / The Worlds Renowne and Everlasting Lampe”(A₄) to accept her verses.

O Thou whose Name still raignes in all our hearts,

To whom are due, our ever-vowd Respects! (A₄)

Following the poetic convention, Primrose claims unworthiness to praise the Queen, but signs the Induction, “Thy Emperiall Majesties eternall Votary, Diana.” Primrose’s use of the word *votary*, a term which once referred to religious vows, signifies her as a poetic devotee of “Thou English Goddess, Empresse of our Sex.”

The pearls are discussed in order of importance, and form an image of Protestant purity. The first pearle described by Primrose is Religion, which could also be the cardinal virtue of Faith.

The goodliest Pearle in faire *Eliza*’s Chaine;

Is true Religion, which did chiefly gaine

A Royall Lustre to the rest and ti’de

The Hearts of ALL to her when *Mary* di’de. (B₁)

She identifies Elizabeth as a defender of the true faith who was tolerant, though the realm was “infected much / With Superstition.” Patient and gentle with the Catholics, Elizabeth “swaid the Scepter with a Ladies hand” until the ‘Romists’ rebelled (B₁). After the Pope’s Bull of excommunication and the rebellion of

Northumberland and Westmoreland, she had to make stricter laws. With a lion's heart she defeated the Pope and "took the Gospells part"(B₁), and neither Spain nor Rome could ever prevail against England. Primrose echoes a standard convention, presenting England as the New Jerusalem under God's protection.

The second pearl was Chastity, "wherein shee had no peere" – it is the second most important of the Queen's virtues.

And though for Beauty SHEE an Angell was,

And all our Sex did therein farre surpass;

Yet did her her pure vnspotted *Chastitie*

Her heavenly Beauty rarely beautifie. (3)

Though Elizabeth has suitors like the duc d'Alençon, and King Philip of Spaine, "Her impregnable Virginitie / Throughout the World Her Fame did dignify" (4).

Primrose does not term the pearl *Virginitie*, but *Chastitie* – the subject of her poem is a Protestant queen, and her praise does not emphasize the Catholic virtue of abstinence. Rather, the term *chastity*, which the Protestants applied to married women and widows as well as unmarried virgins, is employed. Yet Primrose's warning against concupiscence has a decidedly medieval tone that recalls the warning against sexual desire from *Hali Meïðhad*:

And this may be a Document to all,

this Pearle of *Chastity* not to let fall:

Into the filthy durt of foule Desires,

Which Satan kindles with his Hell-bred fires:

For wheter it be termed Virginall
 In Virgins, or in Wiues stil'd Conjugall,
 Or Viduall in Widdowes, God respects
 All equally, and all alike affects. (4)

The adoption of the old language of disgust regarding sexuality, which would later be revived by Puritan misogynists, represents a return to the medieval age. By discussing chastity as a virtue advisable for women single, married, and widowed, Primrose emphasizes the mystique of virginity while simultaneously adhering to Protestant dogma. The worldly representation of the ideal of chastity, Elizabeth had set the example for all Englishwomen to follow.

The third pearl, Prudence, was evident in "her wise counsel." Her choice of councilors exemplified her wisdom; although "her Wit and Spirit were divine; / Counsels (*Shee* knew) were best, where more combine" (5). Their loyalty to and love for the Queen guaranteed their fidelity to her. She ruled prudently and, like Argus, foresaw the dangers from Spain and moved to protect her people from them (5).

This Gift in her was much more emminent,
 In that it is so rarely incident
 To our weake Sex: And as a precious stone,
 Deepe set in Gold, shines fairer, then alone,
 Or set in Lead, so did all Graces shine
 In *Her* more gloriously, because Divine . . . (5)

Mirroring her culture's view of women's inferiority, Primrose comments that because Elizabeth was a woman, her wisdom is that much more impressive and unique. The explanation for the Queen's ability to rise above the weakness of her gender is attributed to her divinity:

For Kings are Gods, and Queenes are Goddesses
 On Earth, whose sacred Vertues best expresses
 Their true Divinitie: wherein, if *WEE*
 Them imitate, tis our Felicity.
 This Pearle of Prudence, then *Wee* all should prize
 Most highly, for it doth indeed comprise
 All Morall Vertues, which are resident
 In that blest soule, where this is president (5).

Like Elizabeth herself, Diana Primrose echoes the idea of the "exceptional woman"; however, considering that the poem's purpose is not only to praise the Queen but to exhort other women to mirror her actions, perhaps Primrose indicates that the virtues that elevated Elizabeth I would also prove her female audience to be as worthy as she through imitation.

The fourth pearl, of Temperance, appeared in her "self-governance"; as a young woman, Elizabeth had been given the nickname "sweet sister Temperance" by her pious brother King Edward VI.

Her Passions still *SHEE* checkt, and still *SHEE* made
 The World astonisht, that so vndismaid

SHEE did with equall Tenor still proceede

In one faire course, not shaken as a reed:

But built vpon the Rocke of Temperance . . . ³

She was not swayed by false hope, rash anger, love, hate, or the charms of the parasites who sought to endanger her by promising their loyalty, “. . . but deeming her best Treasures, / Her subjects Loue, which *SHEE* so well preserv’d / By sweete and milde Deameanor” (7). This praise is specifically gendered; she ruled not through intimidation or fear, but through the decidedly female attributes of sweetness and mildness, which would be used to describe a king only if he were a child, e.g. Edward VI. Because Elizabeth ruled with love and loyalty, her reign is thereby praised as an idyllic time:

O Golden Age! O blest and happie Years!

O Musicke sweeter then that of the Speares!

Which Prince and people mutually agree

In sacred concord, and sweete Symphonie! (7).

In presenting Elizabethan subjects as part of a symphony, Primrose indicates a monarchical harmony in which the people are an integral part. This might serve as a great contrast to Jacobean policy, in which the people had a decidedly lesser role in the representation of the king. James, not as visible to the common people as Elizabeth, lacked the connection with them that she had cultivated.

³

beside this verse is Elizabeth’s motto, *Semper eadem* (“Always the same”).

The princely virtue of Clemency is the sixth pearl, and one that recalls the praise of medieval monarchs like Edward the Confessor. In addition, clemency is the virtue that is most godlike in the queen: “The Vertue which in *HER* did most renew / The Image of *Her* Maker . . .” (7). Her clemency was evident in her mercy towards transgressors, even though who “sought to vndermine / The Church and State, and did with Spaine combine” (7).

Yet *Her* Innate and princely *Clemencie*
 Mov'd *Her* to pardon their Delinquencie,
 Which sought *Her* Gracious Mercy, and repented
 Their Misdemeanors, and their Crimes lamented.
 So doth the Kingly Lyon with his foe,
 Which once prostrate, he scornes to worke his woe. (7)

Two images converge in this verse: the godly virtue of clemency, praised particularly in saints and boy-kings, but also a female attribute: the queen as intercessor between the condemned and the law. Though she makes and represents the law, only she has the power to transcend it, to serve as intermediary and show mercy. Clemency is a particularly monarchical virtue, and probably the one that most closely matched gender expectations for women. However, Primrose contrasts the imagery of mercy with the potential for wrath and great power, using the image of the lion to recall Elizabeth's father Henry VIII and remind the reader of the punishment she could easily have administered to lawbreakers but chose not to.

The sixth pearl, Justice, was “her Kingdomes strongest Fort” (8).

According to Primrose, Justice supported Elizabeth’s crown, because lawlessness leads to chaos. If laws are not upheld, “a very Hell / of all Confusion and disorder would / Among all States ensue” (8). Those who were enemies to the realm, were “putrid members par’d away” before they could spread their blight to others (8).

Primrose claims that to write of such penalties for the Queen’s foes is a task

Unfit for Feminine hands, which rather loue

To write of pleasing subjects; then approue

The most deserved slaughtering of any;

Which justly cannot argue Tyranny. (8)

Undoubtedly knowing of the punishments for those who were convicted as traitors to the Elizabethan state, the author chooses to use gender as her excuse for not discussing the nature of those punishments. In this verse, she again mirrors her culture’s view of women (and women writers) by claiming that she would write entertaining verses; yet in the next two lines, she does indicate her approval of the “deserved slaughtering” of the traitors. The sixth pearl reveals more than the others the strict Protestantism of the document. The Pope has sent illustrated books of “his pretended Martyrs” out to sway people back to the Church of Rome. Primrose calls these books “fables, Chimaera’s, Phantasm’s, Dreams” that no one should heed, “For Cruelty and fond Credulity, / Are the maine Pillers of Romes Hierarchy” (9).

The Queen was endued with the seventh pearl, the virtue of Fortitude,

which revealed itself several times during her reign. Her bravery was apparent during the unsuccessful assassination attempt of Dr. Parry, who conspiring to kill the Queen, gained access to her as she walked in her garden. He approached her with a knife, but upon seeing her calm dignity and her resemblance to her grandfather Henry VII, he instead begged her for mercy: “The Wretch confest, that *Her Great Majestie* / With strange amazement did him terrifie”(9). So much grace had she that some who saw her thought her an angel. The event that did most “Illustrate Her, and in her, this whole Nation” is her courageous speech at Tilbury,

wher Shee did All beseech

Bravely to fight for England, telling them

That what their Fortune was, should Hers be then. (9)

Primrose emphasizes in this section Elizabeth’s masculine attributes: her bravery, her willingness, described in the famous Tilbury speech, to die with her soldiers, “even in the dust.” The account of her appearance and speech at Tilbury, part of Elizabethan legend by 1630, would have reminded readers of Elizabeth’s claim that “I may have the weak and feeble body of a woman, but I have the heart and stomach of a king, and of a king of England too.” This claim of a masculine heart and kingly fortitude transcended gender and inspired the army, revealing

To all the World Her Magnanimity,

Whose haughtie Courage nought could terrify.

Well did *Shee* shew, Great Henry was her Sire,

Whom Europe did for Valor most admire. (9)

The praise of this masculine attribute continues a pattern throughout the work: the even distribution of qualities traditionally gendered.

Her excellent scholarship and intellectual abilities represent the eighth pearl, of Science. “Science” in this case indicates education and eloquence. Elizabeth’s extensive learning and ability with languages were qualities praised by her tutor Roger Ascham as well as others, and her intelligence was widely praised.

Then did the Goddess *Eloquence* inspire
 Her Royall Breast: *Apollo* with his *Lyre*,
 Ne’re made such Musicke; On her sacred lips
 Angells enthron’d, most Heavenly *Manna* sips. (10)
 Her last most Princely speech doth verify,
 How highly *shee* did England dignify. (11)

Not only the representative of England, the Queen was also the ambassador of the English language, and its most successful practitioner. Her intellectual abilities, usually a masculine attribute, indicate her worthiness as a Queen and might also be a commentary on the intellectual abilities of women in general. The Pauline doctrine against women’s speech is subtly addressed in this verse, as the 1601 address to Parliament, termed “the Golden Speech,” is described as dignifying England. In that speech, the Queen claimed that English subjects may have a better ruler, but none who loved them better than she.

According to Primrose, Elizabeth’s Patience – the ninth pearl – paved her way to the Crown. Patience could correspond with the cardinal virtue Hope.

Referring to her trials under Mary I, Primrose, comments that those troubles also taught her the pragmatics of queenship: “*Shee* was with many great Afflictions schoold” (11). Like Thomas Bentley, Primrose emphasizes Elizabeth as a Protestant saint, and her troubles as hagiographical legend. Her enemies sought her blood and plotted against her, and “in Prison the sweete *Saint* was pent” (11). Those enemies were prevented from destroying her by God

Who did *Susanna* from the Elders free,
 And at the last, gaue her, her Liberty.
 Thus by her patient bearing of the Crosse,
Shee reaped greatest Gaine from greatest Loss,
 (For he that looseth his blest liberty,
 Hath found a very Hell of misery:)
 By many Crosses thus *Shee* got the Crowne;
 To Englands Glory, and her great Renowne. (11)

By presenting Elizabeth as a long-suffering saint, Primrose emphasizes the legend of the Princess as chosen by God to rule England, and protected by Him throughout her persecution. The stories of Elizabeth’s persecution by Mary, though considerably mild compared to those who were burned at Smithfield, served to further extend the newly created Protestant saints’ legends, described in John Foxe’s *Acts and Monuments*.

The tenth pearl was her Bounty, through which she blessed the nation.

Primrose calls her “Englands Rose and Lillie” (both terms that were used to refer

to saints and virgins⁴) whose bounty was without peer. She aided other countries and rulers and thwarted the plans of the Spanish king:

So did *Shee* beate him with her Distaffe, so
 By Sea and Land *Shee* him did ouerthrow,
 Yea, so that Tyrant on his knees *Shee* brought,
 That of brave England Peace he beg'd, and thought
 Himselfe most happie, that by begging so
 Preserv'd all Spaine from Beggary and Woe.

Here al amazed my *Muse* sets up her rest,
 Adoring *HER* was so Divinely blest. (12)

The last image of Elizabeth in *A Chaine of Pearle* indicates the martial Protestantism of the Jacobean era. Describing Elizabeth's triumph over Philip II in terms both masculine and military, Primrose closes her tribute with the image of queenly power.

Many people, perceiving that the Jacobean and Carolinian courts lacked the emphasis on virtue that characterized the Elizabethan court might have seen in Primrose's poem an implied critique of the Stuarts. The Latin epigraph on the frontispiece of *A Chaine of Pearle* supports this hypothesis: "The rose gives honey to the bees who flee Aranea's poison." Perhaps Diana Primrose suggested that England would benefit from a return to Elizabethan virtues. Elizabeth's

⁴

cf. *The Comparacyon of a Virgin and a Martyr*

generosity to others and her love of her people made her famous; she practiced the virtue of Charity. For these women writers, Elizabeth was not only a pattern of virtue, but evidence of the worth of women. According to Henderson and McManus, “The successful reign of Elizabeth I provided a highly visible symbol of women’s potential, a symbol which remained efficacious even after her death” (21).

However, the legend of the Queen did not have a strictly religious focus for everyone. The idea of Elizabeth as a shrewd and able politician, as well as a virtuous woman, also became part of English historiography. Margaret Cavendish, the Duchess of Newcastle, wrote a short essay about the late Queen in *The World’s Olio*, published in 1655.

Queen *Elizabeth* reigned long and happy; and though she cloathed her self in a Sheeps skin, yet she had a Lions paw, and a Foxes head; she strokes the cheekes of her Subjects with Flattery, whilst she picks their Purses; and though she seemed loth, yet she never failed to crush to death those that disturbed her waies.

Cavendish goes on to comment on Elizabeth’s loyalty to her counsellors, and her politicking with her favorites, never allowing them the upper hand, and using them against one another. Cavendish’s tribute does not mention any of the divinity imagery associated with Elizabeth and her virginity, but focuses on her political ability. In the seventeenth century, the Queen becomes a model for women’s capability rather than piety and virtue. Queen Mary I was the perfect

contrast for writers of this century – the initially able female monarch, but a Catholic, and therefore unacceptable, having been corrupted by her faith.

Ruling a country as a single woman and earning the praise of even those who professed to be her enemies, Elizabeth proved herself politically able to deal with misogyny by working within its assumptions.

Pope Sixtus V was especially impressed. “Just see how well she governs!” he declared in 1588; “She is only a woman, only the mistress of half an island, and yet she makes herself feared by Spain, by France, by the Empire, by all!” Among her contemporaries, Catherine de Medici could not prevent civil wars in France, and Mary Stuart was hounded out of her kingdom after only seven years of personal rule. Francis Bacon drew the lesson: “The government of a woman has been a rare thing at all times; felicity in such government a rarer thing still; felicity and long continuance together the rarest thing of all.” For a female rule, mere survival was a tremendous achievement. (Haigh 173)

She never claimed to be like other women, but fostered the image of herself as exceptional, and that tactic was successful. For a female monarch to rule as queen required her to be an example of ‘masculine virtue’; therefore, as a woman, the queen must control the ‘difficult’ female body (so often perceived as the cause of humankind’s downfall through temptation and sin), a feat that would require the kind of control of the passions with reason indicative of an ideal Renaissance

monarch.

Despite the Protestantism of the court and the queen, the Roman Catholic background of English religion before the Great Schism influenced the public perception, and presentation, of Queen Elizabeth. Elizabeth herself asked Mary for instruction in Roman Catholicism (though she did not convert), and no doubt was familiar with Roman Catholic doctrine in the English court of her childhood. After she became Queen, in her role as Supreme Governour of the Church Elizabeth required vestments for the clergy that, according to Patrick Collinson, differed only slightly from Roman Catholic vestments. She was reported to have kept a crucifix in her chamber and had an animosity toward the concept of married clergy, expressly forbidding wives of the clergy from her court. Her adamant refusals to pursue thorough reforms in the Anglican church, and to actively persecute Roman Catholics (at least for the first part of her reign), may be indicative of an early Catholic influence.

Though the Catholic doctrine of the superiority of chastity was no longer central to the religious viewpoint of the nation, the belief in the superiority of reason over passion – the Renaissance social doctrine – resulted in a continual elevation of virginity over marriage, even the concept of chaste marriage taught by the Protestants. The self-control required of those who chose to deny their physical desires for a more spiritual level of existence still inspired great respect and admiration. Even though the Queen governed a non-Catholic country, the perceptions regarding virginity – particularly female virginity – had already been

firmly in place for centuries. The Queen's virginity therefore became the virtue that enabled her to rule successfully without a king in a patriarchal society. By the end of the seventeenth century, the image of the Queen that remained would be the one penned by Camden, emphasizing her secular accomplishments while referring to the mystique of her unmarried status. People retained the notion of her uniqueness, spirituality, and importance as a religious figure. The images of the Queen change according to each particular era's view of women. Although during the Victorian era Elizabeth became something of a jealous spinster figure, while Mary Queen of Scots became a romantic feminine heroine, the Camden image has survived the longest. Representations of the Queen in the twentieth century vary, vacillating between the Victorian representation (*Elizabeth and Essex, the Virgin Queen*), the Camden image (*Elizabeth R*) and the politically constructed version (*Shakespeare in Love, Elizabeth*). After the seventeenth century began emphasizing Elizabeth as a Protestant champion, but more of a political than a spiritual figure, the mystique surrounding the term "virginity" has lost its previous connotations. The elaborate iconography designed for her in the sixteenth century vanished, and what remains refers only to her rejection of sexual activity. The meaning of "The Virgin Queen" in the twentieth century has lost a wealth of meaning from the reduction of the term, but in Elizabeth's time, and quite a while after, it described a woman of such strength and control that she would be considered nearly divine.

Conclusion

Though Queen Elizabeth I has been the subject of many literary and historical studies, few have concentrated on the subject of virginity itself. Contemporary representations focus primarily on the Queen's virginity as indicative of her lack of experience, both marital and sexual, and her status as an exceptional woman. The mystique of virginity, originating in the world of antiquity and appropriated by early Christianity, gave specialized status to the virgin woman, equating her with men on the spiritual plane. The lives of virgin saints attest to the power of virginity and control of the physical body that enabled the soul to withstand temptations. As the fourth-century Christians adopted asceticism as a way of life, the emphasis on chastity became more pronounced, until entire communities of chaste religious became commonplace in the Catholic Church. In addition, the perceived power of virginity enabled single women to live within the Church and profess religious callings. Though Pauline doctrine emphasizes (and re-emphasizes) the inferiority of women because of their sexuality, the denial of that sexuality through virginity transformed single women into virgin warriors for Christ.

Though Protestantism in England soon eradicated the opportunity for women to live as single religious, the view of virginity that dominated the Greco-Roman world and Catholic Christianity remained a residual influence on popular and aristocratic views of virginity. Protestantism advocated marriage and children

for women, dissuading them from lives of virginity and even producing documents indicating the health benefits of childbirth and regular sexual intercourse: Desiderius Erasmus' *The Woman in Childbed* (1519), Henry Bullinger's *The Christian State of Matrimony* (1541), Eucharius Rosselin's *The Birth of Mankind, Otherwise named the Woman's Book* (1540), Thomas Becon's *Book of Matrimony* (1564), Christopher Hooke's *The Childbirth* (1590), and Alexander Niccholes, *A Discourse of Marriage and Wiving* (1616) (Aughterson 105-124). Yet in the background of these treatises, the idealization of virginity had been established for centuries, and remained influential when England was ruled by an unmarried queen.

From her accession to the throne in 1558 to the end of her last marriage negotiation in 1582, Elizabeth participated in the game of royal courtship. Her virginity, expected of a young unmarried woman, was part of her desirability as a wife as well as a queen. However, once it became apparent that Elizabeth would not marry, and anxieties over the succession increased, the Queen's image took on a decidedly pre-Protestant influence. Poets and writers of popular texts, like Thomas Bentley's *Monument of Matrones*, viewed Elizabeth as a true "Daughter of Zion," Christ's earthly spouse, born to uphold the 'true religion' in England and so devoted to her people that she gave up her own personal desires in order to be a wife and mother to her country. Courtier poets elevated the Queen as a Petrarchan heroine beloved of her loyal servants; Sir Walter Raleigh would follow this conceit in his attempt to win back Elizabeth's favor, *The Ocean to Cynthia*. Sir Philip

Sidney and his sister Mary, the Countess of Pembroke, proclaimed the Queen's virginity as part of her character as a goddess on earth, as she was transformed from a marriageable queen to a Vestal Virgin and the returned form of Astrea, goddess of justice and wisdom. Elizabeth's idealized and apotheosized image reached even further heights in Spenser's epic poem *The Faerie Queene*, which addressed all identities of the Queen: beloved and desirable lady, virgin huntress, and the absent yet always present Queen of Faery (a decidedly Marian figure), the model of holiness, temperance, and chastity and the ideal of monarchy.

While Elizabeth lived, the mystery of her virginity was part of her iconography, and continued past her death in elegies and various tributes to her reign. The popular excitement over James I's reign removed Elizabeth from dominant consciousness, and she became part of residual culture herself as patriarchal English society celebrated the new King. Though elegies and tributes to her in 1603 and several years after comment on the mystique of her virginity, by the end of Charles I's reign, the Queen's image had become a model for king/queenship, and her virginity was much less emphasized as anti-Catholic sentiment permeated Protestant-authored texts. As the Stuart era progressed, and the reign of James' son Charles I became more unpopular, Elizabeth was resurrected as anti-Stuart propaganda, and affectionate remembrances of 'Good Queen Bess' as well as reconstructions of her as a divine mediator for England permeated criticisms of Stuart rule. The increase in women writers in the seventeenth century saw the adoption of the Queen as the model of women's

ability. As her image became appropriated by a variety of writers, the mystique of virginity disappeared from these later representations of her; in fact, the emphasis on Elizabeth's virginity as an aspect of her monarchical power did not long survive her. Eventually the epithet "The Virgin Queen" became associated only with Elizabeth I, though the meanings of virginity from antiquity and Catholicism had long since passed out of English cultural consciousness. The epithet now refers to the Queen's unmarried status, and contemporary understanding of the mystique of virginity does not include the images of power and ability long associated with female chastity.

In the twentieth century, the phenomenon of a sixteenth-century woman ruling a country is still perceived as an anomaly; in this at least, Elizabeth continues to be perceived as exceptional. For the sixteenth century, however, the residual mystery of virginity and the traditional respect for it formed part of the Queen's self-representation and her representation by others. Her virginity was an important aspect of her reign: had she not been viewed as virtuous and virginal, she could have lost her throne as Mary Queen of Scots did. Though initially her virginity was an expected attribute for a woman on the international marriage market, as her reign progressed and it became apparent that she would not marry, the iconography of her virginity returned to previous ages, when a virgin woman could be perceived as a warrior for Christ, an earthly angel, or a powerful king.

Recovering the richness of that image and revealing its full power is imperative for a thorough understanding of virginity the way Elizabeth I's subjects

would have perceived it. The full mythological significance of virginity enabled the Queen to transcend, at least ideologically, the limitations placed on her by the patriarchy. As Helen Hackett suggests, Elizabeth was not a replacement for the Virgin Mary in a Protestant culture. It is my contention that through her virginity she was perceived as a model of monarchy: not the Virgin Mary, but a figure who behaves not only as Mary, but also as the legendary King Arthur. Like Arthur, Elizabeth became an apotheosized figure, present now and in the past, an idea to be called upon, as she was during the reigns of James I and Charles I. As the centuries progressed, the views of the “Virgin Queen” became more and more reductive as the mysteries of virginity disappeared, to be replaced by questions regarding her physical virginity. This study seeks to recreate the original force of the image of virginity, how it affected the perception and representation of Queen Elizabeth I, and how it unfortunately became subsumed in politics.

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UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

GRADUATE COLLEGE

STUDENTS' ATTITUDES AND PERCEPTIONS AS PREDICTORS OF
DRINKING BEHAVIOR: IMPLICATIONS FOR STUDENT ALCOHOL
EDUCATION PROGRAMS

A Dissertation

SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the

degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

By

Robert M. Martin
Norman, Oklahoma
2000

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A Dissertation

APPROVED FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this dissertation to my wife, who loves me, my family, who supports me, and my Lord and Savior, who strengthens me.

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ABSTRACT

The primary purpose of the present investigation was to examine the relationship between attitudes, perceptual norms, and perceived risk of drinking behaviors and self-reported levels of drinking. In examining these associations, this study sought to provide support for Ajzen and Fishbein's (1977) theory of reasoned action. By simultaneously examining attitudes and beliefs about substance use, it was believed that the unique influence of each would be ascertained. As was predicted, drinking behavior was found to have a large association with personal attitudes toward drinking. In particular, the higher the quantity and frequency of alcohol use that students reported, the more acceptable their personal attitudes were toward alcohol use and associated behaviors, such as drinking to get drunk and pressuring people to drink alcohol. Although there was support for friends' drinking norms being moderately associated with actual drinking behaviors, drinking norms of others mostly had no association at all to the drinking behavior of participants. These associations were nearly zero. Thus, in this study the more that students reported using alcohol, the more they reported their friends as using alcohol, yet their drinking behavior was independent of the perceived drinking norms of other adults. Finally, the data from this study clearly indicate that perceived risk of alcohol use is a

crucial variable in explaining college students' alcohol use. Despite the desire to interpret causally this association, all that is presently known is that alcohol use and perceived risk of harm of alcohol use are strongly inversely related. This study provides firm support for being aware of students' attitudes toward drinking, the drinking norms of their friends, and their perceived risk of using alcohol. As universities develop and implement effective alcohol prevention and intervention programs.

INTRODUCTION

Background of the Problem

The present investigation involved the subject of alcohol use at the University of Oklahoma. The college experience is arguably one of the biggest developmental milestones in the lives of many people. It is a time when one begins to assume more adult roles and responsibility. For most beginning college and university students, college is a time of reduced parental supervision amidst many new social and academic pressures. Within this developmental experience, however, alcohol consumption is prevalent. This is particularly of concern given that only half of college undergraduate college students are legally old enough to drink (Johnson, O'Malley, & Bachman, 1994).

A survey conducted at the University of Michigan found that alcohol is used far more than other drugs by undergraduates as well as graduate students, faculty and staff (University of Michigan, 1993). A study at Louisiana State University revealed that 37% of the respondents drink once or twice a week while 4% drink daily (Grenier, 1993). Similar results were found by Haberman (1994) in which she found that 90% of college students currently used alcohol or have used at least once in the past; 39% reported consuming alcohol at least weekly and less than 1% reported daily use (Haberman, 1994). Furthermore, the University of Michigan survey (1993) indicated that 18% of undergraduates considered themselves as having serious alcohol problems and report patterns of problem drinking by their peers (University of Michigan, 1993). This problem is not unique to one university as researchers at the University of Nebraska at Omaha found heavy alcohol use to be accepted as normal consumption among the

students (Hunnicuttt & Davis, 1989; University of Michigan, 1993). This heavy alcohol use is estimated to occur among 40% of the undergraduate population (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 1994).

Some researchers believe that a higher percentage of college men than women are likely to drink, drink more often, consume more, and experience more drinking problems (Engs & Hanson, 1990). However, other researchers suggest that when students' body weights are used to compare estimated blood alcohol levels instead of absolute amount of alcohol consumed, females and males do not differ in amount of daily alcohol consumption (Skacel & Merritt, 1991). Furthermore, it is purported that place of residence influences the consumption of alcohol and risk for alcohol related problems such as substance abuse, legal issues, as well as social and educational difficulties.

Specifically, one study suggested that students living in residence halls are at a higher risk for such problems than students living elsewhere (Barnes, Welte, & Dintcheff, 1992). Other studies have consistently found that college students who are members of fraternities and sororities consume more alcohol per week, engaged in heavy drinking more, and suffer more negative consequences from alcohol use than do nonmembers (Alva, 1998; Baer, Kivlahan, & Marlatt, 1995; Cashin, Presley, & Meilman, 1998).

In addition to demographic characteristics, attitudes about drinking, perceptions about drinking, and drinking behaviors have been investigated (e.g., Banks & Smith, 1980; Hamid, 1995; Klein, 1994). Of particular interest to the present investigation is the investigation by Baer, Stacy, and Larimer (1991) who examined the association between individual drinking patterns and the perceived drinking patterns of close friends and reference groups among college students. These investigators conducted two separate

surveys of college students from fraternities, sororities, and dormitories ($N = 131$; $N = 280$). Across both studies, students reported that their friends drank more than they did. Furthermore, the data revealed that students' reports of others' drinking were exaggerated in that students' estimates of average drinking within their own social living groups were substantially higher than the average drinking within the group estimated from self-reports. This study greatly underscored the importance of examining college students' perceptions of drinking, but is only one of a few such studies that have examined this issue.

Statement of the Problem

Although much of the literature suggests that attitudes toward alcohol consumption on college campuses are a great concern, there is a call for further research to help assess and identify problematic alcohol behaviors (Barnes, Welte, & Dintcheff, 1992; Haberman, 1994). In addition, effective intervention strategies are needed to address students' needs and help support responsible drinking patterns. Before a strategic intervention program can be developed, research is needed with regard to what variables predict alcohol use and what social psychological factors such as attitudes about drinking and perceptions about drinking are likely to influence changes in drinking behaviors. This information can help identify those "at risk" of alcohol interfering with their academics and personal lives as well as what prevention and intervention methods may be effective in decreasing this risk.

Purpose of the Study

Although previous studies have been completed concerning substance use by undergraduates, only limited studies have been conducted at the University of Oklahoma.

The present investigation sought to provide a comprehensive assessment of substance use of the undergraduate population on a university campus by not only assessing the amount of use itself, but numerous other variables, such as attitudes toward use and beliefs about substance use. Beyond just the identification of alcohol and drug using patterns at the University of Oklahoma, this university survey study examined the relative importance of personal attitudes towards drinking, perceptions of others' drinking attitudes, and perceptions of drinking norms in relation to personal drinking behavior. Thus, the primary purpose of the present investigation was to examine the relationship between attitudes, perceptual norms, and perceived risk of drinking behaviors and self-reported levels of drinking. By simultaneously examining the above variables, it was believed that the unique influence of each would be ascertained.

A second purpose for conducting this study was to understand the particular drinking and drug use patterns of undergraduate students at the University of Oklahoma. The results of this study will be used to discuss implications for an appropriate student assistance program directed toward both prevention and intervention of abusive alcohol behaviors. Developing strategies without first assessing the nature and magnitude of perceived problems could be both costly and detrimental to the university as well as the people effected by the premature intervention. The results of the present study will also be used to guide future research with regard to correlates of the college drinking experience.

Theoretical Rationale

The predictions of this investigation are largely based upon the theory of reasoned action (Ajzen and Fishbein, 1977). This theory is most applicable to the present

investigation because it applies the two primary variables being used to predict drinking behavior: (a) subjective norms and (b) attitudes. This theory suggests that these two dimensions contribute to the prediction of behavioral intentions, which are good predictors of human behavior. This theory will be reviewed in more detail with the literature review. To date, Ajzen and Fishbein's theory has been supported by numerous researchers as being able to predict alcohol use among college students (e.g., Laflin, Moore, Weis, & Hayes; O'Callaghan, Chant, Callan, & Baglioni, 1997; Trafimow, 1996).

Although the theory of reasoned action provided a solid basis for the prediction of alcohol use, the theoretical foundation of this investigation also rests on the several other theoretical perspectives. In particular, because alcohol use is considered a health behavior, the dominant theories that pertain to health behavior change provide an appropriate backdrop for understanding alcohol use. These theories include: the Health Beliefs Model and the Stages of Change Theory.

The Health Belief Model (HBM) was originally formulated in the 1950s and proposes that understanding individuals' perceptions related to the disease and the desired behavior change largely explain health behaviors. In sum, the HBM proposes that in order for a person to engage in a health behavior, they must perceive the "disease" as severe and personally threatening. Additionally, the HBM posits that in order for behavior change to occur benefits of the behavior change must outweigh the barriers to making the change.

The Stages of Change theory provides an understanding of how the change process occurs, which is particularly relevant when discussing how to change alcohol use among college students. In this theory, there are five stages of change: (a)

precontemplation, (b) contemplation, (c) decision, (d) action, and (f) maintenance. The progression through these stages is not linear; individuals progression forward and backward from stage to stage at different times in the change process. The final goal, however, is that individuals end up in maintenance in which they are doing the things necessary to maintain the change.

As with the theory of reasoned action, both of these theories provides a different perspective on helping to understand health behaviors and are elaborated upon further in the literature review chapter. The HBM is particularly useful in helping to understand alcohol use and why, despite knowing the dangers of such use, college students continue to engage in the unhealthy behavior of excess alcohol consumption. On the other hand, the stages of change model is helpful in understanding “how” individuals change/modify their behavior toward alcohol use. Thus, although the theory of reasoned action serves useful for the specific predictions made in this study, these health change theories assist in understanding the behaviors and in formulating prevention and intervention efforts. At this juncture, it is now sufficient to provide the predictions that the theory of reasoned action supports.

Research Questions and Hypotheses

The hypotheses for this investigation were examined by looking at the data collected by this researcher at the request of a local community prevention coalition (Higher Education Committee) during the dates of January 1, 1997 through May 1, 1997.

This investigation was designed to examine one primary research questions.

RQ1: Which of the following is most highly related with specific drinking behaviors?: (a) attitudes toward drinking, which include personal attitudes toward

drinking, perceptions of friends' attitudes toward drinking, and perceptions of others' attitudes toward drinking; (b) perceptions of drinking norms, which includes perceptions of friends' drinking levels and perception of others' drinking levels; or (c) perceived risks of alcohol use.

This research question was examined by testing three relevant hypotheses.

H1: Attitudes will be positively related with actual drinking behavior. More specifically, it is expected that:

H1a: Personal attitudes toward drinking will be positively related with actual drinking behaviors, consistent with the research of Banks and Smith (1980), Mills and McCarty (1983), Ratliff and Burkart (1984), and Hamid (1995).

H1b: Perception of friends' attitudes toward drinking will be positively related with actual drinking behaviors.

H1c: Perceptions of others' attitudes toward drinking will be positively related with actual drinking behaviors.

H2: Perceptions of drinking norms will be positively related to actual drinking behaviors.

More specifically, it is expected that:

H2a: Perception of friends' drinking levels will be positively related to actual drinking behaviors.

H2b. Perception of others' drinking levels will be positively related to actual drinking behaviors.

H2c: Actual drinking behaviors will be more closely related to the perceptual norms of friends' drinking levels than the perceptual norms of others' drinking levels', consistent with the research of Baer et al., (1991).

H3: Perceived risk of alcohol use will be significantly related to actual drinking behaviors.

RELATED LITERATURE

Literature on Alcohol Use in Colleges and Universities

Straus and Bacon (1953) were among the first researchers to examine the prevalence of drinking behavior that occurred on college campuses. In a national sample of approximately 15,000 college students, these authors reported that approximately 70% of students in American colleges and universities at least occasionally consumed alcoholic beverages. Saltz and Elandt (1986) reviewed the principal survey studies that had been conducted since the mid 1970s and reached a similar conclusion. The consumption by college students of at least one alcoholic beverage per month was approximately 90% across all studies. Although men on average consumed alcoholic beverages more than women, this difference was not consistent across studies. For men, the range of at least one alcoholic beverage per month was 91% and ranged from a low of 81% to as high as 98%. The average consumption across studies for women was 88%, but ranged from 78% to 98%. These drinking rates do not appear to be declining over the years. Across all studies, the average reports of students who are problem drinkers ranges from 10% to 25%. Approximately 4% to 5% of students are estimated to use alcohol on a daily basis.

The prevalence of alcohol use among college students still appears high in the current decade. In a study of college students at Louisiana State University, Grenier (1993) found that 37% of the students drank once or twice a week and that 4% consumed alcohol on a daily basis. The majority of the students sampled in their study reported that they drank to relax whereas only 35% reported that peer pressure motivated them to

drink. Additionally, Grenier found several factors which were associated with high alcohol consumption: (a) being male, (b) being in a Greek fraternity, (c) being a junior year student, (d) living off-campus, and (e) being of Caucasian ethnicity.

In a sample of 457 students at the University of Alberta, Canada, Svenson and Jarvis (1994) found that 90% of the students reported drinking at least once over the past year. In their study, they found that men were more likely to be heavier drinkers than women and that men were more likely than women to drive while intoxicated. Furthermore, these authors reported that the women in their sample overall had healthier attitudes concerning alcohol use. Men were more likely than women to indicate that it was socially acceptable to be intoxicated and that drinkers do not suffer health problems as the result of drinking.

In a study of students at Rutgers University, O'Hare (1990) reported that 18% of their undergraduate sample were abstainers, 25% were light drinkers, and 19% were heavy drinkers. These authors also found that the number of abstainers declined with each year in college in that 29% of freshman were abstainers compared with only 9% of seniors. Furthermore, the number of heavy drinkers increased by year from 15% in freshman to 24% in seniors.

However, in reviewing the prevalence of alcohol use across universities it must be kept in mind that differences in geography exist. That is, the reports of alcohol use may be different across varying regions. The differences between campuses in alcohol use may be more reflective of the spurious influence of differences in geography than of anything else.

Nevertheless, in their annual national study of over 1,000 student per year, Johnston, O'Malley, and Bachman (1994) conclude that little decline in alcoholic consumption is occurring—especially among college students who report drinking five or more drinks at once (i.e., binge drinking) in the last two weeks. Furthermore, estimates of the proportion of college students who regularly engage in binge drinking has been estimated as being approximately 20%. Johnston et al. report that alcohol continues to be the most widely abused drugs and that binge drinking is extremely prevalent among American college students. Rabow and Newman (1984) have also observed that weekend binge drinking is the most common abuse of alcohol in this population.

Additionally, drinking among college students has been found to be associated with numerous individual and social problems. For instance, Berkowitz and Perkin (1986) have found that drinking problems among college students is associated with vandalism, difficulties with academic performance, accidents, and engaging in risky behaviors, such as driving while intoxicated and having unprotected sex. It has also been proposed that students with alcohol problems are less likely to become employed because of their poor academic performance (Lall & Schandler, 1991).

Universities are motivated to reduce problem drinking because of the associated social problems that impact the college community. Several problems are of predominant concern in the campus community. Public safety is one of the biggest concerns where behaviors, such as drinking and driving, assault, rape, alcohol poisoning, and personal injuries resulting from engaging in uninhibited behaviors, can have a substantial impact on the community as a whole. Additionally, social consequences such as these are most likely to receive media attention, which is generally not desired by the

college or university. These situations place universities in a reactive, rather than proactive, preventative position.

Grenier (1993) provided data on the frequency of alcohol-related problems experienced by college students. In his study of Louisiana State University students, 26% reported drinking and driving, 20% reported missing class due to having a hangover, and an inverse association between grade point average and drinking behavior was observed. Regarding attitudes toward drinking, Grenier found that 60% of LSU students felt that getting drunk was a normal part of the college experience and 57% felt that parties were more fun after having a few drinks. Reassuring, however, was the finding that 77% of students would use a free ride home if they were intoxicated and that 87% reported that they would stop a friend from driving while drinking.

Similarly, Globetti, Stem, Marasco, and Haworth-Hoeppner (1988) found that 33% to 41% of college students reported drinking and driving, 6% to 7% reported engaging in alcohol-related vandalism, 7% to 8% reported losing friends as the results of their alcohol usage, 17% to 23% reported experiencing alcohol-related academic problems, and 3% to 15% reported having problems with authority because of alcohol.

The high level of alcohol use and alcohol problems among college students is surprising given that persons with more education are more likely than others to adopt, and engage in, healthier behaviors. For instance, when compared with individuals without a high school diploma, college graduates have a lower prevalence of smoking, are less likely to be overweight, and are more likely to use seat belts when driving (Wechsler & Isaac, 1991).

Several studies have attempted to identify the predictors of alcohol use among college students. Haworth-Hoeppner, Globette, Stem, and Morasco (1989) found that attitudes toward alcohol actually affect drinking behavior. Students at a southern university with more permissive attitudes toward alcohol use were more likely than others to be heavy drinkers. Haden and Edmundson (1991) found that students used illicit drugs out of personal motivation but that the strongest predictor of alcohol use was social motivation. Several theories have been proposed that attempt to predict the drinking behavior of undergraduate college students. These theories will next be reviewed.

Theories of Drinking Behavior

In general, there are three common theoretical approaches to explaining drinking behavior (Edmundson, Clifford, Serrins, & Wiley, 1994). The first is a knowledge and attitudes approach. In this model, it is believed that by providing accurate knowledge regarding the negative consequences of alcohol and drug use will instill negative attitudes toward the use.

The second approach is a values and decision-making model. This perspective focuses on individuals' needs and values, and how substances fulfill these needs and influences these values. Decision-making skills are taught to enhance personal responsibility and self-reliance. Ideally, these skills and self-awareness should promote the notion of responsibility toward substance abuse (Edmundson et al., 1994).

The third approach is the social competency model, which was influenced by Bandura's (1986) social learning theory. In this approach, social situations, modeling, and social environments dictate the acquisition of individual psychosocial skills. A

deficiency in these skills places the individual at higher risk for substance abuse.

Rectifying these deficiencies is believed to modify attitudes and behaviors toward drug taking (Edmundson et al., 1994). However, empirical research has only recently begun to test these assumptions regarding substance abuse prevention programs. These three perspectives have not yet been evaluated for their long-term efficacy, but early findings are promising.

In general, a cornerstone of research in the area of substance abuse has been centered on attempting to understand the reasons for drug and alcohol use. Many believe that this understanding will provide the ability to accurately predict substance abuse, and to perhaps even substance use. To this end, the theory of reasoned action, by Ajzen and Fishbein (1977) has been adopted by the drug and alcohol field as one way to understand this potentially self-destructive behavior and will be the primary theory of this investigation.

Theory of Reasoned Action

According to the theory of reasoned action, actual behavior is a direct function of behavioral intentions. Specifically, this theory proposes that subjective norms, which are the sum of beliefs and motivation to comply, contribute to understanding behavioral intentions. Additionally, attitudes, which are considered to be the sum of belief and evaluation, also contribute to behavioral intentions. Both subjective norms and attitudes lead to behavioral intentions. Once behavioral intentions are known, the actual behavior can be predicted. Additionally, the strength of the relationship between behavioral intentions and actual behavior is directly related to the extent to which the individual can determine the occurrence or nonoccurrence of the behavior.

Many studies have supported the efficacy of the theory of planned behavior, a revision of the theory of reasoned action, in explaining and predicting alcohol use, (Ajzen, I. 1985). For example, Marcoux and Shope (1997) recently examined both the theory planned behavior and the theory of reasoned action in the prediction of actual alcohol use among 3,946 5th-8th grade students in southeast Michigan. The intention to use alcohol explained 38% of the variance in frequency of alcohol use and 26% of the variance in alcohol use. Furthermore, attitudes, subjective norms, and perceived behavioral control—the three primary components of the Theory of planned behavior—explained 76% of the variance in the intention to use alcohol. These researchers reported, however, that despite the fact that both models were efficacious in predicting intention to use alcohol, the theory of reasoned action was more effective than was the theory of planned behavior.

These theories have also been successful in predicting alcohol use in young adults. For instance, in a sample of 122 college students, O'Callaghan, Chant, Callan, and Baglioni (1997) found that intentions to drink alcohol were predicted by subjective norms, attitudes, and perceived behavioral control and that intentions themselves were significantly predictive of self-reported use. These authors also reported, however, that past alcohol use was one of the strongest predictors of the intention to use alcohol and suggest that this variable be considered in a revision of the theory.

In a study of 250 college students, Trafimow (1996) found that attitudes were consistently better predictors of intentions to use alcohol than were subjective norms. However, this study found that this association depended upon which type of social drinking was being asked about. In particular, the association between attitudes and

behavioral intentions was strongest when predicting drinking enough alcohol to get drunk and weaker when asking about avoiding drinking and drinking enough to get a slight buzz. In contrast to the previous study, however, this author found that previous behavior and perceived behavioral control were significant predictors in predicting these three behaviors.

Another investigation by Laflin, Moore, Weis, and Hayes (1994) provides support for the theory of reasoned action. In a sample of 2,227 high school and college students, these authors found that attitudes and subjective norms related to alcohol and drug use did significantly predict alcohol and drug use, respectively. In another investigation on college students, Budd and Spencer (1985) examined 172 university students and found that normative beliefs about alcohol use did not predict behavioral intentions as the Theory of planned behavior predicts. These authors did find, however, that behavioral intentions mediated the relationship between attitudes and subjective norms in the prediction of alcohol use.

This theory has also been widely applied to other health-related areas. For example, Sutton, McVey, and Glanz (1999) found support for the application of both the theory of reasoned action and the theory of planned behavior in predicting condom use in a national sample of 949 English youth. Humphreys, Thompson, and Miner (1998) found full support for the postulates of the theory of reasoned action when examining breastfeeding among a sample of 1,001 socioeconomically disadvantaged pregnant women. Additionally, Moore, Barling, and Hood (1998) found that the theory of reasoned action was strongly supported in predicting testicular and breast self-examination behavior among 116 male and 141 female adults, respectively.

In sum, the theory of reasoned action predicts that alcohol and drug attitudes and subjective norms are useful in predicting drug and alcohol use (Laflin, Moore-Hirschl, Weis, & Hayes, 1994). Thus, the present investigation uses the theory of reasoned action to predict that alcohol-related attitudes and norms will be predictive of drinking behavior. Yet, this theory does not entirely account for the use of perceived risk as a predictor of drinking behavior. This review will focus on a rationale for the inclusion of perceived risk as a prediction dimension of substance abuse after discussing the other theoretical models relevant to the present study.

Because alcohol use can be conceptualized as a health behavior, it is important to review the major models that have been used in the literature to explain, predict, and change health-related behaviors. In an attempt to explain these complicated behaviors, theorists have integrated psychological, environmental, and social factors into their theories. This review will focus on reviewing two of the major models in this area: Health Belief Model and the Stages of Change Model, (National Institute of Health, 1997).

Health Belief Model

The Health Belief Model (HBM) was originally developed in the early 1950s and was one of the first health behavior models developed to explain and predict preventative health, sick-role, and illness behaviors. Developed by Godfrey, Hockbaum, and Rosenstock (cited in Glanz, Lewis, & Rimer, 1990), the HBM helps to explain why individuals make particular health behavior decisions and has been widely used to create health prevention programs. The model integrates several theoretical perspectives, including social psychology and phenomenology, but relies heavily on Kurt Lewin's

view that individual perception largely determines behavior. Although the model originally concentrated on the association between health behaviors and the utilization of health services, later revisions of the model included motivational factors. The HBM was developed to help explain and predict why individuals failed to engage in preventative behaviors. One of the first studies to test the efficacy of the HBM was conducted by Hochbaum (1952). In this study, Hockbaum systematically examined the factors that contributed to patients' decisions to obtain chest x-rays for detecting tuberculosis. Since this landmark study, however, the HBM has been applied to various different kinds of health behaviors.

According to the HBM there are five dimensions that contribute to behavior change. These dimensions include: (a) perceived severity, which refers to the degree to which individuals believe that the health problem is serious; (b) perceived threat, which refers to the extent that individuals believe that they are personally vulnerable to the health problem; (c) perceived benefit, which refers to the extent to which individuals believe that engaging in a particular behavior will diminish the perceived threat; (d) perceived barriers, which refer to the obstacles that individuals believe exist in order for them to change their current behavior; and (e) self-efficacy, which refers to the beliefs individuals have regarding their ability to change their behavior (Glanz, Lewis, & Rimer, 1990).

In evaluating the perceived severity, individuals form an impression of how serious the effects of a given health problem will have on their functioning. Individuals are believed to evaluate a wide spectrum of dimensions when examining severity, such as

the effect on their personal and work functioning, financial difficulties, burdens on family and friends, the degree of pain experienced, and other relevant factors.

In considering perceived threat, this model proposes that there is tremendous inter-individual variability in perceptions of being vulnerable to a health problem. Individuals that are high in this dimension feel that there is a real danger that they can be personally be affected by the medical condition or disease. At the other end of the spectrum, individuals low in perceived susceptibility are in denial that they could potentially contract the disease.

The third perception that relates to health-related behaviors involves the perceived benefits of taking action. Individuals must perceive that specific actions will result in the prevention of the disease or in dealing with the medical problem. This perception is believed to only occur after individuals have recognized that they are susceptible to the disease. Thus, beliefs about the benefits of action play a vital role in determining if appropriate health-related behaviors are performed.

Similarly, perceptions pertaining to the barriers to taking action also play a direct role in determining if individuals will engage in specific behaviors. There are many instances in which individuals may have perceptions of severity, feel personally threatened, and believe in the benefits of taking action, but not take the action because there are too many perceived obstacles to doing so. According to the HBM, barriers can come in many forms but generally relate to the inconvenience, cost, and emotional and physical pain related to taking the action

Lastly, if individuals do not have sufficient self-efficacy regarding their ability to change, they will be less likely to engage in the health-promoting behaviors. The

personal beliefs regarding their own abilities will play a tremendous role in determining whether individuals will engage in appropriate health behaviors—even when the aforementioned perceptions are positive. Furthermore, this theory also proposes that there must be cues to action in order for individuals to engage in the appropriate behaviors. This means that either internal or external cues must exist to trigger the behavior that is necessary to prevent or deal with a particular health problem or disease. It is also believed that certain demographic, sociological, and structural variables that can serve to influence individual's decision.

Although the HBM provides a concrete way of understanding health behaviors, it is not without its limitations. For instance, the model has been criticized for focusing too heavily on beliefs and ignoring other pertinent factors that may influence health behaviors, such as previous experience and cultural and socioeconomic influences. has not always been supported by the empirical literature. Some propose that it is for this very reason that the research on HBM is not entirely supportive of the theory. However, it is also important to recognize that the studies that have been done on HBM utilize different questions to examine the same beliefs, thereby making the results of the studies difficult to compare.

The HBM has been widely used in research on health behaviors but has been less widely used than the theories of reasoned action and planned behavior in studying alcohol use. Still, several studies have supported the application of this theory to alcohol use. One of the most notable studies in this area was conducted by Minugh, Rice, and Young (1998) on a sample of 41,104 adults. These authors found that health beliefs and behaviors were significantly correlated with alcohol use, even after controlling for

demographic influences. Furthermore, the HBM was supported equally for men and women; no gender differences were found. Sands, Archer, and Puleo (1998) examined the HBM in 125 and 231 female college students and found that risk of alcohol abuse was significantly predicted by perceived severity and barriers, self-efficacy, and social influences. Thus, there is a sound empirical basis in applying this theory to alcohol use in a college population.

Stages of Change Model

The Stages of Change Model (Prochaska, 1979) is another concept that is widely used in explaining health-related and the addiction behaviors. It was originally developed as a component of the Transtheoretical Model of behavioral change, but since its conception, researchers have found that the biggest contribution of the Stages of Change (sub)model is in its explanation of how—but not necessarily why—behavior change occurs. This model proposes five stages of change, including: (a) precontemplation, wherein individuals are not considering behavioral change; (b) contemplation, where individuals begin to consider changing their behavior; (c) decision, where individuals decide they will change their behavior and actively create a plan on how they will do it; (d) action, where individuals implement their behavior-change plan; and (e) maintenance, where individuals maintain their behavior change and continue the beliefs and behaviors responsible for such a change (Glanz, Lewis, & Rimer, 1990).

According to this model, individuals go through the steps in a spiral/circular nature rather than linear one. That is, there is a movement into and out of various cognitive stages, sometimes individuals are progressing forward, slipping backwards and at times, skip over stages altogether. The model recognizes that there are times in

individuals' lives where change is more difficult than other times. In applying this model, most health programs focus on assisting individuals to advance their stage of change so that they will be closer toward the desired behavior change (Glanz, Lewis, & Rimer, 1990). This theory is widely used in the treatment of chemical dependency rather than prevention, which is the focus of this study. This investigation does not provide the adequate data to examine the stages of change model. Thus, the theory of reasoned action and the health belief model are the primary theories used to address the hypotheses in this study. However, the stages of change theory will be extremely useful to universities as they develop their intervention programs.

Perceived Risk and Substance Abuse

Perception of risk has been found by other investigators to actually decrease substance abuse (Bachman, Johnston, & O'Malley, 1988). For instance, from their empirical investigation of the influence of perceived risk on substance abuse, Gonzalez and Haney (1990) commented, "... it is evident from the results of this study that perceptions of risk significantly predict usage patterns and attitudes toward the use of various drugs" (p. 314). Additionally, Gonzalez (1989) suggested that the perceptions of risk regarding the use of substances is an important mediating variable in motivating students to engage in preventative behavior.

A study by Bachman, Johnston, and O'Malley (1988) found that the most significant predictor of alcohol use was the perceived risk of alcohol. Perception of risk was also significantly predictive of tobacco use, but the ability for it to predict cannot be generalized to all substances; Bachman et al. found that the predictability of risk is specific to each substance. This author states that to affect the perception of risk of a

given substance, the information must be specific for each substance and disseminated from a source that has a perception of accuracy and provides the information in sufficient enough detail. Thus, it is recommended that methods need to be incorporated that will influence the perceived risk of those substances where inaccurate perceptions of risk exist.

Rhodes, Corby, and Wolitski (1990), however, pointed out that perceptions of risk can be overridden. In their investigation, intravenous drug users continued to share needles even after understanding the risk of contracting the HIV virus. The exact factors that contribute to this are not yet fully understood.

History of Alcohol and Drug Use at the University of Oklahoma

To date, one of the largest nationwide studies on alcohol and drug use among college students has been the CORE Alcohol and Drug Survey (Presley, C. A., Leichliter, J. S., & Meilman, P. W., 1999). The University of Oklahoma did participate in this study during the 1995-96 data collection. In a report to the Presidents of the participating Universities, Presley et. al. (1999), reported that students drink an average of 5.1 drinks per week and 42.7% of students in the sample engaged in binge drinking at least once during the two weeks prior to completing the Core survey. Of the students who reported being under the age of 21, 82.4% reported using alcohol within the year prior to completing the survey and 68.8% reported using alcohol within the 30 days prior to completing the survey.

The issue of Alcohol and Drug use at the University of Oklahoma was first presented to investigators by a local prevention coalition (Higher Education Committee). The Coalition had become aware of a similar study conducted at the University of

Michigan in 1993 and decided to pursue assessment of the same information for OU.

After looking into what resources would be needed to conduct such a study, the coalition agreed to fund a pilot study to start the process. The pilot study included students, faculty and staff and was administered by a mail-out survey through regular and campus mail.

Although the response rate for undergraduate students was approximately 35%, the response rates for the faculty and staff were below 20%. Due to these response rates and the limited resource left over from the pilot project, this study was limited to the undergraduate population. Also, due to the cost and low response rates in the pilot project, the administration of the surveys used in this investigation was completed through group administration rather than mail-out.

METHODOLOGY

Methodological Approach

This investigation was archival in nature in that the analyses were based upon a survey conducted by the University of Oklahoma. The data used to test the hypotheses set forth in the present investigation were collected using the survey methodology, which allows for both descriptive and correlational uses. Because the hypotheses in this study were correlational in nature, the present study mostly emphasizes the correlational approach. The survey used, employed a self-administered, self-report format versus conducting the survey via an in-person or telephone format. This modality was most appropriate given that the objective was to reach a wide audience of the university population in a short period of time. Additionally, the use of an anonymous self-report survey greatly reduces socially desirable responding whereas the other survey methodologies would likely increase the chances of this response bias occurring.

Although this study was correlational in nature, drinking behavior was considered the primary dependent variable. Four different drinking variables, which measured four different types of drinking behaviors, were used in combination as the dependent measure. These included: (a) controlled drinking, as measured by participants' self-reported drinking behavior; (b) getting drunk, as measured by participants' report on the number of times they got drunk in the past year, (c) binge drinking, as measured by participants' report of the number of times in the last two weeks they had five or more drinks in a row; and (d) how many drinks per week students report consuming.

This study also examined six other dependent variables that were correlated with actual drinking behavior: (a) personal attitudes toward drinking; (b) perceptions of friends' attitudes toward drinking, (c) perceptions of others' attitudes toward drinking; (d) perceptions of drinking norms, as assessed by perceptions of friends' drinking levels; (e) perceptions of drinking norms, as assessed by perceptions of other students' drinking levels; and (f) perceived risks of alcohol use.

Selection of the Sample

A final sample size of $N = 690$ was obtained from the 1,000 students sampled resulting in a 69% response rate. The 1,000 students sampled represented a probability sample of randomly selected undergraduate students at the University of Oklahoma collected in the spring semester of 1997. A list of undergraduate courses was randomly selected until the total enrollment of classes was over 1,000 students. The list of class enrollment status was obtained from the University administration. Given that a sample size of 100 is all that is necessary to obtain statistical power at .80, assuming an alpha of .05 and a medium effect size (i.e., $r = .30$), the final sample size of $N = 690$ had sufficient statistical power to reject the null hypothesis when it is false (Cohen, 1988).

After permission was granted from each course instructor, the researchers presented the study to the students and the surveys were distributed. All surveys were collected during the following class period. It was made clear, through a handout and the class presentation, that participation in the study was completely voluntary. Although the distribution of gender and classification was expected to represent the general university population, this was not the case. The sample contained 38% males and 62 % females, while the university reported a gender ratio is approximately 50/50. With regard to

classification, this sample contained 25% freshmen, 31% sophomores, 22% juniors and 22% seniors. These results are not consistent with the university in that while the first three classes are relatively equal (approximately 21% each), there are approximately 11% more seniors enrolled in the university than in each of the other three class (32% of the enrollment). Due to this inconsistency, any analysis across gender or classification should be interpreted cautiously. Participants were expected to benefit from this investigation through the knowledge gained from the data they provided. Due to the voluntary and anonymous nature in which the survey was returned, there was absolutely no risk to the participants in this study.

The Survey

The data for this investigation were collected from the administration of the Use of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Other Drugs in the Community Survey, which was developed by the University of Michigan's Initiative on Alcohol and Other Drugs (Hamid, 1995). The survey was originally developed to gather data to assist in identifying trends and changes, identify individuals who may be at high-risk, and to help in designing alcohol and drug prevention programs. Hamid (1995) reported this index as having a Cronbach coefficient alpha of .94. The large significant association between personal attitudes toward alcohol use and actual drinking behavior ($r = .67$) found by Hamid (1995) supports validity of this index. This questionnaire is shown in Appendix B.

The questionnaire contains a total of 60 items, many of which have several responses within them. Forty-one items are designed to measure five domains related to alcohol and drug use: (a) the frequency of the consumption of alcohol, tobacco, and illicit, prescription and over-the-counter drugs; (b) the problems that occur as the result of

such usage; (c) the place and social circumstances of the consumption of alcohol; (d) the strategies used to regulate drinking; and (e) the perceptions of norms and attitudes about drinking and drug use that are present in community and peer groups. The last 19 items ask relevant sociodemographic and descriptive information, such as respondents' ethnicity and religious affiliation.

In the present investigation, the focus is on actual drinking behaviors, personal, friends', and others' attitudes toward drinking, drinking norms, and perceptions of the risk of alcohol use. Other items will be examined on an exploratory basis and will not be reviewed in depth here in this report.

Actual Drinking Behavior

Four items on the survey were used to assess participants' actual drinking behavior, the main dependent variable for this study: (a) item 5a-c, (b) item 9a-c, (c) item 11, and (d) item 12. Item 5a-c asks participants, "On how many occasions (if any) have you had alcoholic beverages to drink?," and asks them to rate their response to this question from 1 (0 occasions) to 7 (40+ occasions). Participants rate their response in reference to three different temporal durations: (a) "in your lifetime?" (5a), (b) "during the last 12 months" (5b), and (c) "during the last 30 days" (5c). Total scores for this question can be obtained by summing the responses to 5a, 5b, and 5c. Thus, scores can potentially range from 3 to 21, with higher numbers being indicative of higher drinking behavior.

Using a similar format used by item 5a-c, item 9a-c asks respondents about the number of times they have been drunk: "On how many occasions (if any) have you been drunk or very high from drinking alcoholic beverages?" The same 7-point rating scale

that is used in item 5a-5c is also used in item 9a-c (i.e., 0 occasions = 1 to 40+ occasions = 7). Ratings are provided for drunk occasions over their lifetime, the past 12 months, and the past 30 days, as was done for item 5a-c.

In item 11, respondents are asked, "Over the last two weeks, how many times have you had five or more drinks in a row?" Participants are given the definition of a drink as being "... a glass of wine, a bottle of beer or wine cooler, a shot of liquor, or a mixed drink." They are then to choose one of the six responses: (a) "none" (1), (b) "once" (2), (c) "twice" (3), (d) "3 to 5 times" (4), (e) "6 to 9 times" (5), or (e) "10 or more times" (6). Item 12 asks participants to write in a number in response to the question, "What is the average number of drinks you consume a week?" The responses provided to these last two questions will serve as their score on these items.

To assess the hypothesis, the above-mentioned items were combined into a linear composite through use of canonical correlational analysis. The associations among individual items were also examined. The standard criterion of .3 was used to determine which individual items loaded on each canonical correlation.

Attitudes Toward Drinking

Item 34 was used to measure participants' personal, their friends, and others' attitudes toward drinking. This item lists 14 behaviors related to drinking and are asked to rate each behavior on a 3-point scale as "acceptable" (1), "don't care" (2), or "unacceptable" (3). These behaviors include the following: (a) drinking alcoholic beverages to be social, (b) giving parties where alcohol is served, (c) giving parties where the only drinks are alcoholic, (d) letting loose and having fun when drinking, (e) losing control when drinking, (f) drinking to get drunk, (g) being so drunk they throw up, (h)

drinking to fit in with a group, (k) providing alcohol to someone under the age of 21, (l) pressuring people to drink alcohol, (m) driving after two or three drinks, and (n) making sexual advances to someone who is high or drunk.

To obtain total scores for the personal, friends', and others' attitudes toward drinking, responses to the 14 items can be summed in a unit weighting fashion. This yields total scores that can potentially range from 14 (acceptable) to 42 (unacceptable), with higher scores being indicative of more conservative values. This scoring method is different from that employed by Hamid (1995), one of the first authors to use this scale to evaluate empirical questions. Instead of unit weighting each value, Hamid scored one point for each item respondents endorsed as either "acceptable" or "don't care". Using this method, scores ranged from 0 to 14 with higher values indicating more liberal attitudes toward drinking. However, one of the drawbacks of using this approach is that the range of responding is potentially restricted and such restricted ranges can reduce the magnitude of correlation coefficients (Tabachnick & Fidell, 1996). Thus, by using a unit weighting approach, it is less likely that this restriction of range problem will exist in the present study.

To examine the association among attitudes and actual drinking behaviors, the three dimensions will be combined into a linear composite through canonical correlational analysis.

Additionally, to further explore the associations among the items, the 14 items from each of the three dimensions will also be combined into a linear composite through canonical correlational analysis instead of relying solely on unit weighting.

Personal attitudes toward drinking. To evaluate respondents' personal attitudes toward drinking, participants are asked to respond to each of the 14 behaviors by endorsing the 3-point scale in response to the question, "Do you find this...." In the stem of this question, respondents are to provide their own opinion of the 14 behaviors. The coefficient alpha reported by Hamid (1995) for this index was .72. The large significant association between personal attitudes toward alcohol use and actual drinking behavior ($r = .67$) found by Hamid (1995) supports validity of this index.

Friends' attitudes toward drinking. To evaluate respondents' perceptions of their friends' attitudes toward drinking, participants are asked to respond to each of the 14 behaviors by endorsing the 3-point scale in response to the question, "Do your friends find this...." In the stem of this question, respondents are to provide an estimate of whether or not their friends find the 14 behaviors as acceptable or unacceptable. The survey defines friends for the respondent as being, "the people you see socially." Hamid (1995) reported the coefficient alpha for this index to be .76. Hamid also reported correlation between this index with actual drinking behavior as being $r = .32$ ($p < .001$), which supports the validity of this index.

Others' attitudes toward drinking. To evaluate respondents' perception of others' attitudes toward drinking, participants are asked to respond to each of the 14 behaviors by endorsing the 3-point scale in response to the question, "Do most students find this...." The stem of this question asks respondents to estimate the attitudes of most students as a whole. The coefficient alpha of this index has been reported as .73 (Hamid, 1995). The correlation of others' attitudes with actual drinking behavior has been reported as small, but statistically significant ($r = -.19$, $p < .01$) by Hamid (1995).

Drinking Norms

Items 31(a-b) and 32(a-b) were used to evaluate drinking norms. Item 31 measures drinking norms of the respondents' friends and 32 measures drinking norms of others. For each of these items, participants are asked to provide two ratings. The first rating asks them to estimate how many people (i.e., "friends" for item 31a and "other students" for item 32a) drink alcoholic beverages and how many people (i.e., "friends" for item 31b and "other students" for item 32b) drink to get drunk. Scale values range from 1 (none) to 4 (most). In the second rating, respondents are asked to endorse from 1 (less than once per month) to 7 (daily) the frequency with which friends (31a-b) or other students (32a-b) engaged in the given drinking patterns.

To obtain separate total drinking norm scores for friends and others, the rating for the number of people drinking will be multiplied by the frequency rating. Thus, the resulting product will provide four dependent variables of drinking norms that include: a) "friends" drink alcoholic beverages.....how often?, b) "friends" drink to get drunk.....how often?, c) "others" drink alcoholic beverages.....how often? and d) "others" drink to get drunk.....how often?. Higher values will be representative of norms which reflect a higher occurrence and severity of drinking among their friends and other students. Reliability indices are not available for this index. The validity of this index, however, is supported by the large statistically significant association found between this index and drinking behavior ($r = .51$, $p < .001$) reported by Hamid (1995).

Perceived Risk of Alcohol Use

Perceived risk of alcohol use was measured using items 33g, 33h, and 33i. The stem of all three of these items asks students to report on, "How much do you think

people risk harming themselves (physically or in other ways) if they....” The rating scale for this item ranges from 1 (no risk) to 5 (can’t say), with a value of 4 indicating great risk. The differences between these three items are only in the frequency of alcohol usage that is portrayed. For instance, item 33g states, “Have one or two drinks nearly every day,” item 33h states, “Have four or five drinks nearly every day,” and item 33i states, “Have five or more drinks once or twice each weekend.”

No reliability or validity estimates are provided for this index. For the purpose of testing the hypotheses in this study, scores of 5 were coded as 0 to eliminate the influence of the “can’t say” option.

Consistent with the other scales, the three perceived risk items will be combined into a linear composite through canonical correlational analysis.

Procedures

The archival data collected from the survey was obtained from the administration at the University of Oklahoma. Procedures involved in the survey process will be briefly reviewed despite the fact that the present study did not involve the actual administration of the survey. After the course enrollment list for the randomly selected courses had been obtained from the university’s administration, instructors were contacted and asked if they will allow the survey to be distributed in their class. Surveys were distributed at the beginning of class and then collected at the beginning of the next class two days later. Students participating in the survey were provided with a written description of the study, its purpose, and its relevance to drug and alcohol use on campus. Informed consent was assumed through the completion and return of the instrument. Participants were asked to only return the completed instrument with no identifying information added. With

informed consent being met by the returning of the materials, participants were guaranteed complete confidentiality.

Students were allowed to sign a piece of paper verifying their participation if they chose to. This allowed them the opportunity to receive credit from instructors who already give credit to student for research participation on campus. This list was only signed after the participant had turned in their instrument. At no time was this list and the survey stored together. This procedure guaranteed students' confidentiality, while allowing the instructor the flexibility of awarding credit for participation.

Data Analysis

The data collected from this investigation were analyzed using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS[®]). After the database had been verified for accuracy, descriptive statistics were first calculated. Because the hypotheses in this investigation focused on the association of drinking behavior among undergraduate college students with their attitudes toward drinking, drinking norms, and perceived risk of alcohol use, the hypotheses were analyzed using both canonical correlation analysis and by calculating bivariate Pearson product-moment correlations.

Canonical correlation analysis was chosen because it is appropriate for examining the relationship between two sets of variables (e.g., drinking behavior and attitudes towards drinking). Canonical variates that represented a linear combination of the items were created for each dimension examined for the hypotheses: (a) actual drinking behavior, (b) personal attitudes toward drinking (H1a), (c) friends' attitudes toward drinking (H1b), (d) others' attitudes toward drinking (H1c), (e) drinking norms (H2), and (f) perceived risk of alcohol use (H3). The significance of the canonical correlations

were evaluated using Wilks' Lamda criterion at a two-tailed .05 level of significance. Both the statistical significance and the sign (i.e., + or -) of the canonical and Pearson correlations were used to determine if the hypotheses were supported.

The assumptions underlying canonical correlation (i.e., linearity, homoscedasticity, and multivariate normality) were examined by visually inspecting the distribution of canonical variate scores and by producing a scatterplot of pairs of canonical variates (Tabachnick & Fidell, 1996). Inspection of these plots indicated that the data were sufficiently multivariate normal.

RESULTS

Preliminary Analyses

Before testing the hypotheses set forth in this investigation, descriptive statistics were calculated for the variables used in this study. Table 1 outlines all of the variables used in this study.

Insert Table 1 about here

Because there were 42 items representing the attitudes toward drinking, descriptive statistics for these variables are not summarized in a tabular format. All 42 items were missing data. The least amount of missing data was present on the personal attitudes about drinking item (34a.a) that asked the degree to which participants found drinking alcoholic beverages to be acceptable ($N = 689$, .14% missing cases). The most missing data occurred on the friends' attitudes toward drinking item (34b.d) that asked the degree to which participants found letting loose and having fun when drinking as being acceptable ($N = 676$; 2.02% missing cases). The pattern of missing data across all 42 items appeared to be random. Responses on all items ranged from 1 (acceptable) to 3 (unacceptable). Means ranged from a low of 1.24 (34a.e; self losing control when drinking) to a high of 2.80 (34a.m; self driving after 2-3 drinks) across all three attitudes toward drinking domains (i.e., personal, friends, and others). The standard deviations of these items ranged from a low of .42 (34b.a; friends drinking alcoholic beverages) to a

high of .81 (34a.f, self drinking to get drunk; 34a.l, self pressuring people to drink alcohol; 34b.c, friends giving parties where the only drinks are alcoholic).

Insert Table 2 about here

Table 2 summarizes the descriptive statistics for the actual drinking behavior, attitudes toward drinking, drinking norms, and perceived risks items. Missing data were also present on all actual drinking behavior and drinking norms items; no data were missing on the three items used to measure perceived risk. The number of cases missing ranged from a low of 1.6% cases on item 5a, which asked participants to report on the number of occasions that participants had to drink in a life time, to a high of 22.6% on item 12, which asked participants to report the average number of drinks they consumed each week. Despite the high propensity for individuals to not report the number of times they had 5 drinks or more and the average number of drinks they consumed per week, the distribution of missing data otherwise appeared random. Overall, the standard deviations of the items represented a reasonable degree of dispersion in each item, with the only exception being the somewhat restricted ranges on the risk items (i.e., 33g-i). However, in the worse case scenario (i.e., item 33h), the standard deviation was approximately 15% the size of the mean, indicating an acceptable degree of variability.

Because the proportion of individuals missing data on certain items was substantially high in this sample, mean substitution was not considered an appropriate method of dealing with the missing data. Instead, pairwise deletion was used in which cases were removed from any analysis if missing data were present on the pair of

variables that were being evaluated. Thus, this method preserved a large proportion of the data that could have otherwise been lost if other procedures were used (Roth, 1994). For this reason, however, sample sizes differ in most analyses.

Pearson correlations were next calculated among the items that were used to measure the actual drinking behaviors. These coefficients are shown in Table 3. As can be seen, all coefficients exceeded .33 and were statistically significant at $p < .001$. The mean correlation was .64, which represents a large correlation (Cohen, 1988), indicating that the items comprising actual drinking behavior were highly related with each other.

Insert Table 3 about here

Correlations among the drinking norms and among the perceived risk items were also calculated and are presented in Table 4. The four drinking norms items were all significantly correlated with each other with coefficients ranging from low ($r = .10$) to large ($r = .67$). The three risk items were all significantly correlated with each other with coefficients ranging from low ($r = .15$) to large ($r = .42$). The pattern of significant associations among the three sets of items (i.e., drinking behavior, drinking norms, and perceived risk) indicated that they were appropriate to combine into linear composites.

Insert Table 4 about here

Hypothesis Testing

This investigation proposed three hypotheses. The testing of these hypotheses was conducted through canonical correlation analyses in which the set of items representing actual drinking behavior were correlated with sets of items that represented attitudes toward drinking (H1), drinking norms (H2), and perceived risk of alcohol use (H3). Table 5 outlines each canonical correlational analysis and results for each hypothesis are presented in this section.

Insert Table 5 about here

Hypothesis 1: Actual Drinking Behavior and Attitudes Toward Drinking

The first hypothesis predicted that attitudes toward drinking would be positively related with actual drinking behavior, (i.e., the higher the reported quantity and frequency of alcohol use, the more acceptable attitudes will be toward alcohol use and associated behaviors). In particular, it was expected that three sets of attitudes would be positively correlated with actual drinking behavior: (a) personal attitudes toward drinking (H1a), (b) perception of friends' attitudes toward drinking (H1b), and (c) perceptions of others' attitudes toward drinking (H1c). Participants' responses to item 34, which asked participants to report how acceptable vs. unacceptable they found 14 specific behaviors to be, were used to examine each of these domains.

To test the general hypothesis that attitudes are related to drinking behaviors, a canonical correlation was calculated between the set of actual drinking behavior items and the three dimensions of attitudes toward drinking. Four hundred and eight five cases

were accepted for this analysis and 205 cases were rejected because of missing data. This analysis resulted in the variance in the items being accounted for by three canonical correlations (CC). The first canonical correlation was .60 (36% shared variance). The remaining two CC were less than .16 and nonsignificant. Statistical significance occurred when all CC were included, Wilks' $\Lambda = .62$, $F(24, 1375.35) = 10.14$, $p < .001$, and when the first CC was removed, $\Lambda = .96$, $F(14, 950.00) = 1.07$, $p < .39$. Thus, the first pair of canonical variates accounted for the significant relationships between the two sets of variables. When examining the significant CC to identify the significantly contributing variables, all 8 of the drinking variables ($r = .60$ to $.90$) and two of the three attitude variables (Personal attitudes, Friends' attitudes) loaded on the significant CC. This analysis provides support for the hypothesis that overall attitudes toward drinking are positively related to actual drinking behavior. Even more, it indicates that personal attitudes ($r = -.97$) and perception of friends' attitudes ($r = -.48$) provide the most weight to this relationship.

To further explore the associations among the items, the 14 items from each of the three dimensions (Personal, Friends,' and Others') will also be combined into a linear composite through CC analysis with actual drinking behavior. This allows us to examine the more specific hypotheses (H1a, H1b, H1c). For H1a, Four hundred and ninety four cases were accepted for this analysis and 196 cases were rejected because of missing data. This analysis resulted in the variance in the items being accounted for by eight CC. The first CC was .65 (42% shared variance), the second was .40 (16% shared variance) and the third was .32 (10% shared variance). The remaining five CC were less than .26 and nonsignificant. Statistical significance occurred when all CC were included, Wilks'

$\Lambda = .38$, $F(112, 3321.56) = 4.34$, $p < .001$, when the first CC was removed, $\Lambda = .66$, $F(91, 2957.03) = 2.26$, $p < .001$ and when the second CC was removed, $\Lambda = .78$, $F(72, 2584.64) = 1.64$, $p < .01$. Thus, the first three pairs of canonical variates accounted for the significant relationships between the two sets of variables. More specifically, all 8 of the drinking variables ($r = -.65$ to $-.94$) and all but two of the personal attitude items (J-“drinking to fit in with a group” and L-“pressuring people to drink alcohol”) loaded ($r = .38$ to $.81$) on the first and most significant CC. Attitude items J and L did load on the least significant, third CC. This analysis provides support for the hypothesis that personal attitudes toward drinking are positively related to actual drinking behavior. Even more, it indicates that all but two (J and L) of the personal attitude items and actual drinking behavior items are important to this relationship.

H1b predicted that the perception of friends' attitudes toward drinking would be positively related with actual drinking behaviors. As was done in the previous analysis, H1b was tested by conducting a canonical correlation between the set of actual drinking behavior items and the set of 14 friends' attitudes toward drinking items. Four hundred and eighty five cases were accepted for this analysis and 205 cases were rejected due to having missing data. As with the previous analysis, the present analysis resulted in the retention of two CCs. The first CC was .48 (23% shared variance) and the second was .35 (12% shared variance). The remaining six CC were less than .08 and nonsignificant. Statistical significance occurred when all CC were included, Wilks' $\Lambda = .55$, $F(112, 3258.45) = 2.54$, $p < .001$, when the first CC was removed, $\Lambda = .73$, $F(91, 2900.93) = 1.68$, $p < .001$. Thus, the first two pairs of canonical variates accounted for the significant relationships between the two sets of variables. More specifically, all 8 of the

drinking variables ($r = .69$ to $.93$) and all but three of the friends' attitude items (I- "drinking to get away from troubles," J- "drinking to fit in with a group and L- "pressuring people to drink alcohol") loaded ($r = -.30$ to $-.65$) on the first and most significant CC. The attitude item L did load on the second CC. This analysis provides support for the hypothesis that friends' attitudes toward drinking are positively related to actual drinking behavior. Even more, it indicates that all but two (I and J) of the attitude items and actual drinking behavior items are important to this relationship.

H1c predicted that perceptions of others' attitudes toward drinking would be positively related with actual drinking behaviors. A CC was again conducted using the set of actual drinking behavior items and the set of 14 others' attitudes toward drinking items. Four hundred and eighty five cases were accepted for this analysis and 205 cases were rejected due to having missing data. This analysis also resulted in eight canonical correlations and only the first CC (.33; 11% shared variance) was statistically significant in that statistical significance occurred when all CC were included, Wilks' $\Lambda = .71$, $F(112, 3258.45) = 1.40$, $p < .001$, but disappeared when the first CC was removed, $\Lambda = .80$, $F(91, 2900.93) = .110$, $p = .25$. The remaining seven CC were less than .25 and nonsignificant. Thus, the first pair of canonical variates accounted for the significant relationships between the two sets of variables. More specifically, all but 3 of the 8 drinking items (5b- "Occasions to drink... during last 12m", 11- "Over last 2 wks, times had 5+ drinks" and 12- "Average number of drinks per week") and 8 of the others' attitude items (E through N: See Table 1) loaded on the significant CC. Initially, this analysis appears to provide support for the hypothesis that others' attitudes toward drinking are positively related to actual drinking behavior. However, upon closer

examination of the eight significant attitude items, ($r = -.30$ to $-.67$), and five significant actual drinking behavior items, ($r = -.31$ to $-.61$), we see that their relationship is opposite than first hypothesized. In other words, this analysis indicates that the perception others' attitudes toward drinking are negatively related to actual drinking behavior (i.e., the more conservative one perceives "others'" attitudes are toward alcohol use and associated behaviors, the higher the quantity and frequency of alcohol use reported).

Hypothesis 2: Actual Drinking Behavior and Drinking Norms

The second hypothesis predicted that participants' perceptions of drinking norms would be positively related to actual drinking behaviors. To test this hypothesis, a canonical correlation was calculated between the set of actual drinking behavior items and the set of four drinking norms items (31a-b, 32a-b). Three hundred and eighty four cases were accepted for this analysis; three hundred and six cases were rejected because of missing data. This analysis resulted in the variance in the items being accounted for by four canonical correlations (CC). The first CC was .55 (30% shared variance), the second was .29 (9% shared variance) and the third was .22 (5% shared variance). Statistical significance occurred when all CC were included, Wilks' $\Lambda = .60$, $F(32, 1373.46) = 6.27$, $p < .001$, when the first CC was removed, $\Lambda = .86$, $F(21, 1071.60) = 2.65$, $p < .001$, when the second CC was removed, $\Lambda = .95$, $F(12, 748.00) = 1.77$, $p < .05$, and when the third CC was removed, $\Lambda = .99$, $F(5, 375.00) = .6$, $p < .73$. Thus, the first three pairs of canonical variates accounted for the significant relationships between the two sets of variables. More specifically, all 8 of the drinking variables loaded on the first and most significant CC ($r = -.54$ to $-.94$) and only the "friends'" items loaded on both the first and the second CC (31a's $r = -.83$ and 31b's $r = -.91$). The "others'" items did load

on the third CC ($r = .96$ and $.59$), however, as with attitudes their relationship to the CC were the opposite than what was predicted. This analysis provides support for the hypothesis that the perception of friends' drinking norms are positively related to actual drinking behavior, but does not support the similar hypothesis as it relates to perception of others' drinking norms. More specifically, this second hypothesis also predicted actual drinking behaviors would be more closely related to the perceptual norms of friends' drinking levels than the perceptual norms of others' drinking levels (H2c). Although this hypothesis is supported by the above CC, Pearson correlations were calculated between the items used to measure actual drinking behavior and the drinking norms variables (see Table 6), to more closely examine these predictions. As can be seen, all items that measured actual drinking behavior were significantly and positively associated with the friends' drinking norm items. However, only item 12 was significantly and positively correlated with the others' drinking norm items.

Insert Table 6 about here

Hypothesis 3: Actual Drinking Behavior and Perceived Risk

The third hypothesis in this investigation predicted that perceived risk of alcohol use would be significantly related to actual drinking behaviors. This hypothesis was also tested by way of canonical correlation in which the set of actual drinking behavior items was correlated with the set of three perceived risk of drinking items. Five hundred and ten cases were accepted for this analysis and 180 cases were rejected because of missing data. Three canonical correlations were derived from this analysis. The first canonical

correlation was .54 (29% shared variance). The remaining two CC were less than .12 and nonsignificant. Statistical significance occurred when all three canonical correlations were included, Wilks' $\Lambda = .69$, $F(24, 1447.85) = 7.93$, $p < .001$. However, when the first canonical correlation was removed, statistical significance was no longer present, $\Lambda = .98$, $F(14, 1000) = .76$, $p = .71$. Thus, the first pair of canonical variates accounted for the significant relationship between the two sets of variables. More specifically, all 8 of the drinking items ($r = -.59$ to $-.90$) and all three of the perceived risk items ($r = .45$ to $.97$) loaded on the significant CC.

Furthermore, inspection of the zero-order correlations between the drinking behavior and perceived risk items (see Table 6) revealed statistically significant inverse associations for all variable pairs. Although the associations for items 33g and 33h were mostly small in magnitude, stronger associations were found with item 33i. The statistically significant canonical correlation, along with the consistent pattern of significant bivariate associations, provide support for the third hypothesis and indicate that perceived risk is inversely related to actual drinking behavior.

DISCUSSION

Overview of the Study

The present investigation sought to provide a comprehensive assessment of substance use of the undergraduate population at the University of Oklahoma campus by not only assessing the amount of use itself, but by examining how actual drinking behavior among undergraduates is related to attitudes toward alcohol use, perceived drinking norms, and the students' perceived risks of using alcohol. In examining these associations, this study sought to provide support for Ajzen and Fishbein's (1977) theory of reasoned action.

The data from the randomly selected sample of 690 University of Oklahoma undergraduate students examined in this study were obtained from the Use of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Other Drugs in the Community Survey, which was developed by University of Michigan's Initiative on Alcohol and Other Drugs (Hamid, 1995).

Summary of the Findings

Findings on Attitudes Toward Drinking

Most of the predictions of this investigation were supported. The first thing that this study examined was the extent to which actual drinking behavior would be positively related with accepting attitudes toward alcohol use. As was predicted, drinking behavior was found to have a large association with attitudes toward drinking (canonical $r = .60$). In particular, the higher the quantity and frequency of alcohol use that students reported, the more acceptable their personal attitudes were toward alcohol use and associated behaviors, such as drinking to get drunk and pressuring people to drink alcohol

(canonical $r = .65$). Additionally, the more that students reported drinking, the more acceptable they perceived their friends' attitudes toward the use of alcohol (canonical $r = .48$). In terms of attitudes, one finding was quite surprising. In contrast to the two previous attitude constructs, the more students reported drinking, the "less" acceptable they perceived others' attitudes toward the use of alcohol (canonical $r = .33$).

These findings are consistent with previous research, such as that by Banks and Smith (1980), Mills and McCarty (1983), Ratliff and Burkart (1984), and Hamid (1995). These results provide further evidence of the significant association between actual drinking behavior and attitudes toward drinking, the magnitude of the associations are also similar to those reported by Hamid (1995), who also examined a college population using the same instrument that was used in the present study.

In his 1995 investigation, Hamid reported a correlation of $r = .67$ for the association between actual drinking behavior and personal attitudes while the present investigation found the same large association between these dimensions (canonical $r = .65$). The magnitude of the associations between drinking behavior and personal attitudes could be considered relatively large given that these two aspects share 42% of their variance in common.

The magnitude of the associations is particularly noticeable when examining the relationship between drinking behavior and friends' attitudes toward drinking. In his study, Hamid reported a moderate size correlation between these constructs ($r = .32$) whereas a much stronger association was found in the current study (canonical $r = .48$). In other words, the present study found over two times the shared variance (i.e., 23% vs.

10%) between these constructs when using the exact same measure to examine the associations.

This investigation, as found in Hamid (1995), also found a significant association between students' drinking behavior and their perception of others' attitudes toward drinking. Furthermore, like Hamid ($r = -.19$), this investigation found an inverse association between these constructs. This association indicates that although a relationship between drinking behavior and others' attitudes is present, it is much less than personal and friends' attitudes and is inverse in nature.

Outside of the perception on others' attitudes—increased drinking behavior is associated with more accepting attitudes toward drinking. That is, these results are congruent with the theory of reasoned action that predicts that attitudes, as well as norms, to predict behavioral intentions. The findings that pertain to norms regarding drinking further support this theory.

Findings on Drinking Norms

This study also predicted that students' perceptions of drinking norms would be positively associated with their actual drinking behavior. Consistent with Hamid's (1995) findings, the present investigation found support for this contention. That is, students' personal use of alcohol was found to increase the more liberal their perceptual norms were about the consumption of alcohol. The association found in this study was commensurate (canonical $r = .55$) with results reported by Hamid ($r = .51$). More interesting than this general finding, however, was the observation that personal use of alcohol was only associated with the perceived norms of friends' alcohol use, but not with the perceived norms of others' alcohol use.

Although there was support for friends' drinking norms being moderately associated with actual drinking behaviors, drinking norms of others mostly had no association at all to the drinking behavior of participants. These associations were nearly zero. Thus, in this study the more that students reported using alcohol, the higher they perceived their friends' use of alcohol, yet their drinking behavior was independent of the drinking norms of other adults. Overall, this finding is consistent with the research of Baer et al. (1991) who found that drinking behavior was more strongly associated with drinking norms of friends than to drinking norms of others.

In sum, the fact that norms were a significant predictor of actual drinking behavior provides further support for the theory of reasoned action. This is consistent with the propositions set forth by Laflin et al. (1994). However, despite the fact that the findings from this study support the theory of reasoned action, this theory alone cannot explain all of the findings, particularly those pertaining to the role of students' perception of perceived risk of harm from using alcohol.

Findings on Perceived Risk of Alcohol Use

This study also examined students' perceived risk of using alcohol and predicted that it would be significantly related to their actual drinking behavior. The data from this study supported this contention in that these two constructs were strongly associated (canonical $r = -.53$). That is, the more students reported using alcohol, the less they perceived there was a risk of harming themselves as the result of using alcohol. These results provide support for the argument that perceived risks are low among people engaging in high-risk behaviors, a position proposed by the Health Belief Model.

The findings from this study support the work by Backman (1988) who also found that perceived risk was a strong predictor of alcohol use. Despite the widespread use of alcohol in the United States, the risk of harm by using alcohol appears to be a clear factor that is related to actual use. It may be that educational campaigns in the last decade have increased student awareness of the negative consequences of alcohol consumption thereby perhaps contributing to decreased alcohol use among those who understand the negative consequences of alcohol consumption.

The data from this study clearly indicate that perceived risk is a crucial variable in predicting college students' alcohol use. Despite the desire to interpret causally this association, all that is presently known is that alcohol use and perceived risk of harm of alcohol use are strongly inversely related. Only well-controlled experimental designs will be able to determine if perception of risk is causally related to alcohol use.

The results from this investigation, as well as others whose results this study supports (e.g., Hamin, 1995; Mills & McCarty, 1983), can readily be used to not only design prevention and intervention programs, but to also identify individuals who are at risk for alcohol abuse and alcohol-related problems. The data from this study revealed that the students in this sample, on average, consumed a little less than 6 drinks per week. Approximately 75% of the students consumed between 0-7 drinks per week; and, only 12% reported having 0 drinks per week. This translates into over a quarter of the student body reported drinking, on average, more than a drink a day. There was, however, tremendous variability in the number of drinks consumed with students ranging from having 0-75 drinks per week. This level of alcohol consumption by the student body appears high, but is in line with what other researchers have reported. For example, at

Louisiana State University, Grenier (1993) found that 37% of the students drank once or twice a week. In the present study, 40% of the students reported drinking once or twice a week.

Nevertheless, these results indicate that not only is there a need for alcohol prevention and intervention program at the University of Oklahoma, but that the inclusion of attitudes toward alcohol use, perceived drinking norms of friends, and perceived risk of using alcohol are all important variables to include in any such program. Because the results from this study strongly support the theory of reasoned action and portions of the Health Beliefs Model, any program designed by the University of Oklahoma should integrate these theories.

Implications

Prevention and Intervention Programs

The data gathered in this investigation can have great bearing upon designing appropriate alcohol prevention and intervention programs. By understanding the correlates of actual drinking behaviors, the university can be in a position to better intervene in an effective way that is sensitive to the attitudes and belief systems of the student population. This study provides firm support for being aware of students' attitudes toward drinking, the drinking norms of their friends, and their perceived risk of using alcohol. All three of these factors appear to be strongly associated with students' drinking behavior. More specifically, the results from this study suggest that as a university designs and implements a (university) community based alcohol prevention program, campaigns and interventions should focus on influencing attitudes, perceived use by friends and perceived risk of using alcohol. These results also suggest a

prevention/intervention program will have more impact if the recipients believe the groups presenting the information are friends. If the community perceives the message of change is coming from “others,” (e.g. administration, law enforcement, health professional, etc...) the result of this study suggest there will be no impact. Task forces and committees set-up to address alcohol use on campus needs to include students representing different university populations.

The findings in this study also indicate the potential for identifying individuals and groups who are “at risk” of developing irresponsible and/or heavy alcohol use as they begin to integrate into the university community. The design of a brief questionnaire which focuses on identifying an individual’s reported alcohol use, their attitudes toward alcohol, perceived use of alcohol by friends and the perceived risk of using alcohol, would be useful in providing the early identification and intervention.

Limitations of the Study

The most important limitation of this study is the ability to generalize the results to individuals who have become dependent on alcohol. The data collected from this study does not directly examine the problem of alcohol dependency. Although the majority of the alcohol related problems in the university community are associated with recreational use, heavy drink and alcohol dependency are still present (Rabow & Newman, 1984; Berkowitz & Perkins, 1986; Globetti et.al., 1988). Intervention in alcohol dependency requires the examination of much more in-depth theories of behavioral change. One in particular is the Stages of Change Model, which is much more appropriate for examining the development and treatment of alcohol dependency, than the theory of reasoned action or the portions of the health belief model examined above.

The findings from this investigation must also be interpreted in light of the research limitations inherent in the study. The first limitation of this study surrounds the use of a self-report measure. Although this investigation assumed that participants would be honest in their reports of substance use, there is no guarantee that they were. There also exists the possibility that participants were not forthright in their reports of substance abuse, there are several factors that would suggest that socially desirable reporting was not a substantial issue in the present investigation. Research in the area of social desirability demonstrates that ensuring anonymity, as was employed in the present investigation, substantially reduces the influence of socially desirable responding (Paulhus, 1991). The fact that individuals in the present study were aware that their responses were anonymous likely reduced any tendency for them to report in a socially appropriate manner. Additionally, there is also evidence to suggest that social desirable responding decreases when a time deadline is not enforced (Paulhus, 1991). Because individuals in this study could complete the survey at their own pace with no time restrictions, it is likely that this also reduced the tendency to underreport their substance use.

This investigation also asked participants to estimate the drinking behaviors of their friends. The accuracy of these judgments, and whom they refer to as friends, must largely remain unknown. The assumption is that individuals will be able to accurately report on the behavior of others. Although this is a possible drawback of this investigation, there is some research which suggests that, while observer reports of attitudes are generally not accurate, reports of observable behavior, such as drinking, generally are (Paulhus, 1991). Nevertheless, when interpreting these findings it is

important to consider that the responses represent participants' perceptions of the areas being measured—not objective reality.

Furthermore, the data collected from this investigation is purely correlational in nature and therefore does not allow for the inference of causality. However, if significant associations are not observed as expected this would nevertheless indicate that no causal association is present. That is, underlying all causal associations are significant associations (Campbell & Stanley, 1963). Yet, if a significant association does exist as predicted, then it is possible, but not definitive that this association is causal in nature. Additionally, despite not being able to draw causal inferences, there is still practical utility in being aware of significant relationships among the variables of interest.

Another issue that must be addressed is that of missing data. In some instances up to 20% of the data were missing from any one analysis; and, the chosen pairwise deletion method of dealing with the missing data led to some students being included in some analyses but not others. Although there is the possibility that these differential sample sizes created differing results, it likely did not simply for the reason that in many analyses the sample sizes did not differ tremendously. The largest concern with missing data is that of a decrease in statistical power (Roth, 1994). This is the main reason why a listwise deletion procedure was not used—it would have decreased the sample size substantially more than was already done by use of the pairwise deletion methodology. Testimony to the fact that statistical power was not adversely affected in this study is the observation that many correlation coefficients that were small in magnitude were nevertheless statistically significant. Because of the large sample size used in this study, this study could afford such a tremendous loss of data.

The second issue that relates to missing data is the tendency for it to lead to a downward bias of correlation coefficients, which results from a restriction of variance on the variables. However, the variance estimates in the present study were not representative of overly restricted ranges. One issue that is not known, however, is the extent to which the central tendency estimates (e.g., the mean) were biased either downward or upward. There is a possibility that some of the scores may be over or under inflated, but the large sample size hopefully would have substantially reduced the magnitude of these shifts.

The last limitation that must be mentioned is the self-selection bias that is inherent in any survey study. This study represented just under 70% of the 1,000 students who were randomly selected to be administered the survey. Although this represents a respectable return rate, the characteristics of those who did not respond remain unknown. It is possible that the 30% who did not respond are characteristically different from those who did and therefore the data from this study do not represent this subgroup.

Directions for Future Research

This study was one of many that have provided evidence for the theory of reasoned action. However, testing this theory on drug and alcohol behaviors has not been widely conducted on college populations and therefore replication of the results of the present study is one avenue for future research. In addition, however, other variables should be examined, such as those identified in the Health Belief Model (HBM). Although the theory of reasoned action has application in a college population, we know very little about how the HBM applies to predicting and preventing alcohol use among college students. Thus, a clear direction for future research is to conduct studies on the

various models that have been proposed for predicting health-related behaviors, such as alcohol consumption.

Future researchers will also want to analyze more carefully the characteristics of participants to determine if there are any subgroups who are at higher risk for alcohol-related problems than others. Identification of subsets of the student population should be of primary concern among researchers in that such efforts would greatly assist in prevention and intervention efforts.

Additionally, outcome research will need to be done to examine the effectiveness of various prevention and intervention programs implemented by universities. By providing a firm empirical grasp of the variables that relate to drinking among college student, better programs can be designed. However, it is only when these intervention programs are examined empirically will we truly know if the theories that are otherwise supported are applicable to the college population.

This study examined the role of perceived risk of harm from alcohol use in a college population. The observation that this variable played a large role in contributing to actual alcohol use clearly indicates that perceptions of risk are worthy of consideration in most studies on alcohol use. Although the present study helped to clarify the role of perceived risk, future researchers should attempt to see if, and how, perceptions of risk can be overridden, as was found by Rhodes and Cosby (1990) in a non-student sample. It is only through additional research that we will gain the knowledge to effectively intervene.

Lastly, as with the majority of other studies examining the role of alcohol on the university campus, this study touch upon, but did not address the issue of alcohol

dependency (or alcoholism). Future research should also address the characteristics of individuals that become dependent on alcohol, as well as, examine the treatment methods that work best with the university population. It is this area the Stages of Change Model might be utilized to examine and develop effective approaches to treating alcohol dependency on university campuses.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

TABLES

Table 1

Outline of Items used in Data Analysis

<p><u>Actual Drinking Behavior</u> Four items on the survey were used to assess participants' actual drinking behavior, the main dependent variable for this study: (a) item 5a-c, (b) item 9a-c, (c) item 11, and (d) item 12.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 5a: Occasions to drink... in your lifetime 5b: Occasions to drink... during last 12m 5c: Occasions to drink... during last 30 days 9a: How many occasions drunk in lifetime 9b: How many occasions drunk last 12m 9c: How many occasions drunk last 30 days 11: Over last 2 wks, times had 5+ drinks 12: Average number of drinks per week
<p><u>Attitudes</u> Item 34 was used to measure participants' personal, their friends, and others' attitudes toward drinking.</p> <p><u>By Construct</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> (a) Personal Attitudes (Peratt) (b) Friends' Attitudes (Frieatt) (c) Others' Attitudes (Otheratt) <p><u>By Item</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> (a) drinking alcoholic beverages to be social (b) giving parties where alcohol is served (c) giving parties where the only drinks are alcoholic (d) letting loose and having fun when drinking (e) losing control when drinking (f) drinking to get drunk (g) being so drunk they throw up (h) getting loud and aggressive when drinking (i) drinking to get away from troubles (j) drinking to fit in with a group (k) providing alcohol to someone under the age of 21 (l) pressuring people to drink alcohol (m) driving after two or three drinks (n) making sexual advances to someone who is high or drunk.
<p><u>Norms</u> Items 31(a-b) measures drinking norms of the respondents' friends</p> <p>31 - How many of your friends:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> (a) drink alcoholic beverages (b) drink to get drunk. <p>Items 32(a-b) were used to evaluate drinking norms of others</p> <p>32 - How many adults:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> (a) drink alcoholic beverages (b) drink to get drunk.
<p><u>Perceived Risk</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 33g: Have one or two drinks nearly every day 33h: Have four or five drinks nearly every day 33i: Have five or more drinks once or twice each weekend

Table 2

Descriptive Statistics on Items Used to Measure Actual Drinking Behavior, Drinking Norms, and Perceived Risk of Drinking

Items	N	Mean	SD	Min	Max
<u>Actual Drinking Behavior</u>					
5a: Occasions to drink...in your lifetime	679	5.5	1.97	1	7
5b: Occasions to drink...during last 12m	676	4.46	2.09	1	7
5c: Occasions to drink...during last 30 days	675	2.63	1.53	1	7
9a: How many occasions drunk in lifetime	629	4.27	2.21	1	7
9b: How many occasions drunk last 12m	618	3.17	1.99	1	7
9c: How many occasions drunk last 30 days	538	1.89	1.2	1	7
11: Over last 2 wks, times had 5+ drinks	538	2.06	1.2	1	5
12: Average number of drinks per week	534	5.68	8.41	0	75
<u>Attitudes Toward Drinking</u>					
34a: Personal Attitudes	669	25.28	5.03	14	42
34b: Friends' Attitudes	676	35.93	4.63	14	42
34c: Others' Attitudes	675	35.40	4.97	14	42
<u>Drinking Norms</u>					
31a: Perceived norms of friends' drinking	620	14.55	5.75	1	28
31b: Perceived norms of friends' intoxication	578	10.44	5.88	1	28
32a: Perceived norms of others' drinking	604	11.74	5.99	1	28
32b: Perceived norms of others' intoxication	527	5.44	4.37	1	28
<u>Perceived Risk</u>					
33g: Risk harming themselves...have 1-2 drinks nearly every day	690	3.05	.91	1	5
33h: Risk harming themselves...have 4-5 drinks nearly every day	690	3.76	.58	1	5
33i: Risk harming themselves...have 5+ drinks nearly each weekend	690	3.15	.91	1	5

Table 3

Pearson Correlations Among Actual Drinking Behavior Items

Item	5a	5b	5c	9a	9b	9c	11	12
5a	--							
5b	.82 ***	--						
5c	.61 ***	.81 ***	--					
9a	.77 ***	.71 ***	.58 ***	--				
9b	.57 ***	.77 ***	.68 ***	.82 ***	--			
9c	.39 ***	.59 ***	.73 ***	.61 ***	.80 ***	--		
11	.41 ***	.62 ***	.71 ***	.61 ***	.75 ***	.79 ***	--	
12	.33 ***	.51 ***	.58 ***	.50 ***	.62 ***	.67 ***	.69 ***	--

Note. $N < 690$ in most pairs due to missing data. *** $p < .001$.

Table 4

Pearson Correlations Among Drinking Norms and Perceived Risk Items

Items	Drinking Norms				Perceived Risk		
	<u>31a</u>	<u>31b</u>	<u>32a</u>	<u>32b</u>	<u>33g</u>	<u>33h</u>	<u>33i</u>
31a	--						
31b	.67 ***	--					
32a	.26 ***	.15 ***	--				
32b	.10 *	.21 ***	.42 ***	--			
33g					--		
33h					.15 ***	--	
33i					.21 ***	.42 ***	--

Note. N < 690 in most pairs due to missing data. * $p < .05$. *** $p < .001$.

Table 5

Canonical Correlational Analysis with Variable Items/Constructs Loading on the 1st CC

Attitude, Norm, Risk Variables		Actual Drinking Behavior	
Canonical Correlation (First Sign. CC only)		Shared Variance	
H1abc (+ relationship)	↓	↓	
Attitudes (1 Sig. Canonical Variate)	.60	36%	p < .001
<u>Loaded:</u> 2 of 3 constructs (Peratt, Frienatt) <u>Did not load:</u> Otheratt		All 8 Drinking Variables	
H1a (+ relationship)			
• Personal (3 Sig. Canonical Variates)	.65	42%	p < .001
<u>Loaded:</u> 12 of 14 items <u>Did not load:</u> J, L - (Both items did load on the 3 rd CC)		All 8 Drinking Variables	
H1b (+ relationship)			
• Friends' (2 Sig. Canonical Variates)	.48	23%	p < .001
<u>Loaded:</u> 11 of 14 items <u>Did not load:</u> I, J, L - ("L" did load on the 2 nd CC)		All 8 Drinking Variables	
H1c (- relationship)			
• Others' (1 Sig. Canonical Variate)	.33	11%	p < .005
<u>Loaded:</u> 8 of 14 items (opp. direction than anticipated) <u>Did not load:</u> A through F		<u>Loaded:</u> 5 of 8 items <u>Did not load:</u> 5b, 11, 12	
H2abc (+ relationship)			
Norms (3 Sig. Canonical Variate)	.55	30%	p < .001
<u>Loaded:</u> Friends' items (31a-b) <u>Did not load:</u> Others' items (32a-b)		All 8 Drinking Variables	
H3 (- relationship)			
Perceived Risk (1 Sig. Canonical Variate)	.53	28%	p < .001
<u>Loaded:</u> 33g, 33h, 33i		All 8 Drinking Variables	

Table 6

Pearson Correlations of Drinking Behavior Items with Drinking Norms and Perceived Risk

Drinking Behaviors	Drinking Norms				Perceived Risk		
	31a	31b	32a	32b	33g	33h	33i
5a	.33 ***	.18 ***	-.20	-.05	-.21 ***	-.15 ***	-.38 ***
5b	.44 ***	.29 ***	.03	-.08	-.27 ***	-.23 ***	-.50 ***
5c	.41 ***	.34 ***	.08	-.02	-.30 ***	-.25 ***	-.48 ***
9a	.41 ***	.36 ***	.04	-.03	-.23 ***	-.20 ***	-.43 ***
9b	.45 ***	.46 ***	.06	-.04	-.26 ***	-.24 ***	-.50 ***
9c	.37 ***	.43 ***	.07	-.02	-.22 ***	-.22 ***	-.41 ***
11	.41 ***	.43 ***	.08	-.00	-.24 ***	-.23 ***	-.45 ***
12	.34 ***	.35 ***	.15 ***	-.04	-.22 ***	-.19 ***	-.34 ***

Note. N < 690 in most pairs due to missing data. *** p < .001.

APPENDIX B

**USE OF ALCOHOL, TOBACCO, AND OTHER DRUGS
IN THE UNIVERSITY COMMUNITY SURVEY
(FORM S)**

(Form S)

**SURVEY ON THE USE OF ALCOHOL, TOBACCO,
AND OTHER DRUGS IN THE UNIVERSITY
COMMUNITY**

This Survey is intended to be completely "ANONYMOUS." Your security is our first priority. Please do not write any identifying information on this booklet!!

USE OF ALCOHOL, TOBACCO, AND OTHER DRUGS IN THE UNIVERSITY COMMUNITY

FORM S

This survey is anonymous. Do not record your name or any identifying information on the survey. You are welcome to write comments on the back page, or in the margins.

Please circle the answer or put an X in the box that best describes your situation or position.

EXAMPLES:

A. Do you believe that cigarettes should be sold to people under the age of 18 years?

1. YES
2. NO

B. How many years have you been at the University of Oklahoma?

<1 1-2 3-5 6-9 10+

THE FIRST QUESTIONS HAVE TO DO WITH TOBACCO USE

1. How frequently have you smoked cigarettes during the past 30 days?

- 1 Not at all
2 Less than one cigarette per day
3 One to five cigarettes per day
4 About one-half pack per day
5 About one pack per day
6 About one and one-half packs per day
7 Two packs or more per day

2. How frequently have you used a cigar or pipe in the past 30 days?

- 1 Not at all
2 Once or twice
3 Occasionally
4 Several times a week
5 Everyday

3. How frequently have you used smokeless tobacco (chew, snuff) in the past 30 days?

- 1 No
2 Yes, occasionally
3 Yes, daily

THE NEXT QUESTIONS ARE ABOUT DRINKING ALCOHOL (INCLUDING BEER, WINE, WINE COOLERS, OR LIQUOR)

4. At parties or social events, what is the beverage you most often prefer?

- 1 Beer
2 Wine
3 Wine coolers
4 Liquor mixed drink
5 Liquor
6 Coffee/tea
7 Soft-drink/non-alcoholic

5. On how many occasions (if any) have you had alcoholic beverages to drink...

occasions: 0 1-2 3-5 6-9 10- 19 20- 20+
(1) (2) (3) (4) (5) (6) (7)

a....in your lifetime? ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

b....during the last 12 mths? ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

c....in the last 30 days? ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

6. Did spring break occur in the last 30 days?

- 1 YES
2 NO

7a. During spring break, did your drinking level
1. Increase 2. Decrease 3. Stay the same

7. How would you describe your current use of alcohol?

1. Abstainer 4. Moderate drinker
2. Occasional drinker 5. Heavy drinker
3. Light drinker

8. Had you ever tried alcohol before coming to the University of Oklahoma?

- 1 Yes, drank when I came 2. Tried it, but stopped before coming 3 No, never tried alcohol

IF YOU NEVER DRANK ALCOHOL, SKIP TO PAGE 3, Q. 21

9. On how many occasions (if any) have you been drunk or extremely high from drinking alcoholic beverages?

occasions: 0 1-2 3-5 6-9 10- 19 20- 20+
(1) (2) (3) (4) (5) (6) (7)

a....in your lifetime? ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

b....during the last 12 mths? ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

c....in the last 30 days? ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

10. Did you ever deliberately try to decrease your use of alcohol?

1. YES 2. NO

10a. Why did you do this? (circle all that apply)

- 1 To improve or maintain health or fitness
2 To reduce hangovers, blackouts, or other effects
3 Thought I was or might become addicted
4 Drinking took too much time or cost too much
5 Someone I care about disapproved of my drinking
6 It was against my values
7 It interfered with achieving my goals
8 I got involved in other activities
9 Trouble with the legal system or on the job
10 Family commitments changed
11 Pregnancy
12 Other

10b. What did you do? (circle all that apply)

1. Spent less time where people drink
2. Just reduce my own consumption
3. Went to treatment or AA

10c. Were you successful in decreasing your usual amount of alcohol?

- 1 Yes, permanently 2. Yes, for awhile 3 No

1. I drink about the same amount as the people around me.
2. My body tells me when to stop or slow down.
3. I stop when the alcohol is gone or I pass out.
4. I know from past experience how many drinks I can handle.

20. How often do you consciously do the following things to limit the amount or effect of alcohol you drink?

	Seldom/ Never	Some- times	Often	Always
a. Avoid drinking with heavy drinkers	1	2	3	4
b. Select drinks that you can drink slowly	1	2	3	4
c. Limit the number of drinks you can have in a given time	1	2	3	4
d. Drink non-alcoholic drinks	1	2	3	4

- e. Disguise non-alcoholic drinks to look like alcoholic drinks

f. Rewarding yourself for limiting drinking	1	2	3	4
g. Punish yourself for not limiting drinking	1	2	3	4
h. Eat before or while drinking	1	2	3	4
i. Confine drinking to certain time periods	1	2	3	4

THE NEXT QUESTIONS ASK ABOUT VARIOUS TYPES OF DRUGS

21. Have you ever used the following types of drugs? DO NOT include drugs used under a doctor's prescription.	In you lifetime?		In the last 12 months?		On how many occasions have you used in the last 30 days?							
	No	Yes	No	Yes	0	1-2	3-5	6-9	10-19	20-39	+40	
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	
a. Marijuana (grass, pot) or hashish (hash).....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> →	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> →	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
b. Crack cocaine (cocaine in chunk or rock form).....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> →	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> →	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
c. Cocaine in any form	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> →	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> →	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
d. LSD ("acid")	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> →	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> →	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
e. Other psychedelics (mescaline, peyote, psilocybin, PCP)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> →	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> →	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
f. Amphetamine, methamphetamine (including uppers, speed, beans, dexies)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> →	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> →	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
g. Crystal meth ("ice")	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> →	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> →	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
h. Downers (e.g., Halcyon, Dalmane, barbiturates, goofballs, reds, yellows)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> →	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> →	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
i. Tranquilizers (e.g., Librium, Valium, Ativan)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> →	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> →	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
j. Heroin (smack, horse, skag)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> →	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> →	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
k. Other narcotics (e.g., methadone, opium, morphine, codeine, Demerol)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> →	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> →	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
l. Inhalants (glue, aerosol sprays, nitrites, other gases or sprays)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> →	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> →	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
m. Designer drugs (e.g., ecstasy, MDMA)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> →	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> →	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
n. Anabolic Steroids	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> →	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> →	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
22. Think about any drugs mentioned above, have you ever used any of them through injection by needle?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> →	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> →	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	

23. Have you used the following types of drugs based on a doctor's prescription?	In you lifetime?		In the last 12 months?		On how many occasions have you used in the last 30 days?							
	No	Yes	No	Yes	0	1-2	3-5	6-9	10-19	20-39	+40	
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	
a. Sleeping meds (e.g., Halcyon, Dalmane, Nembutal)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> →	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> →	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
b. Minor Tranquilizers (e.g., Librium, Valium, Ativan)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> →	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> →	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
c. Stimulants (e.g., weight loss pills, Ritalin)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> →	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> →	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
d. Prescription pain medication (e.g., codeine, Darvon, Demerol, Tylenol 3)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> →	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> →	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	

24. Have you ever used the following types of over-the-counter drugs?	In you lifetime?		In the last 12 months?		On how many occasions have you used in the last 30 days?							
	No	Yes	No	Yes	0	1-2	3-5	6-9	10-19	20-39	+40	
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	
a. Diet pills (e.g., Dexatrim, Dietac, Prolamine)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> →	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> →	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
b. Stay-awake pills (e.g., NoDoz, Vivarin)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> →	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> →	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
c. Other non-prescription stimulants or pep pills	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> →	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> →	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	

THE NEXT QUESTIONS ARE ABOUT THE SOCIAL CONTEXT OF ALCOHOL AND DRUG USE.

25. Some people like having alcohol available at social gatherings, while others don't. Which do you prefer?

1. Have available 2. Have available with limits 3. Not have available

26. Now think about the parties and social events you attended in the last 6 months.

If you have not attended parties or social events, check here, and go to Question 27. ☐

At these social events, how often... **Never** **Seldom** **Some-Times** **Usually** **Always**

- a. Was alcohol served or available? 1 2 3 4 5
 b. Were other beverages equally available? 1 2 3 4 5
 c. Was food served or available? 1 2 3 4 5
 d. Was drinking the reason for the event? ... 1 2 3 4 5
 e. Did most people drink but not get drunk? 1 2 3 4 5
 f. Did most people get drunk? 1 2 3 4 5
 g. Did you get drunk? 1 2 3 4 5
 h. Did you feel pressure to drink alcohol? ... 1 2 3 4 5
 i. Did you feel pressure to use other drugs? 1 2 3 4 5
 j. Were games played that require or encourage a lot of drinking? ... 1 2 3 4 5
 k. Did you take part in drinking games? 1 2 3 4 5

27. Please indicate how often during the past 12 months you have experienced the following as a result of other people's drinking or drug use.

- At these social events, how often... **Never** **1-2 Times** **3-5 Times** **6-9 Times** **10+ Times**
 (1) (2) (3) (4) (5)
- a. Others' drinking use made a situation or event better or more enjoyable ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐
 b. Others' drinking/use made you feel more comfortable ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐
 c. An enjoyable event was spoiled by others' drinking or drug use ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐
 d. Your work or study was disrupted ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐
 e. Your sleep was disrupted ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐
 f. Your property was damaged or stolen ... ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐
 g. You were embarrassed by someone's behavior ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐
 h. You were sexually harassed or assaulted by someone drunk or high ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐
 i. You feared violence or were attacked or intimidated ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐
 j. You had to take care of someone with a drinking or drug problem ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

28. Circle each place where you used alcohol or drugs during the past year.

- (Circle all that apply)
- | | Alcohol | Drugs |
|---|---------|-------|
| a. DID NOT USE | 1 | 1 |
| b. Bar or restaurant | 2 | 2 |
| c. At home | 3 | 3 |
| d. Someone else's residence ... | 4 | 4 |
| e. Formal OU event | 5 | 5 |
| f. Informal OU event
(e.g., Small gathering) | 6 | 6 |
| g. Off-campus meeting or Conference | 7 | 7 |
| h. During or before work | 8 | 8 |
| i. During or before class | 9 | 9 |
| j. At parent's home | 10 | 10 |

29. When a friend or colleague's chronic drinking or drug use concerns you, would you be likely to...

- | | Very Likely | Likely | Not Likely |
|---|-------------|--------|------------|
| a. Help restrain or control dangerous behavior | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| b. Try to reduce the person's access to the alcohol or drug | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| c. Contact an authority to assist the person if they is a crisis (e.g., medical care, police, security) ... | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| d. Report the person to his/her advisor or some other authority | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| e. Help the person with responsibilities if he/she is not able to handle regular tasks | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| f. Make allowances for the person's problem and do not expect him/her to perform as well as usual | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| g. Cover for the person so he/she won't get in trouble with authorities | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| h. Counsel the person about his or her reasons for misuse of alcohol or drugs | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| i. Confront the person and ask him or her to stop using | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| j. Talk to the person about what you see happening, with specific examples | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| k. Try to get the person to a source of help, such as Counseling services or the Faculty and Staff Assistance Program | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| l. Other | 1 | 2 | 3 |

30. When you don't do anything, what is the usual reason?

1. It's the person's own responsibility.
 2. I have no authority to take action.
 3. I don't know what to do.
 4. It wouldn't do any good.
 5. I might lose the person as a friend.
 6. Other

THESE NEXT QUESTIONS ARE ABOUT OTHER PEOPLE'S USE OF AND ATTITUDES ABOUT ALCOHOL AND OTHER DRUGS. PLEASE MAKE YOUR BEST ESTIMATE, BASED ON YOUR OBSERVATIONS OF OTHERS.

31. Think of the people you see socially...	a. About how many would you estimate:				b. For those that do, about how often (best estimate):						
	None	A few	Some	Most	Less than 1/month	Once/ Month	Twice/ Month	Once/ Week	2-4/ Week	5 times/ Week	Daily
a. Drink alcoholic beverages?.....	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
b. Drink to get drunk?	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
c. Use marijuana or hashish?	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

32. Now think about all adults...	a. About how many would you estimate:				b. For those that do, about how often (best estimate):						
	None	A few	Some	Most	Less than 1/month	Once/ Month	Twice/ Month	Once/ Week	2-4/ Week	5 times/ Week	Daily
a. Drink alcoholic beverages?.....	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
b. Drink to get drunk?	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
c. Use marijuana or hashish?	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

33. How much do you think people risk harming themselves (physically or in other ways) if they...	No Risk	Slight Risk	Moderate Risk	Great Risk	Can't Say
a. Smoke one or more packs of cigarettes/day	1	2	3	4	5
b. Try marijuana (pot, grass) once or twice	1	2	3	4	5
c. Smoke marijuana occasionally	1	2	3	4	5
d. Smoke marijuana regularly	1	2	3	4	5
e. Try LSD once or twice	1	2	3	4	5
f. Try cocaine once or twice	1	2	3	4	5
g. Have one or two drinks nearly every day	1	2	3	4	5
h. Have four or five drinks nearly every day	1	2	3	4	5
i. Have 5 or more drinks once or twice each weekend	1	2	3	4	5

34. Do you find the following behaviors acceptable or unacceptable? How about your friends, the people you see socially? How do most adults, do you think they would find them acceptable or unacceptable?

	a. Do you find this...			b. Do your friends find this...			c. Do most adults find this...		
	Acceptable	Don't Care	Unacceptable	Acceptable	Don't Care	Unacceptable	Acceptable	Don't Care	Unacceptable
a. Drinking alcoholic beverages to be sociable	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3
b. Giving parties where alcohol is served	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3
c. Giving parties where the only drinks are alcohol	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3
d. Letting loose and having fun when drinking	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3
e. Losing control when drinking	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3
f. Drinking to get drunk	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3
g. Being so drunk they throw up	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3
h. Getting loud and aggressive when drinking	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3
i. Drinking to get away from troubles	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3
j. Drinking to fit in with a group	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3
k. Providing alcohol to someone under age 21	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3
l. Pressuring people to drink alcohol	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3
m. Driving after two or three drinks	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3
n. Making sexual advances to someone who is drunk or high	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3

35. People who sell or serve alcohol are becoming increasingly liable for damages or injuries that can result from drunken behavior.	a. Do you approve or disapprove of hosts and alcohol servers doing the following?			b. Do you think most adults would approve or disapprove?		
	Approve	Don't Care	Disapprove	Approve	Don't Care	Disapprove
a. Setting time limits on how long alcohol will be available	1	2	3	1	2	3
b. Require a trained server to serve drinks	1	2	3	1	2	3
c. Limiting the number of drinks to each person attending	1	2	3	1	2	3
d. Refuse drinks to people who appear intoxicated	1	2	3	1	2	3
e. Take car keys away from some one drunk who wants to drive	1	2	3	1	2	3
f. Check IDs to prevent under age drinking	1	2	3	1	2	3
g. Refusing to admittance to unserved/unauthorized people	1	2	3	1	2	3
h. Require that food be provided along with alcohol	1	2	3	1	2	3
i. Require that non-alcoholic beverages be available	1	2	3	1	2	3

THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS ARE ABOUT NORMAN AND THE UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

36. Do you think advertising of alcohol affects how much people drink?
- YES
 - NO
 - DON'T KNOW
37. Do you think campus publications and events should advertise alcohol beverages?
- YES
 - NO
 - DON'T KNOW
38. Do you think the university has a responsibility to provide assistance services to people who have problems with alcohol or other drugs?
- Services for faculty and staff:
YES 2. NO
 - Services for Students
YES 2. NO
39. If you had a problem with alcohol or drugs, where would you be most likely to go to find help?
- University Health Services (Goddard)
 - Employee Assistance Program
 - OU Counseling Clinic (Public Clinic)
 - Residence Hall
 - Greek office
 - Off-campus
 - Other _____
 - Not Sure
40. Have you or a dependent used treatment services for alcohol or other drugs since coming to OU?
- YES
 - NO
41. Do you think the University's health benefits provide adequate coverage for alcohol and drug treatment?
- YES
 - NO
 - DON'T KNOW

THE LAST QUESTIONS INVOLVE YOUR BACKGROUND AND CURRENT SITUATION

42. Role at University
- Freshman
 - Sophomore
 - Junior
 - Senior
 - Law student
 - Graduate student
 - Post-graduate training
 - Not seeking a degree
 - Other _____
44. Student Status:
- Full-time
 - Part-time
 - Not currently enrolled
45. In which school or college is your major area of study?
- Architecture
 - Arts and Sciences
 - Business Administration
 - Education
 - Engineering
 - Fine Arts
 - Law
 - Liberal Studies
 - Graduate College
 - Other _____
46. Approximate grade point average.
- on a 4-point scale: .
47. Job Status:
- Working Full-time
 - Working Part-time
 - Not working
48. Age:
49. Gender:
- Male
 - Female

50. Sexual orientation:

1. Heterosexual
2. Lesbian/gay
3. Bisexual

51. Primary ethnic origin:

1. American Indian/Native American
2. Asian/Pacific Islander
3. African
4. Hispanic (Chicano/Latino/Mexican)
5. Arab/Middle Eastern
6. White/European (not of Hispanic Origin)
7. Other _____

52. Are you an American Citizen:

1. YES
2. NO

53. Marital status

1. Single
2. Married/domestic partner
3. Separated
4. Divorced
5. Widowed

54. Living with whom: (Circle All that Apply)

1. Alone
2. Parent(s) or other relatives
3. Spouse or significant other
4. Children
5. Roommate(s)

55. Living where during the school year?

1. Residence Hall
2. Fraternity
3. Sorority
4. Student housing
5. House/Apartment in Norman
6. outside of Norman

56. Greek Affiliation?

1. Yes
2. No

57. Please indicate how many hour per week you spend on each on the following types of activities. (Count each activity in only one category)

Hours per week	1-4 5-9 10-15 16 or more				
	None	Hour	Hour	Hour	More
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
a. Student organization(s)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b. Participating in intercollegiate athletics	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c. Other physical activities (e.g., intramural athletics, walking, biking, ect.)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d. Enjoying the arts (music, theater, ect.)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e. Political activities	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
f. Religious activities	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
g. Volunteer work	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
h. Leisure time with family or friends	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

58. How important are religious or spiritual values to you?

1. Not at all important
2. Not very important
3. Mildly important
5. Important
6. Very important

59. What position does your church or religion take regarding alcohol and other drugs?

(Circle All That Apply)

1. NO CHURCH OR RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION
2. Allow/supports moderate or ritual use of alcohol
3. Allow/supports moderate or ritual use of other drugs
4. Disapproves of alcohol use
5. Disapproves of other (non-medicinal) drug use
6. Takes no position on alcohol use
7. Takes no position on other (non-medicinal) drug use

60. Which of the following statements best describes the use of alcoholic beverages by people in your household when you were growing up?

1. Drinking was disapproved of; alcohol was not present.
2. Alcohol was seldom drunk but occasional drinking was OK.
3. Alcohol was drunk on special occasions (celebrations).
4. Light or moderate drinking, but no drunkenness.
5. Moderate to heavy drinking, with occasional drunkenness.
6. Regular heavy drinking with frequent drunkenness.
7. One or more adults in your home were treated for alcoholism.

Please Turn to the Next Page!!!!

Perceived Risk Instrument
(Amendment to Questionnaire)

List of Drugs	Level of Perceived Danger				
	No Danger	Slight Danger	Moderate Danger	Great Danger	Can't Say
a. Tobacco.....	1	2	3	4	5
b. Alcohol.....	1	2	3	4	5
c. Marijuana (grass, pot) or hashish (hash).....	1	2	3	4	5
d. Crack cocaine (cocaine in chunk or rock form).	1	2	3	4	5
e. Cocaine in any form	1	2	3	4	5
f. LSD ("acid")	1	2	3	4	5
g. Other psychedelics (mescaline, peyote, psilocybin, PCP)	1	2	3	4	5
h. Amphetamine, methamphetamine (including uppers, speed, bennies, dexies)	1	2	3	4	5
i. Crystal meth ("ice")	1	2	3	4	5
j. Downers (e.g., Halcyon, Dalmane, barbiturates, goofballs, reds, yellows)	1	2	3	4	5
k. Tranquilizers (e.g., Librium, Valium, Ativan).	1	2	3	4	5
l. Heroin (smack, horse, skag).....	1	2	3	4	5
m. Other narcotics (e.g., methadone, opium, morphine, codeine, Demerol)	1	2	3	4	5
n. Inhalants (glue, aerosol sprays, nitrites, other gases or sprays)	1	2	3	4	5
o. Designer drugs (e.g., ecstasy, MDMA)	1	2	3	4	5
p. Anabolic Steroids	1	2	3	4	5

Thank you for help participation in this survey. Your assistance is a vital part of our attempt to learn about the alcohol and drug use on the University of Oklahoma campus. In an effort to more efficiently and effectively conduct this survey, we would appreciate your feedback. Please complete the section below.

Thank you again for your help!

1. How long did it take you to complete the survey? _____
2. What, if any, items do you have questions about (lack of clarity, ect...)? _____
3. Please make any comments that may be helpful with future administration of this survey.

APPENDIX C

PROSPECTUS

STUDENTS' ATTITUDES AND PERCEPTIONS AS PREDICTORS OF DRINKING BEHAVIOR: IMPLICATIONS FOR STUDENT ALCOHOL EDUCATION PROGRAMS

INTRODUCTION

Background of the Problem

The present investigation involves the subject of alcohol use at the University of Oklahoma. The college experience is arguably one of the biggest developmental milestones in the lives of many people. It is a time when one begins to assume more adult roles and responsibility. For most beginning college and university students, college is a time of reduced parental supervision amidst many new social and academic pressures. Within this developmental experience, however, alcohol consumption is prevalent. This is particularly of concern given that only half of college undergraduate college students are legally old enough to drink (Johnson, O'Malley, & Bachman, 1994).

A survey conducted at the University of Michigan found that alcohol is used far more than other drugs by undergraduates as well as graduate students, faculty and staff (University of Michigan, 1993). A study at Louisiana State University revealed that 37%

of the respondents drink once or twice a week while 4% drink daily (Grenier, 1993). Similar results were found by Haberman (1994) in which she found that 90% of college students currently used alcohol or have used at least once in the past; 39% reported consuming alcohol at least weekly and less than 1% reported daily use (Haberman, 1994). Furthermore, the University of Michigan survey (1993) indicated that 18% of undergraduates considered themselves as having serious alcohol problems and report patterns of problem drinking by their peers (University of Michigan, 1993). This problem is not unique to one university as researchers at the University of Nebraska at Omaha found heavy alcohol, which was defined as 5 drinks in one setting, use to be accepted as normal consumption among the students (Hunnicuttt & Davis, 1989; University of Michigan, 1993). This heavy alcohol use is estimated to occur among 40% of the undergraduate population (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 1994).

Some researchers believe that a higher percentage of college men than women are likely to drink, drink more often, consume more, and experience more drinking problems (Engs & Hanson, 1990). However, other researchers suggest that when students' body weights are used to compare estimated blood alcohol levels instead of absolute amount of alcohol consumed, females and males do not differ in amount of daily alcohol consumption (Skacel & Merritt, 1991). Furthermore, it is purported that place of residence influences the consumption of alcohol and risk for alcohol related problems such as substance abuse, legal issues, as well as social and educational difficulties.

Specifically, one study suggested that students living in residence halls are at a higher risk for such problems than students living elsewhere (Barnes, Welte, & Dintcheff, 1992). Other studies have consistently found that college students who are members of

fraternities and sororities consume more alcohol per week, engaged in heavy drinking more, and suffer more negative consequences from alcohol use than do nonmembers (Alva, 1998; Baer, Kivlahan, & Marlatt, 1995; Cashin, Presley, & Meilman, 1998).

In addition to demographic characteristics, attitudes about drinking, perceptions about drinking, and drinking behaviors have been investigated (e.g., Banks & Smith, 1980; Hamid, 1995; Klein, 1994). Of particular interest to the present investigation is the investigation by Baer, Stacy, and Larimer (1991) who examined the association between individual drinking patterns and the perceived drinking patterns of close friends and reference groups among college students. These investigators conducted two separate surveys of college students from fraternities, sororities, and dormitories ($N = 131$; $N = 280$). Across both studies, students reported that their friends drank more than they did. Furthermore, the data revealed that students' reports of others' drinking were exaggerated in that students' estimates of average drinking within their own social living groups were substantially higher than the average drinking within the group estimated from self-reports. This study greatly underscored the importance of examining college students' perceptions of drinking, but is only one of a few such studies that have examined this issue.

Statement of the Problem

Although much of the literature suggests that attitudes toward alcohol consumption on college campuses are a great concern, there is a call for further research to help assess and identify problematic alcohol behaviors (Barnes, Welte, & Dintcheff, 1992; Haberman, 1994). In addition, effective intervention strategies are needed to address students' needs and help support responsible drinking patterns. Before a strategic

intervention program can be developed, research is needed with regard to what variables predict alcohol use and what social psychological factors such as attitudes about drinking and perceptions about drinking are likely to influence changes in drinking behaviors. This information can help identify those "at risk" of alcohol interfering with their academics and personal lives as well as what prevention and intervention methods may be effective in decreasing this risk.

Purpose of the Study

Although previous studies have been completed concerning substance use by undergraduates, only limited studies have been conducted at the University of Oklahoma. The present investigation seeks to provide a comprehensive assessment of substance use of the undergraduate population on a university campus by not only assessing the amount of use itself, but numerous other variables, such as attitudes toward use, beliefs about substance use, and different population characteristics. Beyond just the identification of alcohol and drug using patterns at the University of Oklahoma, this university survey study examines the relative importance of personal attitudes towards drinking, perceptions of others' drinking attitudes, and perceptions of drinking norms in relation to personal drinking behavior. Thus, the primary purpose of the present investigation is to examine the relationship between attitudes towards, and perceptual norms of, drinking behaviors and self-reported levels of drinking. By simultaneously examining attitudes and perceptual norms, the unique influence of each will be ascertained. The goal is to develop a stable prediction equation that includes attitudes and perceptual norms to predict drinking behaviors above chance.

A second purpose for conducting this study is to understand the particular drinking and drug use patterns of undergraduate students at the University of Oklahoma. The results of this study will be used to discuss implications for an appropriate student assistance program directed toward both prevention and intervention of abusive alcohol behaviors. Developing strategies without first assessing the nature and magnitude of perceived problems could be both costly and detrimental to the university as well as the people effected by the premature intervention. The results of the present study will also be used to guide future research with regard to correlates of the college drinking experience.

Theoretical Rationale

The predictions of this investigation are largely based upon the theory of planned behavior (Ajzen, 1985). This theory is a revision of Ajzen and Fishbein's (1977) original theory of reasoned action. This theory is most applicable to the present investigation because it applies the three primary variables being used to predict drinking behavior: (a) subjective norms, (b) attitudes, and (c) perceived behavioral control. This theory suggests that these three dimensions all contribute to the prediction of behavioral intentions, which are good predictors of human behavior. This theory will be reviewed in more detail with the literature review. To date, however, Ajzen and Fishbein's theory has been supported by numerous researchers as being able to predict alcohol use among college students (e.g., Laflin, Moore, Weis, & Hayes; O'Callaghan, Chant, Callan, & Baglioni, 1997; Trafimow, 1996).

Although the theory of planned behavior provided a solid basis for the prediction of alcohol use, the theoretical foundation of this investigation also rests on the several

other theoretical perspectives. In particular, because alcohol use is considered a health behavior, the dominant theories that pertain to health behavior change provide an appropriate backdrop for understanding alcohol use. These theories include: (a) the Health Beliefs Model, (b) Stages of Change Theory, and (c) Social Cognitive Theory. The Health Belief Model (HBM) was originally formulated in the 1950s and proposes that understanding individuals' perceptions related to the disease and the desired behavior change largely explain health behaviors. In sum, the HBM proposes that in order for a person to engage in a health behavior, they must perceive the "disease" as severe and personally threatening. Additionally, the HBM posits that in order for behavior change to occur, the benefits of the behavior change must outweigh the barriers to making the change.

The Stages of Change theory provides an understanding of how the change process occurs, which is particularly relevant when discussing how to change alcohol use among college students. In this theory, there are five stages of change: (a) precontemplation, (b) contemplation, (c) decision, (d) action, and (f) maintenance. The progression through these stages is not linear; individuals progression forward and backward from stage to stage at different times in the change process. The final goal, however, is that individuals end up in maintenance in which they are doing the things necessary to maintain the change.

Social Cognitive Theory, also known as Social Learning Theory, was developed by Bandura (1986) and proposes that behavior changes as a function of the environment, cognitive aspects of the person, and specific things related to the behavior itself. This

theory purports that the constant interplay between the individual and the environment determines individual behavior, a principle known as reciprocal determinism.

Each of these theories provides a different perspective on helping to understand health behaviors and are elaborated upon further in the literature review chapter. These perspectives are useful in helping to understand alcohol use and why, despite knowing the dangers of such use, college students continue to engage in the unhealthy behavior of excess alcohol consumption. Thus, although the theory of planned behavior serves useful for the specific predictions made in this study, these health change theories assist in understanding the behaviors and in formulating prevention and intervention efforts. At this juncture, it is now sufficient to provide the predictions that the theory of planned behavior supports.

Research Questions and Hypotheses

The hypotheses for this investigation will be examined by looking at the data collected by this researcher at the request of the Norman Prevention Coalition (Higher Education Committee) during the dates of January 1, 1997 through May 1, 1997.

This investigation is designed to examine two primary research questions. These questions are:

RQ1: Which of the following is the best significant independent predictor of specific drinking behaviors?: (a) attitudes toward drinking, which include personal attitudes toward drinking, perceptions of friends' attitudes toward drinking, and perceptions of others' attitudes toward drinking; (b) perceptions of drinking norms, which includes perceptions of friends' drinking levels and perception of others' drinking levels; or (c) perceived risks of alcohol use.

RQ2: Is a specific combination of the above variables a better predictor of specific drinking behaviors than any of the variables considered independently?

These research questions will be examined by testing three relevant hypotheses.

H1: Attitudes will be positively related with actual drinking behavior. More specifically, it is expected that:

H1a: Personal attitudes toward drinking will be positively related with actual drinking behaviors, consistent with the research of Banks and Smith (1980), Mills and McCarty (1983), Ratliff and Burkart (1984), and Hamid (1995).

H1b: Perception of friends' attitudes toward drinking will be positively related with actual drinking behaviors.

H1c: Perceptions of others' attitudes toward drinking will be positively related with actual drinking behaviors.

H2: Perceptions of drinking norms will be positively related to actual drinking behaviors.

More specifically, it is expected that:

H2a: Perception of friends' drinking levels will be positively related to actual drinking behaviors.

H2b. Perception of others' drinking levels will be positively related to actual drinking behaviors.

H2c: Actual drinking behaviors will be more closely related to the perceptual norms of friends' drinking levels than the perceptual norms of others' drinking levels', consistent with the research of Baer et al., (1991).

H3: Perceived risk of alcohol use will be significantly related to actual drinking behaviors.

Limitations of the Study

The findings from this investigation must be interpreted in light of the limitations inherent in the study. The first limitation of this study surrounds the use of a self-report measure. This investigation assumes that participants will be honest in their reports of alcohol use. Although this limitation must be acknowledged, research in the area of social desirability demonstrates that ensuring anonymity, as will be employed in the present investigation, substantially reduces the influence of socially desirable responding (Paulhus, 1991).

Additionally, this investigation asks participants to estimate the drinking behaviors of their friends. The accuracy of these judgments, and who they refer to as friends, will largely be unknown. The assumption is that individuals will be able to accurately report on the behavior of others. Although this is a possible drawback of this investigation, there is some research which suggests that, while observer reports of attitudes are generally not accurate, reports of observable behavior, such as drinking, generally are (Paulhus, 1991).

Furthermore, the data collected from this investigation is purely correlational in nature. It does not allow for the inference of causality. However, if significant associations are not observed as expected this would nevertheless indicate that no causal association is present. That is, underlying all causal associations are significant associations (Campbell & Stanley, 1963). Yet, if a significant association does exist as predicted, then it is possible, but not definitive that this association is causal in nature.

RELATED LITERATURE

Literature on Alcohol Use in Colleges and Universities

Straus and Bacon (1953) were among the first researchers to examine the prevalence of drinking behavior that occurred on college campuses. In a national sample of approximately 15,000 college students, these authors reported that approximately 70% of students in American colleges and universities at least occasionally consumed alcoholic beverages. Saltz and Elandt (1986) reviewed the principal survey studies that had been conducted since the mid 1970s and reached a similar conclusion. The consumption by college students of at least one alcoholic beverage per month was approximately 90% across all studies. Although men on average consumed alcoholic beverages more than women, this difference was not consistent across studies. For men, the range of at least one alcoholic beverage per month was 91% and ranged from a low of 81% to as high as 98%. The average consumption across studies for women was 88%, but ranged from 78% to 98%. These drinking rates do not appear to be declining over the years. Across all studies, the average reports of students who are problem drinkers ranges from 10% to 25%. Approximately 4% to 5% of students are estimated to use alcohol on a daily basis.

The prevalence of alcohol use among college students still appears high in the current decade. In a study of college students at Louisiana State University, Grenier (1993) found that 37% of the students drank once or twice a week and that 4% consumed alcohol on a daily basis. The majority of the students sampled in their study reported that they drank to relax whereas only 35% reported that peer pressure motivated them to

drink. Additionally, Grenier found several factors which were associated with high alcohol consumption: (a) being male, (b) being in a Greek fraternity, (c) being a junior year student, (d) living off-campus, and (e) being of Caucasian ethnicity.

In a sample of 457 students at the University of Alberta, Canada, Svenson and Jarvis (1994) found that 90% of the students reported drinking at least once over the past year. In their study, they found that men were more likely to be heavier drinkers than women and that men were more likely than women to drive while intoxicated. Furthermore, these authors reported that women in their sample overall had healthier attitudes concerning alcohol use. Men were more likely than women to indicate that it was socially acceptable to be intoxicated and that drinkers do not suffer health problems as the result of drinking.

In a study of students at Rutgers University, O'Hare (1990) reported that 18% of their undergraduate sample were abstainers, 25% were light drinkers, and 19% were heavy drinkers. These authors also found that the number of abstainers declined with each year in college in that 29% of freshman were abstainers compared with only 9% of seniors. Furthermore, the number of heavy drinkers increased by year from 15% in freshman to 24% in seniors.

However, in reviewing the prevalence of alcohol use across universities it must be kept in mind that differences in geography exist. That is, the reports of alcohol use may be different across varying regions. The differences between campuses in alcohol use may be more reflective of the spurious influence of differences in geography than of anything else.

Nevertheless, in their annual national study of over 1,000 student per year, Johnston, O'Malley, and Bachman (1994) conclude that little decline in alcoholic consumption is occurring—especially among college students who report drinking five or more drinks at once (i.e., binge drinking) in the last two weeks. Furthermore, estimates of the proportion of college students who regularly engage in binge drinking has been estimated as being approximately 20%. Johnston et al. report that alcohol continues to be the most widely abused drugs and that binge drinking is extremely prevalent among American college students. Rabow and Newman (1984) have also observed that weekend binge drinking is the most common abuse of alcohol in this population.

Additionally, drinking among college students has been found to be associated with numerous individual and social problems. For instance, Berkowitz and Perkins (1986) have found that drinking problems among college students is associated with vandalism, difficulties with academic performance, accidents, and engaging in risky behaviors, such as driving while intoxicated and having unprotected sex. It has also been proposed that students with alcohol problems are less likely to become employed because of their poor academic performance (Lall & Schandler, 1991).

Universities are motivated to reduce problem drinking because of the associated social problems that impact the college community. Several problems are of predominant concern in the campus community. Public safety is one of the biggest concerns where behaviors, such as drinking and driving, assault, rape, alcohol poisoning, and personal injuries resulting from engaging in uninhibited behaviors, can have a substantial impact on the community as a whole. Additionally, social consequences such as these are most likely to receive media attention, which is generally not desired by the

college or university. These situations place universities in a reactive, rather than proactive, preventative position.

Grenier (1993) provided data on the frequency of alcohol-related problems experienced by college students. In his study of Louisiana State University students, 26% reported drinking and driving, 20% reported missing class due to having a hangover, and an inverse association between grade point average and drinking behavior was observed. Regarding attitudes toward drinking, Grenier found that 60% of LSU students felt that getting drunk was a normal part of the college experience and 57% felt that parties were more fun after having a few drinks. Reassuring, however, was the finding that 77% of students would use a free ride home if they were intoxicated and that 87% reported that they would stop a friend from driving while drinking.

Similarly, Globetti, Stem, Marasco, and Haworth-Hoeppner (1988) found that 33% to 41% of college students reported drinking and driving, 6% to 7% reported engaging in alcohol-related vandalism, 7% to 8% reported losing friends as the results of their alcohol usage, 17% to 23% reported experiencing alcohol-related academic problems, and 3% to 15% reported having problems with authority because of alcohol.

The high level of alcohol use and alcohol problems among college students is surprising given that persons with more education are more likely than others to adopt, and engage in, healthier behaviors. For instance, when compared with individuals without a high school diploma, college graduates have a lower prevalence of smoking, are less likely to be overweight, and are more likely to use seat belts when driving (Wechsler & Isaac, 1991).

Several studies have attempted to identify the predictors of alcohol use among college students. Haworth-Hoeppner, Globette, Stem, and Morasco (1989) found that attitudes toward alcohol actually affect drinking behavior. Students at a southern university with more permissive attitudes toward alcohol use were more likely than others to be heavy drinkers. Haden and Edmundson (1991) found that students used illicit drugs out of personal motivation but that the strongest predictor of alcohol use was social motivation. Several theories have been proposed that attempt to predict the drinking behavior of undergraduate college students. These theories will be reviewed next.

Theories of Drinking Behavior

In general, there are three common theoretical approaches to explaining drinking behavior (Edmundson, Clifford, Serrins, & Wiley, 1994). The first is a knowledge and attitudes approach. In this model, it is believed that by providing accurate knowledge regarding the negative consequences of alcohol and drug use will instill negative attitudes toward the use.

The second approach is a values and decision-making model. This perspective focuses on individuals' needs and values, and how substances fulfill these needs and influences these values. Decision-making skills are taught to enhance personal responsibility and self-reliance. Ideally, these skills and self-awareness should promote the notion of responsibility toward substance abuse (Edmundson et al., 1994).

The third approach is the social competency model, which was influenced by Bandura's (1986) social learning theory. In this approach, social situations, modeling, and social environments dictate the acquisition of individual psychosocial skills. A

deficiency in these skills places the individual at higher risk for substance abuse.

Rectifying these deficiencies is believed to modify attitudes and behaviors toward drug taking (Edmundson et al., 1994). However, empirical research has only recently begun to test these assumptions regarding substance abuse prevention programs. These three perspectives have not yet been evaluated for their long-term efficacy, but early findings are promising.

In general, a cornerstone of research in the area of substance abuse has been centered on attempting to understand the reasons for drug and alcohol use. Many believe that this understanding will provide the ability to accurately predict substance abuse, and to perhaps even substance use. To this end, the theory of reasoned action, by Ajzen and Fishbein (1977) has been adopted by the drug and alcohol field as one way to understand this potentially self-destructive behavior.

Theory of Reasoned Action and Planned Behavior

According to the theory of reasoned action, actual behavior is a direct function of behavioral intentions. Specifically, this theory proposes that subjective norms, which are the sum of beliefs and motivation to comply, contribute to understanding behavioral intentions. The theory of planned behavior contends, attitudes, which are considered to be the sum of belief and evaluation, also contribute to behavioral intentions. Once behavioral intentions are known, the actual behavior can be predicted. Additionally, the strength of the relationship between behavioral intentions and actual behavior is directly related to the extent to which the individual can determine the occurrence or nonoccurrence of the behavior.

Many studies have supported the efficacy of the theory of planned behavior in explaining and predicting alcohol use. For example, Marcoux and Shope (1997) recently examined both the theory of planned behavior and the theory of reasoned action in the prediction of actual alcohol use among 3,946 5th-8th grade students in southeast Michigan. The intention to use alcohol explained 38% of the variance in frequency of alcohol use and 26% of the variance in alcohol use. Furthermore, attitudes, subjective norms, and perceived behavioral control—the three primary components of the Theory of planned behavior—explained 76% of the variance in the intention to use alcohol. These researchers reported, however, that despite the fact that both models were efficacious in predicting intention to use alcohol, the theory of planned behavior was more effective than was the theory of reasoned action.

These theories have also been successful in predicting alcohol use in young adults. For instance, in a sample of 122 college students, O'Callaghan, Chant, Callan, and Baglioni (1997) found that intentions to drink alcohol were predicted by subjective norms, attitudes, and perceived behavioral control and that intentions themselves were significantly predictive of self-reported use. These authors also reported, however, that past alcohol use was one of the strongest predictors of the intention to use alcohol and suggest that this variable be considered in a revision of the theory.

In a study of 250 college students, Trafimow (1996) found that attitudes were consistently better predictors of intentions to use alcohol than were subjective norms. However, this study found that this association depended upon which type of social drinking was being asked about. In particular, the association between attitudes and behavioral intentions was strongest when predicting drinking enough alcohol to get drunk

and weaker when asking about avoiding drinking and drinking enough to get a slight buzz. In contrast to the previous study, however, this author found that previous behavior and perceived behavioral control were significant predictors in predicting these three behaviors.

Another investigation by Laflin, Moore, Weis, and Hayes (1994) provides support for the theory of reasoned action. In a sample of 2,227 high school and college students, these authors found that attitudes and subjective norms related to alcohol and drug use did significantly predict alcohol and drug use, respectively. In another investigation on college students, Budd and Spencer (1985) examined 172 university students and found that normative beliefs about alcohol use did not predict behavioral intentions as the theory of planned behavior predicts. These authors did find, however, that behavioral intentions mediated the relationship between attitudes and subjective norms in the prediction of alcohol use.

This theory has also been widely applied to other health-related areas. For example, Sutton, McVey, and Glanz (1999) found support for the application of both the theory of reasoned action and the theory of planned behavior in predicting condom use in a national sample of 949 English youth. Humphreys, Thompson, and Miner (1998) found full support for the postulates of the theory of reasoned action when examining breastfeeding among a sample of 1,001 socioeconomically disadvantaged pregnant women. Additionally, Moore, Barling, and Hood (1998) found that the theory of reasoned action was strongly supported in predicting testicular and breast self-examination behavior among 116 male and 141 female adults, respectively.

In sum, the theory of reasoned action predicts that alcohol and drug attitudes and subjective norms are useful in predicting drug and alcohol use (Laflin, Moore-Hirschl, Weis, & Hayes, 1994). Thus, the present investigation uses the theory of reasoned action to predict that alcohol-related attitudes and norms will be predictive of drinking behavior. Yet, this theory does not entirely account for the use of perceived risk as a predictor of drinking behavior. This review will focus on a rationale for the inclusion of perceived risk as a prediction dimension of substance abuse after discussing the other theoretical models relevant to the present study.

Because alcohol use can be conceptualized as a health behavior, it is important to review the major models that have been used in the literature to explain, predict, and change health-related behaviors. In an attempt to explain these complicated behaviors, theorists have integrated psychological, environmental, and social factors into their theories. This review will focus on reviewing the three major models in this area: (a) Health Belief Model, (b) Stages of Change Model, and (c) Social Cognitive Theory (National Institute of Health, 1997).

Health Belief Model

The Health Belief Model (HBM) was originally developed in the early 1950s and was one of the first health behavior models developed to explain and predict preventative health, sick-role, and illness behaviors. Developed by Godfrey, Hockbaum, and Rosenstock (cited in Glanz, Lewis, & Rimer, 1990), the HBM helps to explain why individuals make particular health behavior decisions and has been widely used to create health prevention programs. The model integrates several theoretical perspectives, including social psychology and phenomenology, but relies heavily on Kurt Lewin's

view that individual perception largely determines behavior. Although the model originally concentrated on the association between health behaviors and the utilization of health services, later revisions of the model included motivational factors. The HBM was developed to help explain and predict why individuals failed to engage in preventative behaviors. One of the first studies to test the efficacy of the HBM was conducted by Hochbaum (1952). In this study, Hockbaum systematically examined the factors that contributed to patients' decisions to obtain chest x-rays for detecting tuberculosis. Since this landmark study, however, the HBM has been applied to various different kinds of health behaviors.

According to the HBM there are five dimensions that contribute to behavior change. These dimensions include: (a) perceived severity, which refers to the degree to which individuals believe that the health problem is serious; (b) perceived threat, which refers to the extent that individuals believe that they are personally vulnerable to the health problem; (c) perceived benefit, which refers to the extent to which individuals believe that engaging in a particular behavior will diminish the perceived threat; (d) perceived barriers, which refer to the obstacles that individuals believe exist in order for them to change their current behavior; and (e) self-efficacy, which refers to the beliefs individuals have regarding their ability to change their behavior (Glanz, Lewis, & Rimer, 1990).

In evaluating the perceived severity, individuals form an impression of how serious the effects of a given health problem will have on their functioning. Individuals are believed to evaluate a wide spectrum of dimensions when examining severity, such as

the effect on their personal and work functioning, financial difficulties, burdens on family and friends, the degree of pain experienced, and other relevant factors.

In considering perceived threat, this model proposes that there is tremendous inter-individual variability in perceptions of being vulnerable to a health problem. Individuals that are high in this dimension feel that there is a real danger that they can be personally be affected by the medical condition or disease. At the other end of the spectrum, individuals low in perceived susceptibility are in denial that they could potentially contract the disease.

The third perception that relates to health-related behaviors involves the perceived benefits of taking action. Individuals must perceive that specific actions will result in the prevention of the disease or in dealing with the medical problem. This perception is believed to only occur after individuals have recognized that they are susceptible to the disease. Thus, beliefs about the benefits of action play a vital role in determining if appropriate health-related behaviors are performed.

Similarly, perceptions pertaining to the barriers to taking action also play a direct role in determining if individuals will engage in specific behaviors. There are many instances in which individuals may have perceptions of severity, feel personally threatened, and believe in the benefits of taking action, but not take the action because there are too many perceived obstacles to doing so. According to the HBM, barriers can come in many forms but generally relate to the inconvenience, cost, and emotional and physical pain related to taking the action

Lastly, if individuals do not have sufficient self-efficacy regarding their ability to change, they will be less likely to engage in the health-promoting behaviors. The

personal beliefs regarding their own abilities will play a tremendous role in determining whether individuals will engage in appropriate health behaviors—even when the aforementioned perceptions are positive. Furthermore, this theory also proposes that there must be cues to action in order for individuals to engage in the appropriate behaviors. This means that either internal or external cues must exist to trigger the behavior that is necessary to prevent or deal with a particular health problem or disease. It is also believed that certain demographic, sociological, and structural variables that can serve to influence individual's decision.

Although the HBM provides a concrete way of understanding health behaviors, it is not without its limitations. For instance, the model has been criticized for focusing too heavily on beliefs and ignoring other pertinent factors that may influence health behaviors, such as previous experience and cultural and socioeconomic influences. has not always been supported by the empirical literature. Some propose that it is for this very reason that the research on HBM is not entirely supportive of the theory. However, it is also important to recognize that the studies that have been done on HBM utilize different questions to examine the same beliefs, thereby making the results of the studies difficult to compare.

The HBM has been widely used in research on health behaviors but has been less widely used than the theories of reasoned action and planned behavior in studying alcohol use. Still, several studies have supported the application of this theory to alcohol use. One of the most notable studies in this area was conducted by Minugh, Rice, and Young (1998) on a sample of 41,104 adults. These authors found that health beliefs and behaviors were significantly correlated with alcohol use, even after controlling for

demographic influences. Furthermore, the HBM was supported equally for men and women; no gender differences were found. Sands, Archer, and Puleo (1998) examined the HBM in 125 and 231 female college students and found that risk of alcohol abuse was significantly predicted by perceived severity and barriers, self-efficacy, and social influences. Thus, there is a sound empirical basis in applying this theory to alcohol use in a college population.

Stages of Change Model

The Stages of Change model (Prochaska, 1979) is another theory that is widely used in explaining health-related and the addiction behaviors. The biggest contribution of this model is in its explanation of how—but not necessarily why—behavior change occurs. This model proposes five stages of change, including: (a) precontemplation, wherein individuals are not considering behavioral change; (b) contemplation, where individuals begin to consider changing their behavior; (c) decision, where individuals decide they will change their behavior and actively create a plan on how they will do it; (d) action, where individuals implement their behavior-change plan; and (e) maintenance, where individuals maintain their behavior change and continue the beliefs and behaviors responsible for such a change (Glanz, Lewis, & Rimer, 1990).

According to this model, individuals do not go through the steps in a linear fashion. Instead, there is a movement into and out of various stages, sometimes progressing forward and other times slipping backwards. The model recognizes that there are times in individuals' lives where change is more difficult than other times. In applying this model, most health programs focus on assisting individuals to advance their

stage of change so that they will be closer toward the desired behavior change (Glanz, Lewis, & Rimer, 1990). This theory is widely used in the field of chemical dependency.

Social Cognitive Theory

The Social Cognitive Theory by Bandura (1986) is another popular theory that is used to explain health behaviors. This theory proposes that individuals' behavior changes as a function of the environment, elements of the person, and specific things related to the behavior itself. Social Cognitive Theory believes in what it calls "reciprocal determinism," which refers to the constant interplay between the individual and the environment in determining behaviors (Rosenstock, Strecher, & Becker, 1998).

In the Social Cognitive Theory, reinforcements and punishments play a vital role in determining behavior. However, this theory also proposes that individuals must have the capability to change in order for change to occur. This means that individuals must learn exactly what they must do and how to do it. This theory further proposes that behavior change is influenced by how important individuals perceive the desired result that the behavior change will create. Behavior change is only believed to occur when the result is highly desired by the person. Self-efficacy expectations are the second cognitive factor that is believed to underlie behavior change. This means that individuals must believe that they have the capacity to change their behavior. Outcome expectancies, which refer to the benefits that individuals expect to receive by engaging in the behavior, are the third cognitive dimension that is proposed to play a crucial role in behavior change (Rosenstock, Strecher, & Becker, 1998).

Perceived Risk and Substance Abuse

Perception of risk has been found by other investigators to actually decrease substance abuse (Bachman, Johnston, & O'Malley, 1988). For instance, from their empirical investigation of the influence of perceived risk on substance abuse, Gonzalez and Haney (1990) commented, "...it is evident from the results of this study that perceptions of risk significantly predict usage patterns and attitudes toward the use of various drugs" (p. 314). Additionally, Gonzalez (1989) suggested that the perceptions of risk regarding the use of substances is an important mediating variable in motivating students to engage in preventative behavior.

A study by Bachman, Johnston, and O'Malley (1988) found that the most significant predictor of alcohol use was the perceived risk of alcohol. Perception of risk was also significantly predictive of tobacco use, but the ability for it to predict cannot be generalized to all substances; Bachman et al. found that the predictability of risk is specific to each substance. This author states that to affect the perception of risk of a given substance, the information must be specific for each substance and disseminated from a source that has a perception of accuracy and provides the information in sufficient enough detail. Thus, it is recommended that methods need to be incorporated that will influence the perceived risk of those substances where inaccurate perceptions of risk exist.

Rhodes, Corby, and Wolitski (1990), however, pointed out that perceptions of risk can be overridden. In their investigation, intravenous drug users continued to share needles even after understanding the risk of contracting the HIV virus. The exact factors that contribute to this are not yet fully understood.

History of Alcohol and Drug Use at the University of Oklahoma

The issue of Alcohol and Drug use at the University of Oklahoma was first presented to me by the Norman Prevention Coalition (Higher Education Committee) by way of faculty advisor Dr. Avraham Scherman. The Coalition had become aware of a similar study conducted at the University of Michigan in 1993 and decided to pursue assessment of the same information for OU. After looking into what resources would be needed to conduct such a study, the coalition agreed to fund a pilot study to start the process. An initial grant of \$3,000 was obtained from the Coalition and a grant of \$1,000 was obtained from the Oklahoma Psychological Association. The pilot study included students, faculty and staff and was administered by a mail-out survey through regular and campus mail. Although the response rate for undergraduate students was approximately 35%, the response rates for the faculty and staff were below 20%. Due to these response rates and the limited resource left over from the pilot project, this study was limited to the undergraduate population. Also, due to the cost and low response rates in the pilot project, the administration of the surveys used in this investigation was completed through group administration rather than mail-out.

METHODOLOGY

Methodological Approach

This investigation will be archival in nature in that the analyses will be based upon a survey conducted by the University of Oklahoma. The data that will be used to test the hypotheses set forth in the present investigation were collected using the survey methodology, which allows for both descriptive and correlational uses. Because the hypotheses in this study are correlational in nature, the present study mostly emphasizes the correlational approach. The survey used employed a self-administered, self-report format versus conducting the survey via an in-person or telephone format. This modality was most appropriate given that the objective was to reach a wide audience of the University population in a short period of time. Additionally, the use of an anonymous self-report survey greatly reduces socially desirable responding whereas the other survey methodologies would likely increase the chances of this response bias occurring.

Because this study is predictive in nature, the independent variables will refer to the predictor variables and the dependent variables as the outcome variables. Four different drinking variables, which measure four different types of drinking behaviors, will be used in combination as the dependent measure. These include: (a) controlled drinking, as measured by participants' self-reported drinking behavior; (b) getting drunk, as measured by participants' report on the number of times they got drunk in the past year, (c) binge drinking, as measured by participants' report of the number of times in the last two weeks they had five or more drinks in a row; and (d) how many drinks per week students report consuming.

This study will employ six different independent variables: (a) personal attitudes toward drinking; (b) perceptions of friends' attitudes toward drinking, (c) perceptions of others' attitudes toward drinking; (d) perceptions of drinking norms, as assessed by perceptions of friends' drinking levels; (e) perceptions of drinking norms, as assessed by perceptions of other students' drinking levels; and (f) perceived risks of alcohol use.

Selection of the Sample

The sample used for this investigation was comprised of a probability sample of 1,000 randomly selected undergraduate students at the University of Oklahoma collected in the spring semester of 1997. A list of undergraduate courses was randomly selected until the total enrollment of classes was over 1,000 students. The list of class enrollment status was obtained from the University administration. After permission was granted from each course instructor, the researchers presented the study to the students and the surveys were distributed. All surveys were collected during the following class period. A total sample size of 690 was obtained from the 1000 students sampled. It was made clear, through a handout and the class presentation, that participation in the study is completely voluntary. The distribution of gender was expected to represent an equal number of males and females. Furthermore, the distribution between freshman, sophomore, juniors, and seniors sampled was expected to represent the actual breakdown of these classes at the University of Oklahoma.

Participants will benefit from this investigation through the knowledge gained from the data they provide. If the data appears to show a need to address alcohol and drug issues on campus, the students will be the beneficiaries of any intervention programs implemented by the university to help curb the identified problems. Due to the

voluntary and anonymous nature in which the survey is returned, there was absolutely no risk to the participants in this study.

Given that a sample size of 100 is all that is necessary to obtain statistical power at .80, assuming an alpha of .05 and a medium effect size (i.e., $R^2 = .13$ and $r = .30$), this sample size will have sufficient statistical power (i.e., Power = 1.0) to reject the null hypothesis when it is false (Cohen, 1988).

The Survey

The data for this investigation was collected from the administration of the Use of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Other Drugs in the Community Survey, which was developed by the University of Michigan's Initiative on Alcohol and Other Drugs (Hamid, 1995). The survey was originally developed to gather data to assist in identifying trends and changes, identify individuals who may be at high-risk, and to help in designing alcohol and drug prevention programs. Hamid (1995) reported this index as having a Cronbach coefficient alpha of .94. The large significant association between personal attitudes toward alcohol use and actual drinking behavior ($r = .67$) found by Hamid (1995) supports validity of this index. This questionnaire is shown in Appendix A.

The questionnaire contains a total of 60 items, many of which have several responses within them. Forty-one items are designed to measure five domains related to alcohol and drug use: (a) the frequency of the consumption of alcohol, tobacco, and illicit, prescription and over-the-counter drugs; (b) the problems that occur as the result of such usage; (c) the place and social circumstances of the consumption of alcohol; (d) the strategies used to regulate drinking; and (e) the perceptions of norms and attitudes about drinking and drug use that are present in community and peer groups. The last 19 items

ask relevant sociodemographic and descriptive information, such as respondents' ethnicity and religious affiliation.

In the present investigation, the focus is on actual drinking behaviors, personal, friends', and others' attitudes toward drinking, drinking norms, and perceptions of the risk of alcohol use. Other items will be examined on an exploratory basis and will not be reviewed in depth here.

Actual Drinking Behavior

Four items on the survey will be used to assess participants' actual drinking behavior, the outcome variable for this study: (a) item 5a-c, (b) item 9a-c, (c) item 11, and (d) item 12. Item 5a-c asks participants, "On how many occasions (if any) have you had alcoholic beverages to drink?," and asks them to rate their response to this question from 1 (0 occasions) to 7 (40+ occasions). Participants rate their response in reference to three different temporal durations: (a) "in your lifetime?" (5a), (b) "during the last 12 months" (5b), and (c) "during the last 30 days" (5c). Total scores for this question are obtained by summing the responses to 5a, 5b, and 5c. Thus, scores can potentially range from 3 to 21, with higher numbers being indicative of higher drinking behavior.

Using a similar format used by item 5a-c, item 9a-c asks respondents about the number of times they have been drunk: "On how many occasions (if any) have you been drunk or very high from drinking alcoholic beverages?" The same 7-point rating scale that is used in item 5a-5c is also used in item 9a-c (i.e., 0 occasions = 1 to 40+ occasions = 7). Ratings are provided for drunk occasions over their lifetime, the past 12 months, and the past 30 days, as was done for item 5a-c. As will be done with item 5a-c, total scores for item 9a-c will be obtained by summing the response to the three parts. Scores

will potentially range from 3 to 21, with higher scores being indicative of a higher frequency of being drunk.

In item 11, respondents are asked, "Over the last two weeks, how many times have you had five or more drinks in a row?" Participants are given the definition of a drink as being "... a glass of wine, a bottle of beer or wine cooler, a shot of liquor, or a mixed drink." They are then to choose one of the six responses: (a) "none" (1), (b) "once" (2), (c) "twice" (3), (d) "3 to 5 times" (4), (e) "6 to 9 times" (5), or (f) "10 or more times" (6). Item 12 asks participants to write in a number in response to the question, "What is the average number of drinks you consume a week?" The responses provided to these last two questions will serve as their score on these items.

To assess the hypothesis, a summative score will be used in which scores from all four items will be added together to obtain the final score. The lowest possible value for these scores will be 6 and the highest possible value will depend upon participants' responses to item 12. Higher values will indicate more severe drinking behavior. The hypotheses will also be tested, however, on each of the individual items to gain a better understanding of the relationships observed.

Attitudes Toward Drinking

Item 34 will be used to measure participants' personal, their friends, and others' attitudes toward drinking. This item lists 14 behaviors related to drinking and are asked to rate each behavior on a 3-point scale as "acceptable" (1), "don't care" (2), or "unacceptable" (3). These behaviors include the following: (a) drinking alcoholic beverages to be social, (b) giving parties where alcohol is served, (c) giving parties where the only drinks are alcoholic, (d) letting loose and having fun when drinking, (e) losing

control when drinking, (f) drinking to get drunk, (g) being so drunk they throw up, (h) getting loud and aggressive when drinking, (i) drinking to get away from troubles, (j) drinking to fit in with a group, (k) providing alcohol to someone under the age of 21, (l) pressuring people to drink alcohol, (m) driving after two or three drinks, and (n) making sexual advances to someone who is high or drunk.

To obtain total scores for the personal, friends', and others' attitudes toward drinking, responses to the 14 items will be summed in a unit weighting fashion. This will yield total scores that can potentially range from 14 (acceptable) to 42 (unacceptable), with higher scores being indicative of more conservative values. This scoring method is different from that employed by Hamid (1995), one of first authors to use this scale to evaluate empirical questions. Instead of unit weighting each value, Hamid scored one point for each item respondents endorsed as either "acceptable" or "don't care". Using this method, scores ranged from 0 to 14 with higher values indicating more liberal attitudes toward drinking. However, one of the drawbacks of using this approach is that the range of responding is potentially restricted and such restricted ranges can reduce the magnitude of correlation coefficients (Tabachnick & Fidell, 1996). Thus, by using a unit weighting approach, it is less likely that this restriction of range problem will exist in the present study. However, to examine the differences in these two scoring approaches, item 34 will be scored both ways, analyses will be conducted using both scoring systems, and the results of these different approaches will be compared. This will thereby provide a better understanding for future researchers on how best to approach scoring this item. Each of the three dimensions that are measured by item 34 will be briefly reviewed.

Personal attitudes toward drinking. To evaluate respondents' personal attitudes toward drinking, participants are asked to respond to each of the 14 behaviors by endorsing the 3-point scale in response to the question, "Do you find this...." In the stem of this question, respondents are to provide their own opinion of the 14 behaviors. The coefficient alpha reported by Hamid (1995) for this index was .72. The large significant association between personal attitudes toward alcohol use and actual drinking behavior ($r = .67$) found by Hamid (1995) supports validity of this index.

Friends' attitudes toward drinking. To evaluate respondents' perceptions of their friends' attitudes toward drinking, participants are asked to respond to each of the 14 behaviors by endorsing the 3-point scale in response to the question, "Do your friends find this...." In the stem of this question, respondents are to provide an estimate of whether or not their friends find the 14 behaviors as acceptable or unacceptable. The survey defines friends for the respondent as being, "the people you see socially." Hamid (1995) reported the coefficient alpha for this index to be .76. Hamid also reported correlation between this index with actual drinking behavior as being $r = .32$ ($p < .001$), which supports the validity of this index.

Others' attitudes toward drinking. To evaluate respondents' perception of others' attitudes toward drinking, participants are asked to respond to each of the 14 behaviors by endorsing the 3-point scale in response to the question, "Do most students find this...." The stem of this question asks respondents to estimate the attitudes of most students as a whole. The coefficient alpha of this index has been reported as .73 (Hamid, 1995). The correlation of others' attitudes with actual drinking behavior has been reported as small, but statistically significant ($r = -.19$, $p < .01$) by Hamid (1995).

Drinking Norms

Items 31b and 32b will be used to evaluate drinking norms. Item 31b measures drinking norms of the respondents' friends and 32b measures drinking norms of others. For both of these items, participants are asked to provide two ratings. The first rating asks them to estimate how many people (i.e., "friends" for item 31b and "other students" for item 32b) drink alcoholic beverages. Scale values range from 1 (none) to 4 (most). In the second rating, respondents are asked to endorse from 1 (less than once per month) to 7 (daily) the frequency with which friends (31b) or other students (32b) drink alcoholic beverages.

To obtain separate total drinking norm scores for friends and others, the rating for the number of people drinking will be multiplied by the frequency rating. Thus, the resulting product will provide an overall index of drinking norms that includes both how many people and how severe the drinking behavior is. Higher values will be representative of norms which reflect a higher occurrence and severity of drinking among their friends and other students. The "how many" and "frequency" ratings will also be looked at separately, however, to provide more detailed information about the norms pertaining to alcohol usage. Reliability indices are not available for this index. The validity of this index, however, is supported by the large statistically significant association found between this index and drinking behavior ($r = .51$, $p < .001$) reported by Hamid (1995).

Perceived Risk of Alcohol Use

Perceived risk of alcohol use will be measured using items 33g, 33h, and 33i. The stem of all three of these items asks students to report on, "How much do you think people risk harming themselves (physically or in other ways) if they...." The rating scale for this item ranges from 1 (no risk) to 5 (can't say), with a value of 4 indicating great risk. The differences between these three items are only in the frequency of alcohol usage that is portrayed. For instance, item 33g states, "Have one or two drinks nearly every day," item 33h states, "Have four or five drinks nearly every day," and item 33i states, "Have five or more drinks once or twice each weekend."

For the purpose of testing the hypotheses in this study, scores of 5 will be coded as 0 to eliminate the influence of the "can't say" option. Next, scores for items 33g-i will be summed to yield a total perception of risk score which can potentially range from 3 (no risk) to 12 (high risk). No reliability or validity estimates are provided for this index.

Procedures

The archival data collected from the survey will be obtained from the administration at the University of Oklahoma. Procedures involved in the survey process will be briefly reviewed. After the course enrollment list for the randomly selected courses had been obtained for the University of Oklahoma administration, instructors were contacted and asked if they will allow the survey to be distributed in their class. Surveys were distributed at the beginning of class and then collected at the beginning of the next class two days later. Students participating in the survey were provided with a written description of the study, its purpose, and its relevance to drug and alcohol use on campus. Informed consent was assumed through the completion and return of the instrument. Participants were asked to only return the completed instrument with no

identifying information added. With informed consent being met by the returning of the materials, participants were guaranteed complete confidentiality. This part of the protocol was added based on the results of a pilot study.

Students were allowed to sign a piece of paper verifying their participation if they chose to. This allowed them the opportunity to receive credit from instructors who already give credit to student for research participation on campus. This list was only signed after the participant had turned in their instrument. At no time was this list and the survey stored together. This procedure guaranteed students' confidentiality, while allowing the instructor the flexibility of awarding credit for participation.

Data Analysis

The data collected from this investigation will be analyzed using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS[®]) for Macintosh[®]. After the database has been verified for accuracy, descriptive statistics will first be calculated. These will include measures of central tendency and dispersion (e.g., M and SD), frequencies, percentages, and cross-tabulations of variables (e.g., response by gender).

Because the hypotheses in this investigation focus on the ability for various factors to predict drinking behavior among undergraduate college students, the hypotheses will be analyzed using canonical correlation analysis. This analysis is appropriate because the goal is to examine the relationship between two sets of variables (i.e., attitudes and alcohol behavior). The canonical variate (i.e., the linear combination of the variables), for the outcome variable will be drinking behavior, which will comprised of the variables in the drinking behavior index. The canonical variate for the independent side of the equation will include the personal (H1a), friends' (H1b), and

others' (H1c) attitude variables and the friends' (H2a) and others' (H2b) drinking norms variables, all of which will be entered simultaneously. The significance of the canonical variable loadings will be evaluated at .05, as will the squared multiple correlations of each variable. The inspection of these coefficients will allow for the specific testing of the first research question in that they will reveal which of the predictors are uniquely predictive of drinking behaviors and which is the strongest predictor.

To test Hypothesis H2c, which predicts that actual drinking behavior will be more closely related to perceptual norms of friends' drinking levels than to perceptual norms of others' drinking levels, a test of dependent correlations will be calculated between the following two semi-partial correlations: (a) drinking behavior with friends' norms and (b) drinking behavior with others' norms. The resulting t value will be evaluated at a two-tailed alpha of .05.

The assumptions underlying canonical correlation (i.e., linearity, homoscedasticity, and multivariate normality) will be examined by visually inspecting the distribution of canonical variate scores and by producing a scatterplot of pairs of canonical variates (Tabachnick & Fidell, 1996). If the data are not multivariate normal, then data transformations will be conducted on variables with non-normal distributions in an attempt to normalize them. Tolerance values will be used to examine for the presence of multicollinearity and Cook's distance scores will be inspected to evaluate for influential outliers.

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UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

GRADUATE COLLEGE

CONSTRUCTING GRAPHS TO MEET SPECIFIED CONDITIONS:

A GENERALIZABILITY STUDY

A Dissertation

SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the

degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

By

LINDA SUE BRADDY

Norman, Oklahoma

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CONSTRUCTING GRAPHS TO MEET SPECIFIED CONDITIONS:
A GENERALIZABILITY STUDY

A Dissertation APPROVED FOR THE
DEPARTMENT OF MATHEMATICS

BY

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ABSTRACT

This study investigated differences in problems involving graphical representations of functions. Specifically, problems requiring students to answer questions about a given graph were compared with problems requiring students to construct a graph to meet specified conditions.

Subjects for the study were students enrolled in a first-semester calculus course during the 1998 fall semester at a medium-sized regional university. Thirty-two students, 13 females and 19 males, completed 24 problems involving graphical representations of functions. Half of these problems required students to answer questions about a given graph, and the other half required students to construct a graph meeting specified conditions. The students' written solutions to these problems were scored by two raters. Generalizability theory was used to study the differences between the two types of problems.

Numerical results suggested true systematic differences in problems types do exist. Information obtained from personal interviews revealed differing opinions regarding difficulty level of the problem types, which supported the numerical findings. Seventy-five percent of the students interviewed thought it was more difficult to construct a graph to meet specified conditions than it was to answer questions about a given graph. Although it might be expected that only higher ability students would think constructing a graph is easier than answering questions about a graph, in fact three of the students who held this opinion had the lowest final course grades. In addition, the numerical results indicated the students prepared differently for examinations than for quizzes. Information from the interviews revealed that this was due in part to the fact

that the examination and quiz scores were weighted differently in the calculation of final grades. The interviews also revealed two basic strategies students used to construct graphs, in addition to several unexpected misconceptions held by the students.

A major result of this study is a warning against assuming comparability in assessment items involving graphical representations of functions. An additional result is a warning against the use of simple tests of differences in mean achievement to determine if items are similar and comparable. When the measurement situation is unclear, studies such as this generalizability study of what factors contribute to variance become especially important.

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

The use of multiple representations of functions (graphical, numerical, and symbolic representations) has been a major theme in recent calculus reform (e.g., Douglas, 1986; Leitzel, 1991; NCTM, 1989; Roberts, 1996). The assumption is that students benefit from exposure to different representations of the same function. Presumably, these benefits include either (1) students mastering content in more powerful, flexible forms, (2) students mastering content more quickly than would be the case without deliberate attention to multiple representations, (3) students mastering content who would not normally be able to do so, or (4) some combination of the first three (Braddy and McKnight, 1997). This idea is not unique either to the current reform movement or to the subject of calculus. Dienes may be regarded as the father of multiple representations (Ahmadi, 1995). According to Dienes (1960, p. 3), there is no single representation that can lead to abstraction and variety is essential. He asserted that the use of multiple representations is a prerequisite to understanding a concept. Numerous other researchers and practitioners have made similar claims, based on either empirical evidence or their own classroom experiences (e.g., Garofalo and Durant, 1991; Piez and Voxman, 1997).

The validity of the notion that students benefit from exposure to different representations of the same function, particularly graphical representations, is rarely questioned, and seldom tested. In order to test the validity of this idea, we need to know what types of questions are appropriate to assess understanding of functions and their graphical representations. This assessment often is assumed to be unproblematic and already understood. Is this assumption warranted? If in fact the appropriateness of such assessment methods is more complex than assumed, then empirical studies incorporating the use of graphical representations might have more ambiguous results than suggested at first glance. Effective, well understood assessment methods that produce less ambiguous research results are also essential for developing better curricula, textbooks, and instruction.

This study is one step in an agenda to clarify what is measured in assessment items centered on graphical representations and to develop additional new approaches. In particular, there seems to be a clear distinction between assessments that question students about *given* graphical representations and assessments that ask students to *construct* graphical representations meeting specified conditions. These conditions may include both general characteristics of a function, such as the requirement that the function pass through a certain point, as well as characteristics more closely tied to ideas from calculus, such as the requirement that it have a local extrema or inflection point at a certain location. This latter item type, requiring students to construct a graph of a function, is a cognitive task that does not depend on multiple representation ideas or on the increased use of graphing calculators, but its relevance has been increased by these more graph-intensive approaches that have been characteristic of recent calculus reform.

Further, the use of this sort of assessment item may increase student attention to instructional efforts on more powerful, fundamental uses of graphical representations. Appropriate assessment helps set students' learning agendas.

This study is an empirical analysis designed to clarify issues in answering the question, "For typical calculus students, do assessment items with questions asked about a *given* graph and items that require *constructing* a graph to meet specified conditions draw on different student abilities and achievements?". If it can be demonstrated that these two types of graphical representation items are different, the way is opened for further pertinent questions: Are the differences due to student ability or achievement? Do the differences correlate with other differences in student performance? Are there differing parts of calculus instruction that are needed to improve student performance for each area? This study is only the first step in an agenda of related questions.

Problem Statement

The problem addressed in this study is ascertaining whether or not systematic differences exist in two different types of assessment items involving graphical representations of functions. Specifically, this study will investigate students' written solutions to problems given on quizzes and examinations as part of the normal assessment activities in a first-semester, graphing-calculator-based calculus course. Information obtained through personal follow-up interviews will further confirm the quantitative results.

Significance of the Study

Numerous studies have investigated the function concept. Much of the research literature for functions focuses on the definition of function and how the understanding of the function concept develops. Many studies have focused on multiple representations of functions, and in particular, graphical representations. However, no research exists that addresses the question of whether or not different types of problems involving graphical representations of functions actually measure different student abilities. According to Romberg, Fennema, and Carpenter (1993), research in the area of graphical representations of functions is “sparse” but “a coherent body of knowledge about how the connections are developed among tables, graphs, and the algebraic expressions related to functions is desperately needed” (p. ix). This study will make a significant contribution to the research, particularly at the undergraduate level of mathematics education. By providing evidence of differences (or lack of differences) between assessment items incorporating the use of graphical representations, this study has the potential to help clarify what types of questions are appropriate for assessing understanding of functions and their graphical representations. In addition, a better understanding of these types of assessment items gained from this study has the potential to inform instruction, as well as to aid the development of curricula and textbooks.

Research Questions

1. Differences in problem types. Are there systematic differences in graphical representation problems involving questions about a *given* graph of a function and problems requiring the *construction* of a graph to meet specified conditions?

2. Differences in student performance. Do students perform differently on these two types of problems involving graphical representations of functions? If so, to what can these differences in performance be attributed? How much can these differences be attributed to systematic differences in the students? How much can these differences be attributed to differing levels of preparation of the students? How much can these differences be attributed to differences in rater evaluations?
3. Differences in student strategies, perceptions and misconceptions. What are the thought processes of students as they solve the two different types of problems involving graphical representations of functions? What types of strategies do they use to solve these two types of problems? What are students' perceptions of these two types of problems? Do they think one type is more difficult than the other? Do they think one type requires different mathematical abilities than the other? Do they enjoy one type more than the other? Are there common misconceptions that arise?

CHAPTER 2

Review of the Literature

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss how previous research influenced the research questions in this study as well as the design of the study. Literature is reported that addresses the relevance of calculus reform and multiple representations of functions to this study, that suggests the importance of graphical representations of functions in general, and that describes the statistical analysis tool referred to as generalizability theory.

Calculus Reform and Multiple Representations of Functions

The function concept is undoubtedly one of the most fundamental concepts in all of mathematics. Much research has been done regarding students' understanding of functions (Davis, 1984; Markovits, Eylon, and Bruckheimer, 1986; Monk, 1992; Orton, 1983; Tall, 1996; Vinner and Dreyfus, 1989). Advocates of calculus reform have recommended the use of multiple representations as a way to improve students' understanding of functions. The three representations emphasized are graphical, numerical, and symbolic or algebraic forms. Leinhardt, Zaslavsky, and Stein (1990) assert that the use of multiple representations is important partly because of "the increased recognition of the organizing power of the concept of functions from middle

school mathematics through more advanced topics in high school and college" (p. 1). Other researchers have made recommendations regarding the advantage of using a multiple representations approach as well (Dreyfus and Eisenberg, 1987; Moschkovich, Schoenfeld, and Arcavi, 1993; Schwarz and Dreyfus, 1993; Yerushalmy and Schwartz, 1993). The assertion is that providing students with the opportunity to view functions from various perspectives increases their conceptual understanding.

The availability of technology has focused increased attention on the use of multiple representations of functions in many areas of mathematics education. This accessibility has important implications for mathematics curricula. For instance, representing functions with graphs could allow mathematics to become more a study of classes of functions than a study of symbol manipulation techniques (Philipp, Martin, and Richgels, 1983).

A tremendous amount of research literature for functions and their various representations exists. There are published studies that have investigated the effect of different kinds of technology on students' graphing and visualization skills as well as their understanding of different representations of functions (Borba and Confrey, 1996; Caldwell, 1995; Goldenberg, 1988; Shoaf-Grubbs, 1994; Yerushalmy, 1990), the effect of different instructional approaches on students' abilities to use and understand connections between different representations when solving problems (Porzio, 1995), student's graphing skills (Brasell and Rowe, 1993; Clement, Mokros, and Schultz, 1986), common graphing conceptions and misconceptions (Barclay, 1987; Mevarech and Kramarsky, 1997), and ways in which calculus students use graphs to solve problems (Patterson, 1983).

Others disagree with the idea that linking multiple representations of functions is beneficial for students. Varying degrees of importance are placed on the development of a student's ability to move flexibly among the three fundamental representations. Thompson (1994) admits he "jump[ed] on the multiple-representations bandwagon early" (p. 39), but that he was mistaken and it may be wrong to focus on graphical, numerical, and algebraic representations. He asserts,

[T]he core concept of "function" is not *represented* [author's emphasis] by any of what are commonly called the multiple representations of functions, but instead our making connections among representational activities produces a subjective sense of invariance (p. 39).

Although some researchers do not support the notion that an emphasis on multiple representations of functions benefits the development of students' understanding of functions, the majority of the research literature does support this idea.

Graphical Representations of Functions

As important as the three fundamental representations of functions and the connections among them may be, graphical representations are important as an entity in their own right. Encouraging the use of a graphical approach in mathematics classes, Philipp et al. (1983) assert,

[A] graphical approach makes it easier to work with many existing topics, greatly increases the range of problems which are accessible to students, and reduces the prerequisite of extensively developed manipulative skills, so that students can spend more time modeling and solving problems.

Functions and graphs should be studied and researched as an important content area in itself (Williams, 1993). Graphical representations have unique characteristics not evident from other representations of functions (e.g., they provide a view of global

function behavior) and in certain cases, the graphical representation of a function might be more important than its algebraic form. In particular, applications of graphing technology in which data is input through a sensor of some sort (e.g., a motion detector) and a graph produced do not require an algebraic representation of the function in order for students to make the connection between the graph and the situation it represents (e.g., the position of a bouncing ball). The importance of graphs can also be seen in the process of building a velocity graph from a position graph (Kaput, 1993). This process does not require an algebraic formula for the function represented by either graph. The same process would be used to produce a graph of the acceleration function. This kind of task (which will later in the current study be labeled a “graph-to-graph Type 2” task) is becoming increasingly important as advances in technology provide the ability to manipulate dynamic graphical representations. These types of interactive representations require that more importance be placed on the graph than on the algebraic formula for the function.

As important as graphical representations of functions may be to the study of elementary mathematics, relatively little research has been done in this area. Williams (1993) asserts, “[T]he treatment of function and graph, viewed as mathematical...objects, remains sketchy in the research as a whole” (p. 325). And according to Leinhardt et al. (1990), “The teaching of graphs, graphing, and functions is understudied in comparison to other areas of early mathematical instruction (addition, fractions, decimals, algebra word problems)” (p. 54). Certainly, more research is needed in the area of functions and their graphical representations.

Kieran (1993) reports that the traditional emphasis regarding the use of graphical representations has begun to shift. The practice of using graphs as merely an additional way to depict an algebraic representation of a function is being replaced with the practice of using graphs as a tool to examine global features of a function as well as a tool for solving problems in applied settings. A result of this shifted emphasis is the need to focus efforts on improving students' global or qualitative graph interpretation skills, rather than remaining focused on skills involving the interpretation of local behavior (Dugdale, 1993; Krabbendam, 1982; and Phillips 1986). Interpreting local behavior includes such things as determining intercepts, slopes, extrema, and points of discontinuity (this kind of task will later in the current study be labeled as a "Type 1" task).

Student difficulties with interpretation of qualitative representations of functions are well documented in the literature (Bell and Janvier, 1981; Ferrini-Mundy and Graham, 1994; Janvier, 1978; Karplus, 1979; Peters, 1982; Shaw, Padilla, and McKenzie, 1983). Qualitative representations of functions shift focus away from numerical values to the overall relationship of the variables described by the graph. Leinhardt et al. (1990) distinguish between categories of *interpretation* of graphs (here Type 1 problems) and *construction* of graphs (here Type 2 problems), referring to qualitative interpretation as "trend detection" (p. 9). For example, students might be asked to examine a graph and describe events that could have produced the graph or a situation modeled by the graph. Alternatively, students might be asked to construct a graph of a function based on available information about the derivative of the function

(Heid, 1988), the same kind of task as the one described previously (building velocity and acceleration graphs from position graphs).

Assessment Issues

With so much emphasis being placed on improving qualitative interpretation skills and understandings, it seems more necessary than ever to insure the use of appropriate assessment methods with respect to graphical representations of functions. Markovits et al. (1986) assert that problems asking students to sketch the graph of a function that meets specified conditions (Type 2) are a type of task that probes the students' understanding of qualitative aspects of the function; in particular, it probes their understanding of the relationship between the variables. Empirical research is needed to establish effective assessment methods that can be used to confirm such assertions.

Graphical representations of functions have become more widely used in mathematics instruction as the use of graphing technology has become more prevalent. In order to investigate the validity of the assumption that exposure to graphical representations is of benefit to students, it is necessary to determine what types of questions are appropriate to assess their understanding of functions and graphs. According to Philipp et al. (1993), assessment must change in response to the use of a graphing approach in any mathematics class. The Research Advisory Committee of the National Council of Teachers of Mathematics (1990) asserts, "There is a clear need for research in the development and implementation of new approaches to the assessment of mathematics learning..." (p. 290). There is only limited research on assessment and evaluation of student learning in calculus and more generally in all college mathematics

courses (Tucker and Leitzel, 1995). In assessing the present state of research in the content area of graphical representations of functions, Williams (1993) contends,

[W]e as researchers have failed to provide a comprehensive analysis of the subject matter with an eye toward informing research on learning or teaching....Research has also failed to deal effectively with understanding the graphical representation of functions. Specifically, we have failed to engage in the sort of careful **analysis of tasks** [emphasis added] and structures that would allow for modeling the understanding, learning, and teaching of graphs and functions (p. 313).

He goes on to assert that, while gaining a better understanding of cognitive processes relative to functions and graphs may require careful analysis of the tasks themselves, such analyses of graphing tasks and graph interpretation tasks have not yet been synthesized.

In particular, the question of whether or not different types of problems involving graphical representations of functions actually measure different student abilities has not been investigated. It seems that this could be a starting point in the quest for appropriate assessment techniques.

Research Issues

If it can be established that different types of graphing problems do in fact measure different abilities, this would suggest that the practice of using a mixed variety of these types of problems as research instruments in empirical studies should be reconsidered.

Markovits et al (1986) investigated junior high school students' understanding of the function concept. Two particular components of the students' understanding that was studied was their ability to identify which of several given functions satisfied

specified conditions and their ability to give examples of functions satisfying specified conditions. There were three kinds of conditions: (1) those specifying global properties of the function (e.g., increasing, constant), (2) those placed on the domain and range, and (3) those requiring the function to pass through specific points. Problems given were designed to identify student difficulties as well as to suggest causes of the difficulties. One type of problem asked the students to choose which of three graphs satisfied a specified requirement for the domain and range, which would fit into the category of interpreting graphs (similar to the Type 1 here). Another type of problem used in the study asked students to sketch the graph of a function meeting specified conditions regarding function behavior (Type 2). A third type of problem asked students to produce an algebraic representation of a function that satisfied specified conditions on the domain and range. It was found that students had difficulty constructing graphs that satisfied given constraints and even more trouble finding algebraic representations for functions satisfying the constraints. The authors acknowledge their inability to draw any conclusions based on these results, in part because many of the problems used were “not standard” and may well have been measuring a level of understanding “quite high” for the subjects. As a result, they focused on types of difficulties the students experienced rather than the students’ overall success. At no time did the study examine differences among the different types of graphing problems used.

Ruthven (1990) compared the performance of two groups of upper secondary school students on different types of graphing problems. In the first type, called *symbolism* items, students were asked to give an algebraic representation of a given

graph. In the second type, called *interpretation* items, students were asked interpretive questions about a given graph (a Type 1 task). For example, they were given a graph of a cyclist's speed in meters per second over a 10-minute period and asked at what point the speed was greatest. The experimental and control groups differed only in terms of their access to graphing calculators or graphing software. The performance of the two groups on the symbolism items was compared separately from their performance on the interpretation items. It was found that the experimental group performed better than the control group on the symbolization items, but not on the interpretation items. This treatment effect was attributed to the experimental group's use of graphing technology.

The following explanation was given for the pattern of performance observed:

Although, superficially, both sets of items are concerned with graphs, they depend, in fact on very different competences [sic]. The symbolisation items depend on expertise in recognizing graphic forms, and relating them to appropriate symbolic forms....[while the interpretation items depend] on synthesising verbal, contextual, and graphic information, unmediated by symbolism (p. 448).

The author asserts that the regular use of graphing technology is likely to have improved the experimental group's performance on the symbolization items, while the same technology will not, in itself, help develop expertise with the interpretation items. However, at no time did this researcher investigate differences in the types of items in order to produce empirical evidence that they depend on different competencies; he simply compared the performance of the two groups on the items.

Ferrini-Mundy and Graham (1992) report the results of a qualitative study that explored four calculus students' understandings of calculus concepts, including functions, limits, continuity, derivatives, and integrals. These students were enrolled in

a traditional calculus course taught in a large lecture format without the use of technology. Each student participated in four interviews during which they completed tasks involving graphical representations of functions. Several of the tasks were of the *interpretation* variety in which students were given a graph and asked questions about the graph (Type 1). Other tasks were of the *construction* variety (Type 2). There were two categories of construction tasks: (1) those asking the students to sketch the graph of a function that met specified conditions, and (2) those asking the students to sketch the graph of the derivative of a function that was given graphically (graph-to-graph Type 2). The study focused on probing students' procedural knowledge as well as their conceptual knowledge of the aforementioned calculus concepts. Differences among the types of graphing problems were not investigated. One conclusion was, "Startling inconsistencies exist between performance, particularly on procedural items, and conceptual understanding. Traditional means of assessment in calculus are almost certain to mask the nature of student understanding" (p. 43).

A study using similar types of problems was also reported in 1994 by Lauten, Graham, and Ferrini-Mundy. Tasks were described as those requiring students to "generate examples of functions with certain properties" (*construction*, Type 2), and those requiring students to "answer questions about functions using their graphs" (*interpretation*, Type 1). Again, no attention was given to establishing the existence of systematic differences between the two types of tasks.

Eisenberg and Dreyfus (1994) conducted a study to investigate the effects of a teaching unit designed to enhance students' visualization of function transformations. The subjects were 16 boys who were 17 or 18 years of age from a boys' senior high

school in Israel. These students were given identical pre-tests and post-tests and were interviewed as well. The tasks involved were categorized as “standard” and “nonstandard”. The students’ success rates on the two categories of tasks were compared, and conclusions were drawn based on these comparisons. However, the “standard” tasks consisted of both *interpretation* and *construction* problems. For example, several “standard” tasks asked the students a question about a given graph (Type 1). Other “standard” tasks asked the students either to draw a graph that met specified conditions (Type 2) or to draw a graph that was related to a given graph (graph-to-graph Type 2). In their conclusions, the authors did state their belief that “the transformations used in this study are hierarchically ordered with respect to difficulty in understanding and mastering” (p. 58) and that “certain classes of transformations seemed to be easier for students than others” (p. 62). No empirical evidence was offered to confirm the correctness of their assertions, pointing again to the need for such evidence.

Clement, Mokros, and Schultz (1986) examined middle school children’s graphing skills and misconceptions in a study. The research instruments used were graphing problems, some of which involved *interpretation* of a graph (Type 1), and some of which involved *construction* of a graph (Type 2). The authors assert that “we need to know more about the development of graphing competencies [authors’ emphasis]” (p. 3). How can level of such competency accurately be measured if the instruments used do not measure the *same* competencies? Again, the necessity of comparability of the measurement items is required.

Preece (1983) investigated qualitative interpretation strategies and interpretation errors. Subjects for the study were 122 students who were 14 or 15 years old. Tasks were all of the *interpretation* variety (Type 1), although they included multiple curve graphs as well as single curve graphs. An example of a task that involved multiple curves is one in which time-and-distance graphs of three different cars were presented on the same set of coordinate axes. This type of task proved to be especially difficult for the students. However, no comparison was made of the differences between the different types of problems.

Other studies have been published (e.g., Yerushalmy, 1991) in which research instruments included tasks requiring students to match a graphical representation to its algebraic formula (given among several algebraic formulas), as well as tasks requiring students to produce an algebraic formula themselves, based on a given graph. No empirical evidence exists that establishes the comparability of these types of items.

These and similar research strategies appear to be perfectly reasonable strategies, but if there are in fact differences between the types of graphing problems used as research instruments, then this kind of approach is one that would need to be refined.

A study that investigated calculus students' strategies for sketching a graph of a function that met several specified conditions (Type 2) was conducted by Baker, Cooley, and Trigueros (in press). They developed a matrix in accordance with the APOS theory (Asiala, Brown, DeVries, Dubinsky, Mathews, Thomas, 1996) which depicted graphing schema used by the students. They also enumerated the four areas that were most problematic for the students. However, no comparison was made between this type of graphing problem and any other type.

A modest amount of research has been done in the area of graphical representations of functions but much more remains to be done. Research designed to develop appropriate methods for assessing students' understanding of functions and their graphs is certainly lacking. In particular, careful analyses of tasks involving graphs is practically nonexistent.

Generalizability Theory

Several analytical methods of data analysis were available for this study. A simple one-way analysis of variance to compare the two item types would have been appropriate if the variability in student responses had been well understood to be primarily due to student differences. However, little was known about the relative effects of several other factors affecting the variability of student responses, including effects due to raters, occasions, and stakes (i.e., quizzes vs. examinations). Therefore, generalizability theory was chosen as the primary analytical method for this study because it provides a separate estimate of the magnitude of multiple sources of variance in a single analysis.

Generalizability theory essentially decomposes variance into components due to numerous sources. With generalizability theory, it is not necessary to restrict decomposition of variance to only the component due to differences among individuals and the residual composed of systematic and random sources labeled "error" variance. This theory allows the proportion of overall variance due to differences in individual performances on a behavioral measurement to be compared with that due to various other factors in the measurement situation. A multi-facet study can be used to estimate interactions inaccessible with more commonly used methods, which in turn enables

researchers to design more efficient data collection procedures (Cronbach, Gleser, Nanda, and Rajaratnam, 1972). Hence a generalizability study should incorporate into its design as many potential sources of variance as are of interest.

Generalizability theory is fairly new, with its beginnings in the work of Cronbach, Gleser, Nanda, and Rajaratnam in 1957, which resulted in the publication of their book *The Dependability of Behavioral Measurements: Theory of Generalizability for Scores and Profiles* in 1972 (Brennan, 1997). The theory is still evolving, but it has been recommended over classical test theory, which encompasses all common statistical procedures such as ANOVA, MANOVA, multiple regression, factor analysis, discriminate function analysis, and canonical correlation analysis (Arnold, 1996; Brennan, 1992; Cronbach, et al., 1972; Eason, 1991; Shavelson and Webb, 1991; Shavelson, Webb, and Rowley, 1989). In particular, generalizability theory provides more accurate reliability estimates than classical theory as well as a method for analyzing more complicated, and thus *more realistic*, models than analyses such as ANOVA. Eason (1991) contends,

Generalizability theory considers the multiple sources of error that may influence scores, as well as the **interaction effects** of error influences. This more complex model better honors the reality to which the researcher wishes to generalize, since reality usually involves multiple sources of error variance that can also interact with each other (boldface emphasis in original, p. 84).

Her recommendation is based partially on the fact that with classical theory it is impossible to consider multiple sources of error variance in a single analysis, which she classifies as a severe limitation of the theory.

Shavelson et al. (1989) characterize generalizability theory as “broader and more flexible” than classical test theory and go on to say, “generalizability theory asks how accurately observed scores permit us to generalize about persons’ behavior in a defined universe of situations” (p. 922). Many researchers wish to make inferences that generalize over several factors (for instance, occasions, items, forms, raters, observers, etc.), and generalizability theory is precisely what is needed in order to accomplish that.

Generalizability theory has not typically been used to study issues in undergraduate mathematics education. One study that used generalizability theory at this level of education is *An Investigation in the Use of Performance Assessment Tasks in Undergraduate Mathematics* (Fine, 1995). This study compared scores on performance assessment tasks with scores on a series of multiple choice questions targeting roughly the same knowledge domains. The subjects were students enrolled in college algebra. The main finding was that performance assessment tasks probably measure a different aspect of mathematical understanding than that tapped by short-answer tests. Additionally, a moderately large amount of the total variation in scores (17 percent) was actually attributed to the rater facet. The raters were student workers employed by the mathematics department where the study was conducted, suggesting the need to include raters as a facet in the current study.

Interpretation of Results

To develop an understanding of the interpretation of generalizability results for a two-facet, fully crossed design, consider an example from Shavelson and Webb (1991, p. 22-23): *A study of children's help-seeking behavior*. On two occasions, 13 children were tape-recorded while working mathematics problems. Two raters coded all

children's behavior on both occasions. The design has persons (p), the object of measurement, crossed with raters (r) and occasions (o), denoted $p \times r \times o$, and has seven variance components that can be estimated and interpreted using generalizability theory, which are displayed in the following table (the percentages do not sum exactly to 100 due to rounding):

Source of Variation	Estimated Variance Component	Percentage of Total Variance
p	0.3974	35
r	0.0096	1
o	0.1090	10
pr	0.0673	6
po	0.3141	28
ro	0.0064	1
pro,e	0.2244	20

In the "Source of Variation" column, "pr" denotes the interaction between persons and raters; "po" denotes the interaction between persons and occasions; "ro" denotes the interaction between raters and occasions; and "pro,e" denotes the residual, due to the three-way interaction between persons, raters, and occasions and/or other random or systematic sources that were not measured in this study.

The substantial variance component for persons (35 percent of the total variance) indicates that there are systematic differences in the frequency with which the children sought help. The variance component for raters (1 percent of the total), as well as the component for the rater by occasion interaction (1 percent of the total) are both small, indicating that the raters were consistent in general, and in particular, they were consistent on each occasion. In contrast, the component for the person by rater interaction is slightly larger (6 percent of the total), indicating that even though raters

used the same standards overall, they disagreed somewhat in the relative standing of the children. This component shows the extent to which one rater “saw” more help-seeking behavior than the other for each child. The slightly larger variance component for occasions (10 percent of the total) indicates that the level of the children’s help-seeking behavior is higher on one occasion than another. The large component for the person by occasion interaction (28 percent of the total) indicates that the relative standing of the children differed from one occasion to another. For example, the child who sought the most help on one occasion may have sought the least amount of help on another occasion.

The residual component accounts for a substantial portion (20 percent) of the total variance. To develop an understanding of the interpretation of generalizability results for a two-facet, nested design, consider one additional example from Shavelson and Webb (1991, p. 52-54): *A study of teacher behavior.* On three occasions, 5 teachers were videotaped in the classroom. Then three raters coded each of the 15 tapes in terms of the number of times the teacher directed a student to “try again”. For this design, the object of measurement is persons (p), the teachers. The facets are raters (r) and occasions (o). The occasion facet is nested within teachers since there are three occasions per teacher and the occasions differ from teacher to teacher. Rater is crossed with occasions and teachers since each rater coded all teachers on all occasions. This design is partially nested because there are both crossed and nested facets, denoted $(o:p) \times r$. It has only five variance components that can be estimated and interpreted using generalizability theory (note that the percentages do not sum exactly to 100 due to rounding):

Source of Variation	Estimated Variance Component	Percentage of Total Variance
p	8.228	32
r	2.613	10
o:p	4.622	18
pr	1.537	6
o:pr,e	9.072	35

The substantial variance component for persons (32 percent of the total variance) indicates that the teachers differed in their behavior. The variance component for raters was also substantial (10 percent of the total), indicating that the raters differed in the amount of behavior they “saw,” averaging over teachers and occasions. Occasions are nested within teachers so it is not possible to separate the occasion effect from the effect for the interaction between teachers and occasions. The source “o:p” denotes these combined effects, and the variance component for the combined effects (18 percent of the total) indicates that the teacher behavior differed from one occasion to another, but it is impossible to know whether one occasion produced more behavior than another (the occasion effect), whether the relative standing of teachers differed from once occasion to another (person by occasion interaction), or both. The variance component for the person by rater interaction (6 percent of the total) suggests that the relative standing of the teachers differed somewhat from one rater to another. The rater by occasion interaction is confounded with the three-way interaction between persons, raters, and occasions, and/or other random or systematic sources that were not measured in the study. This large residual component, denoted “o:pr,e” accounts for 35 percent of the total.

Generalizability theory provides a way to estimate multiple sources of variance in a single analysis, and it can be used to estimate interactions that are inaccessible with more commonly used statistical methods. This become particularly important when the sources of variance in a given situation are not well understood.

Summary

There is a tremendous amount of research literature that emphasizes the importance of multiple representations of functions and in particular, the importance of graphical representations. The literature does suggest, however, that more work must be done in the area of assessing understanding of functions and their graphs. Specifically, little work has been done to investigate whether assessment items involving different types of graphical representations actually measure the same abilities. Generalizability theory provides a valuable tool for investigating these potential differences in types of graphing problems.

CHAPTER 3

The Experiment

This chapter describes the key elements of the experiment that was performed as a means to address the questions in Chapter 1 of this study.

Subjects

Subjects were virtually all students enrolled in a section of a first-semester calculus course during the 1998 fall semester at East Central University, a medium-sized regional university in Ada, Oklahoma.

The Sample

The prerequisites for this course are college algebra and trigonometry courses, or equivalent high school courses. Enrollment in College Algebra at this university is contingent upon an ACT math subject score of 19 or higher or a score of 75 or higher on the Elementary Algebra Computerized Placement Test administered by the university.

Thirty-two students, 13 females and 19 males, completed all of the items included in this study. Seventy-nine percent of these students had completed three or more years of high school mathematics, while 47 percent had completed four or more. Seventy-nine percent had completed a trigonometry course in college. Nineteen percent were “non-traditional” students in the sense that they completed high school

mathematics courses during the 1980's or earlier. Two were international students, with English not their native language. Sixty-nine percent had an ACT math score of 23 or higher, while 19 percent had a score of 29 or higher.

Protection of Human Subjects

The use of human subjects in this research was approved (see Appendix A) by the University of Oklahoma's Institutional Review Board, as well as East Central University's Professional Development and Research Committee.

Subjects in this study were volunteers. To assure them that refusal to participate would involve no penalty to their course grade, students were informed of this twice in writing: on the informed consent form (see Appendix B) and on the background questionnaire (see Appendix C). Both of these documents were distributed to the students for completion during regular class periods at the beginning of the semester.

Students were given adequate time during class to study the consent form and ask questions pertaining to the research and their participation. They were asked for permission to allow the researcher to include in this study data from their written work that would be required as part of the normal assessment activities for the course. Students were at least 18 years of age, and thus could legally consent to participate in the study. They were informed that they were under no obligation to participate, but that refusing to participate would not exempt them from the class work. They were assured that they could discontinue their participation at any time with no penalty to their grade. In addition, they were assured that their identity would be kept confidential and that they would never be identified in any publication or presentation associated

with this research. Each student was assigned a pseudonym to be used in this dissertation and any subsequent publications or presentations.

Students were also informed that time devoted to a voluntary personal follow-up interview might cost them study time, but that the interviews were optional and that they could choose not to participate in them. During the course of the semester, 28 of the 32 subjects chose to participate in the interviews.

The students' grades were never at risk as a result of the collection and analysis of data for the study. However, the researcher anticipated that the students might become concerned that their course grades would be penalized unfairly as a result of being required to perform tasks they may perceive as unusual or non-standard. Care was taken to protect against the potential perception of unfair grading policies. Problems from the textbook similar in nature to the target problems included on examinations and quizzes were assigned as regular homework and in-class assignments. The students were told at the beginning of the semester that the study would involve no unusual tasks and that the target problems would simply be problems they would work during the normal course of the semester.

Course Description

This course basically followed a lecture format but incorporated the use of small group activities many times during the semester. The class met daily, Monday through Friday, for 50 minutes each day. The researcher was the instructor for the course. The textbook used was *Calculus: Graphical, Numerical, Algebraic* by Ross L. Finney, George B. Thomas, Franklin Demana, and Bert K. Waits (1994). During the semester,

differential calculus was covered in its entirety. Additionally, an introduction to integral calculus was included.

Graphing calculators were required of all students in the course and were used extensively throughout the semester. A particular emphasis was placed upon demonstrating the shortcomings of the calculators. Students were encouraged to use them during class as well as outside of class but were challenged to consider the appropriateness and/or necessity of their use on any given problem. The textbook supported the use of graphing calculators, providing examples and exercises that highlighted their strengths and weaknesses. Calculator-based homework problems were assigned on a regular basis to reinforce topics covered in class. Students were allowed to use their calculators for all homework, quizzes, and examinations.

Method

This study examined written data from quizzes and examinations given during the normal assessment activities of the course. All assessments were administered during regularly scheduled class periods. The study was designed to cause no interruption in the regular activities of the course, and there were no special or unusual interventions related to the study. Data gathered were ordinary problem solutions collected during the semester (see Appendix E for examples of student solutions).

Items

Two types of problems were targeted for evaluation in this study. The first type (Type 1) was a traditional type of graphing problem in which a graph is given, and several questions are asked about that graph. Questions covered concepts such as the coordinates of points in the plane, limits, asymptotes, and properties of the first and

second derivatives of the given function. The second type of problem (Type 2) was less traditional. Type 2 problems asked students to sketch a graph that met several specified conditions at the same time. The conditions presented in Type 2 problems closely paralleled the kinds of questions asked in Type 1 problems.

These conditions fell into 4 categories:

- (i) Those calling for graphs passing through specific points in the plane;
- (ii) Those calling for certain kinds of limiting behavior, including asymptotic behavior;
- (iii) Those based on or related to the first and second derivative (e.g., critical points, relative extrema, concavity, increasing or decreasing)
- (iv) Those calling for points of discontinuity or nondifferentiability.

Additionally, students often had to deal with the *implicit* interaction of two or more specified conditions. For example, one target problem asked students to sketch the graph of a function f that satisfied 6 different conditions. One condition was “ $f'(-1) = 0$ ”, which implies the function f either has a relative maximum, minimum, or inflection point at $x = -1$. Another condition was “ $f''(-1) = -9$ ”, which implies the function f must be *concave down* at $x = -1$. The *interaction* of the two conditions implies the function f must have a relative *maximum* at $x = -1$.

In other Type 2 problems (graph-to-graph Type 2), students were required to generate the “specified conditions” for themselves, based on another graph. For example, one target problem gave the graph of a function f and asked the students to sketch a possible graph of the derivative f' .

Two problems of each type were included on four different quizzes and on two different hour examinations for a total of 24 target problems (see Appendix D). These problems were similar to textbook problems as well as traditional examination and homework problems that might arise in any calculus course. Two problems of each type were required on each quiz and examination in order to allow an investigation of the consistency in items of the same type. Both types of problems were required on each quiz and examination in order to allow the researcher to estimate any variance due to differences between the types. One type may be more difficult than the other, or the two problem types may draw on different student abilities.

Partial Credit Rubrics

Partial credit rubrics were designed for each item. These rubrics were based on analyses of the questions asked in the Type 1 items or the conditions and interactions in the Type 2 items. Points were assigned for each question or condition. This resulted in considerable variation in the number of possible points for the items. Therefore, in the actual data analysis, the scores were converted to proportion of possible points received so that each item would be scored on a comparable metric. Small amounts of incomparability were unavoidable given the different “grain sizes” of the rubrics.

Raters

The performance of each of the 32 students on each of the 24 items was independently evaluated by two different raters (the researcher and a fellow graduate student) to allow an investigation of consistency in scoring. Immediately after the students had completed each quiz or examination containing target problems, two copies of each student’s work was made, one for each rater, before the problems were

graded by the instructor as part of the course grade. Each rater independently scored each item using the partial credit rubric for that item. These scores constituted the primary data for analyses.

Stakes

Target problems were included on quizzes as well as on hour examinations in order to allow the researcher to estimate any variance in scores due to attitudinal differences that students might have toward a quiz compared to an examination. Students were informed on the first day of class that their quiz scores would be scaled to account for 10 percent of their final grade, their examination scores would be scaled to account for 65 percent of their final grade, and the remainder of their grade would be determined by homework scores. It might be expected that the difference in weights of quiz grades versus examination grades might cause students to prepare differently for a quiz than they would for an exam.

Occasions

Target problems were included on two different hour examinations in order to allow the researcher to estimate any variance in scores due to the students' writing the examinations on different days. Target problems were included on four different quizzes for a similar reason.

Interviews

In addition to the student work that was collected, voluntary personal interviews were conducted with a small number of subjects following each quiz or examination that included target problems. Students were contacted individually concerning their participation in an interview, and it was made clear to them that they were under no

obligation whatsoever to participate. The only students in the class who experienced anything different from what they would experience in a non-experimental calculus class were the students who agreed to be interviewed. The purpose of the personal interviews was to enable the researcher to develop a better understanding of the students' thought processes and the general strategies they used as they were solving the problems. By interacting with them and asking them questions about their work, the researcher gained a better perspective on important aspects of their thought processes. In addition, the researcher was able to ascertain whether they felt one type of problem was more difficult than the other and whether or not they liked these types of problems. To avoid influencing their comments, the researcher informed each student at the beginning of the interview that any questions regarding "correct" problem solutions would be addressed *after* the interview was completed. Interviewees were encouraged to voice what they were thinking and feeling, without worrying about whether they were "right" or "wrong" since there were no incorrect answers in this context.

Design

Several analytical methods were available. If the variability in student responses had been well understood and was primarily due to student differences, a simple one-way analysis of variance to compare the two item types would have been appropriate. Since little was known about the relative effects of several factors affecting the variability of student responses, generalizability theory was chosen as the primary analytical method for this study. This theory was first developed and published in 1972 (Cronbach, Gleser, Nanda, and Rajaratnam). Shavelson and Webb (1991) provided an accessible introductory treatment. The computer program *GENOVA: A Generalized*

Analysis of Variance System (Crick and Brennan, 1983) was used for all generalizability analyses in this study.

Generalizability theory essentially decomposes variance into components due to numerous sources. With generalizability theory, it is not necessary to restrict decomposition of variance to only the component due to differences among individuals and the residual composed of systematic and random sources labeled "error" variance. In particular, this theory allows the proportion of overall variance due to differences in individual performances on a behavioral measurement to be compared with that due to various other factors in the measurement situation. Hence a generalizability study should incorporate into its design as many potential sources of variance as are of interest. These multiple sources of variance can be estimated separately in a single analysis. Since at least two instances of any source (student, rater, etc.) must be included and these must be combined in the design, the number of instances grows quickly through combinatorial "explosion." This makes it necessary to limit variance sources considered to those most important in the situation and can lead to degrees of freedom difficulties if sample size is not large. In this study, the sources of variation of interest were: differences among students, items, problem types, raters, stakes (examination vs. quiz), occasions, and all interactions.

In variance decompositions using generalizability theory, a final residual component remains which confounds random error and systematic influences from sources not explicitly included or controlled in the design with the first level of unexamined interactions (for example, three-way interactions). When the relative contribution of sources of variation in a measurement situation are unknown,

generalizability theory offers a powerful analytic approach for examining the role of each source (Shavelson and Webb, 1991).

Variability among persons being studied reflects systematic differences in their knowledge, skills, and abilities. This source of variance is called the *object of measurement*. Each major source of variance is called a *facet* in generalizability theory, analogous to a *factor* or *main effect* in an ANOVA design. Any facet may become the object of measurement. The *conditions* of a facet are analogous to the *levels* of a factor in an ANOVA design.

Facets may be *crossed* or *nested*. Facets A and B are crossed when all conditions of Facet A are observed with all conditions of Facet B. Facet A is nested within Facet B if two or more conditions of Facet A appear with one and only one condition of Facet B. With nested facets, it is not possible to estimate all variance components separately, so crossed facets are preferred over nested facets whenever possible. A design should be as fully crossed as possible to estimate as many sources of variability as possible (Shavelson and Webb, 1991, p. 55).

Pilot Study

The researcher conducted a pilot study during the 1997 spring semester using “found” data that had been generated in the normal assessment activities of a first semester calculus course during the 1996 fall semester at the University of Oklahoma. This pilot study served as a valuable tool for clarifying the experimental design needed for the current study. In the pilot study, a sample of 53 students were evaluated by two raters (the researcher and the instructor for the course) on 8 target problems (four Type 1

and four Type 2) for a completely crossed, two-facet design with student as the object of measurement:

$$\text{student} \times \text{problem type} \times \text{rater}.$$

The effect of the interaction of students with problem types was overwhelming, accounting for almost 60 percent of the total variance, indicating the need to modify the design (Braddy and McKnight, 1997).

There appeared to be a clear explanation for the huge interaction component. Since the pilot study used “found” rather than designed data, different problem types were taken on different occasions throughout the course. From the data, students apparently were differentially prepared on different occasions. The problems were completed in different circumstances (quizzes, hour examinations, final examination), which seems clearly to have affected student performance, and presumably, preparation. The occasion of measurement was confounded with differences among problem types (Type 1 vs. Type 2) and stakes (quiz vs. hour examination). Using two problems of each type on each occasion for this current study should allow the separation of the effect of problem types and the effect of occasions within stakes. This calls for a partially nested, five-facet design with student as the object of measurement:

$$\text{student} \times \text{rater} \times (\text{item within problem type}) \times (\text{occasion within stakes}).$$

Nesting items within problem type causes the item effect to be confounded with the effect for the item by type interaction. As a result, the item effect cannot be estimated separately from the effect for the item by type interaction. Similarly, the occasion effect cannot be estimated separately from the effect for the occasion by stakes interaction.

Occasionally, an estimate of a variance component may be negative. According to Shavelson and Webb (1991, p. 37), such negative estimates may arise because of a misspecification of the model or because of sampling error. If negative estimates are large in relative magnitude, chances are that they are a result of a misspecification of the model, and the model should be re-examined. If negative estimates are small in relative magnitude, near zero, they probably are a result of the true value of the component being at or near zero.

Since negative variance is conceptually impossible, Cronbach et al. (1972) recommends setting the negative estimate to zero. For any further calculations of variance components using that negative component, a value of zero, rather than the negative value, is used. The strength of this method is that it immediately eliminates the theoretical impossibility of a negative variance component. Brennan (1992) also recommends setting the negative estimate to zero but recommends using the original negative estimate in further calculations. The strength of this method is that it provides unbiased estimates of the variance components. Either method is commonly used, but Cronbach's method "produces biased estimates of variance components because they were calculated with the negative estimate set to zero" (Shavelson and Webb, 1991, p. 38). The GENOVA computer program (Crick and Brennan, 1983) used for this study provides two different estimates, one using Cronbach's method and one using Brennan's. This study reports the estimates generated using Brennan's method.

Data Analysis

Two raters independently evaluated the performance of each of 32 students on the 24 different items. These original scores were each converted to a proportion of

possible points and these proportions constituted the data set used for all generalizability analyses. Due to the final sample size, the researcher anticipated poor results from the analysis of the full five-facet partially nested model that had originally been specified for this study. As expected, the analysis resulted in a large number of negative variance components, many of which were also large in relative magnitude. Of the 35 different main and interaction effects that could have been estimated by such a model, only 18 had non-negative variance components. Clearly, the small sample size and degrees of freedom could not provide an accurate analysis with such a complicated model.

As a result, the researcher conducted a series of analyses using smaller, less complicated models. Many of these models excluded one or both of the nested facets by collapsing over the conditions. Many of the models that provided significant results were fully crossed designs, which provide estimates of more sources of variability than nested designs with the same facets. Some of these simpler models were the result of eliminating the stakes facet by examining quizzes separately from examinations. Most of the models excluded the rater facet after it was established that there indeed was no effect due to differences in raters. In addition, the researcher re-examined the analysis of many of these models in the context of subgroups based on each student's final course grade. This was done to increase homogeneity in an attempt to reduce the variability due to systematic differences among the students.

Information obtained from audio-tapes of the personal interviews was used as additional confirmation of effects suggested by the quantitative analyses. This information was also used to assess students' attitudes toward and perceptions of the different types of graphing problems investigated in this study.

CHAPTER 4

Results

The data analyses were carried out as described in Chapter 3. The computer program used for all generalizability analyses was *GENOVA: A Generalized Analysis of Variance System* (Crick and Brennan, 1983).

Generalizability Analyses

The initial analysis using the full five-facet, partially nested model
student \times rater \times (item within problem type) \times (occasion within stakes)
originally specified for this study yielded poor results, as anticipated. Seventeen of the 35 main and interaction effects had estimated variance components that were negative, many of which were large in magnitude, confirming the fact that there are degrees of freedom problems associated with the small sample size relative to such a complicated model. This indicated the need for a series of analyses using smaller, less complicated models.

Rater Effects

One way to simplify the model was to examine the rater effect, and in the absence of any effect due to raters, the rater facet could be eliminated from further consideration. The next set of analyses incorporated a two-facet, fully crossed design

with students crossed with raters and items. The goal of these analyses was to examine consistency in scoring by the two raters. In the first analysis, students were crossed with raters and the 12 Type 1 items, which yielded the results shown in Table 1.

Table 1 **MODEL: p x r x i**
Type 1 items

Source of Variation	Estimated Variance Component	Percentage of Total Variance
p	0.0145319	22.4
r	0.0000029	0
i	0.0121790	18.8
pr	0*	0
pi	0.0377621	58.2
ri	0*	0
pri,e	0.0004223	0.6

*A negative component was set to zero

The estimated variance components for the student by rater and rater by item interactions were negative but very small in relative magnitude, indicating the true value of the components are at or near zero. Following the procedure described by Brennan (1992), these estimates were set to zero only after the remaining variance components were calculated using the negative values. This convention will be used for the remainder of the presentations as well. A point will be made when any of the negative components were large in relative magnitude.

The results in Table 1 show no main effect due to raters, indicating that raters were consistent in their stringency. There is no effect due to the interaction of raters and students or due to the interaction of raters and items. This indicates that the raters were consistent from student to student as well as from item to item for all Type 1 items. The

residual component is negligible, indicating that very little variance is due to the three-way interaction and sources that are not included in this model.

In the next analysis, students and raters were again crossed with items, but only the 12 items of Type 2. This analysis yielded the results shown in Table 2. These results follow the same pattern as those for the Type 1 items. The major point in both Tables 1 and 2 is the lack of differences due to raters.

In the final analysis involving students crossed with raters and items (see Table 3), all 24 items were included making no distinction between the different types.

Table 2 **MODEL: $p \times r \times i$**
Type 2 items

Source of Variation	Estimated Variance Component	Percentage of Total Variance
p	0.0125327	23.0
r	0.0000004	0
i	0.0132233	24.3
pr	0*	0
pi	0.0278394	51.2
ri	0*	0
pri,e	0.0008019	1.5

*A negative component was set to zero

The results shown in Table 3 follow the same pattern as those for the separate analyses of Type 1 and Type 2 items, again with the major observation being the lack of differences due to raters.

Table 3 **MODEL: p x r x i**
All Items

Source of Variation	Estimated Variance Component	Percentage of Total Variance
p	0.0138909	23.4
r	0*	0
i	0.0123546	20.8
pr	0*	0
pi	0.0325024	54.7
ri	0*	0
pri,e	0.0006790	1.1

*A negative component was set to zero

These three analyses confirm the consistency of the raters across both types of items. Based on these results, the researcher felt confident in the correctness of the decision to collapse the scores over raters for the remainder of the analyses, thereby eliminating the need for a rater facet in later models.

The extremely large component for the student by item interaction shown in each of the Tables 1 through 3 (from 51.2 to 58.2 percent of the total) indicates the relative standing of the students changed from item to item, which is the same kind of result obtained in the pilot study. This confirms the need to include an occasion and/or stakes facet in the design.

Occasions and Stakes

In an attempt to decompose the item main effect shown in the previous results, the researcher incorporated occasions within stakes as a facet in the design. It was suspected that the variance due to items in the previous results was due to factors other than differences among the items within types. Thus, the next analyses were based on a

model that had students crossed with items and occasions nested within stakes. The separate results for Type 1 and Type 2 items are shown in Tables 4 and 5.

Table 4 **MODEL: p x i x (o:s)**
Type 1 items

Source of Variation	Estimated Variance Component	Percentage of Total Variance
p	0.0389180	13.3
s	0*	0
o:s	0.0378591	13.0
i	0*	0
ps	0*	0
po:s	0.0509612	17.5
pi	0.0231258	7.9
si	0.0239721	8.2
oi:s	0.0059966	2.1
psi	0.0075123	2.6
poi:s,e	0.1033773	35.4

*A negative component was set to zero

The nesting of the occasions facet within the stakes facet is denoted "o:s". The notation "po:s" denotes the interaction of students with occasions along with the three-way interaction of students, occasions, and stakes. The results in Tables 4 and 5 suggest the items within each type are comparable but that there are differences due to occasions within stakes.

Table 5 **MODEL: p x i x (o:s)**
Type 2 Items

Source of Variation	Estimated Variance Component	Percentage of Total Variance
p	0.0387819	19.8
s	0*	0
o:s	0.0057838	3.0
i	0*	0
ps	0.0077687	4.0
po:s	0.0057451	2.9
pi	0.0048601	2.5
si	0.0000000	0
oi:s	0.0237520	12.2
psi	0.0000000	0
poi:s,e	0.1085902	55.6

**A negative component was set to zero*

The occasion effect cannot be estimated separately from the occasion by stakes interaction due to the nesting in the designs shown in Tables 4 and 5.

However, it seems likely that systematic differences due to occasions would exist. Students might prepare differently for a quiz than they would for an examination, given the fact that quizzes and examinations carry different weights in the calculation of final grades. In each set of results, the three negative variance components were large in relative magnitude, and a large amount of variation (55.6 percent) is accounted for by either random error or systematic differences not accounted for in this model. As a result, additional models were analyzed.

Table 6 displays the analysis results of a model that crossed students with types and stakes, averaging over all quizzes and both examinations. This eliminates occasion from separate consideration in this analysis.

Table 6 **MODEL: p x t x s**

Source of Variation	Estimated Variance Component	Percentage of Total Variance
p	1.5809301	8.6
t	0.0544126	0.3
s	15.2066723	83.1
pt	0.0708687	0.4
ps	0.9542808	5.2
ts	0*	0
pts,e	0.4383512	2.4

*A negative component was set to zero

An overwhelming amount of variance (83.1 percent of the total) is attributed to differences due to the stakes main effect, with an additional 5.2 percent due to the interaction of students and stakes. The main effect indicates that stakes were systematically different, meaning stakes were consistently different for all students. The interaction component indicates an additional small amount of variance is due to differences in relative standings of the students from quizzes to examinations. While this analysis confounds occasion effects with others by ignoring occasions, the large effects for stakes are still suggestive. This is confirmation of the notion that students in this study did prepare differently for quizzes than they did for examinations.

Table 7 displays the results of the analysis of a model in which students are crossed with occasions and items nested within types using all 6 occasions and all 24 items. Only one of the negative variance component estimates was large in relative magnitude.

Table 7 **MODEL: p x o x (i:t)**

Source of Variation	Estimated Variance Component	Percentage of Total Variance
p	0.0519397	19.8
o	0.0399110	15.2
t	0.0018384	0.7
i:t	0*	0
po	0.0313709	12.0
pt	0.0007517	0.3
pi:t	0*	0
ot	0*	0
oi:t	0.0219198	8.4
pot	0*	0
poi:t,e	0.1147935	43.7

*A negative component was set to zero

In Table 7, a substantial¹ occasion main effect appears, as expected, along with a substantial student by occasion interaction. There is a moderate interaction of occasions with items within types. This time stake effects are confounded with other effects since stakes are ignored. The researcher suspected the occasions effect might be masking any effect due to types. Therefore, separate analyses were run for the two different item types. Tables 8 and 9 contain the results of the separate analyses of Type 1 and Type 2 items. The main effect of items is 0 in both analyses, indicating the Type 1 items are comparable and the Type 2 items are comparable. This serves as additional confirmation of the previous results suggesting items within each type are comparable.

¹ Components that are around 10 percent or more are referred to as "substantial" by Cronbach (1972), p. 176, and by Shavelson and Webb (1991), p. 54.

The substantial effect for the interaction between items and occasions (11.6 percent of the total) shows that some items varied in difficulty from occasion to occasion. Thus there were no consistent differences over all items of one type or the other, regardless of occasion, there were only differences among items caused by differences in occasions.

Table 8 **MODEL: p x o x i**
Type 1 Items

Source of Variation	Estimated Variance Component	Percentage of Total Variance
p	0.0535626	20.4
o	0.0218032	8.3
i	0*	0
po	0.0271996	10.3
pi	0.0048369	1.8
oi	0.0303922	11.6
pro,e	0.1250359	47.6

*A negative component was set to zero

Table 9 **MODEL: p x o x i**
Type 2 Items

Source of Variation	Estimated Variance Component	Percentage of Total Variance
p	0.0517060	22.7
o	0.0449600	19.7
i	0*	0
po	0.0129809	5.7
pi	0*	0
oi	0.0135273	5.9
pro,e	0.1047295	46.0

*A negative component was set to zero

Based on the information in Tables 8 and 9, the researcher decided to analyze quizzes and examinations separately using a model that crossed students with occasions

and items. Types again were analyzed separately. Tables 10 and 11 contain the results of the separate analyses of the Type 1 items on quizzes and Type 1 items on examinations, while similar results for the Type 2 analyses are listed in Tables 12 and 13.

The item effect for the Type 1 quiz items (8.6 percent) shown in Table 10 indicates that these items varied somewhat in level of difficulty. This was a surprising finding, suggesting that graphing problems may not be as similar as they might appear at first glance.

Table 10 **MODEL: p x o x i**
Type 1
Quizzes only

Source of Variation	Estimated Variance Component	Percentage of Total Variance
p	0.0528428	19.4
o	0.0359206	13.2
i	0.0232964	8.6
po	0.0205242	7.5
pi	0.0013952	0.5
oi	0.0091255	3.4
pro,e	0.1291011	47.4

**A negative component was set to zero*

There is a small effect due to the variability of Type 1 examination items (4.3 percent), shown in Table 11, suggesting these differed little in difficulty.

Table 11 **MODEL: p x o x i**
Type 1
Examinations only

Source of Variation	Estimated Variance Component	Percentage of Total Variance
p	0.0139163	4.8
o	0.0473669	16.3
i	0.0123800	4.3
po	0.0662268	22.8
pi	0.0356512	12.3
oi	0.0088960	3.1
pro,e	0.1058345	36.4

**A negative component was set to zero*

The results in Tables 12 and 13 suggest that Type 2 items are comparable based on the fact that there is no main effect for Type 2 items on quizzes and a negligible effect (1.3 percent) for those same type items on examinations.

Table 12 **MODEL: p x o x i**
Type 2
Quizzes only

Source of Variation	Estimated Variance Component	Percentage of Total Variance
p	0.0594269	21.9
o	0.0570701	21.0
i	0*	0
po	0.0108057	4.0
pi	0*	0
oi	0.0213034	7.8
pro,e	0.1229425	45.3

**A negative component was set to zero*

Table 13

MODEL: p x o x i
Type 2
Examinations only

Source of Variation	Estimated Variance Component	Percentage of Total Variance
p	0.0409940	24.5
o	0.0367093	22.0
i	0.0022339	1.3
po	0.0126016	7.5
pi	0*	0
oi	0*	0
pro,e	0.0746709	44.7

*A negative component was set to zero

The original design of the full model for this study was *unbalanced* because the stakes facet has a different numbers of levels or occasions for quizzes (four occasions) and examinations (two occasions). A *balanced* design is required in order to use the GENOVA program for data analysis. A similar requirement exists for other computer programs such as BMDP3V in the BMDP statistical package and the VARCOMP procedure in the SAS package. For an unbalanced design, the recommendation is to randomly delete levels of a facet to create a balanced design (Shavelson and Webb, 1991). According to Shavelson, Webb, and Rowley (1989), such random deletions have little effect on the estimated variance components. Shavelson and Webb (1991) additionally recommend comparing the results of several random deletions to ensure that any particular selection is not unusual. For this study, all possible combinations of 2 quizzes with the 2 examinations were analyzed. Each model had students crossed with types and occasions within stakes. For this set of analyses, the results using different pairs of quizzes were similar, with the analysis using Quiz 1 and Quiz 4

showing the largest amount of variability due to types. The results of this particular analysis are given in Table 14. Only one of the negative variance components was large in relative magnitude. The main effect due to type accounted for 3.9 percent of the total variation, indicating a slight difference in types for all students. An additional 4.2 percent of the variation was due to the interaction of students and types, indicating that the rank ordering of students differed from Type 1 to Type 2. This 4.2 percent is above and beyond the systematic differences due to students, which accounted for 28.2 percent of the total variation. Note the large amount of variability due to occasions within stakes: 14.8 percent with an additional 13.2 percent due to the interaction of students with the occasions within stakes.

Table 14 **MODEL: p x t x (o:s)**
Quiz 1, Quiz 4

Source of Variation	Estimated Variance Component	Percentage of Total Variance
p	0.1934602	28.2
t	0.0267852	3.9
s	0*	0
o:s	0.1018069	14.8
pt	0.0291710	4.2
ps	0.0259882	3.8
po:s	0.0905728	13.2
ts	0.0034835	0.5
to:s	0*	0
pts	0*	0
pto:s,e	0.2230545	31.4

*A negative component was set to zero

Since the occasion effect could not be estimated separately from the occasion by stakes interaction for the model shown in Table 14, the next model analyzed was one

that crossed students with types and occasions, using only Quiz 1 and Quiz 4. Table 15 contains the results of this analysis. Note that the main effect due to type is 6.9 percent of the total, the effect due to occasion as a main effect is reduced to 3.7 percent, with an additional 8.1 percent variation coming from the interaction of students with occasions. Similar analyses were run using the same model with different subsets of occasions. The results of these analyses were similar to, though not as marked as those shown in Table 15.

Table 15 **MODEL: p x t x o**
Quiz 1 and Quiz 4 only

Source of Variation	Estimated Variance Component	Percentage of Total Variance
p	0.2974413	45.3
t	0.0453198	6.9
o	0.0245092	3.7
pt	0*	0
po	0.0534080	8.1
to	0*	0
pto,e	0.2356845	35.9

*A negative component was set to zero

Student Subgroups

Due to the large main effect due to students with this model (45.3 percent of the total variability), the researcher made the decision to conduct analyses on several sets of subgroups of students. The subgroups were formed based on the students' final grade in the course in an attempt to form more homogeneous groups, and thereby reduce the variability due to students. Four subgroups were focused upon: (1) the 17 students whose final grade in the course was a B, C, D, or F; (2) the 15 students whose final

grade in the course was an A (final average 90 percent or above); (3) the 26 students whose final average in the course was below 95 percent; (4) the 6 students whose final average in the course was 95 percent and above.

First of all, a model that crossed students with types was analyzed for each occasion individually. The most important results of these analyses are presented in Tables 16 through 23. In the results presented in these eight tables, the percentage of variance due to types is larger than the percentages seen previously. However, it should be born in mind that there are only two facets in this design, which makes the proportion due to students appear larger.

Table 16 **MODEL: p x t**
Examination 2
A students

Source of Variation	Estimated Variance Component	Percentage of Total Variance
p	0.0471429	52.7
t	0.0038571	4.3
pt,e	0.0384762	43.0

Table 17 **MODEL: p x t**
Examination 3
BCDF students

Source of Variation	Estimated Variance Component	Percentage of Total Variance
p	0.2954706	60.8
t	0.0266544	5.5
pt,e	0.1638279	33.7

Table 18 **MODEL: p x t**
Quiz 4
All students

Source of Variation	Estimated Variance Component	Percentage of Total Variance
p	0.3465373	59.7
t	0.0292976	5.0
pt,e	0.2047040	35.3

Note that there are no negative variance components in any of these results in Tables 16 through 23, and in all cases, the model accounted for the majority of the variance.

Table 19 **MODEL: p x t**
Quiz 4
BCDF students

Source of Variation	Estimated Variance Component	Percentage of Total Variance
p	0.4678664	68.8
t	0.0433691	6.4
pt,e	0.1686809	24.8

Table 20 **MODEL: p x t**
Quiz 1
All students

Source of Variation	Estimated Variance Component	Percentage of Total Variance
p	0.3551613	55.0
t	0.0489966	7.6
pt,e	0.2411347	37.4

Table 21 **MODEL: p x t**
Quiz 1
Students with average below 95 percent

Source of Variation	Estimated Variance Component	Percentage of Total Variance
p	0.3535385	52.0
t	0.0596168	8.8
pt,e	0.2668563	39.2

The percent of variance that can be attributed differences between Type 1 and Type 2 problems on Quiz 1 is 7.6 percent when all students are analyzed together (see Table 20), but increases to 8.8 percent when the six students with an average of 95 percent and above are removed from the analysis and only the 26 students with averages below 95 percent are considered (see Table 21).

Table 22 **MODEL: p x t**
Quiz 1
BCDF students

Source of Variation	Estimated Variance Component	Percentage of Total Variance
p	0.3473529	48.3
t	0.0859967	11.9
pt,e	0.2864121	39.8

When all of the A students are removed from the analysis of Quiz 1 and only the 17 students who made a B, C, D, or F in the course are considered, the variance due to differences between the two types of problems jumps to a substantial 11.9 percent (see Table 22). Table 23 shows 11.6 percent of variance is due to differences in types on Quiz 5 for the A students.

Table 23 **MODEL: p x t**
Quiz 5
A students

Source of Variation	Estimated Variance Component	Percentage of Total Variance
p	0.2580757	51.2
t	0.0581829	11.6
pt,e	0.1875771	37.2

A final design of persons crossed with type and occasion was examined for three of the subgroups of students. The results for these analyses using only Quiz 1 and Quiz 4 are shown in Tables 24 through 26.

Table 24 **MODEL: p x t x o**
Quiz 1 and Quiz 4 only
A students

Source of Variation	Estimated Variance Component	Percentage of Total Variance
p	0.0411286	12.5
t	0.0186607	5.7
o	0.0434902	13.2
pt	0.0250893	7.6
po	0.0032664	1.0
to	0*	0
pto,e	0.197281	60.0

*A negative component was set to zero

The amount of variance due to types is almost twice as large for the B, C, D, and F students (10 percent; see Table 25) as for the A students (5.7 percent; see Table 24).

Table 25

MODEL: p x t x o
Quiz 1 and Quiz 4 only
BCDF students

Source of Variation	Estimated Variance Component	Percentage of Total Variance
p	0.3096805	40.0
t	0.0772417	10.0
o	0.0074825	1.0
pt	0*	0
po	0.0979292	12.6
to	0*	0
pto,e	0.2821118	36.4

*A negative component was set to zero

Table 26 shows that a substantial amount of variance (12.6 percent) is due to differences in item types on Quiz 1 and Quiz 4 when only the top six students in the class are considered.

Table 26

MODEL: p x t x o
Quiz 1 and Quiz 4 only
Students with average 95 percent and above

Source of Variation	Estimated Variance Component	Percentage of Total Variance
p	0*	0
t	0.0470267	12.6
o	0.0055233	1.5
pt	0*	0
po	0.0865600	23.2
to	0*	0
pto,e	0.2334967	62.7

*A negative component was set to zero

For the results in each of the Tables 25 and 26, one negative variance component was large in relative magnitude.

The results reported in this study were generated using models in which all facets were considered *random*. If type is considered a *fixed* facet, similar differences result, although in some cases, the effects are slightly smaller. All facets were considered random in order to allow the results to be generalized as broadly as possible, and in particular, to graphing problems of any sort.

Interviews

Personal interviews were conducted throughout the semester. These follow-up interviews were conducted as quickly as possible after an examination or quiz was given that contained target problems (see Appendix E for examples of student solutions). Twenty-four of the 32 students in the class chose to participate in at least one interview. Five students agreed to be interviewed twice, and five other students agreed to participate in an interview after *all* quizzes and examinations with target problems were given. These students provided the qualitative data for five “case studies.”

One of the more interesting and surprising findings was in the answers to the question, “Are both types of problems (Type 1, Type 2) equally difficult for you?” Based on the belief that it is a more complex task to produce a graph meeting several specified conditions at once than to simply answer questions based on a given graph, it might be expected that the Type 2 problems would be more difficult for everyone. Not surprisingly, 18 of the 24 students interviewed confirmed that indeed Type 2 problems were more difficult for them. Two students said the different problem types were about the same level of difficulty.

Surprisingly, four students said the Type 2 problems were *easier* for them, even “enjoyable” and “fun.” The natural assumption at this point might be that these four

students were the students with the highest grades in the class. Interestingly, the highest final average among these four students was 88 percent, certainly *not* among the highest grades in the class. More interesting was the fact that *three* of these four students had the three *lowest* averages in the class. After all the grades were curved, these four students' final averages were 59 percent, 63 percent, 64 percent, and 88 percent. Even though these students claimed the Type 2 problems were easier than the Type 1, there was no significant difference in their performance on the two types of problems.

Additionally, the two students who felt the target problems were about the same level of difficulty also did not have the highest averages in the class. Their averages were 90 percent and 94 percent.

Reactions to Ambiguity

The researcher investigated the students' reasons behind their opinions regarding the difficulty levels of the two types of target problems. During her first interview, Emma² responded to the researcher's follow-up question, "Why are Type 1 problems easier for you?" by saying,

Well, for me, I'm a visual person, and so if I already have it in front of me...then it's pretty easy for me to look at it and figure it out, but then if I have to come up with something on my own, using things that are given, I just find that a lot harder. And also, because it's a lot of times open-ended. You know, there's [*sic*] several ways you can draw it. And *that's*³ difficult for me because it's easier to me if there's an exact answer...Also, I think it's hard especially like when you have like a through d (conditions), and so you have to match each one up, it's harder to get it right that way... I noticed that I have to go back and put check marks to make sure, ok, this doesn't contradict this, and that, you know,

² Not her actual name. Pseudonyms were used to protect the anonymity of the students.

³ Italics reflect recorded oral emphasis.

that they all go together. That makes it more difficult... You have to keep checking each one to make sure that they don't contradict each other. And I think that makes it more difficult. You don't have to worry about each one of these (questions asked when a graph is given) contradicting each other because they're all right there in front of you, and you have the whole graph.

Other students' opinions coincided with Emma's in the sense that the possibility of more than one right answer was disconcerting to them. These students often indicated during the interviews that they were more comfortable with the Type 1 problems because questions on these problems did have "one right answer". Kristen expressed her opinion this way:

There's [*sic*] too many variations [in solutions of Type 2 problems]. When you have a graph and are asked questions, there's just a right answer and a wrong answer. So I think [Type 1 problems are] easier. That's why I like math, better than some classes like chemistry, because in math, a rule is a rule is a rule, and it stays the same, and never changes.

When asked if she thought Type 1 problems were easier for everybody, she replied,

Kristen: I think it's easier for most people when they have a graph and are asked questions. Because I think it's harder to, for most people, I think that it's harder to make one up themselves.

R: Do you have any idea why that is?

Kristen: No. Not really. But I've heard people, just like sitting in class, [say] "Ok, it's concave up" and they think, well then am I supposed to put it over here? I mean, they don't realize that if it's concave up and you don't have any other conditions, it doesn't matter how skinny or fat you draw it. You know, I think that's hard for them to comprehend, that it doesn't matter what it looks like concave up, and it doesn't even matter if it's increasing or decreasing, if it's concave up, you know. I think that's harder for most people.

Doug said the Type 2 problems were harder for him because,

It's very hard to graph for me....You are just left by yourself, but on the [Type 1 problems], you can have some help...The graph is there. [On

the Type 2 problems] there's so much to know. I can't get all of it. I can't remember for more than a minute... because it's not like a formula.

Steve, who also said Type 1 problems were easier, contrasted the two types of problems by comparing Type 2 problems to a jigsaw puzzle:

Steve: It's easier to understand something when you can actually *see* it. But when you have to put it together, it's kind of like a jigsaw puzzle.

R: So you're saying, having to draw the graph yourself is like a jigsaw puzzle?

Steve: Yea. You have to – you can do one thing, and it's no problem, but then you have to get it so they all connect, so it's kind of, a little more difficult.

Ben felt that Type 1 problems were easier as well, but he likened the Type 1 problems to a road map:

R: Were all of these problems equally difficult for you?

Ben: No. No, the ones where you provide the graph and ask about the behavior are much easier because it's just like reading a road map.

Macy had an interesting viewpoint. When questioned about her opinion of the difficulty level of the Type 1 problems compared to the Type 2 problems, she said they were about the same after Quiz 1, then continued,

I like [drawing the graph] better, just because I like to try to meet the qualifications. Because there's [*sic*] so many different ways of doing it. It's kind of like a game that way. Ok, you have to do *this*. Can you do it? (laughing) It's just more of a challenge than [a Type 1 problem in which] you've either got a right or a wrong answer. There *is* a right or wrong answer [on a Type 2 problem], but...there are usually several different ways you can do it.....It's just more of a challenge than [the Type 1 problems].

Macy *liked* the fact that there isn't just one right answer for a Type 2 problem. Todd was the other student who felt the problems were basically about the same level of difficulty. His opinion was:

Todd: Sometimes actually I think, if anything, the ones [for which] you draw the graph yourself are easier....Sometimes they're the same, it just depends on how hard the graph is...

R: So no matter what the questions are like, the ones where you draw a graph are never any harder than having to answer questions?

Todd: No, I don't think so.

Interpretation vs. Creation

David felt the Type 2 problems were easier. During an interview following Quiz 5, he made the following comments:

David: I like the ones where you gave a list. I can do pretty good on those. [Compared to the Type 1 problems], I like the ones where you give us the conditions and we draw the graph.

R: You like those better. Does that mean they're easier?

David: They're easier for me. I understand them better. I like those better.

Katie explained her preference for Type 2 problems by saying,

I'm pretty ok with drawing stuff, like if you give us *conditions*, and then you ask us to draw a graph, you know. I don't mind doing that. I might mess up sometimes, but I'm *better* at that than when you *give* us something and say, ok, find this and this and this.... I guess [it's] because I can draw it how I *want* to draw it, and [with a Type 1 problem] it's just, like a set thing...it's just, I had this graph, and I'm thinking, what am I doing? But if you just give me conditions, I can draw my *own* and I *understand* what I've done. I like drawing, all the time, better. I *like* it. It makes me think about everything that I do. When *you* [give us the graph], I don't know why, I just don't get it most of the time. I like to do my *own* stuff.

Preston had a similar preference for Type 2 problems and he remarked,

The easier ones for me are the ones where I have to draw a graph because for *some* reason I can figure out how to draw graphs, but I can't just look at one sometimes and figure out what you're looking for. I've been graphing stuff for so long, it's just kind of sometimes easier for me to do that. We had to graph a lot of stuff in high school.

The student who made one of the most profound statements regarding a potential reason for the difference in level of difficulty of the two problem types was Kyle. After commenting that Type 2 problems were more difficult, he continued,

Where you're drawing the graph, and there's [sic] a lot of vague [conditions], where you can go with it. For me, it creates complications. I'm not sure how I want to draw it. Whereas, when I'm given a graph, I can just interpret it... We talked after this quiz, and I noticed a couple of people I was talking to agreed, that when you're drawing a graph, and there's a lot of vagueness on how the functions can go. You run into a few problems. It's a lot easier to *interpret* than to *create*, that's the way I look at it. When you're drawing a graph, there's an infinite number of right answers, and you have to worry about meeting all these specific conditions as you read down through them. Because you start with these conditions, and you try to meet each condition. Well, you get down farther, and one of these conditions may flip your whole [idea] of exactly what you're looking at.

These issues of *interpretation* and *construction* (i.e., creation) have been defined and discussed in the literature. "*Interpretation* refers to the action by which a student makes sense or gains meaning from a given graph or a portion of the graph.... Construction is quite different than interpretation. Whereas interpretation requires reaction to a given graph, construction requires the student to generate new graphs or equations that are not given" (Demana, Schoen, and Waits, 1993, p. 13). It is worth noting here that up to this point in the semester, the instructor had *never* used these words (interpret, construct, create) in class nor during any of the interviews with the students.

During another interview, in response to the question, "Is one problem harder than another?", Josh made reference to the idea of interpretation as well, saying,

I think drawing the graph is harder than just looking at a graph and figuring stuff out, because there could be an unlimited number of possibilities on that. Whereas, if you give us the graph, all you have to do is be able to interpret it.

Stability of Opinion

Another interesting fact is that none of the students who were interviewed more than once ever changed their basic opinions regarding difficulty level of the problems. Macy, who seemed to enjoy all of the target problems more than any other student in the class, was the only one who wavered a bit in her opinion. Initially, she said the all the target problems on Quiz 1 were about the same level of difficulty. She modified this slightly when she was interviewed after Quiz 3, saying the Type 1 problems were “probably the easiest”. However, near the end of the semester during an interview after Quiz 5, she said, “I think they were all about the same to me. Even when we got into the antiderivatives...it still all made sense.”

Graph to Graph Problems

There was one exception made by the students in their ranking of the difficulty of all the target problems given during the entire semester. Quiz 5, which was given two weeks before the end of the semester, contained problems that were rated “most difficult of the semester” by all ten students who were interviewed shortly after the quiz. In fact, the Type 2 problems on Quiz 5 *were* of a slightly different nature than the typical Type 2 problems given on all previous quizzes and examinations (See Appendix D). The Type 2 problems on Quiz 5 are classified as “graph-to-graph Type 2” problems because the students were given the graph of a function f and on one problem were asked to sketch a possible graph of the derivative f' . The other problem asked them to sketch a possible graph of the antiderivative $\int f$.

It appears that the added difficulty of these two problems was caused by the fact that the students essentially had to construct the specified conditions for themselves.

Emma described it this way:

This [graph-to-graph Type 2 problem] is a *lot* harder than this [Type 2 problem with specified conditions] because you have to figure out the conditions for the graph before you can think about drawing your own graph.

Kinds of Conditions

Within the rankings of the difficulty of the problems discussed above, a clarification is necessary. Several students made distinctions among the specified conditions in Type 2 problems and similar distinctions among the questions in Type 1 problems. Those distinctions were made between conditions and questions involving (a) the function itself, (b) derivatives of the function, and (c) antiderivatives of the function.

The students referred to conditions in category (b) as “forward” conditions and those in category (c) as “backward” conditions. This terminology was based on the fact that taking the derivative and higher derivatives of a function seemed to be moving in a “forward” direction, but taking antiderivatives seemed to be moving in a “backward” direction. For example, given the graph of f' , a question about f'' is a “forward” question, but a question about f is a “backward” question. In terms of level of difficulty, all students who made these distinctions ranked the categories in the following way: (a) was easiest, (b) was more difficult, and (c) was most difficult, regardless of whether they appeared on a Type 1 or a Type 2 problem.

During Emma's interview following Quiz 3, she said the Type 2 problems were more difficult than the Type 1 problems (See Appendix D), but went on to make a distinction between the two Type 2 problems based on the kind of conditions that were given. She said problem number 4 was more difficult for her than problem number 1. She helped clarify the differences in these categories of conditions by saying,

I think it's because [problem 4] was more straightforward, and all of [the conditions] just deal with f And then on this one, on the first problem, it talked about f prime, and the second derivative of f , so you had to think about what that *meant* for the graph of f itself before you could do anything with the information. And [on problem 4], you just talked about f , so it was kind of, look at what's here, and then deal with it, but the first problem, you had to process what was there before you could do anything with it.

Emma made a distinction between conditions in category (a) and category (b). The conditions specified in problem 1 were category (b) conditions, and those in problem 4 were category (a) conditions. She said conditions in category (a) were more "straightforward", but those in category (b) required her to "process" them and determine their relationship to the graph of f before she could produce the graph.

During an interview with Macy, it was revealed that she also thought problem 4 was easier than problem 1. When questioned about her reasoning, Macy responded,

Um, I don't think you asked much about the second derivative, and stuff like that, which I don't mind the second derivative, I like it. I mean, I *like* those problems.

This indicates the reason problem 4 was easier for Macy was because the conditions did not involve the second derivative. "[S]tuff like that" presumably refers to conditions involving the first derivative or higher derivatives, possibly even antiderivatives. So in

Macy's opinion, it appears that conditions in category (a) were easier than other types of conditions.

During a discussion concerning what kinds of information can be extracted from different graphs, Kristen made a distinction between conditions in category (b) and category (c):

Kristen: I get confused, because I think, ok if there's a kink in the graph of the first derivative, does that say *anything* about the function...?

R: Well, if there's a kink in the graph of the [first] derivative, does it say anything about the second derivative?

Kristen: Yes, that the second derivative doesn't exist there. I have no problem going *that* way, it's going *backwards* that I think, does it say anything? I can't think if it *says* anything about the function.

Kristen continued to say that going "forward" was no problem for her, but that going "backward" was problematic.

The Number of Conditions

The students made one additional distinction that was a complete surprise. The students who were interviewed said consistently that Type 2 problems with specified conditions varied in difficulty level depending upon the *number* of conditions specified as well as the number of *interactions* involved.

The researcher's expectations initially were that fewer conditions would allow more freedom, thereby making the task easier for the students. Fewer conditions actually make a solution more ambiguous, but this ambiguity caused additional problems for many students. During Kristen's first interview with the researcher, which took place after Quiz 3, she indicated the difficulty level of a Type 2 problem was related to the number of conditions given in the problem.

Kristen: I think it's easier when you have more boundaries.

R: More boundaries in terms of, like, conditions?

Kristen: Yea...I guess it's just because there are so many, especially when you don't have very many conditions, there are so many different graphs you could make out of it, and I think it's hard to keep straight on what's important and what's not.

During Kristen's second interview, which took place near the end of the semester after Quiz 5, she elaborated on the importance of the number of conditions specified on a given problem. In response to the question, "Which of the problems was more difficult?", she said the Type 2 problems with specified conditions were harder, but continued with:

Kristen: ...Unless there were a lot of conditions to where it was a lot more concrete. To where we knew what was happening at every point. Because sometimes you'd give us conditions where we didn't really know what was happening on a certain interval. So then, it makes you stop and think, Am I *supposed* to know what's happening here? That's what I think is harder about those...when you give like a list of six conditions and there's this one little interval where I don't know if it's increasing or decreasing or concave up or concave down, then I sit there and look at it for five minutes going, am I *supposed* to know this? And I look at all the other conditions and think, am I *supposed* to know this?

R: So when I give you lots of conditions, if every interval is specified, that makes [a Type 2 problem] easier?

Kristen: Right, right. Because sometimes there are two other conditions that will tell you what's happening there, and maybe that's not evident when you first look at it. But I think that's probably just me. I don't like math problems that don't have numbers in them! (laughing) I want numbers! I want an answer! So that might just be my personality. I think I'm more comfortable with boundaries.

Kristen's feeling appears to be that Type 2 problems with fewer conditions are more difficult than Type 2 problems with more conditions.

During Fred's first interview, which took place after Quiz 3, he was asked if he felt the problems on Quiz 3 were all equally difficult. He said Type 2 problems were harder, then confirmed Kristen's claim:

Fred: There's [sic] just different variations and ways you could do things, so it's a little more confusing...The more conditions you have, then it gets easier. It's just when you have a lot of things that are left open, then it becomes more difficult.

R: So the *more* conditions I give you, the easier it is –

Fred: The easier it is, because then you know these points have to exist, and it's easier to determine what the graph is gonna look like.

Effect of Stakes

An informal conversation with Macy provided confirmation of the numerical results that suggested there was a large effect due to occasions and stakes. For Macy, the quizzes served as useful practice for the examinations. She did not study for the quizzes because they only accounted for 10 percent of the final grade in the course, and she simply used them to ascertain whether or not she knew how to solve the problems.

Over-interpreting Conditions

There was a quite unexpected misconception revealed during interviews with several of the students. These students were over-interpreting many of the conditions. They were assuming these conditions were much stronger than they actually were. During an interview with Steve, conducted after Quiz 3, when asked why he had included in his solution for problem 4 an inflection point at $x = 1$ (see Appendix F for his solution), he responded:

Steve: So it has a local max at negative one, and from negative infinity to negative one, it's increasing, so it would have to start coming down from negative one to one, and if from one to three it's concave up, then from negative infinity to one would have to be concave down.

R: It would *have* to be?
 Steve: Well, yeah, because it says it's concave up just from 1 to 3.
 R: So even though I didn't tell you it was concave down on that entire interval from negative infinity to negative one, you're saying it would *have* to be?
 Steve: Right.
 R: Ok.
 Steve: Because there's a local max right here, on negative one, and uh, unless there were some more — there was no specific instructions between negative one and one, so unless there was some more curves in there somewhere, or concave up and concave downs, the way I see it, that's the way it would have to be.

Steve read too much into the given condition that f is concave up on the interval from one to three, as some of the other students did. He believed the condition specifying the interval from one to three meant the *only* place where f could be concave up was on that interval. He also incorrectly concluded that the function had to be concave down on the whole interval from negative infinity to negative one. In reality, he could have drawn the graph any way he liked on that interval, provided he included a local maximum at negative one.

The interview with Ben revealed a similar misconception. Ben also was questioned regarding his reason for drawing an inflection point at $x = 1$. He hesitantly admitted it “could have varied a little bit”, but he had trouble accepting the fact that the function correctly could have been concave up on the interval from zero to three as well. When asked if it would have been correct to draw the function concave up somewhere between the domain values of zero and one with an additional minimum and maximum between zero and one (see Appendix H for his solution), he insisted,

If I'm to match these criteria, and introduce no *new* criteria, no new maximums or minimums, ...that necessitates it being concave down there [from negative infinity up to one].... If we had other maximums

and minimums in there that you cared to see, then you would have stated them as conditions of the problem!

Ben was guilty of making the same kind of incorrect assumption that Steve had made; he assumed that function behavior which was not explicitly *required* by a specified condition was actually *prohibited*.

Familiar Information Presented in an Unfamiliar Way

There was one other notable difficulty the students had with the Type 2 problems. When information was presented in a new way, students had trouble understanding its significance. Several students indicated they were completely at a loss how to interpret the condition " $f''(-1) = -9$ " given on a Type 2 problem on Quiz 3 (see Appendix D, p. 132). The students had been given conditions involving the second derivative on homework problems that were phrased in terms of an interval, such as " $f'' < 0$ on $(-\infty, 0)$ ". Both of these conditions convey the fact that the function f is concave down on some interval including negative one, even though the second condition certainly conveys additional information. However, six of the ten students who were interviewed after Quiz 3 reported they indeed had difficulty with that condition. Their troubles ranged from the level of having to stop and consider it for a while, to leaving the problem and returning to it later, to completely missing that part of the problem. Natalie said that she simply did not recognize the significance of that condition because she had never seen one like it. As a result, she plotted the point $(-1, -9)$ as part of the graph of f . She also plotted the point $(-1, 0)$ in response to the given condition " $f'(-1) = 0$ ". She commented, "I knew that they were different, but I just plotted them the same." She knew f , f' , and f'' were different functions, but she

was at a loss as to what she needed to draw that would meet those conditions involving f' and f'' .

Two Basic Strategies for Type 2

There were two basic strategies used by the students to draw the graphs required by the Type 2 problems. One strategy students used was to draw part of the graph after they read each given condition and to erase and redraw when another condition called for some particular refinement or change in the graph. Tom's comments about his strategy for problem number 4 on Quiz 3 appear below. (The dashed line that appears in his solution, shown in Appendix G, was added in order to highlight his erasure marks.)

Tom: I start with what I can put down that doesn't depend on anything else, like if f' of 2 is zero, I can put that point down, it doesn't depend on anything else. That's what I call a "given"... You see that I drew two or three things and then had to erase it. I was trying to figure out [how condition f] depends on [conditions a through e], so I need to do this first, that sort of thing...I think they all kind of went together sort of. One thing always depended on something else.

The other strategy students used to solve Type 2 problems was to make notes along the top or bottom of the grid regarding intervals over which the function behaved a certain way and points at which certain function behavior occurred. After all conditions were considered and duly noted, the student would then draw the entire graph of the function in one stroke. Ben gave a description of this type of strategy during an interview following Quiz 3:

R: When you saw, on problem number 1, the first condition, that the first derivative does not exist at four and two ...what did you do to try to meet that condition?

Ben: Well, if it doesn't exist, then you've got some sort of sharp point there,

so I just, I made note of the fact, put a little mark there that, to help me remember that something odd happened there, and uh, you know, went down and looked at the rest of the conditions.

R: Ok, so you didn't draw anything immediately, you just made a note to yourself that there was something going on there?

Ben: Yeah.

R: Ok. When did you decide to draw what you drew?

Ben: After I'd already looked at all of them.

R: Ok.

Ben: What I do is, I – I hate these, [Kyle] and I agree on that, we hate these, because there's no definite way that it *has* to be, you just have to – the only way that I can approach something like that is just try to get in my head all at once what's supposed to be happening and make little notes on the graph about where special behavior is occurring at [*sic*], and then just – throw something in there. And I usually I go back and check that I satisfied everything... They always take longer, to me, because I actually have to try to get a mental image of it before I can draw it, and I guess, putting marks on the graph as I do helps a *little* bit with that, but you've got to go back and say, ok what was this mark, what was that one! (laughing) So that makes it more complex... You actually have to, well, you have to plan it out. You can't just, I guess you could scribble something down, and then have to erase it, but I prefer to take one shot at it and make it look as smooth and nice as I can.

Ben's solution to problem 4, the other Type 2 problem on Quiz 3 (see Appendix H)

clearly shows several notes he made at the bottom of the graph.

Todd gave the following explanation of his strategy:

If there's a lot of different ways to [draw the graph], it's real easy for me because I just go through step by step. I just mark a point if it's a min or a max, or if it's undefined, I always mark those. And then [after I draw the graph], I make sure [all the conditions are satisfied] afterwards.

Impact on Students' Understanding

Kristen made an unsolicited comment during her second interview regarding the impact of being required to work on these types of problems:

R: So [the target problems] were not your favorite things to do.

Kristen: No, but they helped. They helped me to understand concepts, because

I'm a visual learner. So some of the concepts that I didn't really maybe understand, they did help.

R: So would it have helped as much if I had *only* given you problems where I gave you graphs and asked you questions, or maybe if I had *only* given you problems where you had to draw a graph?

Kristen: (pause) No, I think it wouldn't have helped as much as you giving us both.

R: Why?

Kristen: Well... I think it's important to go at things from different directions because you have so many people in the class that learn different ways, and can understand one concept, but can't another. If you just explain a thing one way, you may have half the class that don't [*sic*] understand it. So, that's just my personal opinion about math teachers. I don't think math teachers should explain things one way. I think it's really helpful to do everything you can think of.

R: So you see [the two types of problems] as two different ways to actually help people—

Kristen: Understand the concept. Because some people might be backwards from me. [Type 2 problems] might be easier for them than the [Type 1 problems].

CHAPTER 5

Conclusions

The purpose of this study was to determine whether systematic differences exist between problems requiring students to interpret a given graph and problems requiring students to construct a graph to meet specified conditions.

Discussion

The main result from this study is a warning against assuming comparability in assessment items involving graphical representations of functions. The data examined here suggest that the assumption that all graphing problems assess the same sorts of skills and abilities is not warranted. The results in this study indicate that all types of graphing problems are not interchangeable; there are noticeable differences even among sub-domains of items that *appear* comparable.

Target problems for the quizzes and examinations were designed presuming that the Type 1 items were comparable and that the Type 2 items were comparable. This study sought to investigate any differences in the two types. In fact, differences due to the two different types of items were present, suggesting that successful completion of the two item types might require different abilities in the students. Consequently, it appears that problems involving graphical representations of functions may measure

different kinds of skills and abilities. These results indicate there is a need for a closer examination of problems that require students to answer questions about a given graph (an *interpretation* task) and problems that require students to *construct* a graph, as well as other types of graphical representation problems. Consequently, common assessment methods as well as research practices may deserve reconsideration.

The variance decomposition from the generalizability analyses suggests that given the nature of the causes of the variance, a simple ANOVA examining differences in the mean scores for the two item types would likely be misleading. In fact, these results highlight the value of generalizability and variance decomposition analyses in assessment situations for which the nature of the variance is not well understood. Generalizability analyses may eliminate spurious conclusions based on a misleading comparison of means.

Qualitative data from interviews with students support the numerical results that suggested there are true systematic differences between these two types of problems. No matter how difficult it was to discover differences in item types in the quantitative analyses, it is obvious from a qualitative standpoint that there is a *clear* difference between Type 1 (interpretation) and Type 2 (construction) items in the minds of the students. Seventy-five percent of the students interviewed said that problems requiring them to construct a graph to meet specified conditions were more difficult than the problems requiring them to interpret a graph. Although several students, including the four lowest scoring students in the class, claimed that they found Type 2 problems easier than Type 1, there was no difference in their performance on these problems.

Interestingly, several students said they liked the Type 2 problems better, even though they thought these were more difficult than the Type 1 problems. In their interviews, students described the Type 2 problems as challenging, fun, and enjoyable, while others likened them to a puzzle or a game. On the other hand, some students absolutely hated the Type 2 problems, describing them as much more complex than the Type 1 problems. Their complaints included difficulty in processing all of the information presented in the specified conditions in order to produce a valid graph, frustration with the need to deal with interactions among the conditions, and a feeling of discomfort when confronted with problems having more than one correct solution. It is interesting to note that the characteristic of having infinitely many correct solutions was one of the most appealing aspects of the Type 2 problems for the students who liked them.

Students made distinctions in level of difficulty even within the two types of problems. This corroborates the unexpected small differences that were evident in the quantitative results among the Type 1 items themselves, particularly among those on the quizzes. According to ten of the students interviewed, conditions and questions involving information about the derivatives or antiderivatives of the function were more difficult to deal with than those conditions and questions involving direct information about the function itself. Distinctions have been made in the research literature between tasks involving local or quantitative interpretations and tasks involving global or qualitative interpretations (Leinhardt et al., 1990). Direct information or questions regarding the function itself are often local or quantitative in nature, whereas

information involving derivatives or antiderivatives of the function are certainly global or qualitative in nature.

Additionally, dealing with information about derivatives was not as difficult for the students in the current study as dealing with information about antiderivatives. Similar findings have been reported in published literature. Several studies have found that students in various age groups have more difficulty producing an algebraic formula from a given graph, than producing a graph from a given formula (Carpenter, Corbit, Kepner, Lindquist, and Reys, 1981; Markovits et al., 1986; Wagner, Rachlin, and Jensen, 1984). It should not be assumed that students will automatically be able to *reverse* any of the processes they have mastered.

Several students in the current study agreed that the Type 2 problems with *more* specified conditions were easier than those with *fewer*. In addition, many agreed that any question in a Type 1 problem or condition in a Type 2 problem that was related to the first or second derivative was more difficult than a question or condition related directly to the function itself.

Difficulty with cusp points, vertical tangents, conditions involving the second derivative, and coordinating the information in the specified conditions in Type 2 problems has also been documented by Baker, Cooley, and Trigueros (in press).

The quantitative results presented in this study confirmed the suspicion that students might prepare differently for quizzes than for examinations if the scores were weighted differently in the calculation of final grades. Many of the analyses produced results containing a large amount of variation due to the effect of different occasions or stakes (quizzes vs. examinations). The results were further confirmed by a conversation

with one student who said she indeed did not study for the quizzes because they accounted for such a small percentage of her final grade. Additionally, the numerical results showed that with minimal training of raters, effects due to raters are absent.

The interview process revealed unexpected misconceptions. For example, an error some students made was to over-interpret the conditions. Some students assumed that function behavior which was not explicitly *required* by a specified condition was actually *prohibited*.

One notable difficulty examined was the trouble students had with information that was presented in a new way. Many students experienced difficulty in determining significance of familiar conditions or in determining answers to familiar questions when they were presented in an unfamiliar way.

The interviews revealed two basic strategies for solving Type 2 problems. One strategy is to draw part of the graph after reading each given condition, and to erase and redraw when another condition calls for some particular refinement or change in the graph. The other strategy is to make notes along the top or bottom of the page concerning intervals over which the function behaves a certain way and points at which certain function behavior occurs. After all conditions are considered and duly noted, the student draws the entire graph of the function in one stroke.

Limitations of the Study

The sample available for this study was too small for the complicated model originally specified. Better results might have been obtained with the original model if a larger sample had been available. Certainly, given a large enough sample, a single analysis could have been run that incorporated all the facets of interest in this study.

More attention could have been given to the distinctions in different types of graphing problems if time in class had allowed more assessments. Better results might have been obtained if further distinctions could have been made between graph-to-graph Type 2 problems like the ones given on Quiz 5 in which one graph is given and another must be constructed, and the Type 2 problems in which explicit conditions are specified. For the Type 2 problems on Quiz 5, the students had to construct the specified conditions for themselves based on the graph that was given and then sketch a graph that met those conditions. For example, one problem gave the graph of a function f and asked the students to sketch a graph of the derivative of f . More distinction in item types could have produced more of an effect due to differences in types of items.

More distinction in categories of conditions might have yielded more powerful results as well. During the interviews, many students said that conditions and questions related to the first or second derivative or the antiderivative were more difficult to deal with than conditions and questions concerning the function itself. Better results might have been obtained if conditions from only *one* category had been given on each problem. For instance, if the given conditions on one problem involve only the function itself, and the given conditions on a different problem involve only the first and second derivatives, it might be possible to show that *these* two problems measure different abilities.

More care could have been taken with respect to problems on which students received points by default. For example, for a Type 2 problem on Quiz 1 (see Appendix D, p. 104) there was no condition requiring the function be defined for all real numbers. As a result, there were many instances in which the student drew nothing at all on a

particular interval, but received credit for meeting some of the conditions by default. Information obtained during interviews confirmed that some of these students were indeed thinking incorrectly as they drew the graph for this problem. These default points artificially inflated many of the scores on Type 2 problems, and could have served to partially mask the sought-after type differences.

On Quiz 4, there was a Type 1 problem in which the graph of f' was given, rather than the graph of f (see Appendix D, p. 111). This was the first time such a problem appeared on a quiz or examination, and many students obviously answered the questions based on the graph being the graph of f . Six of the thirteen students who were interviewed after Quiz 4 confirmed this fact. This error caused them to miss all the questions on that problem, which served to artificially deflate the scores on the Type 1 problems. This could have served to partially mask the sought-after type differences as well.

Additional contact with the instructor could have caused a slight effect. Twenty-four of the 32 students were interviewed at least once during the course of the semester. If all students had been interviewed exactly once, the case could be made that this would have served to reduce any effect caused by additional contact with the instructor. However, five students were followed as case studies, and were interviewed after every quiz and examination containing target problems. For those five students, there could have been a slight effect caused by the additional contact. However, it seems reasonable to assume the effect would have been somewhat constant across types of problems. Since the results were based on a comparison of performance on two different

types of problems, additional contact with the instructor should be less of a threat to validity.

In a study such as this, there is perhaps the issue of the students' gaining experience and proficiency over time with the target problems as a threat to validity. Since the study is comparing the two types of problems, it seems a reasonable assumption that similar kinds of experience are gained with *both* types of target problems, which would reduce the threat to the validity of the results.

Mutual learning could also be a threat to the validity of the results of this study. It is possible that working one type of target problem could affect the amount learning that takes place regarding the other type of problem. This seems unlikely since the students worked on both types of problems throughout the semester. Even if mutual learning did occur, it was not enough to completely mask the differences in the two types of problems. There was still evidence of an effect due to the different types of problems.

Directions for Future Research

The results of this study suggest that there are systematic differences between the two types of problems examined. The natural questions at this point are: Can these results be replicated and strengthened? Are the differences in problem types due to ability or achievement of the student? Do the differences correlate with other differences in student performance? Can calculus instruction be modified to improve student performance on graphing problems? Would improvement in performance on graphing problems result in better understanding of functions and graphs in general?

Answering the questions regarding differences due to ability or achievement of the student and the correlation of ability with other differences in student performance might involve an analysis of two subgroups of students based on their scores on each type of problem. If a comparison of means for the two groups yielded a significant result, further analyses could be conducted involving such factors as the students' final course grades, their GPA's, their ACT scores, or other background factors. These analyses could reveal a correlation between achievement on the different problem types and some indicator of ability or background factor.

A qualitative study could be undertaken to examine in more detail the strategies and methods used for solving Type 2 problems. Such a study might serve to answer the question: Do students solution methods *evolve* as they gain more experience?

Additional questions that arise are related to other types of problems involving graphical representations. For instance, are there systematic differences between problems requiring students to match a graph to its algebraic formula and problems requiring students to produce the algebraic formula to match a given graph on their own? It seems reasonable to suspect such differences might exist in light of the results of the current study.

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APPENDIX A

Human Subjects Permission



The University of Oklahoma

OFFICE OF RESEARCH ADMINISTRATION

August 5, 1998

Linda Braddy
Route 3, Box 263C
Ada, Oklahoma 74820

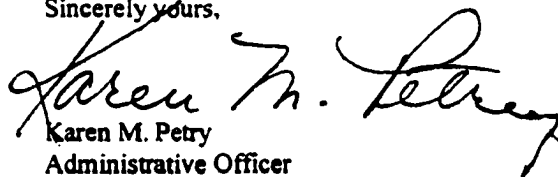
Dear Ms. Braddy:

Your research proposal, "Generating Graphs to Meet Required Conditions: A Generalizability Study," has been reviewed by Dr. E. Laurette Taylor, Chair of the Institutional Review Board, and found to be exempt from the requirements for full board review and approval under the regulations of the University of Oklahoma-Norman Campus Policies and Procedures for the Protection of Human Subjects in Research Activities.

Should you wish to deviate from the described protocol, you must notify me and obtain prior approval from the Board for the changes. If the research is to extend beyond 12 months, you must contact this office, in writing, noting any changes or revisions in the protocol and/or informed consent form, and request an extension of this ruling.

If you have any questions, please contact me.

Sincerely yours,


Karen M. Petry
Administrative Officer
Institutional Review Board

KMP:pw
FY99-19

cc: Dr. E. Laurette Taylor, Chair, IRB
Dr. Curtis McKnight, Mathematics



EAST CENTRAL UNIVERSITY

Duane C. Anderson
Vice President for Academic Affairs

ADA, OKLAHOMA 74820-6899

I N T E R

O F F I C E

MEMO

To: Linda Braddy, Assistant Professor
From: Duane C. Anderson *DCA*
Subject: Human Subjects
Date: September 2, 1998

The Human Subjects Committee has submitted to me its review of your proposal entitled "Generating Graphs to Meet Required Conditions: A Generalizability Study." The committee expressed concern about the tagging of the raw data with numerical codes which will be attached to the subjects' names (see item 3.4 of the proposal and items 1 and 2 of the questionnaire). Since questions 11 and 12 on the Background Questionnaire elicit personal academic information, there is some concern about confidentiality.

Unless there is an essential reason for tagging the raw data with numerical codes that identify the subjects' names, I recommend deletion of the tag. With this change I will approve the proposal.

If you need to visit with me, or the committee, about this issue, please make an appointment with myself, or speak with Dr. Anita Walker, Chair of the Professional Development and Research Committee.

cc: Anita Walker, Chair

APPENDIX B

Informed Consent Form

**Informed Consent Form for Participation in a Research Project
Being Conducted Under the Auspices of the
University of Oklahoma – Norman Campus**

Study Title: Generating Graphs to Meet Required Conditions: A Generalizability Study
Sponsor: Dr. Curtis McKnight, Mathematics Department, University of Oklahoma
Principal Investigator: Linda Braddy

Description of My Research Study

The purpose of this research is to gain a better understanding of what types of questions may be appropriate for assessing Calculus I students' understanding of functions and their graphical representations. The data for this research will come from problems on quizzes and exams you will be taking as part of the normal activities of this course. Following each quiz or exam that includes a problem I select for my research. I would like to conduct personal interviews with a few of you outside of class. These interviews will be scheduled at your convenience. Each interview will last approximately 20 minutes and will be recorded on audio cassette tape. During the interview, I will ask you about the kinds of things you were thinking as you worked through the selected problem.

Your Potential Risks and Benefits from Participating

You should have little risk or discomfort from taking part in this study. The only additional time commitment will be the personal interviews and it is up to you whether or not you take part in them. Agreeing to let me interview you could cost you some study time (an hour or two altogether for the entire semester) for this or other classes, which could negatively affect your course grade(s). If, at any point, you feel that the time required to participate in this study is having a negative affect on your course work, you are free to discontinue your participation.

On the other hand, your participation in the personal interviews may potentially result in you acquiring a better understanding of graphical representations of functions than you would have gained otherwise, since you will be spending additional time thinking about the selected problems. The knowledge that we gain from this study may potentially result in better instruction for other students in future semesters.

My Guarantees to You

Your participation is voluntary. You won't be paid. You may choose from the beginning not to participate. You may decline further participation at any time. No penalty will be associated with such action. Consenting to participate will not add any work to your load. *Not* consenting to participate will not *exempt* you from any of the quizzes or exams. Your grade in this course will be determined only by the numerical guidelines listed in the course syllabus whether or not you participate.

Your identity will be kept confidential, and you will never be identifiable in any publication or presentation associated with this research.

If you have questions either about the research itself or about your rights as a research subject, you may contact Linda Braddy by phone at (580) 332-8329 or (580)332-8000, ext. 283 or by e-mail at telsbrad@chickasaw.com.

By signing below, you indicate your willingness to participate in this study as described above.

Signature _____ Date: _____

APPENDIX C

Background Questionnaire

Background Questionnaire
Calculus I - Fall 1998

Please complete the following short questionnaire. This will help your instructor have some background information on the students in the class. This information will not be used to determine any part of your grade in the course.

1. Name _____
2. ID Number _____
3. Gender: ___ Male ___ Female
4. Classification: ___ Freshman ___ Sophomore ___ Junior ___ Senior
5. What is your major? _____
6. Why are you taking this course? _____

7. How many hours per week are you employed? _____
8. When did you graduate from high school? 19____
9. How many students were in your high school graduating class? _____ students
10. Which of the following mathematics classes did you have **in high school** and when?
 - ___ Algebra I in 19____
 - ___ Geometry in 19____
 - ___ Algebra II in 19____
 - ___ Trigonometry in 19____
 - ___ Advanced Math in 19____
 - ___ Precalculus in 19____
 - ___ Calculus in 19____
 - ___ Other (_____) in 19____
 - ___ Other (_____) in 19____

11. Which of the following mathematics classes did you have in college, where, when, and what was your course grade?

___ Beginning Algebra at _____ in the _____ semester of 19___

Course Grade: A B C D F W

___ Intermediate Algebra at _____ in the _____ semester of 19___

Course Grade: A B C D F W

___ College Algebra at _____ in the _____ semester of 19___

Course Grade: A B C D F W

___ Survey of Math at _____ in the _____ semester of 19___

Course Grade: A B C D F W

___ Trigonometry at _____ in the _____ semester of 19___

Course Grade: A B C D F W

___ Calculus I at _____ in the _____ semester of 19___

Course Grade: A B C D F W

___ Other (_____) at _____ in the _____ semester of 19___

Course Grade: A B C D F W

___ Other (_____) at _____ in the _____ semester of 19___

Course Grade: A B C D F W

12. Which graphing calculator(s), if any, do you already know how to use? _____

13. Which of the following best describes your experience with graphing calculators?

___ None

___ I have seen one or two demonstrations

___ I have seen more than two demonstrations

___ I have used graphing calculators once or twice

___ I have used graphing calculators frequently in (how many?) ___ of my classes

___ Other _____

14. How helpful do you expect the graphing calculator to be to your understanding and learning of calculus in this class?

___ Very unhelpful

___ Somewhat unhelpful

___ Undecided

___ Somewhat helpful

___ Very helpful

15. What is your general feeling about calculators and computers?
☐ I like them a lot
☐ They're OK
☐ I can take them or leave them
☐ I don't like them
☐ I really hate them
16. Compared to other students in my high school and college math courses, the amount of time I spend studying is ☐ more than they spend
☐ about the same as they spend
☐ less than they spend
17. I expect to spend (how many?) hours per week studying calculus this semester.
18. How much time did you spend last week doing calculus homework?
19. How much time did you spend last week studying calculus (including studying the book, learning to use your calculator, and all other out-of-class time you spent)?
20. How do you feel about math?
☐ I like it a lot
☐ I like it
☐ I don't know how I feel about it
☐ I don't like it
☐ I hate it
21. I find math
☐ very easy
☐ somewhat easy
☐ about the same difficulty level as other subjects
☐ somewhat difficult
☐ very difficult
22. How do you think of yourself at a mathematics student?
☐ very weak
☐ somewhat weak
☐ I'm undecided
☐ somewhat strong
☐ very strong

23. How do you feel about studying calculus as you start this course?

- ☐ very shaky
- ☐ a little afraid
- ☐ I don't know how I feel about it
- ☐ confident
- ☐ very confident

24. What grade do you expect to get (I mean, **really** expect to get)?

☐A ☐B ☐C ☐D ☐F

25. Circle the appropriate number on the 5 point scale for the following statements:

(NOTE: The phrase "*studying math*" refers to activities such as reading the textbook, studying your notes, studying for tests, doing homework, and anything else you do to learn the material and prepare for class.)

	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Always
I do my math homework.	1	2	3	4	5
In math, I'm a visual thinker.	1	2	3	4	5
I attend my math classes regularly.	1	2	3	4	5
I work hard at studying math.	1	2	3	4	5
I find math courses challenging.	1	2	3	4	5
I draw graphs when studying math.	1	2	3	4	5
I find math courses boring.	1	2	3	4	5
In general, I'm a visual thinker.	1	2	3	4	5
I find math courses interesting.	1	2	3	4	5
I find math courses intimidating.	1	2	3	4	5
I can figure things out by looking at a graph.	1	2	3	4	5

26. Circle the appropriate number on the 5 point scale for the following statements:

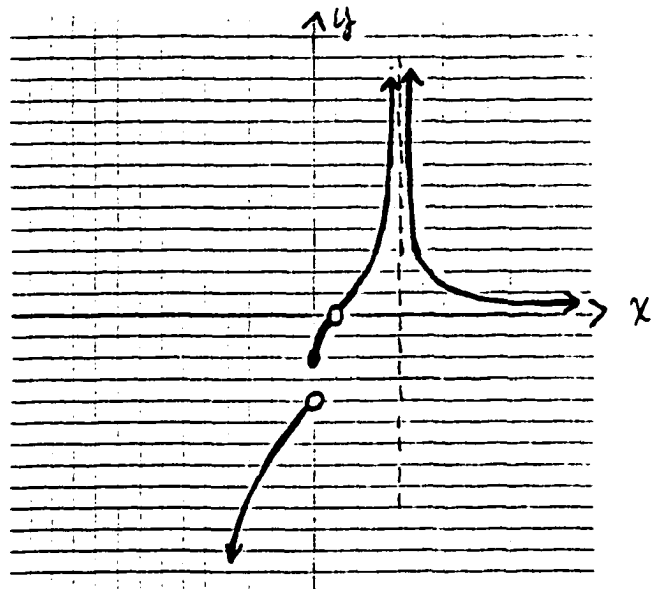
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Undecided	Strongly Agree	Agree
Math courses take more time than other courses.	1	2	3	4	5
It is important for me to learn to use graphs in order to get a good grade in math.	1	2	3	4	5
Math courses are my favorite courses.	1	2	3	4	5
I learn math best by following examples.	1	2	3	4	5
I am good at math.	1	2	3	4	5
The ability to understand graphs is an important skill for studying math.	1	2	3	4	5
I think most math courses are a waste of my time.	1	2	3	4	5
I learn math best by memorizing and using rules and definitions.	1	2	3	4	5
I learn anything better when I can see a picture of what I am studying.	1	2	3	4	5
I find it difficult to draw graphs.	1	2	3	4	5
Math is an important subject.	1	2	3	4	5
It is helpful for me to draw graphs, even when I'm not told to, when studying math.	1	2	3	4	5
I think math homework is a waste of my time.	1	2	3	4	5
I enjoy math.	1	2	3	4	5

APPENDIX D

Target Problems

APPENDIX D
Quiz 1
Type 1 problem

1.



(a) $\lim_{x \rightarrow \infty} f(x) =$ _____

(b) $f(1) =$ _____

(c) $\lim_{x \rightarrow 0^-} f(x) =$ _____

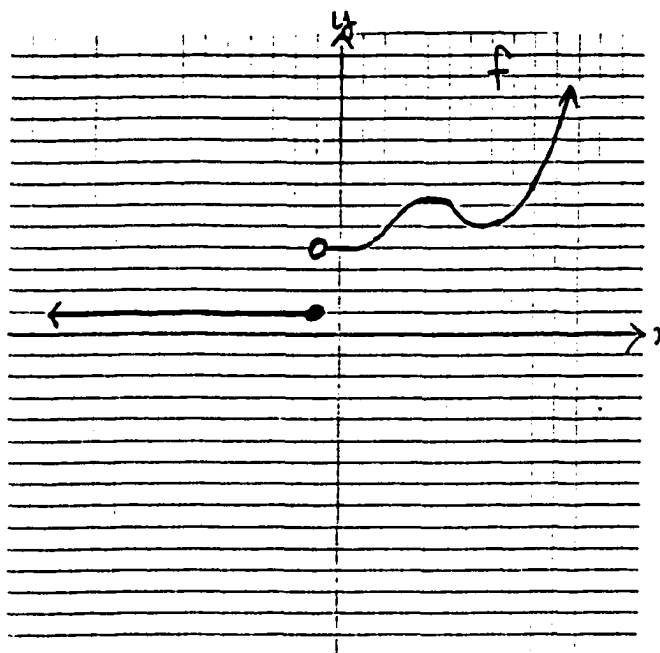
(d) At what values of x , if any, is f discontinuous? _____

APPENDIX D

Quiz 1

Type 1 problem

3.



- (a) $f(-1) =$ _____
- (b) For what values of x , if any, is f continuous? _____
- (c) $\lim_{x \rightarrow -\infty} f(x) =$ _____
- (d) $\lim_{x \rightarrow 1} f(x) =$ _____

APPENDIX D
Quiz 1
Type 2 problem

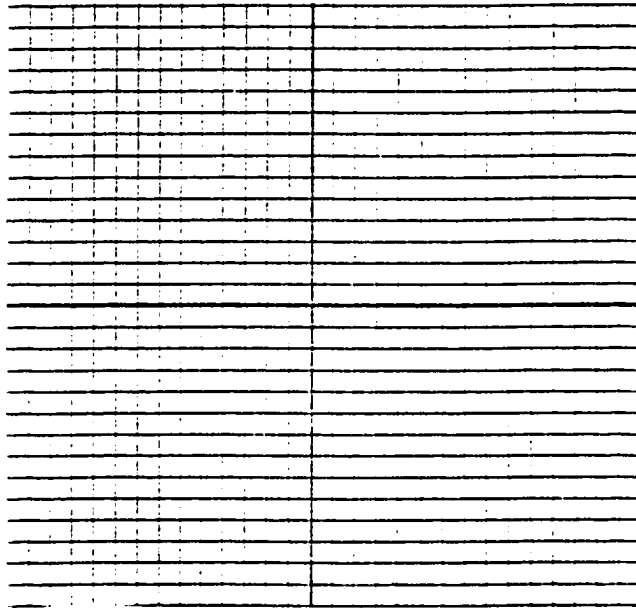
2. Sketch the graph of a function that satisfies *all* of the following conditions:

(a) $\lim_{x \rightarrow \infty} f(x) = \infty$

(b) f has a vertical asymptote at $x = 2$

(c) $\lim_{x \rightarrow 2} f(x)$ DNE

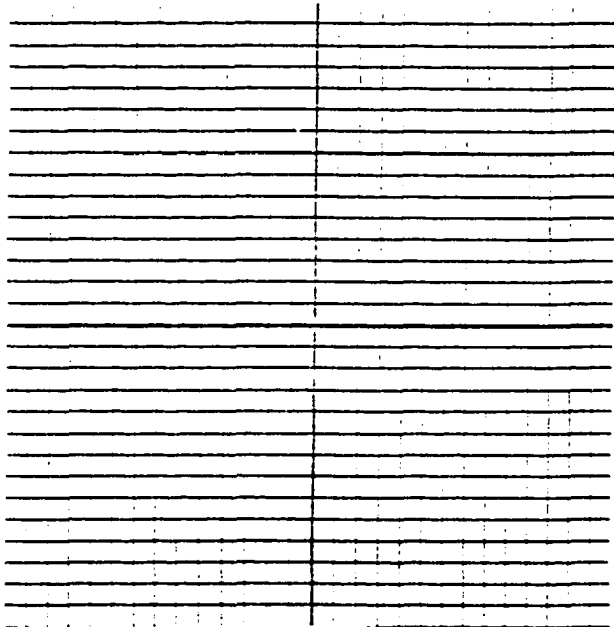
(d) $f(3) = -2$



APPENDIX D
Quiz 1
Type 2 problem

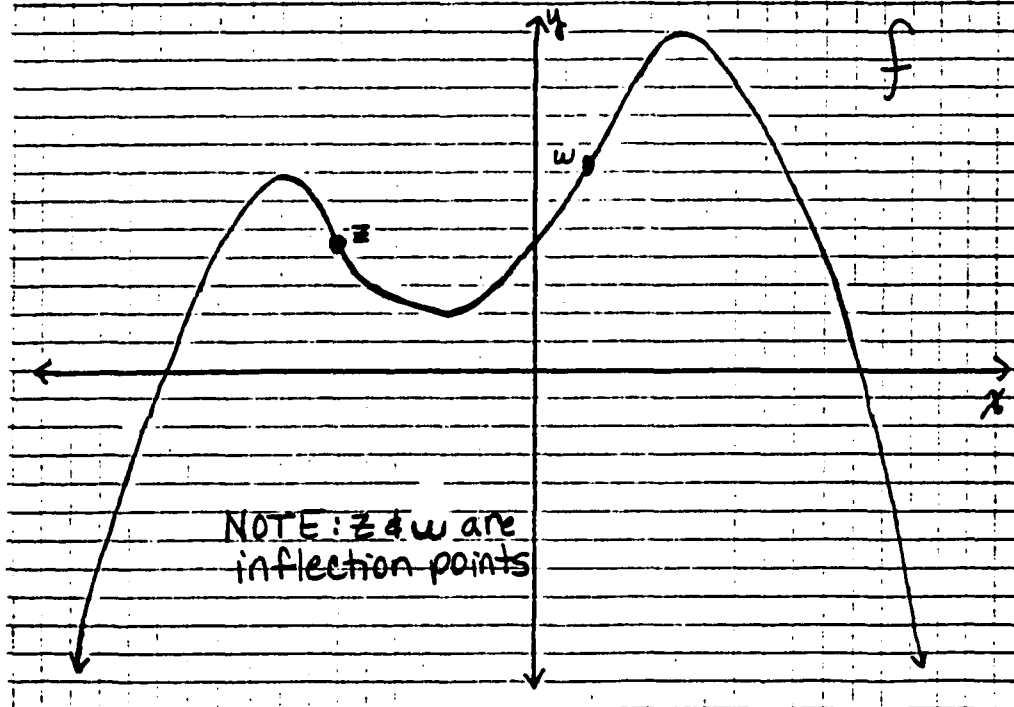
4. Sketch the graph of a function that satisfies *all* of the following conditions:

- (a) f is defined for all real numbers except $x = -2$
- (b) f is continuous everywhere *except* at $x = -4$, $x = -2$, $x = 1$, and $x = 3$.
- (c) $\lim_{x \rightarrow \infty} f(x) = 2$
- (d) $f(-2)$ is undefined
- (e) $\lim_{x \rightarrow 5^-} f(x) = 1$



APPENDIX D
Quiz 3
Type 1 problem

2.



(a) On what interval(s), if any, is f increasing? _____

(b) On $(-\infty, \infty)$, at what value(s), if any, does f have a local max? _____

(c) On what interval(s), if any, is f concave up? _____

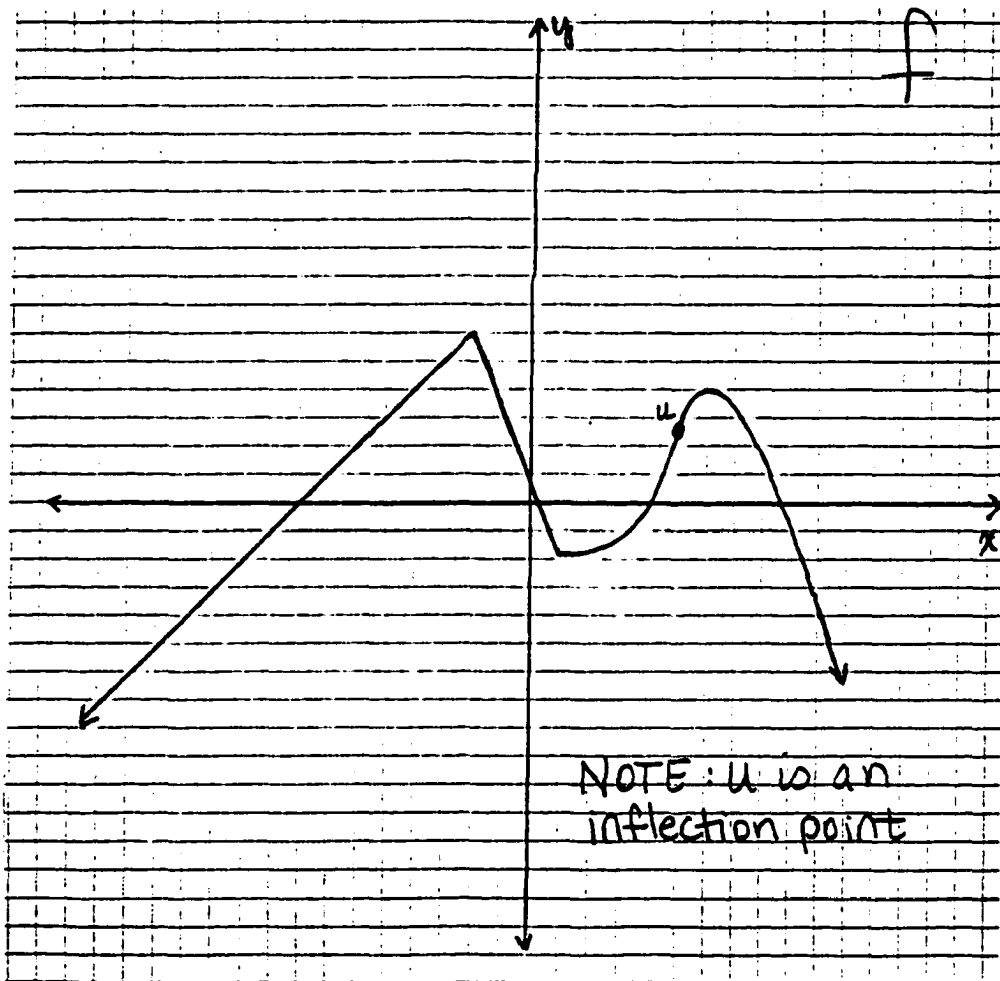
(d) On what interval(s), if any, is f decreasing? _____

(e) On what interval(s), if any, is f concave down? _____

(f) On $(-\infty, \infty)$, at what value(s), if any, does f have a local min? _____

APPENDIX D
Quiz 3
Type 1 problem

3.



- (a) $f'(-2) =$ _____
- (b) At what value(s), if any, does f have a local max?

- (c) At what value(s), if any, does f have a local min?

- (d) $f(4) =$ _____
- (e) $f'(6) =$ _____
- (f) Is $f'(5)$ negative or positive? _____

APPENDIX D

Quiz 3

Type 2 problem

1. Sketch the graph of a function f that satisfies all of the following conditions:

(a) f' DNE at $x = 4$ and $x = 2$

(b) $f(-1) = -2$

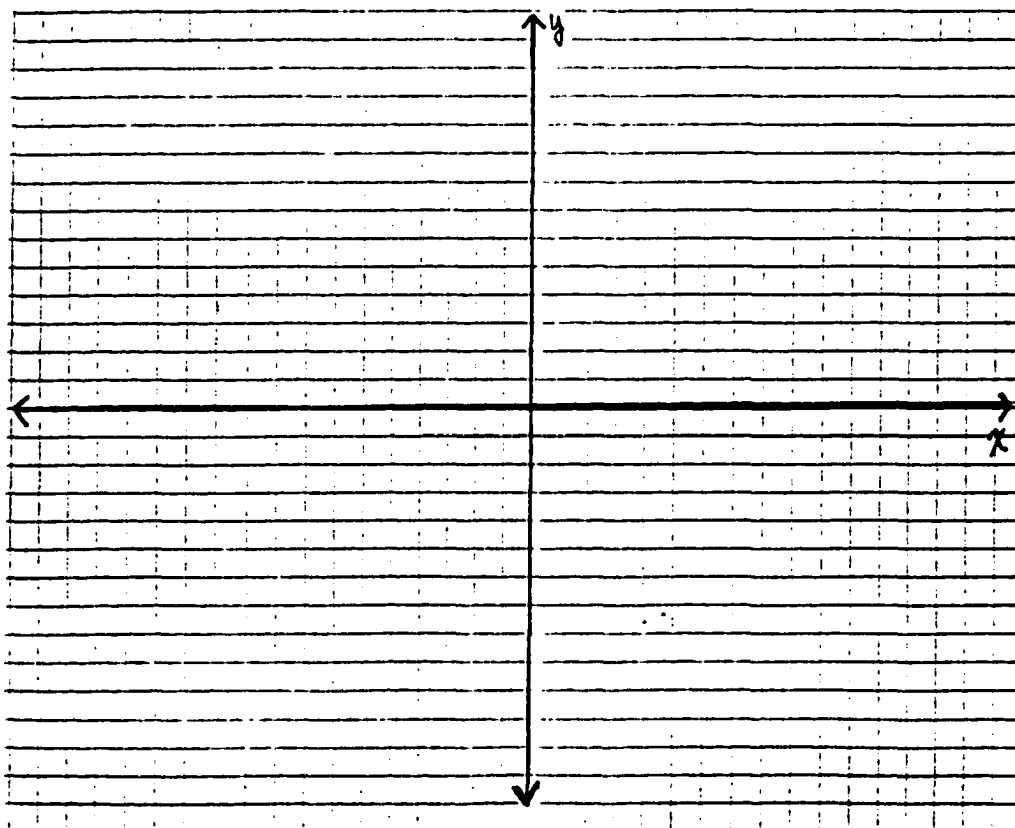
(c) $f' > 0$ on $(5, \infty)$

(d) $f''(-1) = -9$

(e) $f(2) = 0$

(f) $f'(-1) = 0$

IMPORTANT: Label any inflection points.

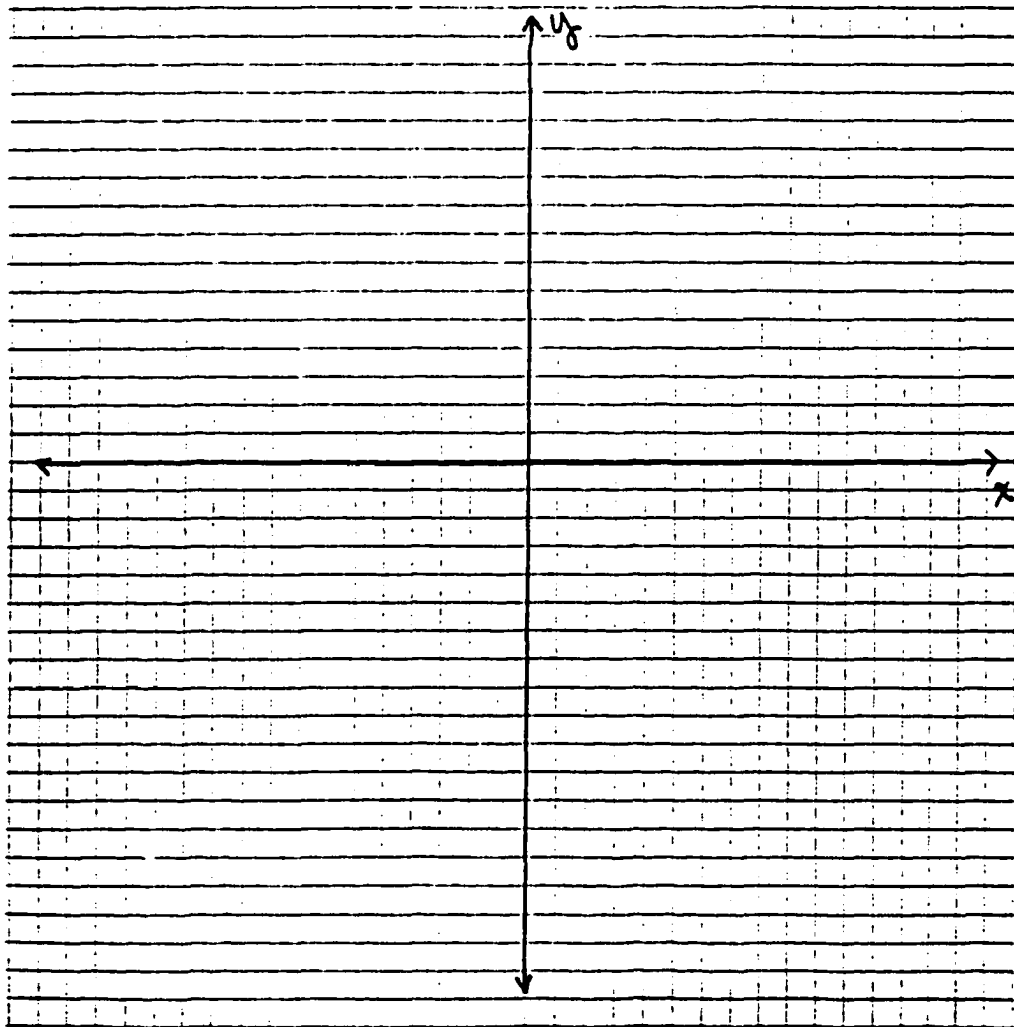


APPENDIX D
Quiz 3
Type 2 problem

4. Sketch the graph of a function that satisfies all of the following conditions:

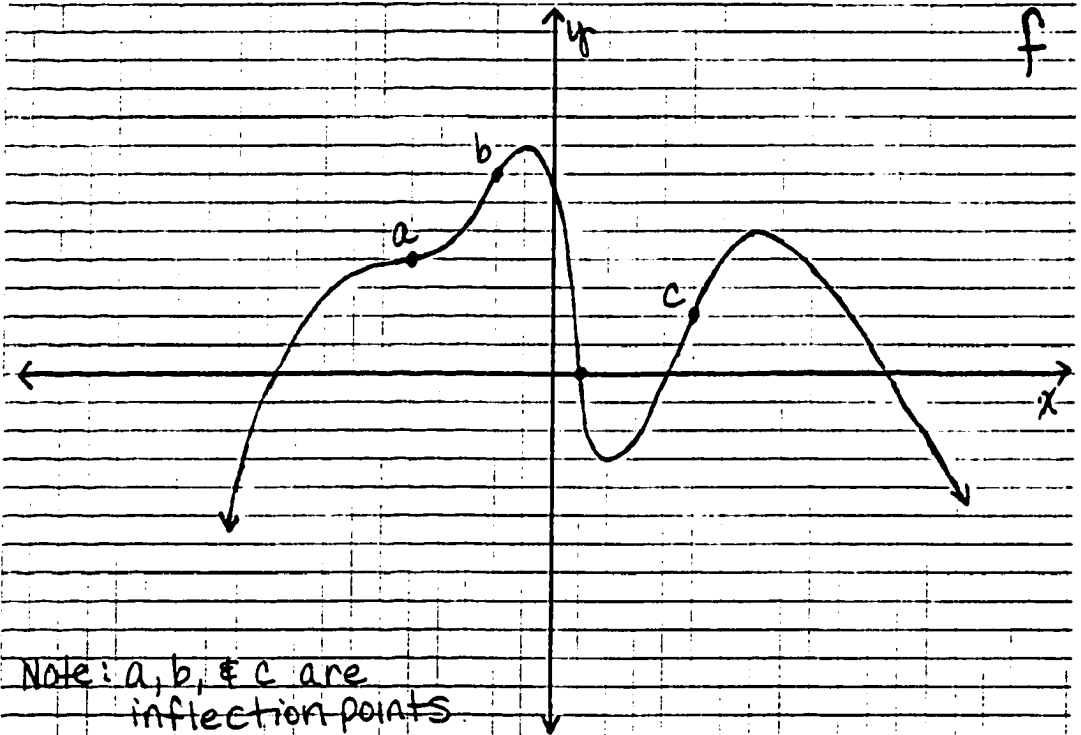
- (a) f is concave up on $(1,3)$
- (b) f is decreasing on $(6,\infty)$
- (c) f has a local min at $x = 2$
- (d) f is increasing on $(-\infty,-1)$
- (e) f is concave down on $(3,\infty)$
- (f) f has a local max at $x = -1$

IMPORTANT: Label any inflection points.



APPENDIX D
Quiz 4
Type 1 problem

1.

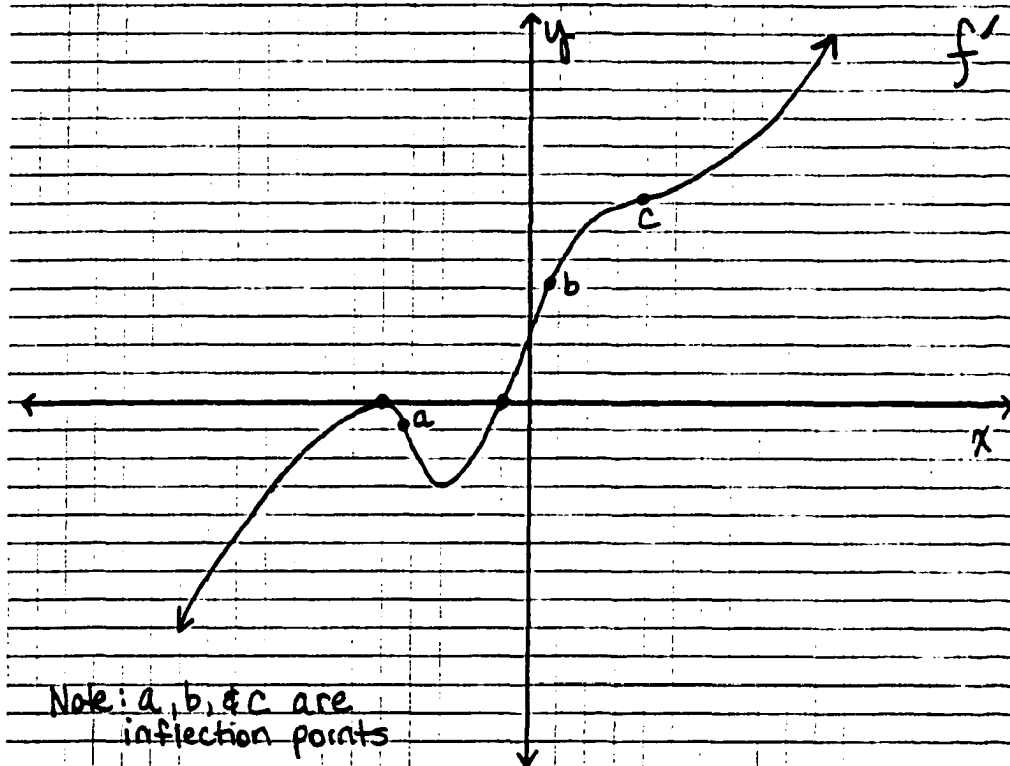


This is the graph of a function f .

- (a) $f'''(-5) =$ _____
- (b) On what intervals, if any, is $f' > 0$? _____
- (c) $f''(7) =$ _____
- (d) $f'(7) =$ _____
- (e) On what intervals, if any, is $f'' < 0$? _____
- (f) $f(1) =$ _____

APPENDIX D
Quiz 4
Type 1 problem

3.



This is the graph of f' (the derivative of f).

- (a) What values, if any, are critical values of f ? _____
- (b) $f''(-5) =$ _____
- (c) At what values, if any, does f have a local max? _____
- (d) At what values, if any, does f have a local min? _____
- (e) $f'(-1) =$ _____
- (f) At what values, if any, does f have an inflection point? _____

APPENDIX D

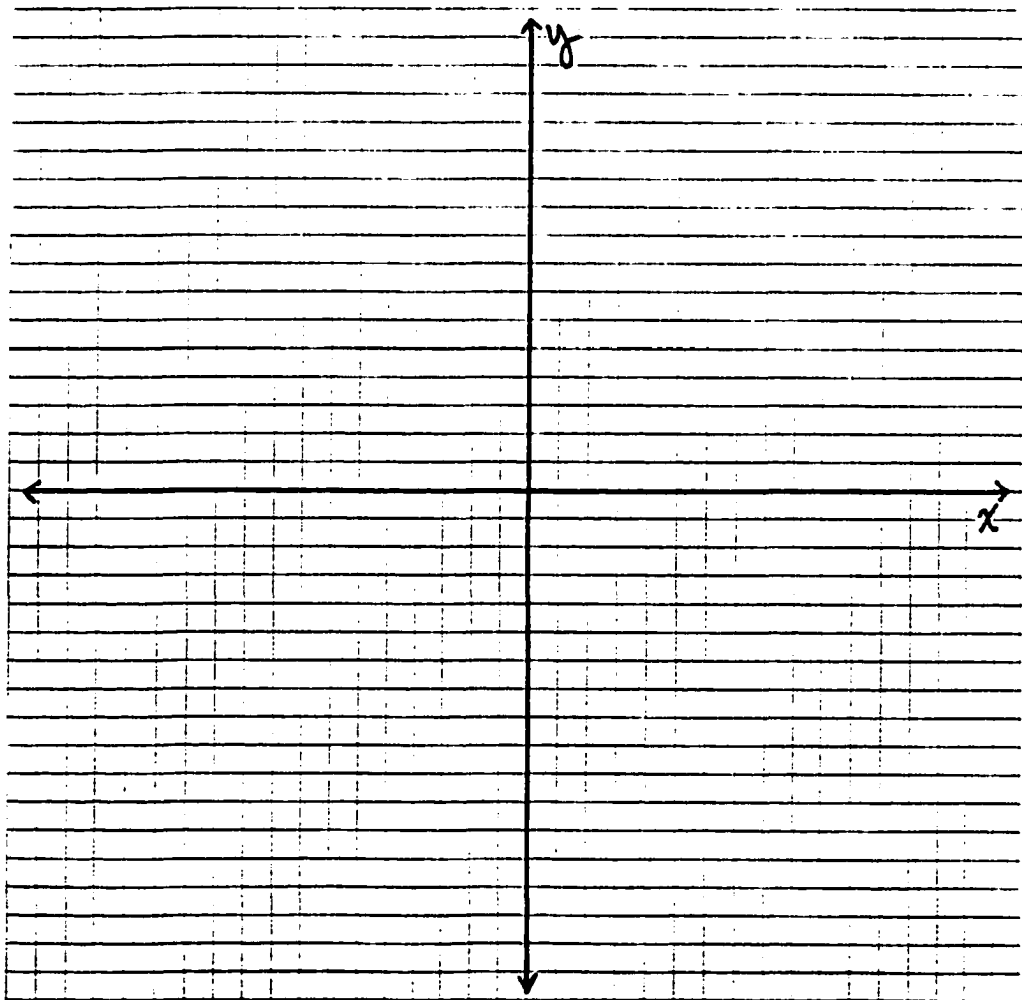
Quiz 4

Type 2 problem

2. Sketch the graph of a function that meets the following conditions:

- (a) $f'' > 0$ on $(7, 9) \cup (9, \infty)$
- (b) f is defined and continuous on $(-\infty, \infty)$
- (c) $f'' < 0$ on $(-10, -3)$
- (d) $f' > 0$ on $(-\infty, -3) \cup (-3, 4)$
- (e) $f''(-3) = f''(9) = 0$

Important: Label any inflection points

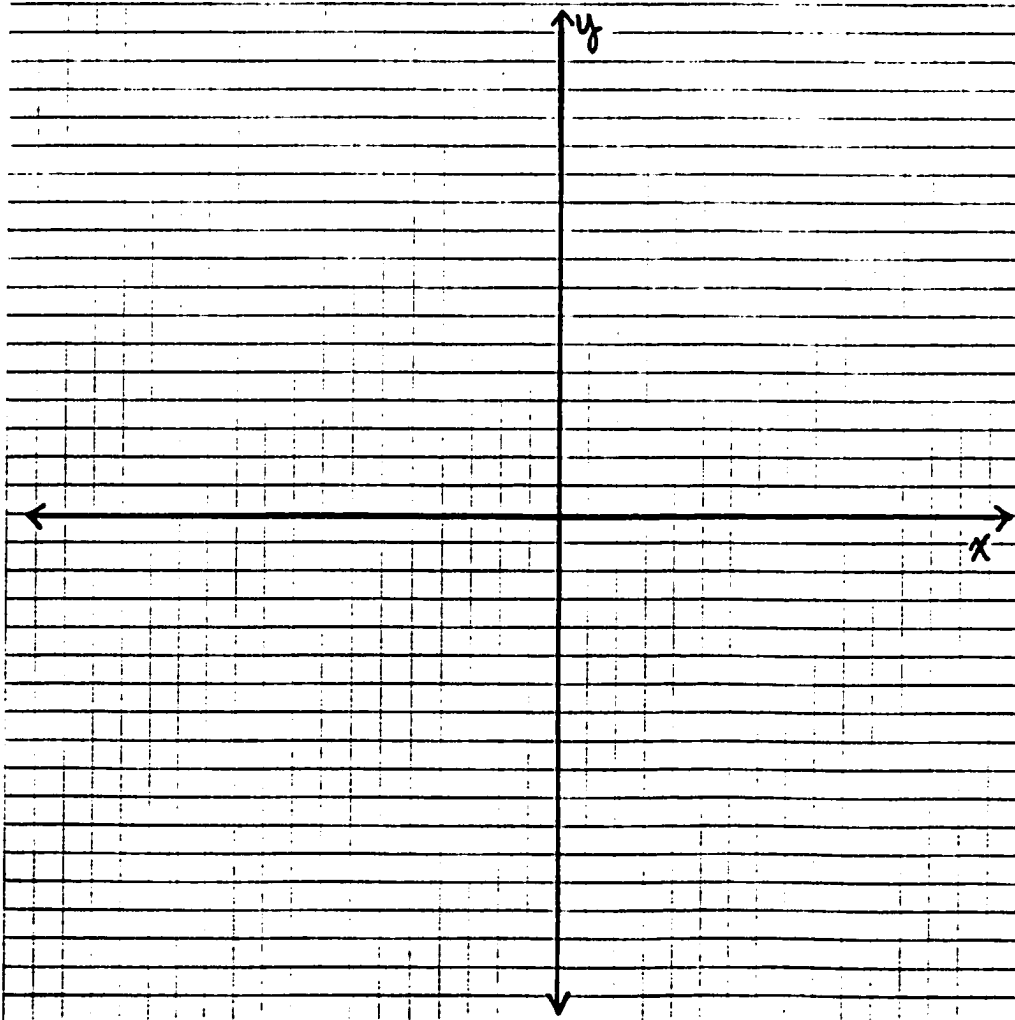


APPENDIX D
Quiz 4
Type 2 problem

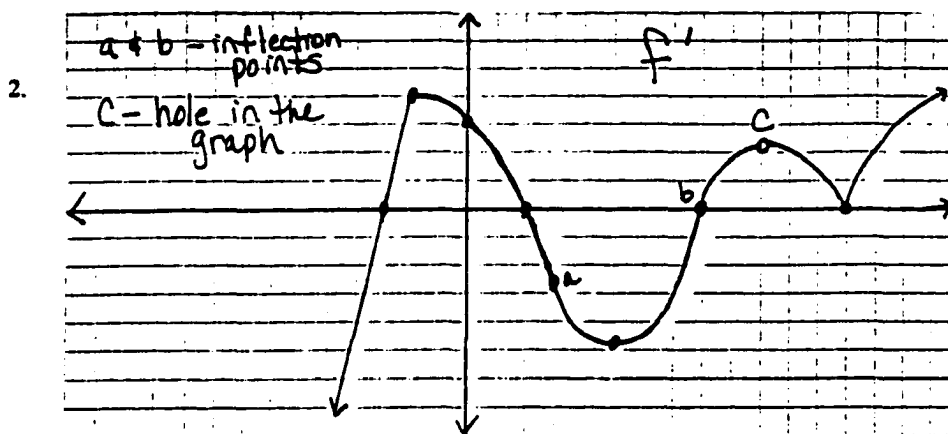
4. Sketch the graph of a function that meets the following conditions:

- (a) $f'' > 0$ on $(-\infty, 1) \cup (1, 6)$
- (b) $f'(1) = 0$
- (c) $f'(6)$ and $f'(1)$ are undefined
- (d) f is defined and continuous on $(-\infty, \infty)$
- (e) $f'' < 0$ on $(6, 8)$
- (f) f has a local min at $x = 6$

Important: Label any inflection points



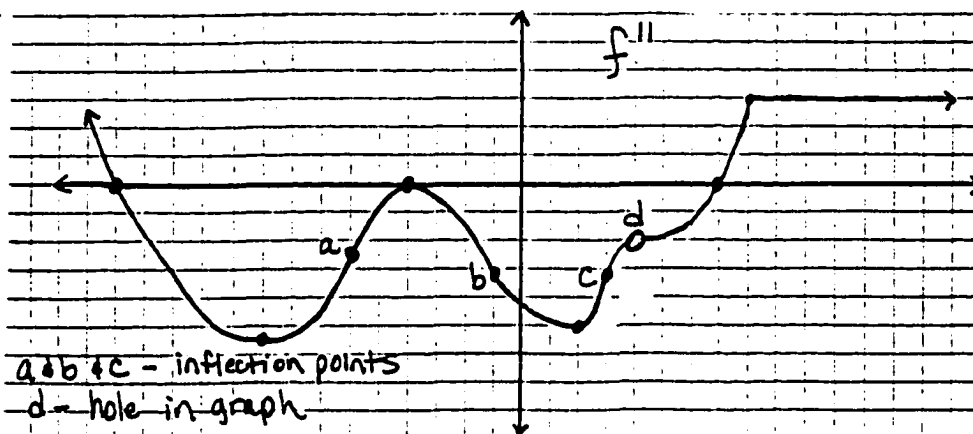
APPENDIX D
Quiz 5
Type 1 problem



- (a) For what values, if any, is $f''(x) > 0$? _____
- (b) For what values, if any, does f have an inflection point? _____
- (c) For what values, if any, is $f'(x) = 0$? _____
- (d) For what values, if any, is f concave down? _____
- (e) $f''(-2) =$ _____

APPENDIX D
Quiz 5
Type 1 problem

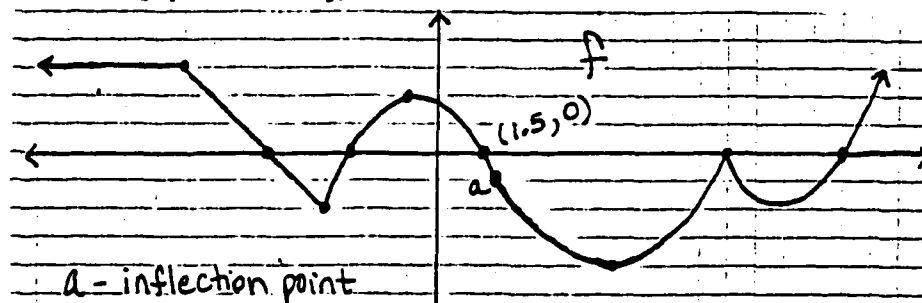
3.



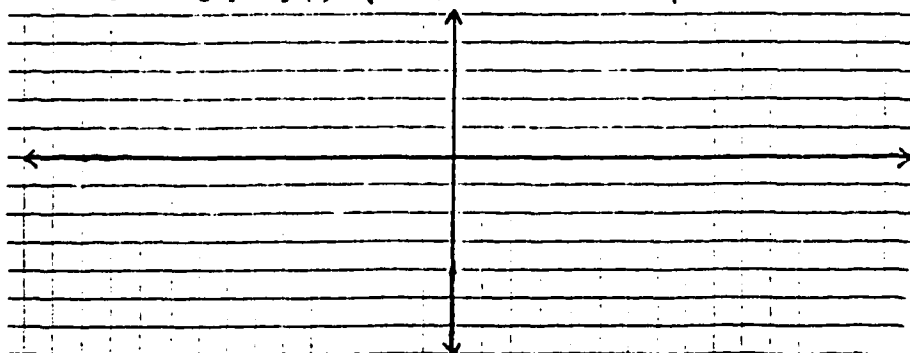
- (a) For what values, if any, is f' increasing? _____
- (b) For what values, if any, is $f'''(x) > 0$? _____
- (c) For what values, if any, does f' have a local min? _____
- (d) For what values, if any, does f have an inflection point? _____
- (e) What can you say about f' at $x=4$? _____

APPENDIX D
Quiz 5
Type 2 problems

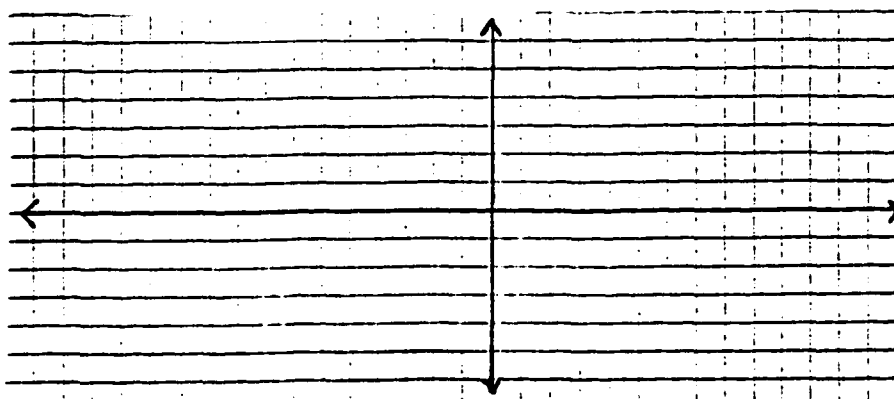
1. Given this graph of a function f ,



(a) Sketch a possible graph of $f'(x)$: (label all inflection points)

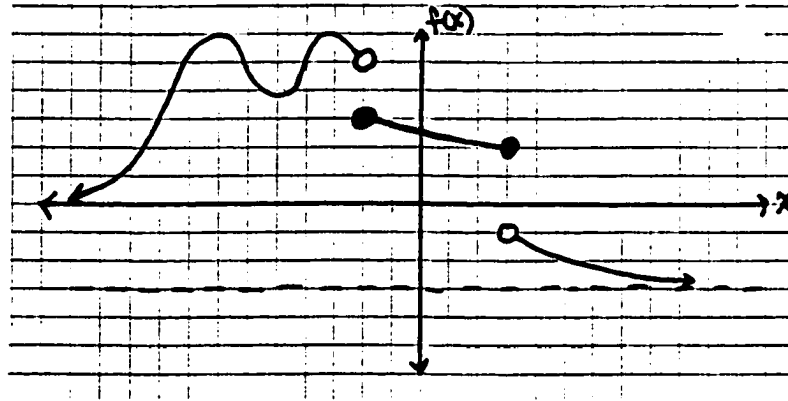


(b) Sketch a possible graph of $\int_a^x f(t) dt$: (label all inflection points)



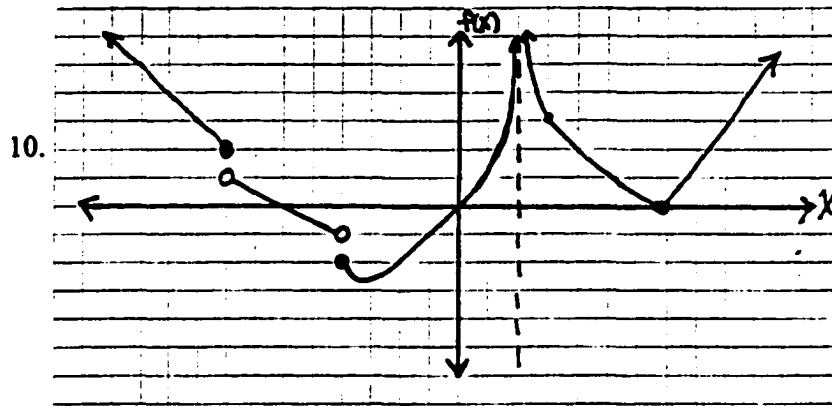
APPENDIX D
Examination 2
Type 1 problem

6.



- (a) $\lim_{x \rightarrow -2^-} f(x) =$ _____
- (b) $f(3) =$ _____
- (c) At which points, if any, is f continuous? _____
- (d) $\lim_{x \rightarrow \infty} f(x) =$ _____

APPENDIX D
Examination 2
Type 1 problem



- (a) At which points, if any, is f discontinuous? _____
- (b) $f(2) =$ _____
- (c) $\lim_{x \rightarrow 2} f(x) =$ _____
- (d) $f(-4) =$ _____

APPENDIX D
Examination 2
Type 2 problem

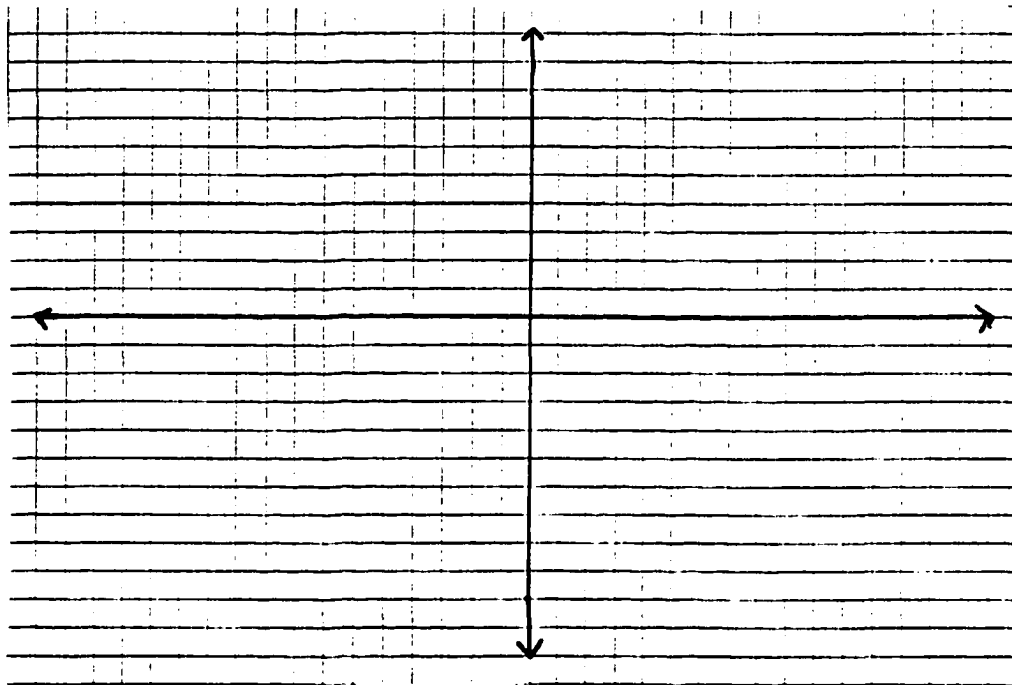
3. Sketch the graph of a function that meets the following conditions:

(a) $\lim_{x \rightarrow 4} f(x) = -3$

(b) f is discontinuous at $x = 2$

(c) $f(-1) = -2$

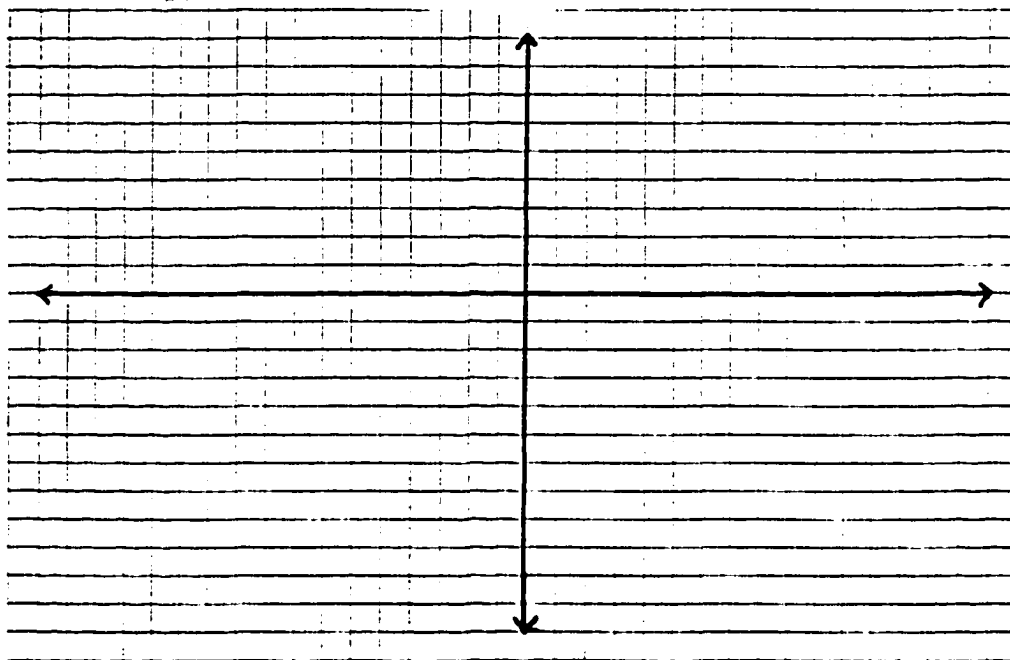
(d) $\lim_{x \rightarrow 1} f(x)$ DNE



APPENDIX D
Examination 2
Type 2 problem

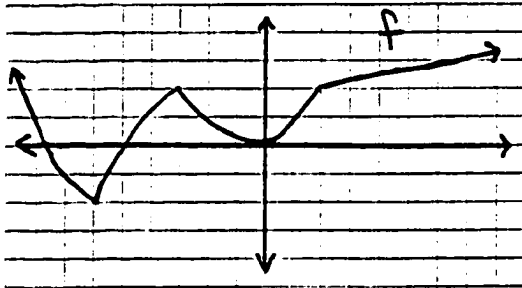
11. Sketch the graph of a function that meets the following conditions:

- (a) $\lim_{x \rightarrow 3^+} f(x) = \infty$ (b) f is undefined at $x = 0$
(c) f has a horizontal asymptote at $y = -3$
(d) $\lim_{x \rightarrow -\infty} f(x) = \infty$



APPENDIX D
Examination 3
Type 1 problem

1.

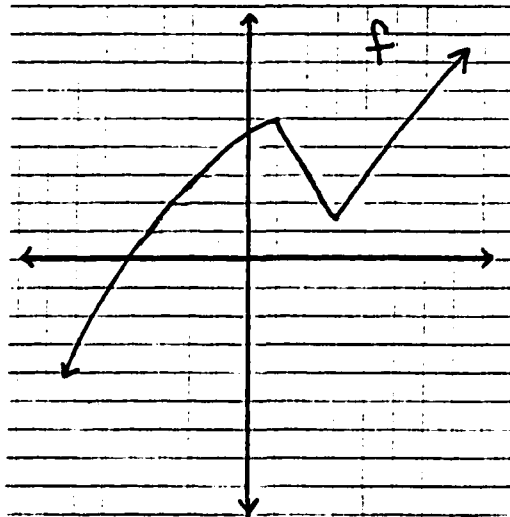


Note f has a local min
at $x=0$

- (a) At what values, if any, does f have an inflection point? _____
- (b) At what values, if any, is $f'(x) > 0$? _____
- (c) $f''(0) =$ _____

APPENDIX D
Examination 3
Type 1 problem

8.



- (a) At what values, if any, is $f'(x) = 0$? _____
- (b) $f''(1) =$ _____
- (c) At what values, if any, does f have a local min? _____

APPENDIX D
Examination 3
Type 2 problem

4. Sketch the graph of a function that meets the following conditions:

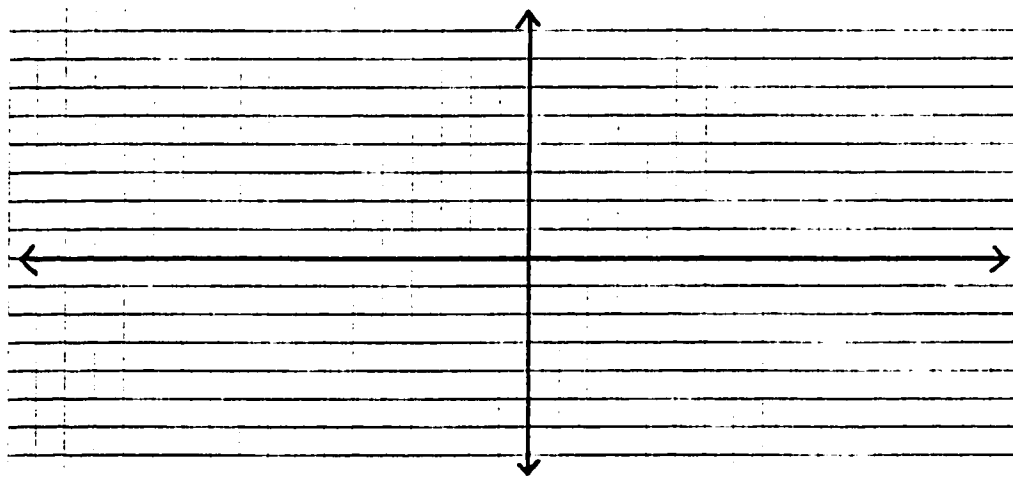
(a) $f'(x)=1$ on $(3,6)$

(b) $f''>0$ on $(7,\infty)$

(c) $f''(-2)=0$

(d) $f'(-4)=0$

Label any inflection points.

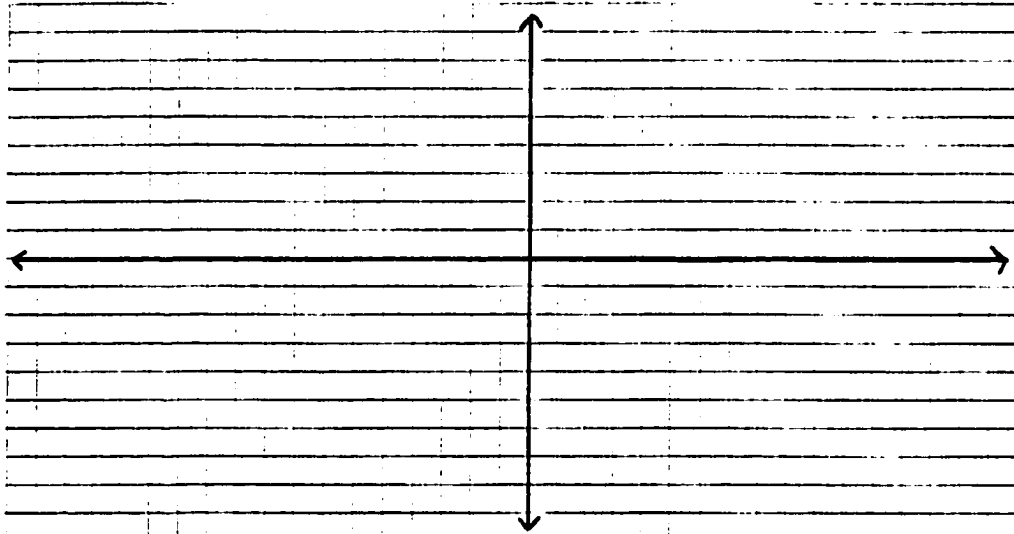


APPENDIX D
Examination 3
Type 2 problem

6. Sketch the graph of a function that meets the following conditions:

- | | |
|---|---|
| (a) $f''(x) = 0$ on $(4, \infty)$ | (b) f is defined on $(-\infty, \infty)$ |
| (c) $f' < 0$ on $(1, 4) \cup (4, \infty)$ | (d) $f'' > 0$ on $(0, 4)$ |
| (e) $f'(x) = -1$ on $(-8, -4)$ | |

Label any inflection points.

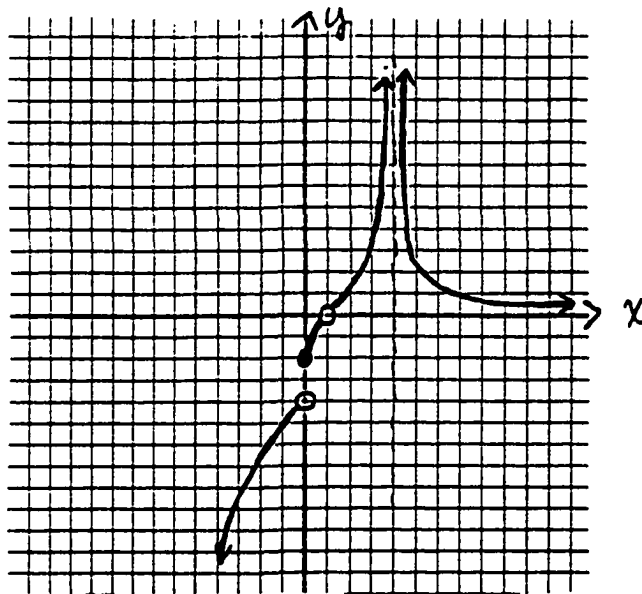


APPENDIX E

Examples of Student Solutions

APPENDIX E
Quiz 1
Type 1 problem

1.



(a) $\lim_{x \rightarrow -\infty} f(x) = 0$

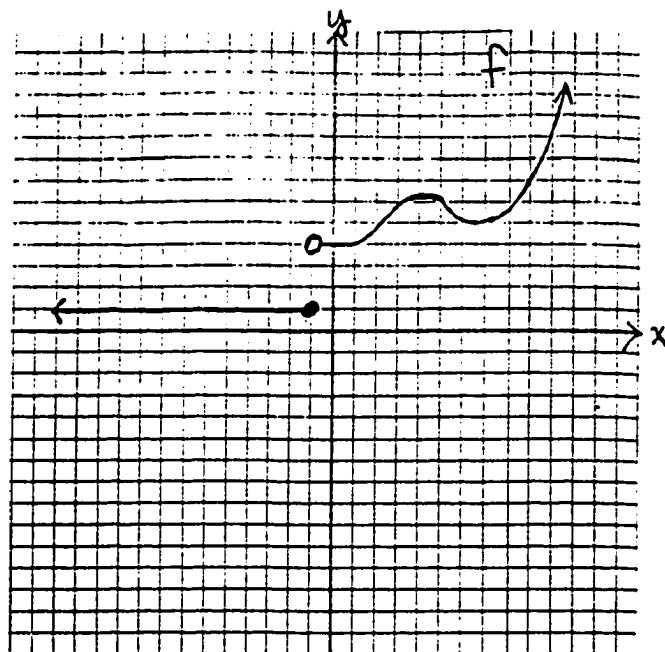
(b) $f(1) = \text{DNE}$

(c) $\lim_{x \rightarrow 0^-} f(x) = -4$

(d) At what values of x , if any, is f discontinuous? $0, 1, \infty$

APPENDIX E
Quiz 1
Type 1 problem

3.



- (a) $f(-1) = \underline{1}$
- (b) For what values of x , if any, is f continuous? $\underline{(-\infty, -1) \cup (-1, \infty)}$
- (c) $\lim_{x \rightarrow -\infty} f(x) = \underline{1}$
- (d) $\lim_{x \rightarrow -1} f(x) = \underline{\text{DNE}}$

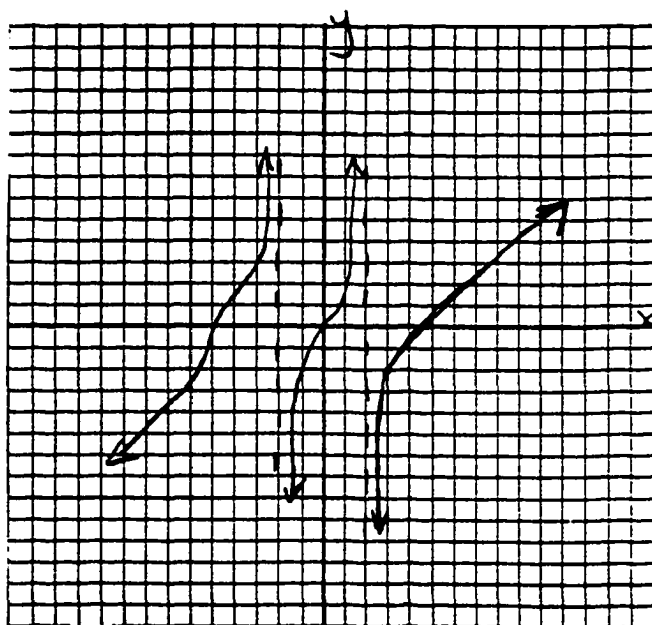
APPENDIX E

Quiz 1

Type 2 problem

2. Sketch the graph of a function that satisfies *all* of the following conditions:

- (a) $\lim_{x \rightarrow \infty} f(x) = \infty$
- (b) f has a vertical asymptote at $x = 2$
- (c) $\lim_{x \rightarrow 2} f(x)$ DNE
- (d) $f(3) = -2$



Scale = 1

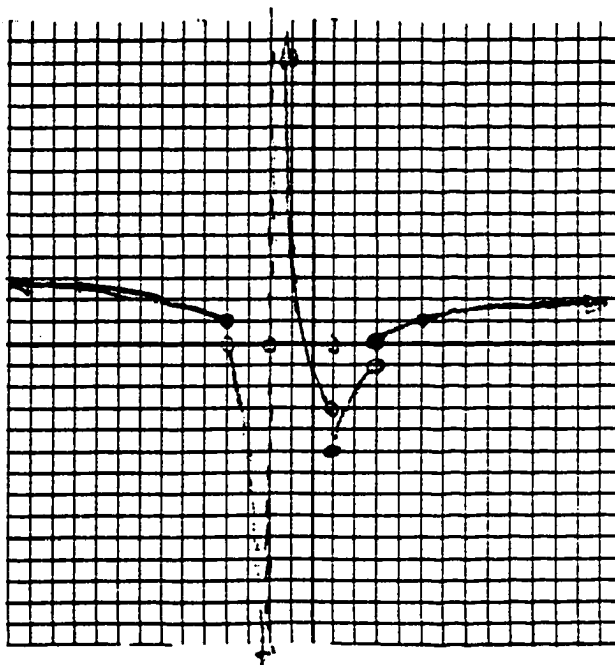
APPENDIX E

Quiz 1

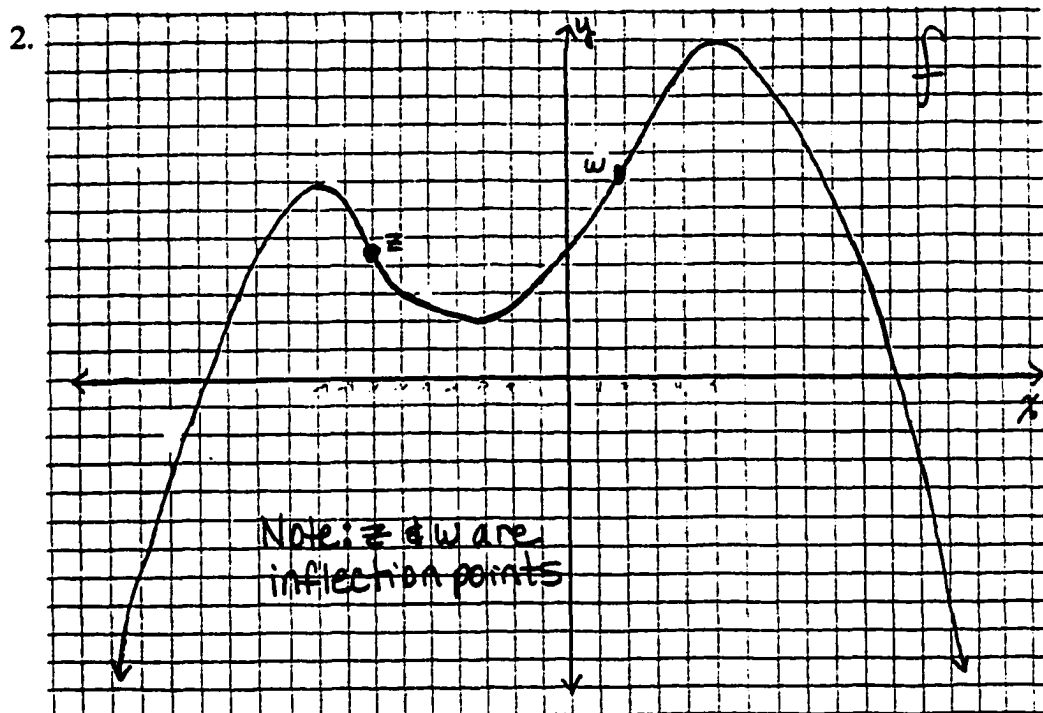
Type 2 problem

4. Sketch the graph of a function that satisfies *all* of the following conditions:

- (a) f is defined for all real numbers except $x = -2$
- (b) f is continuous everywhere *except* at $x = -4$, $x = -2$, $x = 1$, and $x = 3$.
- (c) $\lim_{x \rightarrow \infty} f(x) = 2$
- (d) $f(-2)$ is undefined
- (e) $\lim_{x \rightarrow 5^-} f(x) = 1$



APPENDIX E
Quiz 3
Type 1 problem



(a) On what interval(s), if any, is f increasing? $(-\infty, -9)$ and $(-3, 5)$

(b) On $(-\infty, \infty)$, at what value(s), if any, does f have a local max?

$x = -9$ and $x = 5$

(c) On what interval(s), if any, is f concave up?

$(-7, 2)$

(d) On what interval(s), if any, is f decreasing?

$(-9, -3)$ and $(5, \infty)$

(e) On what interval(s), if any, is f concave down?

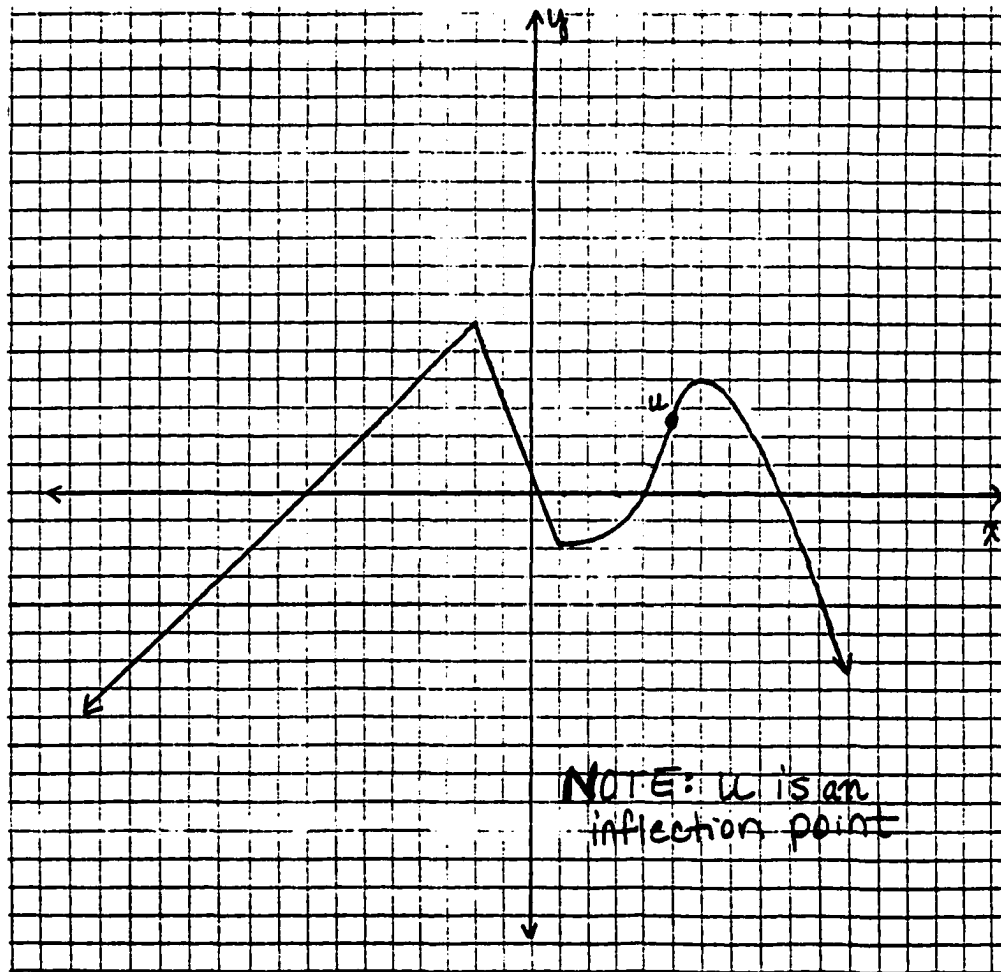
$(-\infty, -7)$ and $(2, \infty)$

(f) On $(-\infty, \infty)$, at what value(s), if any, does f have a local min?

$x = -3$

APPENDIX E
Quiz 3
Type 1 problem

3.



(a) $f'(-2) = \underline{\text{DNE}}$

(b) At what value(s), if any, does f have a local max?

$\underline{x = -2, 6}$

(c) At what value(s), if any, does f have a local min?

$\underline{x = 1}$

(d) $f(4) = \underline{0}$

(e) $f'(6) = \underline{0}$

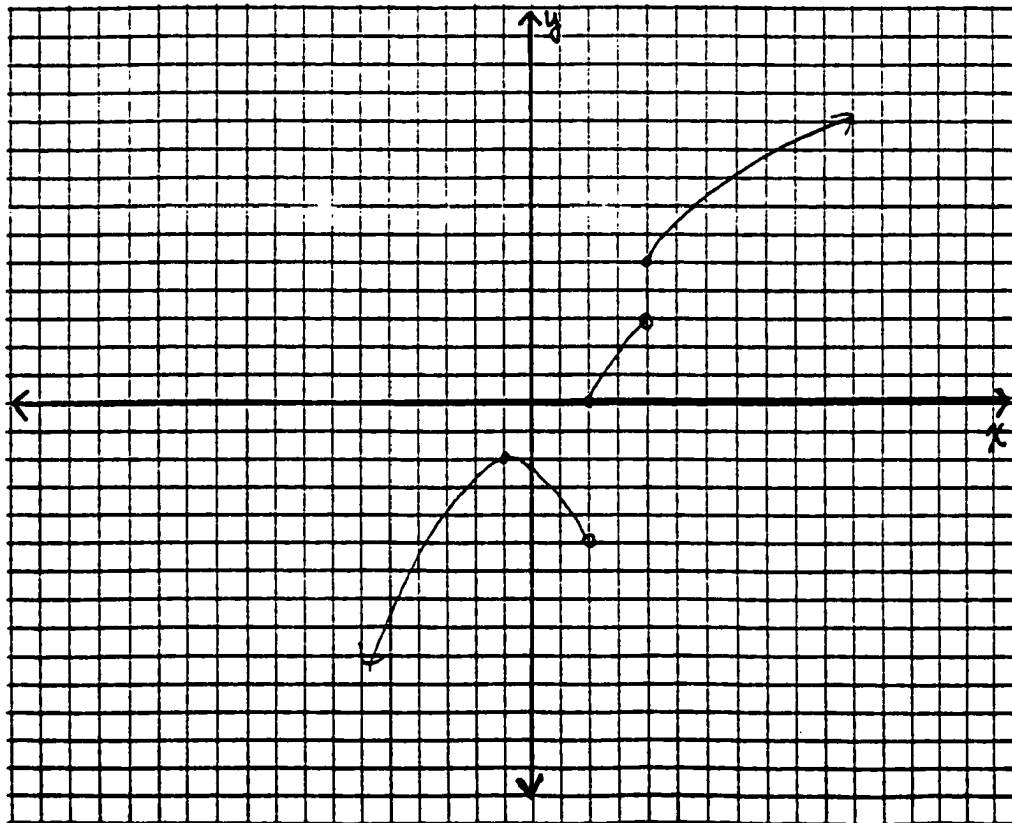
(f) Is $f'(5)$ negative or positive? $\underline{\text{positive}}$

Type 2 problem

1. Sketch the graph of a function f that satisfies all of the following conditions:

- (f) $f'(-1) = 0$

IMPORTANT: Label any inflection points.

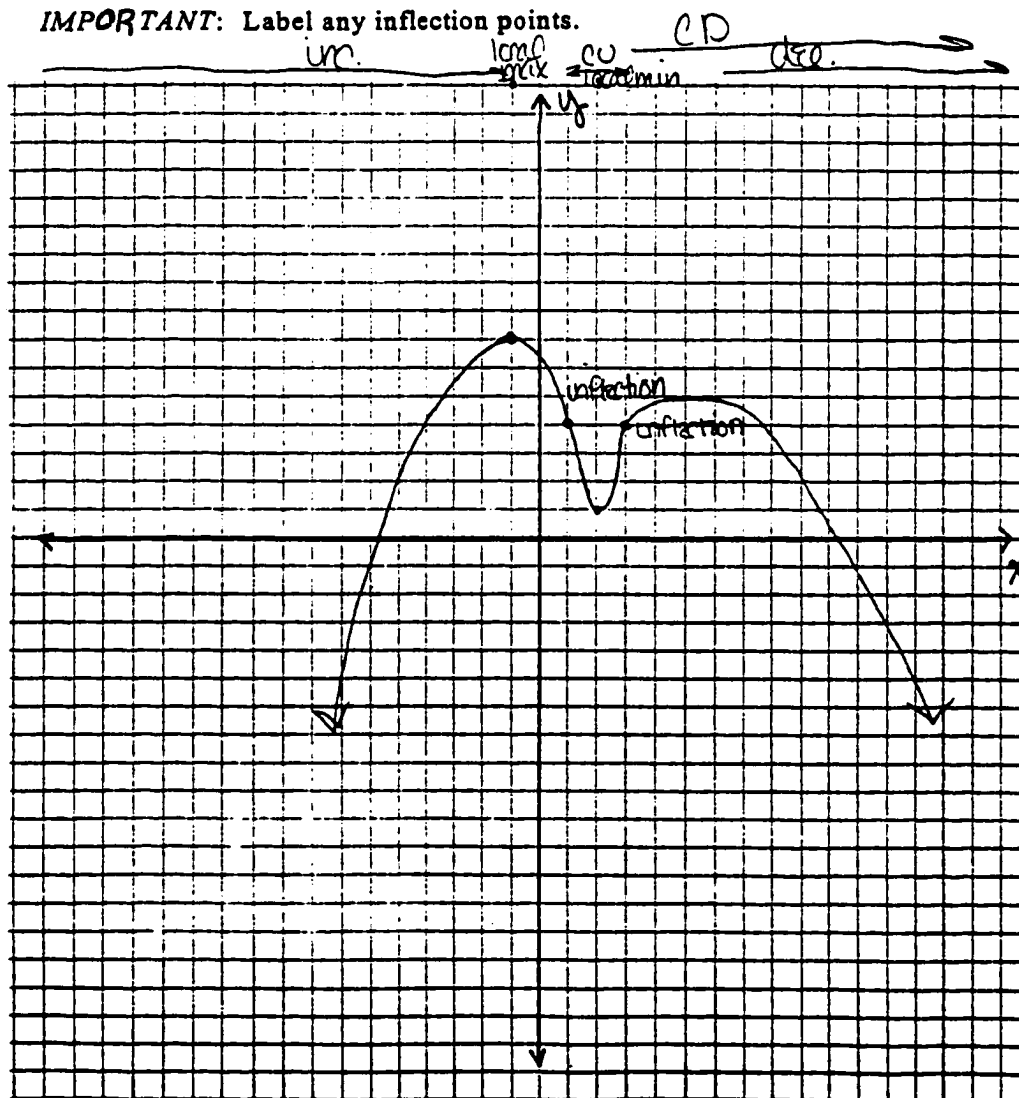


APPENDIX E
Quiz 3
Type 2 problem

4. Sketch the graph of a function that satisfies all of the following conditions:

- (a) f is concave up on $(1,3)$
- (b) f is decreasing on $(6,\infty)$
- (c) f has a local min at $x = 2$
- (d) f is increasing on $(-\infty,-1)$
- (e) f is concave down on $(3,\infty)$
- (f) f has a local max at $x = -1$

IMPORTANT: Label any inflection points.

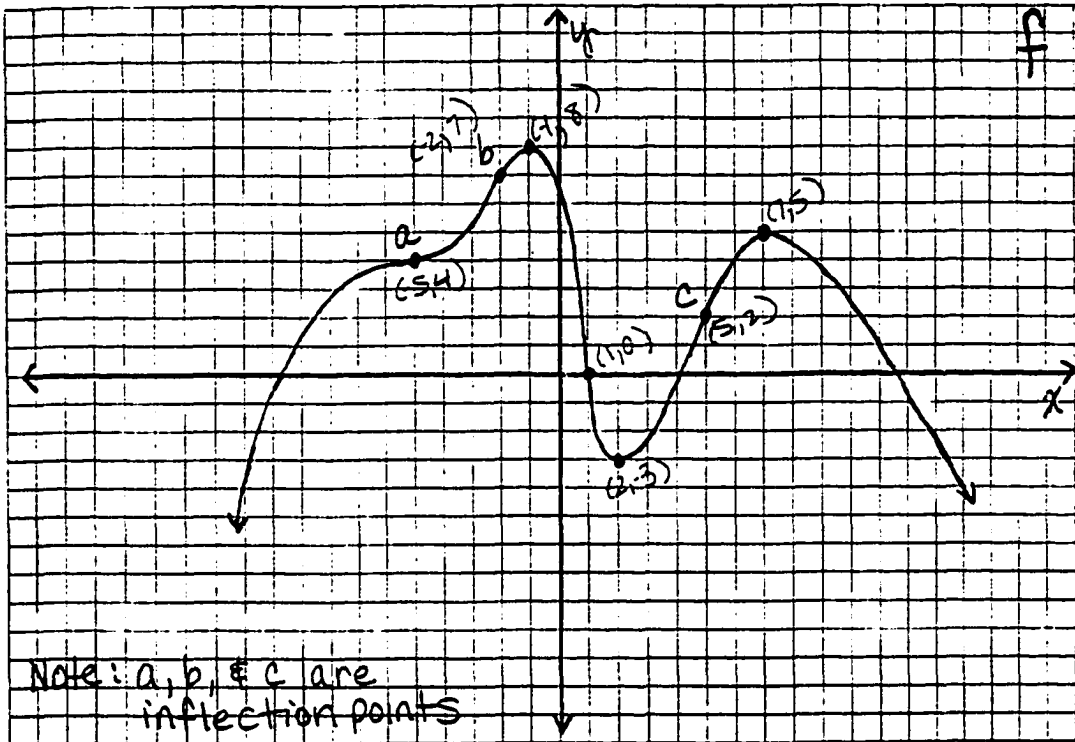


APPENDIX E

Quiz 4

Type 1 problem

1.



This is the graph of a function f .

(a) $f''(-5) = 0$

(b) On what intervals, if any, is $f' > 0$? $(-\infty, -1) \cup (2, 7)$

(c) $f''(7) = < 0$

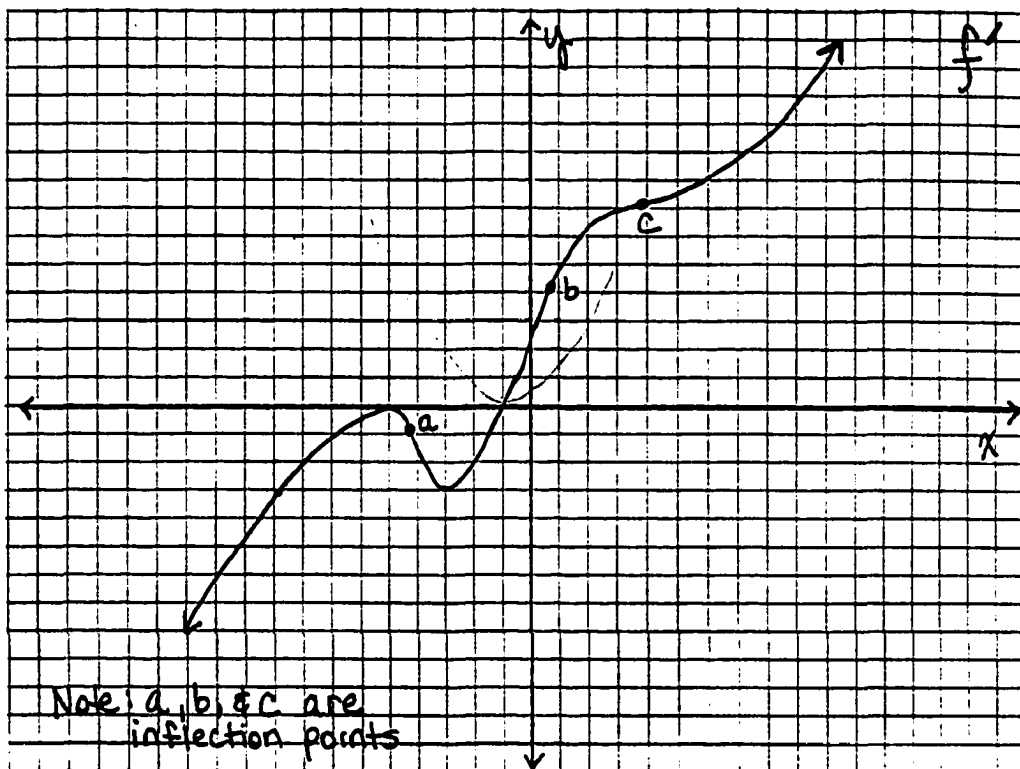
(d) $f'(7) = 0$

(e) On what intervals, if any, is $f'' < 0$? $(-\infty, -5) \cup (-2, 1) \cup (5, \infty)$

(f) $f(1) = 0$

APPENDIX E
Quiz 4
Type 1 problem

3.



This is the graph of f' (the derivative of f).

(a) What values, if any, are critical values of f ? $x = -1$ and $x = -5$

(b) $f''(-5) =$ 0

(c) At what values, if any, does f have a local max? none

(d) At what values, if any, does f have a local min? $x = -1$

(e) $f'(-1) =$ 0

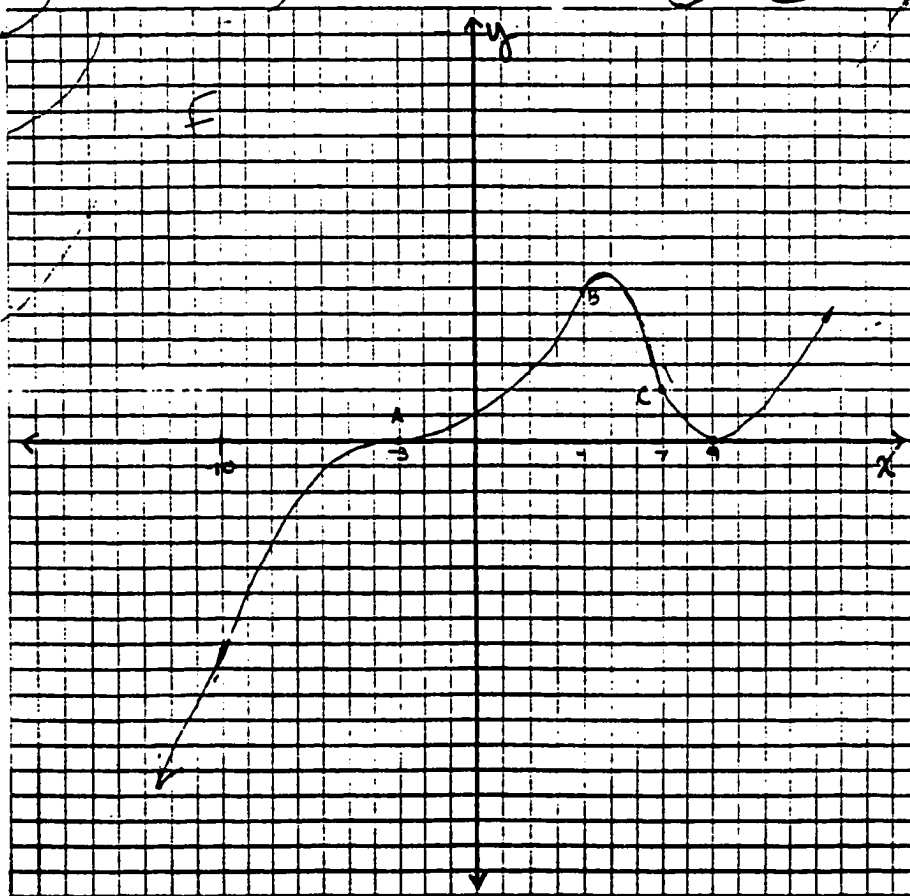
(f) At what values, if any, does f have an inflection point? $x = -3$ and $x = -5$

APPENDIX E
Quiz 4
Type 2 problem

2. Sketch the graph of a function that meets the following conditions:

- (a) $f'' > 0$ on $(7,9) \cup (9,\infty)$ \cup
- (b) f is defined and continuous on $(-\infty, \infty)$
- (c) $f'' < 0$ on $(-10, -3)$ \cdot
- (d) $f' > 0$ on $(-\infty, -3) \cup (-3, 4)$ \cdot
- (e) $f''(-3) = f''(9) = 0$ \cdot

Important: Label any inflection points



Inflection points A, B, C

APPENDIX E

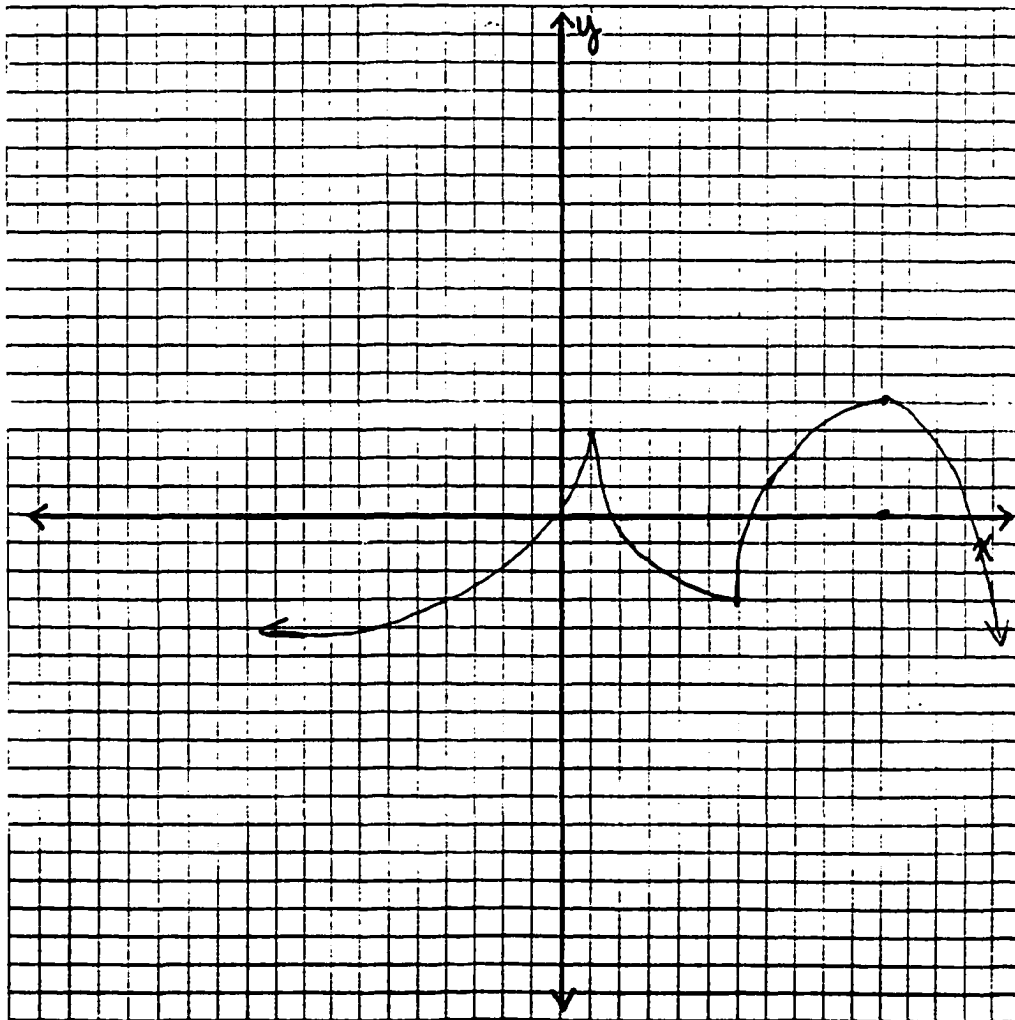
Quiz 4

Type 2 problem

4. Sketch the graph of a function that meets the following conditions:

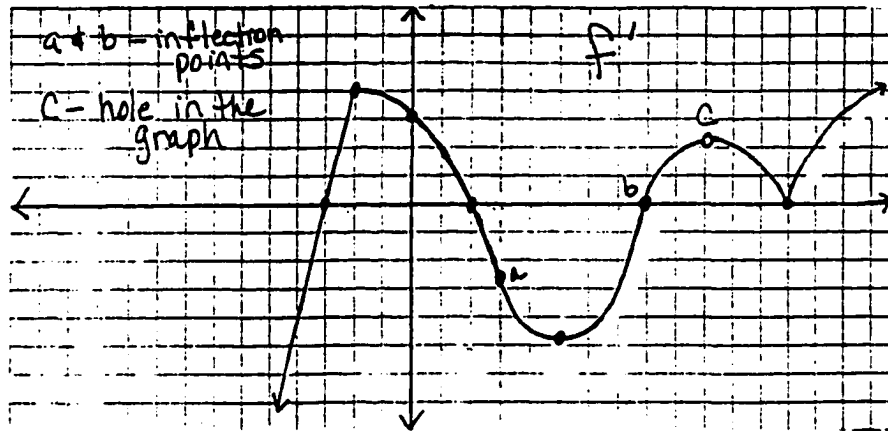
- (a) $f'' > 0$ on $(-\infty, 1) \cup (1, 6)$
- (b) $f'(11) = 0$
- (c) $f'(6)$ and $f'(1)$ are undefined
- (d) f is defined and continuous on $(-\infty, \infty)$
- (e) $f'' < 0$ on $(6, 8)$
- (f) f has a local min at $x = 6$

Important: Label any inflection points



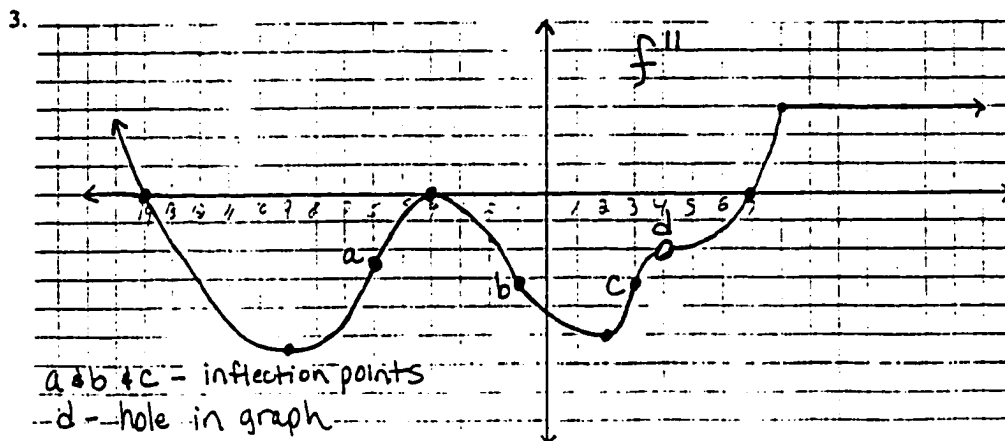
APPENDIX E
Quiz 5
Type 1 problem

2.



- (a) For what values, if any, is $f''(x) > 0$? $(-\infty, -2)$ and $(5, 10)$ and $(13, \infty)$
- (b) For what values, if any, does f have an inflection point? $-3, 5$
- (c) For what values, if any, is $f'(x) = 0$? $-3, 2, 8, 13$
- (d) For what values, if any, is f concave down? $(-2, 5)$ and $(10, 13)$
- (e) $f''(-2) = \text{undefined}$

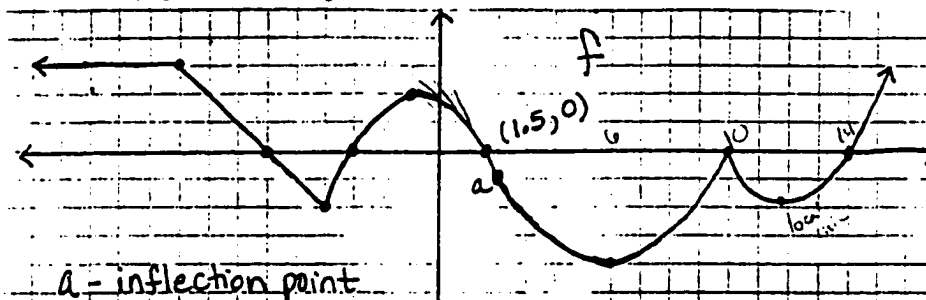
APPENDIX E
Quiz 5
Type 1 problem



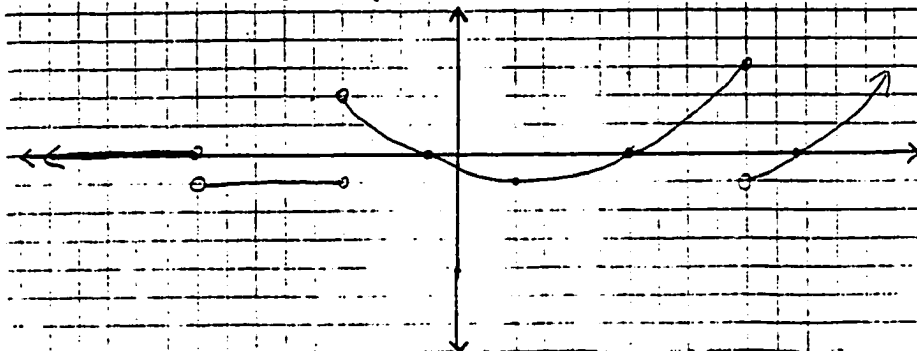
- (a) For what values, if any, is f' increasing? $(-\infty, -7)$ and $(7, \infty)$
 (b) For what values, if any, is $f'''(x) > 0$? $(-9, -4)$, $(2, 4)$ and $(4, 6)$
 (c) For what values, if any, does f' have a local min? $x = 7$
 (d) For what values, if any, does f have an inflection point? $x = -4$ and $x = 2$
 (e) What can you say about f' at $x = 4$? Since there is a hole or jump in the graph of f' at $x = 4$.

APPENDIX E
Quiz 5
Type 2 problems

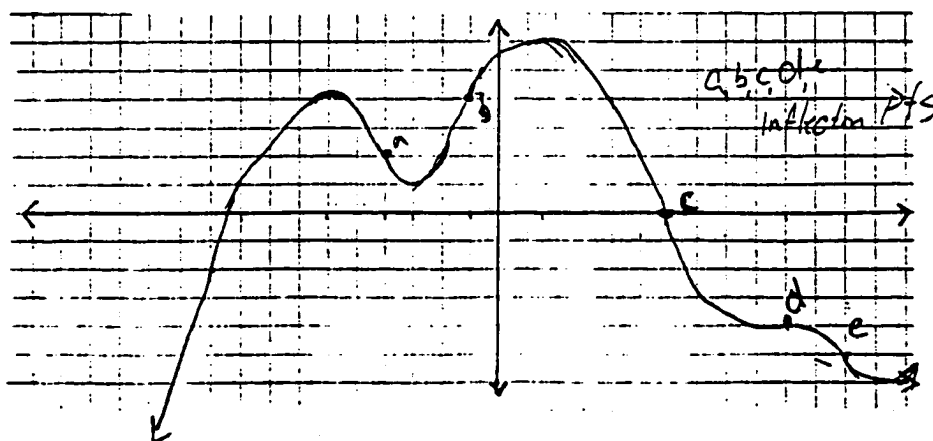
1. Given this graph of a function f ,



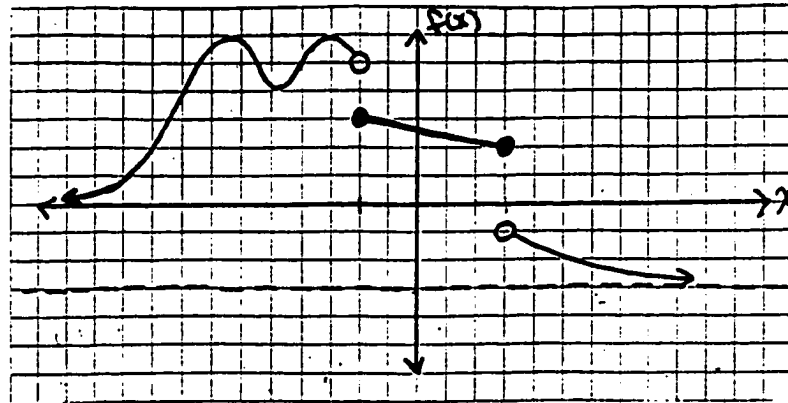
(a) Sketch a possible graph of $f'(x)$: (label all inflection points)



(b) Sketch a possible graph of $\int_a^x f(t) dt$: (label all inflection points)



APPENDIX E
Examination 2
Type 1 problem



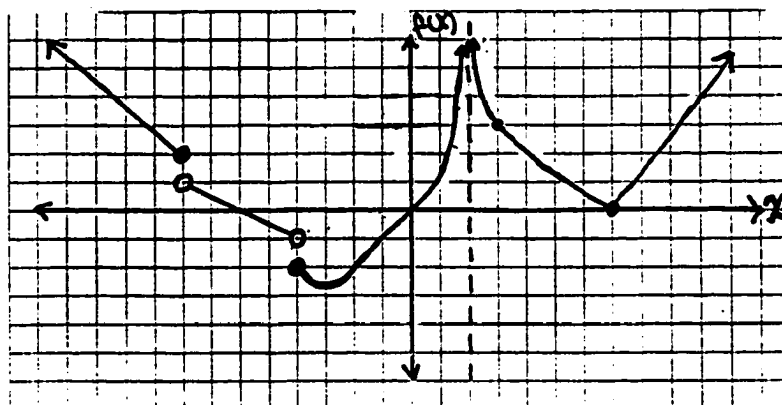
(a) $\lim_{x \rightarrow -2^-} f(x) = 5$

(b) $f(3) = 2$

(c) At which points, if any, is f continuous? *All real numbers except at $x = -2$ and $x = 3$*

(d) $\lim_{x \rightarrow \infty} f(x) = -3$

APPENDIX E
Examination 2
Type 1 problem



- (a) At which points, if any, is f discontinuous? $-8, -4, 2$
 (b) $f(2) =$ undefined
 (c) $\lim_{x \rightarrow 2} f(x) =$ 3
 (d) $f(-4) =$ -2

$$\text{Domain: } (-\infty, -8] \cup (-8, -4) \cup (-4, 2) \cup (2, 4) \cup (4, \infty)$$

APPENDIX E
Examination 2
Type 2 problem

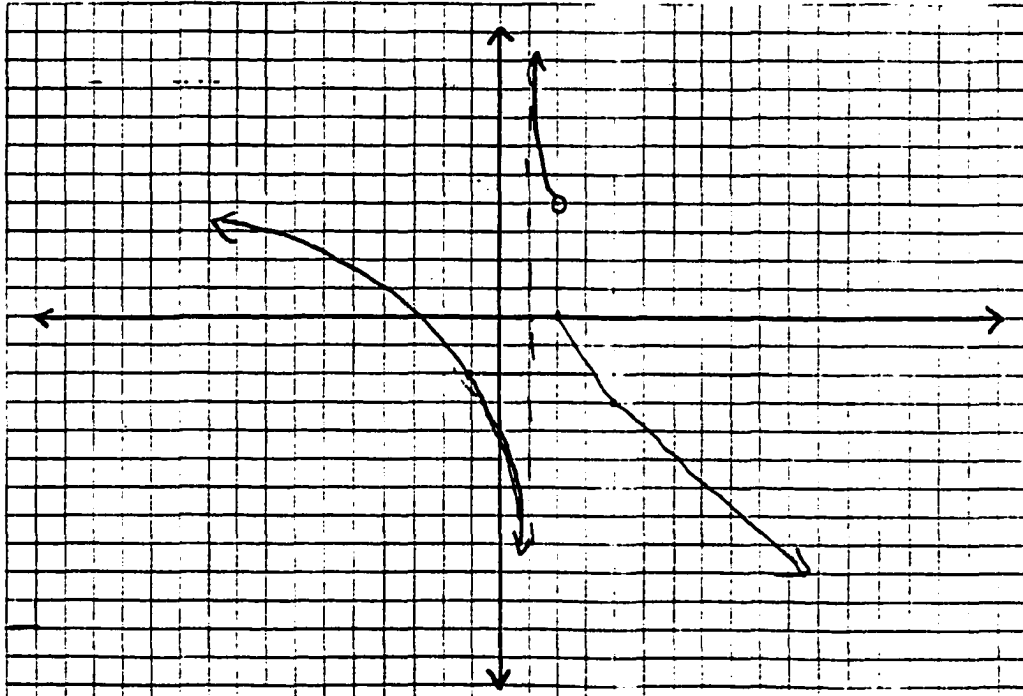
Sketch the graph of a function that meets the following conditions:

(a) $\lim_{x \rightarrow 4} f(x) = -3$

(b) f is discontinuous at $x = 2$

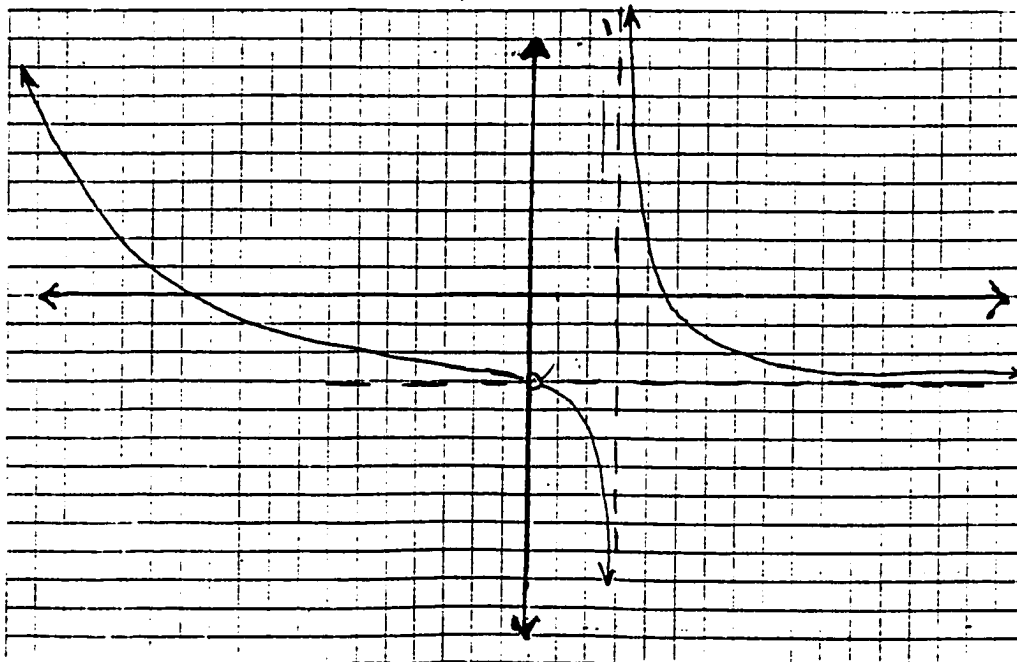
(c) $f(-1) = -2$

(d) $\lim_{x \rightarrow 1} f(x)$ DNE



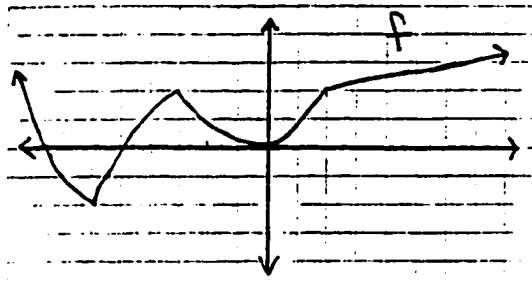
APPENDIX E
Examination 2
Type 2 problem

11. Sketch the graph of a function that meets the following conditions:
- ✓ (a) $\lim_{x \rightarrow 3^-} f(x) = \infty$
 - ✓ (b) f is undefined at $x = 0$
 - ✓ (c) f has a horizontal asymptote at $y = -3$
 - ✓ (d) $\lim_{x \rightarrow -\infty} f(x) = \infty$



APPENDIX E
Examination 3
Type 1 problem

1.

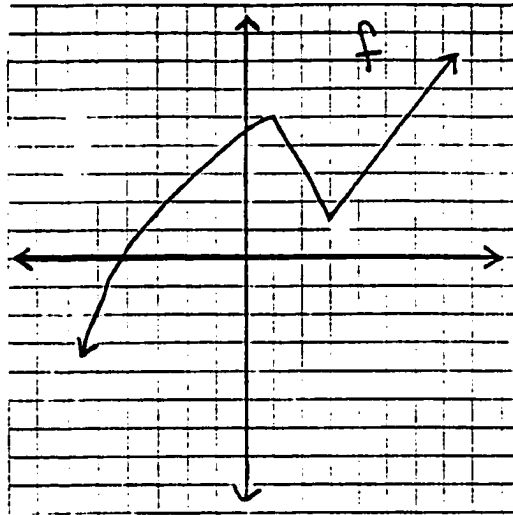


Note f has a local min
at $x=0$

- (a) At what values, if any, does f have an inflection point? No inflection
(b) At what values, if any, is $f'(x) > 0$? $(-6, -3)$, $(0, 2)$, $(2, \infty)$
(c) $f''(0) =$ > 0

APPENDIX E
Examination 3
Type 1 problem

8.



f' = loc. max or min
increasing or decreasing
 f'' = CU
CD
inflection point

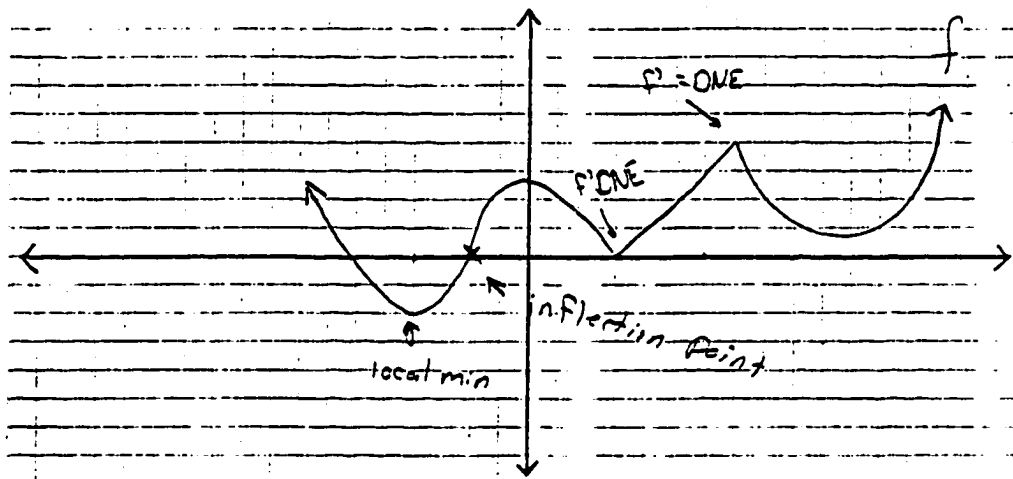
- (a) At what values, if any, is $f'(x) = 0$? none
- (b) $f''(1) =$ DNE
- (c) At what values, if any, does f have a local min? $x = 3$

APPENDIX E
Examination 3
Type 2 problem

4. Sketch the graph of a function that meets the following conditions:

- (a) $f'(x) = 1$ on $(3, 6)$ (b) $f'' > 0$ on $(7, \infty)$
(c) $f''(-2) = 0$ (d) $f'(-4) = 0$

Label any inflection points.

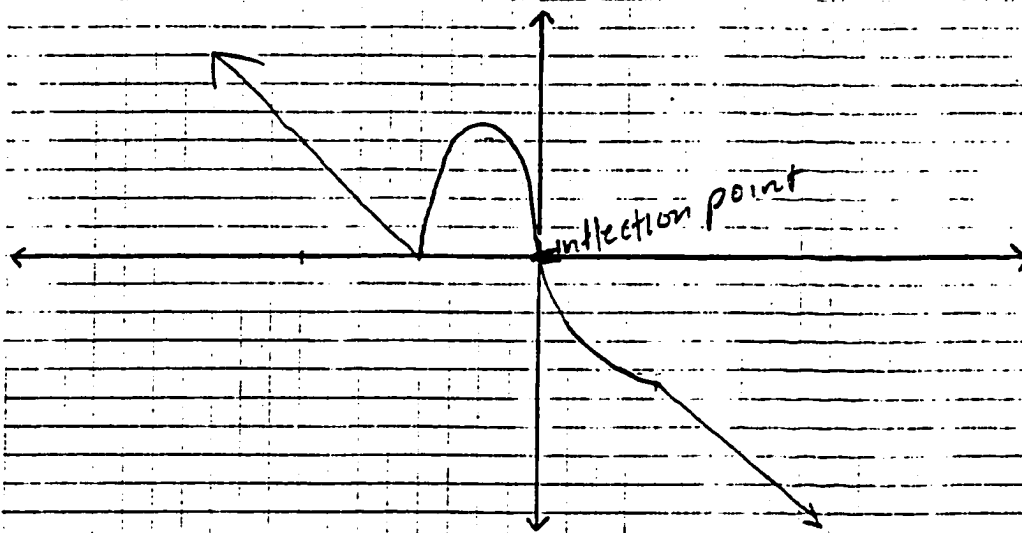


APPENDIX E
Examination 3
Type 2 problem

6. Sketch the graph of a function that meets the following conditions:

- (a) $f''(x) = 0$ on $(4, \infty)$ ✓ (b) f is defined on $(-\infty, \infty)$ ✓
 (c) $f' < 0$ on $(1, 4) \cup (4, \infty)$ ✓ (d) $f'' > 0$ on $(0, 4)$ ✓
 (e) $f'(x) = -1$ on $(-8, -4)$ ✓

Label any inflection points.



APPENDIX F

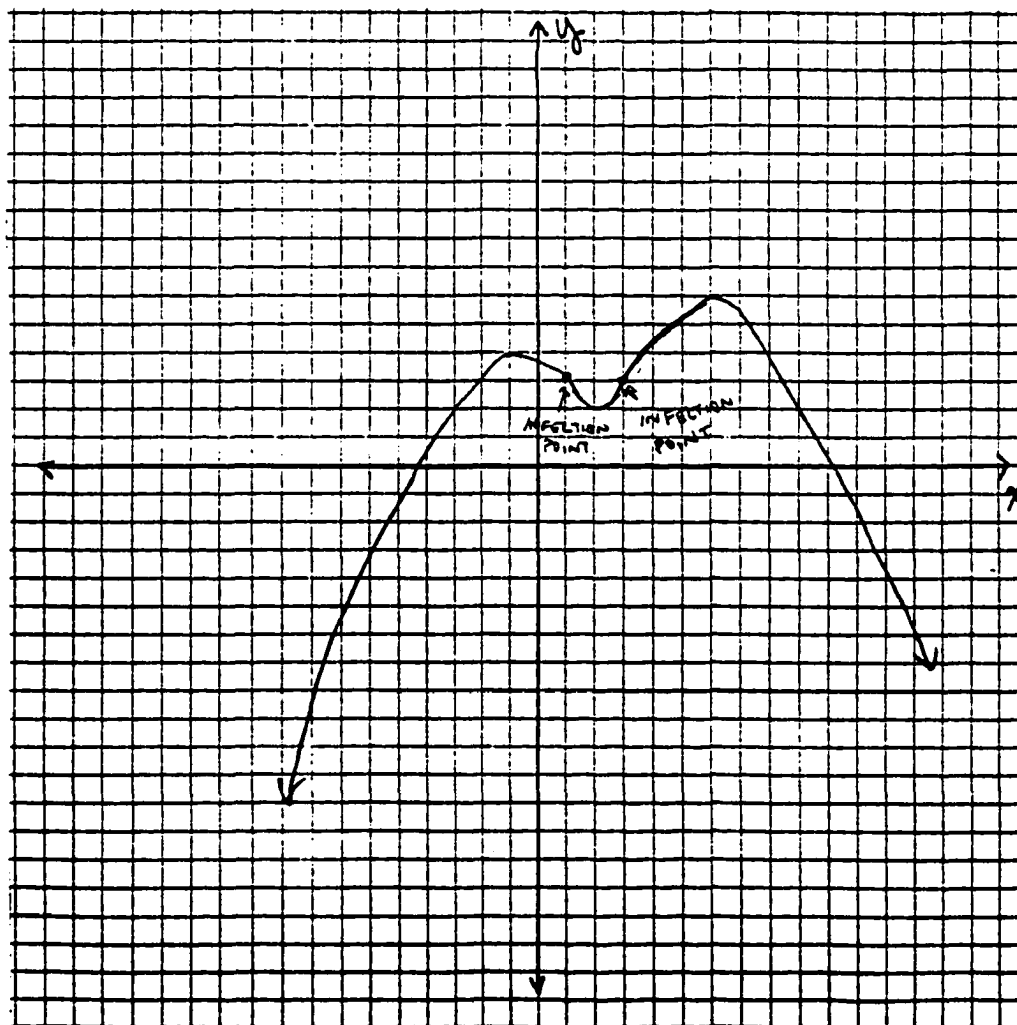
Steve's Solution to Problem 4 on Quiz 3

APPENDIX F
Steve's Solution to Problem 4 on Quiz 3

4. Sketch the graph of a function that satisfies all of the following conditions:

- ~~(a)~~ f is concave up on $(1,3)$
- ~~(b)~~ f is decreasing on $(6,\infty)$
- ~~(c)~~ f has a local min at $x = 2$
- ~~(d)~~ f is increasing on $(-\infty, -1)$
- ~~(e)~~ f is concave down on $(3,\infty)$
- ~~(f)~~ f has a local max at $x = -1$

IMPORTANT: Label any inflection points.

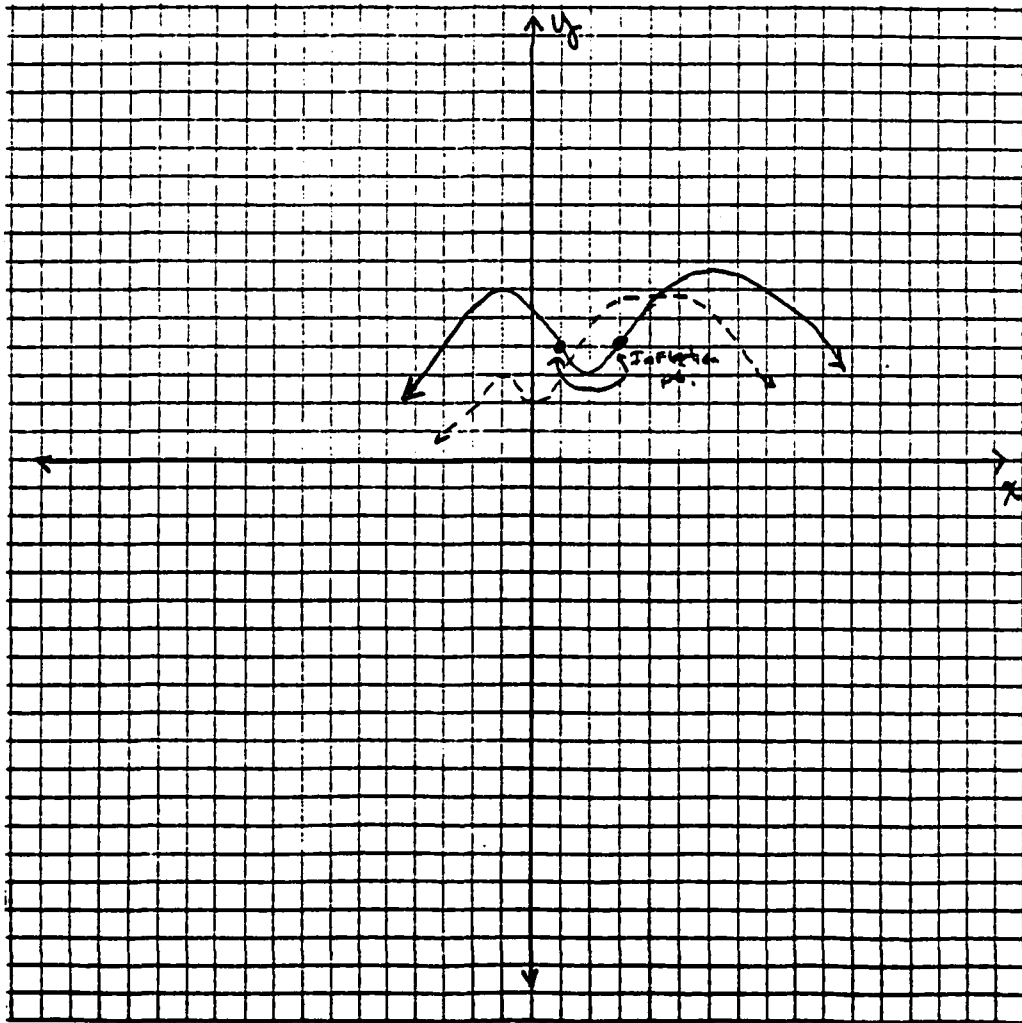


APPENDIX G

Tom's Solution to Problem 4 on Quiz 3

APPENDIX G
Tom's Solution to Problem 4 on Quiz 3

4. Sketch the graph of a function that satisfies all of the following conditions:
- ✓ (a) f is concave up on $(1, 3)$
 - ✓ (b) f is decreasing on $(6, \infty)$
 - ✓ (c) f has a local min at $x = 2$
 - ✓ (d) f is increasing on $(-\infty, -1)$
 - ✓ (e) f is concave down on $(3, \infty)$
 - ✓ (f) f has a local max at $x = -1$
- IMPORTANT:** Label any inflection points.



APPENDIX H

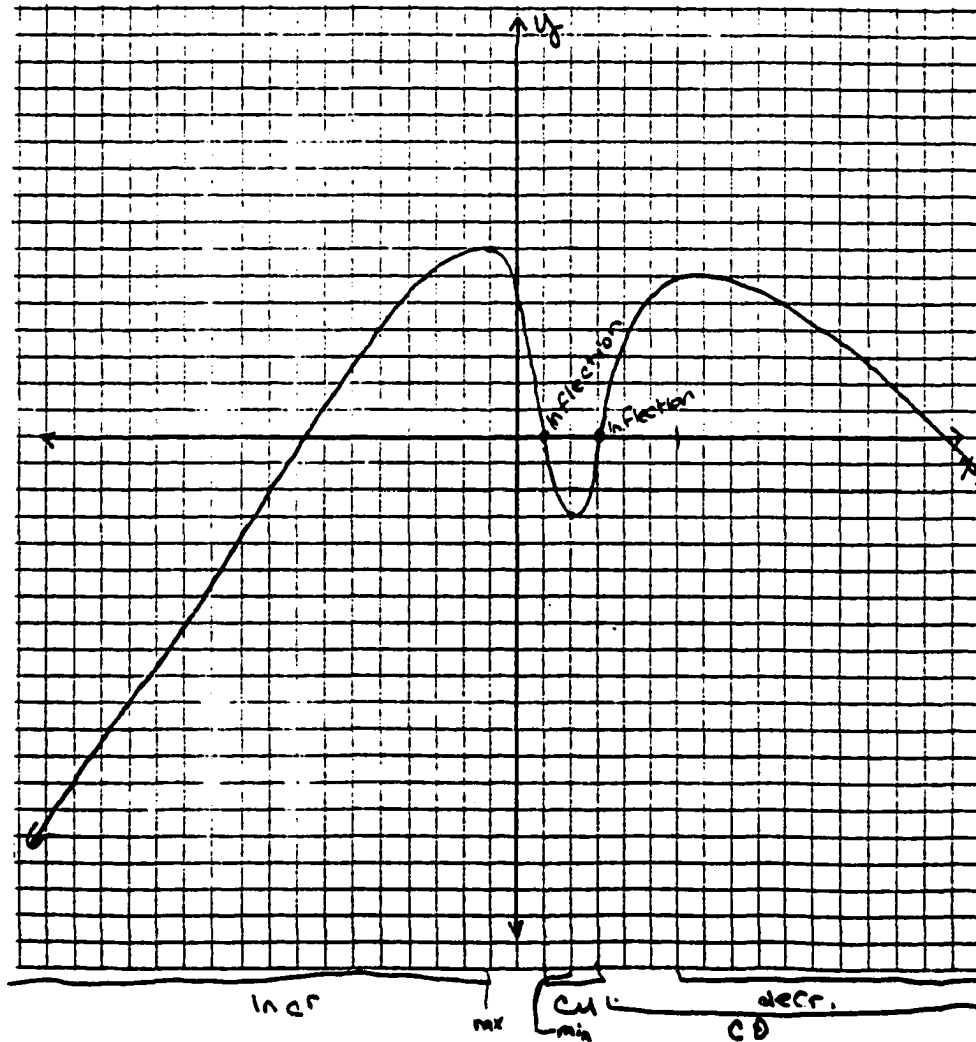
Ben's Solution to Problem 4 on Quiz 3

APPENDIX H
Ben's Solution to Problem 4 on Quiz 3

4. Sketch the graph of a function that satisfies all of the following conditions:

- (a) f is concave up on $(1,3)$
- (b) f is decreasing on $(6,\infty)$
- (c) f has a local min at $x = 2$
- (d) f is increasing on $(-\infty,-1)$
- (e) f is concave down on $(3,\infty)$
- (f) f has a local max at $x = -1$

IMPORTANT: Label any inflection points.



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**PROFESSIONAL RESPONSES TO BATTERERS
IN RURAL PENNSYLVANIA**

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Graduate School and Research

in Partial Fulfillment of the

Requirements for the Degree

Doctor of Psychology

Tammy A. R. Bartoszek

Indiana University of Pennsylvania

August 2000

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Title: Professional Responses to Batterers in Rural Pennsylvania

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Over the last 25 years, increasing attention has been given to understanding perpetrators of domestic violence and developing interventions to hold them responsible for their behavior. Intervention programs have been developed and examined for their ability to reduce the occurrence of violence with mixed results (Gondolf, 1997a; Tolman & Bennett, 1990). It has become increasingly clear that no single approach to addressing the problem will be adequate, and more recently, communities have developed coordinated community responses to the problem (Babcock & Steiner, 1999; Lecklitner, Malik, Aaron, & Lederman, 1999). This model is felt to be especially useful in communities with limited resources, as in rural areas. The model is dependent, however, upon professionals in a community to assess for violence and address it adequately. While studies have begun to demonstrate the problems in professional responses to domestic violence, none have examined professional responses to help-seeking in batterers or sought to compare differences in responses among professionals.

The current study surveyed 120 professionals representing 6 professions in rural communities in western Pennsylvania using a vignette. It was hypothesized that professionals would respond in varied ways, largely reflective of their own background and training, and not resembling a coordinated response. Few were expected to address the violence directly or refer

to a batterer intervention program. Certain professionals would be more likely to make such a referral, based on their experience and services available in their county.

The study found that professional responses to a batterer vignette were many and varied. Few professionals (33%) addressed the problem of violence directly and even fewer made a referral to a batterer intervention program (16.7%), even in counties operating a program known to the professional. Respondents were most likely to make a referral for the batterer, usually to drug and alcohol services. Some differences in responding among professionals were found to be consistent with their background and training. Potential barriers to a coordinated community response were identified. These findings indicate that most professionals are not addressing violence with their clients directly and not utilizing resources available in communities. Implications for clinical training and community interventions are discussed.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

A number of people were very important, directly or indirectly, in helping me to complete this project. Special recognition is extended to the following people.

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A special thanks to my husband, Gary, not only for time and effort spent coding data, but for your patience, love, and endless support. Thanks also to my family for their encouragement and for listening when I became discouraged. Thank you all for believing in me.

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Last, but not least, I would like to thank all of the professionals and agency directors who participated for taking the time to make a contribution to this project. Thank you for sharing your reactions and responses so that we all may learn from the experience.

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CHAPTER I

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Domestic violence is a social phenomenon that has only been defined as problematic in the last 30 years. Prior to that time, it was an accepted or silent part of our culture. The women's movement along with other social changes has brought increasing attention to the occurrence of violence against women in the home and has helped to define it as a social problem (Jennings, 1987).

Attention given to the problem of domestic violence was initially focused on women who were victims by providing shelter and services to give these women the resources needed to leave the violent relationship. While the safety and provision of shelter and services to battered women and their children should remain a top priority, sole focus on the victims of domestic violence leads to only a partial understanding of the problem (McHugh, 1990; 1993). Primary attention to battered women has led to theories of domestic violence that are victim-blaming and fail to place the behavior of the batterer as central to the theory (Eisikovits & Edleson, 1989). Lack of attention to the batterer leads to a failure to hold the perpetrator of domestic violence as solely responsible for his behavior.

Characteristics of batterers and other predictors of violence have been examined to develop an understanding of domestic violence that does not involve victim-blaming (e.g., Dutton, 1988; Hotaling & Sugarman, 1986; Saunders, 1992). Interventions based on various models of domestic violence have been implemented and assessed for their effect on the cessation of violence (e.g., Edleson & Grusznski, 1988; Gondolf, 1999; Hamberger & Hastings, 1988). While outcome studies have often produced mixed results, it is becoming

apparent that interventions can be effective at reducing or stopping the use of violence for particular types of batterers (Gondolf, 1997a; Tolman & Bennett, 1990). No single approach to the problem of domestic violence, however, is likely to substantially reduce its occurrence. Multilevel interventions that are coordinated among service providers present the greatest likelihood of having a substantial impact on the problem, particularly in rural areas where resources are limited (Bourg & Stock, 1994; Gondolf & Fisher, 1988; Steinman, 1990).

While coordinated community responses have been recommended for some time, implementation of this policy has proven substantially more difficult. Evidence indicates that not only are potential interventions not being coordinated within communities, but individual service providers are failing to identify and intervene with victims and perpetrators (Bennett & Lawson, 1994; Gondolf & Foster, 1991b; Hansen, Harway, & Cervantes, 1991). Professional responses to battered women and couples in which the husband is violent have been examined, as has the help-seeking behavior of battered women (e.g., Donato & Bowker, 1984; Hansen et al., 1991; Harvey, 1991; Limandri, 1985; Wood & McHugh, 1994). Responses to help-seeking behavior in batterers, however, has not been examined. If this population is to be identified and coordinated interventions within a community developed, the responses of professionals to batterers must be examined, particularly in rural areas. The current study sought to address this need.

The current study examined responses to batterers among professionals in rural western Pennsylvania. Participants were selected from agencies and professional groups felt to have the greatest likelihood of having direct contact with batterers. Study volunteers were asked for their response to the batterer presented in a vignette who was seeking advice.

Responses were coded and compared across the groups of professionals and between professionals working in a county with an organized batterer intervention program and those in a county without such a program. It was hypothesized that the professionals would respond in a variety of ways, largely reflective of their professional training and background. It was further hypothesized that many professionals would not address the batterer's violence as of primary concern, although certain professionals might be more likely to highlight the violence. The presence of a local batterer's intervention program was expected to increase the likelihood of referrals to such a program, however, it was predicted that a majority of professionals in these counties would fail to make such a referral. Responses were examined for those that addressed the violence directly. Demographic variables and familiarity with community agencies were examined for their relationship to responses. Recommendations for the development of coordinated community responses and for training programs in clinical psychology based on these results are given.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Violence in the home is common and disturbing. In a national survey conducted by Straus and Gelles (1986), 16% of married couples surveyed reported some violence during the previous year and 28% reported violence at some point in their marriage. Approximately two-thirds of these incidents were relatively minor, while the other third were serious assaults. Others indicate lifetime prevalence rates of being a victim of domestic violence at between 18% and 30% of women, with yearly rates of husband to wife violence between 10% and 12.1% (Hotaling & Sugarman, 1986; Smith, 1987). Conservative estimates place the number of women who are the victims of intimate violence at 1 million per year (Bachman & Saltzman, 1995); other estimates indicate that 4 million women per year experience a serious assault at the hands of their partner (American Psychological Association, 1996).

Women who are the victims of violence at the hands of their males partners have higher rates of somatic illnesses, emergency room visits, depression, suicide attempts, and drug or alcohol abuse (e.g., Abbott, Johnson, Koziol-McLain, & Lowenstein, 1995; Roberts, Lawrence, O'Toole, & Raphael, 1997a; Walker, 1984). Children, who are often the unseen victims of this violence, are at increased risk for experiencing violence themselves (e.g., Fantuzzo, Boruch, Beriama, & Atkins, 1997; McCloskey, Figueredo, & Koss, 1995; Rounsaville, 1978) as well as increased behavioral and psychiatric problems (Afolayan, 1993; Davis & Carlson, 1987; Graham-Bermann, 1996; Mathias, Mertin, & Murray, 1995; McCloskey et al., 1995; Pagelow, 1990; Rosenbaum & O'Leary, 1981). Domestic violence places men, women, and children at increased risk for suicide and homicide (Stawar, 1996).

Estimates of the rates of domestic violence appear primarily focused on the number of victims or the number of couples experiencing violence. Media attention and people advocating for social changes to address this problem have focused primarily on the women who are victims of this violence and have often failed to mention the perpetrator. Part of this focus on the victim may be the perceived need on the part of researchers and authors to convince their readership that this is a problem. Just as there do not appear to be any studies directly aimed at estimating the number of men who are abusive to their female partners, the focus of intervention has been for women to receive the shelter and services needed to provide for their safety. This has likely been out of the greater concern for the needs of the victims and the greater number of women requesting such services. What becomes problematic with a singular focus on the victims of abuse is that the perpetrators are relieved of the responsibility for their acts and victims are blamed (McHugh, 1990; 1993). Some of this has begun to change with the growing literature focusing on understanding and intervening with men who are abusive. The current project seeks to further this understanding.

Language is a difficulty faced by authors writing about violence that occurs in the context of intimate relationships. The label given to a phenomenon reflects and in turn determines how it is conceptualized (McHugh & Bartoszek, in press). Various terminology is used to describe patterns of behavior and the nature of these relationships, including but not limited to domestic violence, spouse abuse, wife abuse, conjugal violence, and battering. These terms are riddled with vagueries of meaning and each carries implications of etiology and appropriate intervention (Hamberger & Potente, 1994; Margolin & Burman, 1993; Russell, 1988). The author is faced with the task of selecting terminology that facilitates communication

without being either too general or too specific and conveys the intended subtleties of meaning. That the topic of violence among intimate partners is highly politicized makes the appropriate selection of terms even more important.

The focus of the current study is the treatment of those who have been abusive in intimate relationships. Abuse here is defined relatively broadly to include physical as well as psychological forms of abuse, although by far the majority of the current research focuses on physical abuse. As it is the perpetrators of the abuse that is the current topic, the term batterer will be used to describe a person exhibiting this behavior. As described in more detail below, while violence and abuse are widely used by both men and women, men appear to be most often the primary perpetrators of abuse in heterosexual relationships. While there is some evidence for a smaller group of females as primary perpetrators as well as battering that occurs in the context of homosexual relationships, these are felt to be beyond the scope of the current study. Readers are referred to other sources on these topics (Cook, 1997; Letellier, 1994; Macchietto, 1992; McNeely & Mann, 1990; Myers, 1989; White & Humphrey, 1994).

Historical Perspective

Battering has been given increasingly greater attention throughout the last 30 years, although the physical victimization of women in the home is certainly not a recent occurrence. The subordinate status of women is well documented and physical force is frequently used to keep subordinate groups in their place (Straus & Gelles, 1986). Women in the Middle Ages were burned alive for various indiscretions, including being the victim of rape or sodomy (Straus & Gelles, 1986).

For 100 years, the use of violence in the home was largely ignored or minimized in the public eye and considered a private matter when it did earn attention. In a review of family violence literature, Gelles (1980) notes that from 1939 to 1969 not one article in the Journal of Marriage and the Family contained violence in the title. Only two (Schultz, 1960; Snell, Rosenwald, & Robey, 1964) addressed the issue of men who batter and their victims. Gelles describes that in the 1960s almost all, if not all, knowledge about family violence was about child abuse. The prevailing attitude in the 1960s was that family violence was a rare occurrence and that perpetrators and their victims were characterized by psychopathology. Both batterers and their victims were thought to have personality disorders (Gelles, 1980) and offenders were thought to have brain damage, psychiatric illness, profound childhood trauma, or hereditary defects in moral character (Jennings, 1987).

In the 1960s and 1970s with dramatic social changes and advent of the women's movement, the feminist perspective of male physical and sexual violence resulting from socially learned sex role behaviors saw its beginnings. Growing awareness and understanding of this problem led to efforts to give women the freedom to seek outside help for their abusive treatment. In 1971, the first shelter for battered women opened in a suburb of London with shelters opening up in the US shortly after. The number of shelters and services for battered women in the US and other western countries expanded rapidly over the next two decades (Jennings, 1987).

Interventions for domestic violence in the 1970s were focused on women because they were more accessible, seeking services at shelters or through social service agencies. These women were studied for their personal histories and characteristics. Unfortunately, this focus

on women led many to place these women as central in theories about the causes of domestic violence. Battered women were labeled "masochistic, frigid, castrating, or sadistic," (p. 384) and theories blamed them for their victimization (Eisikovits & Edleson, 1989). Interventions were largely aimed at treating her pathology.

Police response to violence in the family in the 1970s and early 1980s centered around "family crisis intervention." This was in response to social pressures calling for "progressive" and responsive police departments. Police departments began to receive extensive training in mediation (Bourg & Stock, 1994; Eisikovits & Edleson, 1989; Steinman, 1988). Most often, when the police were called to the scene of a "domestic disturbance," the couple was either temporarily separated or attempts were made to mediate the dispute. This again appeared to identify a man's violence toward his partner as a private problem rather than a criminal offense. The early 1980s saw pressures from women's groups and victim's rights advocates for tougher punishments for wife assault and for domestic crimes to be treated as equal to street crime (Bourg & Stock, 1994; Eisikovits & Edleson, 1989; Steinman, 1988).

The late 1970s and early 1980s saw the development of interest in studying men who batter and treatment programs specifically designed to intervene with this population (Bernard & Bernard, 1984; Jennings, 1987). Spawned by the women's shelter movement, early programs for abusive men appeared as men approached the shelters for services to change their behavior. Early programs included the Men's Aid House in London, the Victim's Information Bureau of Suffolk County, and EMERGE, the first counseling agency devoted exclusively to the treatment of batterers, established in Boston in 1977 (Bernard & Bernard, 1984; Jennings,

1987). Researchers turned their attention to understanding the characteristics of these men as a means to understanding domestic violence.

During the mid-1980s, treatment outcome studies appeared in the professional literature as evaluations of the growing number of batterer treatment programs were completed. In 1986, two new journals, Violence and Victims and the Journal of Family Violence, were created to provide a forum for the growing literature in this field. By 1992, several review articles had been written to summarize the growing literature on interventions with men who are abusive (Eisikovits & Edleson, 1989; Gondolf, 1991; Hotelling & Sugarman, 1986; Rosenfeld, 1992; Russell, 1988; Tolman & Bennett, 1990). Criticisms of early research have led to studies utilizing more sophisticated designs and drawing on previous findings to generate new questions (Eisikovits & Edleson, 1989; Jennings, 1987; McCord, 1992; Rosenfeld, 1992).

Changes occurring at the level of the criminal justice system are reflecting a shift in public perceptions of the problem. Mandatory arrest laws are in place in many states, judges have become freer in granting protection from abuse orders (PFAs), and some areas have mandated perpetrators to treatment programs (Davis & Smith, 1995). The social climate toward the use of violence by men toward their partners has shifted from it being a private matter to be ignored to blaming the victim for the violence to an increasing focus on holding men accountable and responsible for their actions. Research continues to assess and evaluate the efficacy of interventions in stopping and preventing men from abusing their female partners.

Societal views of the use of violence toward women in intimate relationships have changed drastically, particularly over the last 30 years. Due largely to the women's movement,

battering has moved from being a socially sanctioned practice to a criminal offense. Theories about domestic violence have been transformed from attributing masochistic tendencies to the victim toward conceptions that place the batterer and his behavior as central. Greater attention to the batterer has been associated with an increasing emphasis on holding him accountable for his behavior.

Men's Violence vs. Women's Violence

Early in this literature, debates began about the directionality of violence in couples and the roles that men and women played in the perpetuation of violence in a relationship. The frequent use of the term domestic violence is indicative of this ambiguity, as it gives no information about who is committing the violent acts. This information is critical to an understanding of the phenomena as a basis for theories, research, and ultimately intervention and public policy. It is central to the understanding of violence in couples to determine if primary responsibility lies with the man, the woman, or with the interaction of the two as a couple.

Initial estimates of the prevalence of violence among intimates based on a national survey by Straus, Gelles, and Steinmetz (1980) indicated that 3.8% of American women were considered victims of an abusive incident, while 4.6% of husbands were considered abused. Straus and Gelles (1986) conducted another survey in 1985 to study changes in family violence over the 10 years since their first investigation of prevalence. They found the rates for overall and severe violence to be comparable for husband to wife violence and wife to husband violence in both 1975 and 1985. Other studies (Bookwala, Frieze, Smith, & Ryan, 1992;

O'Leary et al., 1989) found that women had significantly higher levels of self-reported violence while dating or after marriage than men.

These findings of high rates of violence for both men and women have led to views that violence exists within the context of the relationship, that both partners are often violent, and that both contribute to the existence of violence in the relationship. The Straus et al. (1980) data were presented by some (Langley & Levy, 1977; Steinmetz, 1978) as indicating the presence of a "battered husband syndrome" and was incredibly controversial. Steinmetz was criticized for misrepresenting data that did not fully represent the different experiences and consequences of violence for men and women (Pleck, Pleck, Grossman, & Bart, 1978). Theorists who propose that violence exists in the context of the relationship, with both men and women contributing to its perpetuation and suggesting couples therapy as its treatment modality, continue to be criticized by feminists and other theorists (Bograd, 1984; Yllo & Bograd, 1988). They insist that framing wife assault as a couples issue in which both partners share responsibility muddies the real issues and is a form of victim blaming. This is because they view violence used by men toward women as having much more detrimental effects than violence used by women toward men and that the two can not be equated. Intimate violence as a couples' issue also ignores the societal and cultural factors involved in gender-based violence, such as differences in power and violence as a part of male identity.

Researchers have sought to create studies that would capture differences in the violence perpetrated by men and by women. A study using the Conflict Tactics Scale found that university students rated the same acts perpetrated by males as more severe than when perpetrated by females (Durdle, 1999). In a study of family and intimate assault in Atlanta,

Saltzman et al. (1990) found that for non-fatal assaults, the rate of being victimized for women is 2.4 times the rate for men. In a study of courtship violence with a college sample, Makepeace (1986) found that there was a significant amount of violence inflicted and sustained by both sexes. Differences existed, however, between men and women in the type of violence inflicted, injuries sustained, and the individual's perceived role in the violence. Makepeace found that most forms of inflicted violence were reported equally by men and women, but that men reported higher levels of pushing and shoving and threatening with a knife or gun. He also found that men more often reported receiving less serious forms of violence, while more females reported receiving higher level violence.

In findings regarding men's and women's experience of violence, significantly more women than men reported being a victim (72.9% vs. 41.2%), while significantly more men perceived their role as the aggressor (26.8% vs. 8.6%) (Makepeace, 1986). More women than men reported that their use of violence was for self-defense, while more men reported that their intent was intimidation. Three times as many women reported sustaining mild physical injury and 2 times as many reported sustaining moderate physical injury than the men reported. Women also reported sustaining severe physical injury while the men did not. Many more women also reported experiencing major emotional trauma as a result of the violence than did the men. Other studies confirm that even in cases where both partners use violence, women sustain more injuries, are more negatively affected, and have more often used violence in self-defense or retaliation than men (Cantos, Neidig, & O'Leary, 1994; Saunders, 1986; Vivian & Langhinrichsen-Rohling, 1994). Cleek and Pearson (1985) found that women list abuse as a cause of their divorces at a much higher rate than men.

In a study of the dynamics of arguments between violent husbands and wives, violent husbands were found to escalate their violence in response to their wife's violent and nonviolent behavior, whereas wives' violence was found to escalate only in response to the husbands' violence or emotional abuse (Jacobson, Gottman, Waltz, Rushe, Babcock, & Holtzworth-Munroe, 1994). In studying predictors of dating violence in a college sample, Bookwala et al. (1992) found that the correlation between receiving violence from one's partner and being violent was higher for women ($r=.72$) than it was for men ($r=.56$), although receipt of violence was a significant predictor of being violent for both men and women.

With the advent of mandatory arrest laws in which police are required to make an arrest if there is evidence that an assault has occurred, courts are being faced with an increasing number of cases in which both parties are arrested. In a study of Connecticut's mandatory arrest policy, Martin (1994) found that 33% of adult intimate family violence arrests were dual arrests. Women, when they were arrested, were more likely to be involved in a dual arrest. The women were significantly less likely to have had a prior family violence arrest, and 40% of women arrested in the dual arrest had been victimized previously, compared with none of the men arrested in the dual arrest. Hamberger and Potente (1994) discuss their treatment program for women who have been arrested as a result of the mandatory arrest laws in Wisconsin. They have found that most women who use violence do so as a result of violence and oppression perpetrated against them. They report that 49% of women in the program have experienced prior relationship abuse and 35% experienced sexual abuse or assault. Furthermore, of the 67 women treated, only 3 clearly exhibited primary perpetrator characteristics and battered their male partners.

A majority of investigations of domestic violence seem to neglect the instances in which violence turns fatal, despite the fact that this could be considered the most severe outcome of violence among intimates (e.g., Smith, 1987; Straus & Gelles, 1986). The harsh reality is that victims of domestic violence are murdered every day by their partners and the vast majority of these victims are women. In 1996, 1,121 women in the United States were murdered by their husbands or boyfriends, while 369 men were murdered by their wives or girlfriends (U.S. Department of Justice, 1997).

Violence among intimates is certainly not a black and white phenomenon. Violence is used at a high rate among men and women, before and after marriage, and among those in both heterosexual and homosexual relationships. Prevalence rates indicate that women are not always passive recipients of abuse, and there is some evidence of a subgroup of women who are primary perpetrators of abuse. To acknowledge these gray areas and complexities may be very difficult for some in the field due to the political agenda trying to raise awareness and lobbying for much needed services for women victims. Despite the existence of these gray areas, the experience of violence and the context created by it is generally very different for men and for women. Women are subject to more severe types of violence than men (Cantos et al., 1994; Makepeace, 1986; Vivian & Langhinrichsen-Rohling, 1994), are more likely to sustain injury (Cantos et al., 1994; Makepeace, 1986), are more likely to use violence in self-defense or retaliation (Makepeace, 1986; Saunders, 1986), and are more likely to have the violence used against them for the purposes of forced sex or intimidation (Bookwala et al., 1992; Makepeace, 1986). Furthermore, women often have fewer resources available to allow them to leave their abusive circumstances (Gondolf & Fisher, 1988). Gondolf (1988b) suggests

that while violence in women should be addressed, it should not detract attention away from male violence. This study, therefore, will focus on violence between partners in which the man is the primary perpetrator and the woman is the primary victim.

Prevalence

Various studies place estimates of yearly rates of violence between intimates at 10-16% of married couples a year, with lifetime prevalence rates of being a victim at between 18% and 30% of women (Hotaling & Sugarman, 1986; Smith, 1987; Straus & Gelles, 1986). Estimates place the number of women who are assaulted by their partner between one and four million a year (American Psychological Association, 1996; Bachman & Saltzman, 1995). Approximately two-thirds of these incidents are relatively minor (defined as low probability of causing injury, i.e., throwing something, pushing, shoving, grabbing, slapping, or spanking), while the other third were serious assaults (kicking, biting, punching, hitting with an object, beating up, threatening with a knife or gun, or using a knife or gun) (Straus & Gelles, 1986).

Official reports of violence between partners can be much lower. In substantiated reports of spouse abuse to the U.S. Army Central Registry from 1989-1997, spouse abuse occurred at a rate of between 8 and 10.5 per 1,000 married persons, around only 2% of married couples per year (McCarroll et al., 1999). These cases involve only officially reported cases that have been substantiated by a review committee and most are reported by law enforcement. Most of these incidents were considered minor physical injury (93.6%), 8.5% included emotional maltreatment, and major physical injuries comprised 2.8%. The percentage of female victims was 67% for initially substantiated cases, although this increased to 71% for subsequent reports and 75% for reopened cases (McCarroll et al., 1999).

Information about the prevalence rates for man to woman violence do not provide information about the long-term patterns of violence once it has occurred in a relationship (Frieze & McHugh, 1992). Retrospective reports by women attending family violence centers indicate that 15-25% of these women report violence beginning in the engagement period (Dobash & Dobash, 1978; Rosenbaum & O'Leary, 1981). A longitudinal study by O'Leary et al. (1989) found that 31% of men reported that they had engaged in aggression toward their partner in the year prior to marriage. The men reported a non-significant reduction in their violence from pre-marriage to 30 months after marriage, while Walker's (1979) samples of physically abused women reported violence beginning early in the marriage and increasing over time.

Survey results indicate that 66% of men who have been violent engaged in a repeated assault within the same year (Rosenfeld, 1992). O'Leary et al.'s (1989) longitudinal study indicated that the presence of prior aggression aided in the prediction of future aggression. They found that men who had been violent in the year prior to marriage had a 51% likelihood of repeated violence between 6 and 18 months of marriage. Those who had been violent at both pre-marriage and by 18 months of marriage had a 59% likelihood of repeated violence by 30 months of marriage. In all, 65% of those who had been violent prior to marriage repeated the violence within the first 30 months of the marriage.

For officially reported assaults, a survey of women in Texas found that police had been informed about abuse by their spouse or live-in partner at least once in 34% of cases and twice or more in 21% of cases (Teske & Parker, 1983, as cited in Saltzman et al., 1990). A study in Kansas City found that police had been called to the same home address of an assault or

homicide at least once in the previous 2 years in 85% of cases and five or more times in 50% of cases (Wilt et. al, 1977, as cited in Saltzman et al., 1990). Saltzman et al. (1990) found that most fatal and nonfatal assault perpetrators had prior arrest records, about a third of these were for assault.

These studies indicate that men start to use violence toward their female partner early in a relationship, often before marriage. Most incidents of violence are not reported to law enforcement, making official rates of violence relatively low. Once violence has started it is likely to be repeated and may escalate; in some cases the results are fatal. Social changes over the last 30 years have defined this as a public problem; social change advocates are now seeking a greater understanding of the perpetrators of this abuse and developing ways to stop it.

Characteristics of Batterers

Interest in understanding the use of violence against an intimate partner has led to studies examining the characteristics of batterers. Information regarding who the batterer is in terms of demographic characteristics, background, and other behaviors he may engage in can aid in identification and prediction of future violence. Learning about differences between batterers and non-batterers in psychiatric symptoms, belief systems, and skill deficits can facilitate the development of theories of battering and lead to intervention strategies. Identifying particular types of batterers can allow these interventions to be refined to optimize the likelihood that the violence will not be repeated.

Information about batterers is gathered in a number of different ways. All sampling techniques come with benefits and drawbacks, typically balancing available resources for

sampling and concerns about generalizability. The very sensitive nature of domestic violence raises concerns about the accuracy of reports from perpetrators and victims. As the population and method of data collection have potentially significant implications for the interpretation of the data gathered, this information will be reported where it is available.

Demographic characteristics. Researchers have sought to understand men who are abusive toward women and how they differ from men who are not abusive. Age has been examined for its relationship to committing intimate violence. In a sample of batterers who had charges pressed against them, Roberts (1987) found that three-quarters were between the ages of 18 and 34. In their review of studies on the characteristics of batterers, Hotaling and Sugarman (1986), however, found that only 4 of the 9 studies examining age and battering found that batterers tended to be younger; 4 studies found no relationship and 1 found the highest incidence of battering to occur between the ages of 41 and 50. These authors suggest that the studies finding no relationship may have masked the association between age and battering by some form of implicit or explicit matching. They cite community survey studies as supportive of the finding that, as with all forms of violence, younger men seem more likely to engage in violence than older men.

Results of studies on socioeconomic status (SES) appear to be equivocal in finding a relationship with violence toward female partners. Employment status has been examined as one indicator of SES. Roberts (1987) found that of 234 men charged with domestic violence offenses, 47% were unemployed. Of 188 men seeking counseling for their abusive behavior, nearly one quarter were unemployed (Fitch & Papantonio, 1983). Hotaling and Sugarman (1986) found that 67% of studies examining unemployment and battering had significant

findings. Type of employment has also been used as an indicator of SES; for example, blue collar workers have been found to have higher rates of battering than white collar workers (Gelles, Lackner, & Wolfner, 1994). Battering has been associated with lower levels of education as well (Hastings & Hamberger, 1988).

Early studies indicated that violence existed at all levels of SES, but the violence was more prevalent in lower SES families (Gelles, 1980; Sugarman & Hotaling, 1989). In fact, Hotaling and Sugarman (1986) found that most studies indicated an inverse relationship between violence and occupational status, income, and educational level. They were cautious regarding this conclusion, however, because some of the largest, most representative samples found no relationship or a different relationship between these markers and use of violence (e.g., Hornung, McCullough, & Sugimoto, 1981; Schulman, 1979; Straus et al., 1980).

The relationship between battering and SES may be better explained by comparing the educational and occupational attainment of men to women in abusive or non-abusive relationships. Status incompatibility, defined as a wife having higher educational attainment, occupational attainment, or income than her husband, has been found to be an almost consistent risk-marker, as 67% of studies found significant correlations (Hotaling & Sugarman, 1986). Status inconsistency, when a man's occupational attainment and income is lower than would be expected based on education, has also been found to relate to battering (Gelles et al., 1994). These more complex relationships between indicators of SES and battering may help to explain the inconsistent findings of other studies.

Marital status is a significant risk marker for violence, as 80% of studies examining this factor found that being married was related to a lower likelihood of violence (Hotaling &

Sugarman, 1986). In a study of 234 men charged with domestic violence offenses, Roberts (1987) found that 48% were cohabiting, 27.3% were divorced or separated, 19% were married, 4.8% were former paramours, and .8% were current boyfriends.

Religious affiliation or participation has been examined in relation to violence. Gelles (1980) found in his review of family violence research in the 1970s that family violence appeared to be more common when the husband had no religious affiliation. Ellison, Bartkowski, and Anderson (1999) found regular attendance at religious services to be inversely associated with self-reported violence for men and women. They found that denomination homogamy (i.e., same-faith vs. mixed faith relationships) is not related to abuse, but other forms of religious incompatibility are related to violence. They found that men who hold much more conservative theological views than their partners are more likely to be perpetrators of violence (Ellison et al., 1999). Others have found that religious incompatibility between partners, particularly where the woman's participation is higher than the man's, is a consistent risk-marker for battering (Hotaling & Sugarman, 1986).

A number of demographic characteristics have not been examined for their potential relationship to the use of violence. Race in particular seems to have been noticeably neglected, particularly given that one might expect a relationship given findings related to SES. Studies often report the racial make-up of their samples, but either use explicit matching procedures in forming their comparison groups or they fail to report data on race for a comparison group. For example, Roberts (1987) indicates that of his sample of 234 men charged with domestic violence offenses 53.9% were Caucasian and 44.4% were African-American, but offers no comparison group of non-violent men or men charged with offenses other than domestic

violence. Similarly, Saltzman et al. (1990) indicate that the rate of incident reports for fatal and nonfatal family and intimate assaults for African-Americans and other races is 3 times the rate for Caucasians, but fail to provide data about the racial composition of the community or of the identified criminal population in general. One study by Straus and his colleagues (Straus, Gelles, & Steinmetz, 1980) utilized a community survey sample to examine the prevalence of violence among different races and found that spouse abuse was four times greater among blacks than whites. McCarroll et al. (1999) also found the number of black victims and offenders of spouse abuse in the military to be higher than expected based on enlistment rates. Forty-seven percent of victims and 50% of offenders were black, while the percentage of married black soldiers in the Army only ranged from 27-29% at the time.

Studies are also lacking to examine the potential relationship of violence to residing in an urban- versus a rural- setting, being involved in an interracial relationship, or to having a disability. Exploration of these factors and their possible relationship to battering could offer a better understanding of the occurrence of violence and be used to formulate more precise theories to explain battering.

Generally, batterers tend to be younger, unemployed, and not married to their partners. While findings relating SES to battering are inconsistent, some have found that a man who has less occupational or educational attainment than his partner or less income or occupational attainment than expected based on education is more likely to batter. Religious differences between partners, such as attending church less than one's partner or holding more conservative theological views than she does are also associated with batterers.

Background characteristics. As early as 1980 when the earliest review of family violence research appeared (Gelles, 1980), findings relating use of violence with family of origin background were consistent. People who have experienced a violent childhood are more likely to become abusive partners than those who have not (Caesar, 1988; Coleman, Weinman, & Hsi, 1980; Fitch & Papantonio, 1983; Hastings & Hamberger, 1988; MacEwen & Barling, 1988; Rosenbaum & O'Leary, 1981; Sugarman & Hotaling, 1989; Telch & Lindquist, 1984). The chances that a child will grow to become a violent partner appear to increase with increased frequency of violence in childhood (Gelles, 1980). Fitch and Papantonio (1983) found that of 188 men seeking counseling for abusive behaviors, nearly three quarters witnessed violence between their parents and almost half were abused as children. The existence of violence in the family of origin has been found to be more predictive of battering than receiving abuse as a child (Tolman & Bennett, 1990). Hotaling and Sugarman (1986) also found that witnessing parental violence was a more consistent risk marker for men to become batterers than experiencing violence as a child or adolescent, although both factors had a number of studies supporting this association.

Many studies have found an association between use of violence and criminal history. Roberts (1987) found that of 234 men arrested on domestic violence charges, 61% had prior felony or misdemeanor offenses. Three-quarters of these offenses were misdemeanors, but the 33 men who had committed felonies were responsible for 53 felonies. In a community survey study, 66% of those who had ever been arrested for non-traffic offenses had been involved in violent behaviors in the family (Bland & Orn, 1986). Two-thirds of studies examining the

relationship between battering and prior criminal arrest record found significant correlations (Hotelling & Sugarman, 1986).

A history of head injury was found to be a significant predictor distinguishing batterers from maritally satisfied and maritally discordant, nonviolent men (Rosenbaum et al., 1994). Head injury remained a significant predictor even after statistically controlling for differences in demographic characteristics. A history of significant head injury increased the chances for battering almost 6 times.

Batterers have been found to have a greater likelihood of a history of observing parental abuse, receiving child abuse, having a criminal record, and having a significant head injury. Further inquiry is needed to examine cases in which battering occurs in absence of these background factors and in which these risk factors are present but battering does not occur. This information will provide a fuller understanding of how background characteristics play a role in violence.

Behavioral correlates. A number of behaviors have been found to be associated with perpetrating violence toward one's female partner. A prior incident of battering is predictive of future battering. One study found that if a man has physically abused his partner prior to marriage, the likelihood that he will be physically abusive again by 30 months of marriage is 65% (O'Leary et al., 1989). Others have found that 66% of men who have been violent engage in a repeated assault within the same year (Rosenfeld, 1992). The use of violence outside of the home (Graff, 1979 and Rouse, 1984, as cited in Hotelling & Sugarman, 1986; Shields, McCall, & Hanneke, 1988) and prior use of psychological forms of aggression (Murphy & O'Leary, 1989) have also been found to be related to future instances of battering.

Child abuse has been found to be correlated with battering as well; one sample of violent couples had 28% indicate that their own children had been physically abused, compared to 0% for nonviolent distressed couples and 6% for nonviolent non-therapy couples (Telch & Lindquist, 1984). Hotaling and Sugarman (1986) found that all of the 3 studies examining battering and child abuse reported finding a statistically significant correlation.

Alcohol and drug use have been studied extensively in relation to battering and have been found to be a consistent risk marker for use of violence toward a female partner (Coleman et al., 1980; Hotaling & Sugarman, 1986; Telch & Lindquist, 1984). Using results from the 1985 National Family Violence Survey, Kantor and Straus (1989) found that two of the most important factors in distinguishing abused from nonabused women were their husbands' drug use and drunkenness. Lehmann and Krupp (1984) found that, of 1500 women who made calls to a community-based hotline, 55% stated that their spouses had drinking problems and became abusive while drinking. Prior to treatment for alcohol abuse, 56% of a group of men reported using severe forms of physical violence with their female partner, 71% reported using moderate forms of violence, and 94% reported being verbally abusive (Maiden, 1997). Others have found that treatment for alcohol abuse leads to a reduction in the use of violence. Even two years after behavioral marital therapy for alcohol abuse, program completers had a significant reduction in the use of violence and were no longer different than non-alcoholic controls (O'Farrell, Van Hutton, & Murphy, 1999).

While alcohol and battering have been found to be related, there is no direct relationship between battering and the amount of alcohol consumed (Leonard, Bromet, Parkinson, Day, & Ryan, 1985; VanHasselt, Morrison, & Bellack, 1985). While acute

intoxication and chronic alcohol abuse are both predictive of battering, chronic alcohol abuse is more predictive (Tolman & Bennett, 1990). Binge drinkers appear to have the highest rates of battering (Gelles et al., 1994). The use of illicit drugs and battering has also been found to be related, however, this relationship does not appear to be the result of simple disinhibition (Gelles et al., 1994).

The relationship between consumption of pornography and battering has been examined. A group of 44 battered women who were receiving services from a women's shelter and a group of 32 mature nonbattered women drawn from a university population completed questionnaires assessing sexual and nonsexual violence and their partner's consumption of pornography (Sommers & Check, 1987). The group of battered women reported experiencing significantly higher levels of both sexual and non-sexual forms of abuse and reported that their partners consumed significantly more pornography than did the control group. In particular, 39% of the battered women reported that they had been upset by their partners trying to get them to do something they had found in pornographic materials; only 3% of the comparison group reported this. Hotaling and Sugarman (1986) also found that all 3 studies examining sexual aggression toward one's wife found significant positive correlations with battering, indicating that batterers are likely to be sexually as well as physically aggressive.

Behaviors that have been associated with batterers include prior instances of battering, use of violence outside of the home, child abuse, sexual aggression, drug and alcohol use, and consumption of pornography. These relationships speak to the fact that the best predictor of future behavior is past behavior and that abusive behavior can be present in a variety of

contexts and forms. Theories that seek to explain battering may need to incorporate other behaviors that have been found to co-occur with battering.

Skill deficits. Various skill deficits have been proposed to be related to battering. Men who batter have been found to be lower in assertiveness than nonabusive men (Dutton & Strachan, 1987; Maiuro et al., 1986; O'Leary & Curley, 1986; Rosenbaum & O'Leary, 1981). Specifically, abusive men were found to be lower than nonviolent controls on initiating/request behavior (Maiuro et al., 1986). Further investigation revealed that initiating/request behavior was negatively correlated with the covert hostility factor of the BDHI. Maiuro and his colleagues suggest that domestically violent men may project their difficulties in expressing their needs onto their partners and become overly suspicious and distrustful in their relationships. They also cite earlier work by Bandura (1973) suggesting that individuals who lack appropriate conflict resolution skills may turn to more primitive and physical ways of responding. O'Leary and Curley (1986) found that batterers and maritally distressed, nonviolent men scored equally low in spouse-specific assertiveness, but that family of origin violence distinguished the batterers. This supports theories that suggest that battered men lack conflict resolution skills and turn to strategies learned by observation in their families of origin.

Abusive men have been studied for their social skills in potential marital conflicts. Couples were given problematic marital situation vignettes and rated for the competency of responses generated while they discussed the vignettes (Holtzworth-Munroe & Anglin, 1991). Abusive husbands were found to be less competent than nonviolent men when the situations involved rejection from the wife, jealousy, or challenges from the wife. Batterers also gave less competent answers than nonviolent men when asked what might be the best thing to do in a

given situation. These authors noted that batterers appeared to have a lack of options and may have difficulty generating competent responses.

Coping skills and resources, particularly in stressful situations, have been examined for correlations with battering. Studies have indicated that social isolation increases the risk for severe family violence, and that battering is more common when there is low husband job satisfaction (Gelles, 1980). Some have proposed that family violence rates are directly related to social stress in a family, such as unemployment, financial problems, or pregnancy, and that stress may be the mechanism that unemployment or low income work to increase battering (Gelles, 1980; Gelles et al., 1994). Barling and Rosenbaum (1986) found that batterers reported significantly more stressful work events and greater negative impact than maritally satisfied and maritally distressed, nonviolent men. Others report that the connection between stress and battering is mixed (Tolman & Bennett, 1990). Howell and Pugliesi (1988) failed to find an effect for their measure of economic strain and MacEwen and Barling's (1988) measure of multiple negative stress did not predict battering. Some have found stress to be related to battering only for those between the poverty line and the top income groups (Straus et al., 1980). They suggest that the top income groups may be sheltered and have other resources with which to cope with the stress and that poverty may be so stressful in itself that other stressors really do not make a difference.

Men who batter have been found to be lower in assertiveness, social competence, and ability to generate alternative solutions in potentially conflictual marital situations. A history of family of origin violence may distinguish those men with low assertiveness who end up using violence from those who find themselves in discordant but non-violent relationships. Social

isolation has been found to increase the risk for all types of family violence. Findings regarding stress and battering are mixed. It is clear that a complex array of factors are associated with battering and that no simple explanations will offer a full and complete understanding.

Belief systems. Men who are violent toward their female partners have been examined for consistent patterns in their beliefs about themselves and others. Batterers have been found to be lower in self-esteem (Neidig, Freidman, & Collins, 1986) and to attribute more negative intent to others (Holtzworth-Munroe & Hutchinson, 1993; Neidig et al., 1986) than nonviolent controls. Hotaling and Sugarman (1986), however, classify self-esteem as an inconsistent risk marker for violence, as only 60% of studies examining this factor found a significant relationship. As with depression, it is unclear whether low self-esteem is present prior to the occurrence of battering or is a result of the negative consequences.

Dutton and Strachan (1987) found that abusive men generated higher need-for-power responses to ambiguous cards on the Thematic Apperception Test (TAT) than a satisfactorily married control group, but did not differ from a martially distressed but nonviolent group. Hotaling and Sugarman (1986) classified need for power/dominance as an inconsistent risk marker for violence as only 1 of the 3 studies completed at that time had demonstrated a significant relationship. Others indicate that support for theories of power and control being the important variables in battering can be found in the strong relationships between status inconsistency, status incompatibility, and battering described above (Gelles et al., 1994).

With studies looking at sex role identification and marital satisfaction seeming to indicate that androgyny is positively correlated with marital satisfaction, sex role identification has been examined with batterers (Rosenbaum, 1986). Abusive men were found to be more

likely to score lower on both the masculinity and femininity scales, were less likely to be classified as androgynous, and were more likely to be classified as undifferentiated than nonviolent maritally distressed and nonviolent nondistressed control groups. This use of two factors in studying sex role identification may explain why single factor measures of holding traditional sex role expectations has been classified as a consistent non-risk marker for violence (Hotaling & Sugarman, 1986). Only 2 of 8 studies found batterers to hold more traditional sex role expectations than non-batterers. In fact, Bookwala et al. (1992) found that holding less traditional sex-role attitudes was predictive of greater violence by men in dating relationships.

Men who are abusive to their partners are more likely to attribute negative intent to others and are more likely to be undifferentiated with regards to their sex role. Findings relating self-esteem, need for power and control, and holding traditional sex-role attitudes have been inconsistent. Batterers have been found to score lower on both masculinity and femininity measuring sex role identification, and thus have been found to be more likely to be classified as undifferentiated. It may be that more complex models related to self-esteem and need for power and control will also explain the inconsistent findings for these factors as well.

Psychiatric symptoms. A number of investigations have sought to examine the theory that men who batter have a personality or other psychiatric disorder. With a sample of 46 men voluntarily presenting for treatment to a batterer intervention program, the mean profile of the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI) was found to have significant elevations on scales indicating a high amount of anxiety and worry (T=89), schizophrenia-like symptoms (T= 89), inability to appreciate social customs and conform to social rules (T= 85), and significant physical concerns (T= 71) (Bernard & Bernard, 1984). Based on extensive literature

regarding profile types, this profile reflects a man who is angry, irritable, erratic, and unpredictable, and who has problems with impulse control leading to acting out. He tends to be distrustful of others, isolated, feels insecure and is alienated (Bernard & Bernard, 1984). This profile type is associated with a number of diagnoses, but primarily indicates the presence of significant psychiatric symptoms.

Men who abuse their female partners have been thought to have a higher rate of personality disorders. Using a sample of 80 men court- and self-referred to batterer treatment programs, 90% had a base rate score above 74 on at least one of the personality disorder subscales of the Millon Clinical Multiaxial Inventory (MCMI) (Hart, Dutton, & Newlove, 1993). A subsample of this group (N=34) was found to have a rate of diagnosable personality disorders of 50% when using the Personality Disorder Examination. The most common personality disorders using both of these measures were antisocial, sadistic, and borderline. Unfortunately, there was no control group used in this study with which to make comparisons.

The use of the MCMI has been criticized as overdiagnosing personality disorders, thus a non-battering control group used as comparison can help determine which characteristics are more common in a battering population. Hamberger and Hastings (1991; Hastings & Hamberger, 1988) have utilized the MCMI to compare characteristics endorsed by self- and court-referred men in a batterer intervention program with age-matched, nonabusive men and non-referred batterers identified through community sample surveys. They found that agency-identified batterers had significantly more borderline characteristics than the nonabusive control group. Alcoholic agency-identified batterers, in particular, were significantly higher than nonabusive control subjects in other personality disorder characteristics as well, such as being

aggressive, avoidant, and negativistic. The non-referred batterers yielded results that were not significantly different from the nonabusive controls on any subscales, but also not significantly different from the agency identified batterers on several subscales. This indicates that the non-identified batterers may possess some of the characteristics measured by the MCMI at levels that are between that of nonabusive controls and agency-identified batterers. It seems as if, at the very least, agency-identified batterers possess a greater number of characteristics that are consistent with personality disorder diagnoses than nonabusive men.

Depression has been suspected of contributing to the occurrence of battering. In one study of 39 court- and self-referred batterers, two-thirds had scores on the Beck Depression Inventory (BDI) above the accepted cut-off for depression (Maiuro, Cahn, Vitaliano, Wagner, & Zegree, 1988). This group was significantly more depressed than the nonviolent, generally assaultive and mixed (generally assaultive and battering) groups. In a community sample survey of 1200 people, 33% of those with recurrent depression were found to have been violent in some context (Bland & Orn, 1986). When a diagnosis of recurrent depression was combined with antisocial personality disorder or alcoholism, the rate of violence in some context rose to between 80 and 93%. It was also found that 53% of those who had ever attempted suicide had also been violent in some context. While it does appear that depression is a factor for batterers, it has not been determined when in the course of a batterers' life depression is likely to begin. Some have raised the point that it is unclear yet whether depression comes before the abuse or as a result of the consequences for violence (Tolman & Bennett, 1990).

A relationship between the use of violence and hostility or anger would be expected. In fact, batterers have been found to have higher levels of anger and hostility than nonviolent

controls (Maiuro, Cahn, & Vitaliano, 1986; Maiuro et al., 1988). On many subscales of the Buss-Durkee Hostility Inventory (BDHI) and the Hostility and Direction of Hostility Questionnaire (HDHQ), however, batterers did not differ significantly from a generally violent group or a mixed group of both generally and domestically violent men (Maiuro et al., 1988). Batterers were significantly higher than both generally assaultive groups on the Guilt subscale of the BDHI and the Criticize Self subscale of the HDHQ. One interpretation of this would be that batterers generally have elevated levels of anger and hostility relative to nonviolent controls that is comparable to generally assaultive men. Batterers, however, may feel guilt and remorse after an abusive incident which is not characteristic of generally assaultive men.

In short, a number of psychiatric symptoms have been associated with batterers. Personality disorders and depression have been found to have a higher rate among batterers than other populations. Using a community survey sample and the Diagnostic Interview Schedule for the DSM-III, Bland and Orn (1986) found that 71% of men who reported using violence in any context (with a partner, child, or others) had a probable or definite diagnosis of antisocial personality disorder, recurrent depression, and/or alcoholism. Higher levels of anger and hostility have been found as well. While these findings are informative, it is important to note that all of the studies are correlational and that causality can not, therefore, be determined as yet. It is unknown whether these psychiatric symptoms cause battering, whether battering and its consequences cause psychiatric symptoms, or whether both are caused by some other variable.

Typologies of batterers. Several investigators (Dutton, 1988; Gondolf, 1988c; Saunders, 1992) have proposed that distinct types of batterers might exist and that if these

different types could be discovered, interventions could be tailored to address their unique issues and increase effectiveness. Shields et al. (1988) analyzed interview data from 85 violent husbands and distinguished 3 types: family only, non-family only, and generally violent men. They found that generally violent men used more severe violence, had greater alcohol and drug use, and were less stable and committed to their relationships. They proposed that a criminological perspective could aid in the understanding of a significant portion of batterers who are violent outside of the home as well.

Similarly, Saunders (1992) identified 3 types of batterers using a cluster analysis of intake information for a batterer intervention program which distinguished family only batterers from generally violent batterers. He found generally violent men to have the characteristics described by Shields et al. (1988), along with a greater likelihood of having been severely abused as children, to have more rigid sex roles, and to have a higher number of arrests for drunk driving. Two groups of family only batterers were distinguished; those who reported low levels of anger, depression, and jealousy and those described as emotionally volatile. Emotionally volatile batterers were the most psychologically abusive, had the lowest reported alcohol usage, and were the least satisfied in their relationships.

Gondolf (1988c) conducted a cluster analysis of variables based on information gathered in intake interviews with women presenting for services at battered women's shelters in Texas. Three clusters emerged that appeared to optimally represent the data; these were labeled the sociopathic, antisocial, and typical batterer. The sociopathic batterers, representing only 7% of the sample, were extremely abusive toward their wives and children and were more likely to use a weapon, to engage in sexual abuse, and to have been arrested previously for

offenses other than domestic violence. Men in the antisocial cluster were also extremely abusive both physically and verbally toward their wives and children, engaged in sexual abuse, and were likely to be generally violent but not as likely to have been arrested. The typical batterers, comprising 51% of the sample, engaged in less severe verbal and physical abuse, were less likely to have used weapons, and were less likely to engage in verbal, sexual, or child abuse. These men were more apologetic after abusive incidents and had lower rates of general violence and arrests.

As batterers have been found to have a higher rate of personality disorders, the MCMI, noted for its ability to measure character pathology, was administered to a treatment sample of batterers and factor analyzed (Hamberger & Hastings, 1986). The three factors that emerged were characterized as schizoid/borderline, narcissistic/antisocial, and dependent/compulsive. The schizoid/borderline factor was felt to describe batterers who were asocial, moody, withdrawn, hypersensitive to interpersonal slights, and characterized by high levels of anxiety, depression, and alcohol problems. The narcissistic/antisocial male is self-centered, uses others to meet his needs, and becomes aggressive if his sense of entitlement is violated. Dependent/compulsives lack self-esteem, have a strong need for one or a few significant others, and are rigid. The authors noted, however, that most of the men showed a mixed pattern of some combination of the three factors.

The above typologies all have the weakness of being dependent upon self-report or the report of victims. Gottman et al. (1995) used direct observation of heart rate reactivity during marital conflict to distinguish two types of batterers; those whose heart rates decreased relative to baseline while discussing areas of conflict with their wives (Type 1) and those whose heart

rates increased (Type 2). Type 1 batterers were observed to be more emotionally aggressive, were reported to be more severely violent, and were more likely to have been violent outside the home, to have witnessed parental violence, and to be drug dependent. They also scored higher on the MCMI antisocial and aggressive-sadistic scales and lower on the dependent scale relative to Type 2 batterers.

While no clear pattern of batterer types emerges from the above mentioned studies, some similar findings support the idea of distinct types of batterers. All of the above mentioned studies found differences between men who have antisocial characteristics and engage in violence outside of the home and those men who are “only” violent in the home. Generally violent men may engage in more severe forms of violence, demonstrate less remorse after a violent incident, and have a greater likelihood of using drugs or alcohol. While no clear pattern existed for a third type of batterer, the distinction between generally violent and family only batterers may indicate that a criminological perspective could provide a greater understanding of a subset of batterers.

Other correlations/predictors of battering. A number of variables not directly related to battering men have been examined for their relationship to the occurrence of male violence toward a female partner. While a number of characteristics of battered women have been examined, only one has been consistently found to be related to battering (Hotaling & Sugarman, 1986). Women who are battered are more likely to have witnessed violence as a child or adolescent. Couples in which the man is abusive have more frequent verbal arguments, report lower levels of marital satisfaction/adjustment, and are more likely to belong to a lower SES (Hotaling & Sugarman, 1986). Given that only a single variable attributable as a

characteristic of battered women has emerged as consistently related to battering while 8 variables related to the batterer are consistently related, it appears clear that theories about this phenomenon should have the batterer as central to their explanation. It seems likely that inconsistent personality and symptom-based differences between battered and nonbattered women are a consequence rather than a cause of battering (Hotelling & Sugarman, 1986).

Cautionary statement about research on batterer characteristics. A consideration in any study of abusive men, but in particular studies of the traits that characterize men who are abusive, is the issue of sample selection. Several methods are commonly used in the selection of a battering sample, each of which potentially affect findings and generalizability.

Initially, battering populations were identified through official reports generated primarily from the criminal justice system. Findings have indicated that officially reported cases represent only a fraction of the number of abusive men; one study found that half of interviewed battered women did not report their victimization to the police (Langan & Innes, 1986). It seems reasonable to assert that those men identified by the criminal justice system may differ in significant ways, such as severity of violence or psychopathology, from other batterers.

Clinical populations are another method of securing samples of batterers. With the advent of treatment programs specific to batterer populations, this has been an increasingly common source for study populations. Other sources include men presenting to mental health clinics with violence as the presenting or secondary problem (Bernard & Bernard, 1984; Maiuro et al., 1986; Rosenbaum, 1986), couples presenting to treatment for violence or marital distress (Morrison, VanHasselt, & Bellack, 1987; Rosenbaum & O'Leary, 1981), and

psychiatric populations screened for violence against intimate partners (Gondolf & Foster, 1991b). Each of these methods presents with its own particular questions regarding generalizability, particularly along the factors of motivation for treatment and presence of a clinically diagnosable disorder. Demand characteristics become a salient consideration when these populations are asked to complete self-report measures.

Community survey samples are likely the most representative samples available, but are also the most difficult to obtain. These are not without their own methodological difficulties. Issues include self-selection by refusal to participate in the study, biases inherent in self-report, and limitations on the amount of information that can be gathered. While these may provide the most generalizable results, one must keep in mind that the information gathered is not ideal.

Another concern when gathering information about a topic as sensitive as the use of violence toward an intimate partner is the source of the information. Demand characteristics would be expected to be particularly salient on self-report measures of abusive acts, especially for those who have completed a treatment program for batterers. Official records, such as police reports, are often used as a measure of further recidivism, however, this has the major drawback that a significant number of abusive incidences do not come to the attention of the police. Victim reports have tended to be considered more accurate, however, at least one study found that husbands reported their own violence at a higher rate than their wives reported it (Bohannon, Dosser, & Lindley, 1995). Researchers have tried to correct this by collecting multiple sources of information, although this is more time and resource intensive. Others have tried to move away from the difficulties of self- or victim- report by conducting observations in an experimental setting. This may result in situations that are more or less accurate

approximations of communications between the couples studied. Ethical considerations must enter into studies of this sort and provisions of safety for the women are weighted against concerns of data contamination. The limitations to data gathered about the characteristics of batterers must be considered and temper any conclusions that are made.

Theories of Battering

Since the 1970s when the occurrence of men abusing their female partners began to receive greater attention, various ideas have been proposed to explain and understand this occurrence. Russell (1988) has categorized the major theories as being one of two types, psychological or sociological. Each theoretical perspective within these two categories has its own implications for intervention into battering and has varying degrees of evidence to support or refute its assertions.

The earliest psychological theory of battering came from a psychoanalytic perspective. Proponents suggested that patterns of personality traits formed in early childhood constituted psychiatric disorders that predisposed individuals to use or submit to violence (Russell, 1988). Batterers were given diagnoses of antisocial, passive-aggressive, obsessive-compulsive, paranoid, and borderline personality disorders. Battered women were thought to have a basic need to provoke violence and did so by way of passive hostility and masochistic motivations, thereby directly or indirectly precipitating their own victimization (Schultz, 1960). They were described as aggressive, masculine, frigid, and masochistic (Snell, Rosenwald & Robey, 1964). The implications of this theory for intervention would involve long-term psychotherapy with the man, the woman, or both in order to restructure the personality and correct for the early childhood experiences.

The evidence to date suggests this theory, as applied to the battered woman, is incorrect: "There is no evidence that the status a woman occupies, the role she performs, the behavior she engages in, her demographic profile, or her personality characteristics consistently influence her chances of intimate victimization" (Hotaling & Sugarman, 1986, p.118). Only witnessing violence in the family of origin distinguishes battered women from those who are not victims. There is evidence, however, that the batterer has characteristics consistent with antisocial and borderline personality disorders. Sexual aggressiveness, alcohol abuse, and abuse toward children are characteristics of batterers consistent with these diagnoses.

Systems theories indicate that there are a complexity of factors that contribute to violence among intimates. Family systems theory has postulated an interrelationship between victim and abuser characteristics as "mutually causal elements" (Russell, 1988). These theories suggest that both partners participate in abusive behavior and the escalation of conflict, although not necessarily equally (Neidig, Freidman, & Collins, 1985). Circular rather than linear explanations are sought to understand the interactional sequence that maintains the violent behavior (Margolin & Burman, 1993). From this perspective, it is important to intervene with the couple, either by themselves or in a group with other couples, to help them understand their own contributions to the interaction and to teach skills to change the pattern.

Data on the prevalence of violence in women and in couples where both partners are violent support the idea that both partners may contribute to the problem. A lack of a consistent relationship between women's characteristics and the likelihood of her being victimized fails to support that she contributes to the abuse. While multiple factors are likely to contribute to a violent incident, these factors seem to lie primarily within the batterer.

A social learning perspective suggests that abusive behavior is learned and has been gained through observational learning and reinforcement (Margolin & Burman, 1993; Russell, 1988). Men learn that violence is a way of dealing with conflict, which may be reinforced by compliance of the victim or reduction of bodily tension. Women may have a learned helplessness response and may have learned to expect abuse from their families of origin (Russell, 1988). Treatment from this perspective would involve skill building and training of alternative behavior, possibly in a group context where more adaptive behaviors could be modeled and reinforced.

Evidence to support this view has been the consistent finding of violence in the families of origin for both the batterer and the victim, along with various skill deficits in batterers, such as spouse-specific assertiveness. These may combine, such that many maritally distressed men demonstrate a lack of spouse-specific assertiveness, but only those who witnessed violence as a child or adolescent use violence to compensate for this skill deficit. The idea of learned helplessness in women, however, has been challenged by the findings that battered women often do seek help (Gondolf & Fisher, 1988; Donato & Bowker, 1984), use violence in self-defense or retaliation (Saunders, 1986) and that battered women use a variety of direct and indirect influence strategies in attempting to persuade their husbands (Frieze & McHugh, 1992).

Sociological theories have been dominated by the feminist perspective, which states that male power and control in our patriarchal society is central to any understanding of male violence toward women (Gondolf, 1988b; Russell, 1988). These theories state that the causes of battering are the cultural norms that permit such behavior and the hierarchical power

structure that fosters its occurrence (Margolin & Burman, 1993). Interventions from this perspective involve coordinated community responses to battering to change the cultural norms supporting the use of violence in the home and resocialization programs for men to understand the cultural basis for their sexism and to relinquish their needs for power and control (Gondolf, 1988b).

There is some evidence supporting the theories of power and control as motivating battering in its relationship with status inconsistency and status incompatibility (Gelles et al., 1994). Some suggest that men may use verbal, physical, and sexual abuse to achieve control in the absence of material and cultural sources of power and dominance (Frieze & McHugh, 1992). While this may be supported by findings related to SES, it does not explain why battering occurs at all levels of SES, including those with considerable sources of power. Others have failed to find a consistent relationship between sexist characteristics or traditional sex role beliefs and battering (Hotaling & Sugarman, 1986). It has been suggested that male dominant expectations may be so pervasive in our culture that it is impossible to distinguish batterers from non-batterers on this dimension (Hotaling & Sugarman, 1986). Attitude surveys have indicated that 14-25% of men and women believe that some minor violence is normal and justified (Russell, 1988), indicating that we live in a violence-tolerant society.

Criminological theories have not generally been as focused on understanding why battering occurs as they have on how to intervene when it does occur and is brought to the attention of the criminal justice system. The particular interventions utilized, however, carry implications as to the cause of the violence. As described earlier, in the 1970s police departments responded to social imperatives to become more "progressive" by instituting

training programs in "family crisis intervention". Police were trained to mediate domestic disputes as a way of getting to the underlying cause of the dispute (Sherman & Berk, 1984). Implicit in this policy is the assumption that both parties are at fault. Criticism, particularly by feminists and victim advocates, was raised that this policy constituted a form of victim-blaming, by implying that female victims might be partially at fault. By not treating domestic crimes as seriously as street crimes, they felt the criminal justice system was ultimately perpetuating its acceptance as a practice (Eisikovits & Edleson, 1989). Available evidence appears to be against the use of "family crisis intervention" and its implications that both parties are at fault, given that only violence in the family of origin is a consistent characteristic of a woman that is predictive of her being battered.

Deterrence theory began to take precedence, proposing that the pains of punishment would deter a person from repeating the crime for which they were punished. Deterrence theory grew in acceptance particularly after the influential Minneapolis Spouse Abuse Experiment, in which arrest was found to be a better deterrent to battering than separation or mediation (Sherman & Berk, 1984). The implications of this for intervention has been the preference for arresting batterers; many states have implemented pro-arrest policies. Evidence supporting the deterrent effects of arrest will be presented below.

Various theories have been proposed as potential explanations for battering, ranging from those focusing on the individuals and their internal characteristics or learning history to those focusing on the larger social institutions which set the context for battering. Each theory has evidence that supports or fails to support it and each leads to unique forms of intervention. The efficacy of these interventions has also been an important area for research.

Outcome Studies

As various theories have been proposed to explain the occurrence of men abusing their female partners, many interventions have been proposed to address the problem. Outcome studies have been used to support, refute, or refine the use of these various interventions as a way of stopping men's use of violence with their partners. While many intervention programs utilize strategies from multiple theoretical approaches, the theories outlined above can be useful to organize findings.

Very few outcome studies examining the impact of psychoanalytic interventions with batterers are available. Several potential reasons may explain this deficit in the literature. Based on the theory that men batter as a result of personality disorders, the intervention would involve long-term, individual psychotherapy or psychoanalysis to create a basic restructuring of the personality. Long-term and individual interventions are less amenable to evaluation, and the constructs of personality suggested as the etiology are difficult to measure, making outcome research problematic. Psychoanalysts are also rarely found among researchers. Saunders (1996), however, conducted an evaluation comparing the relative efficacy of two same-sex, batterer treatment groups: one a feminist-cognitive-behavioral program aimed at skill building and resocialization and the other a process psychodynamic approach aimed at creating a supportive environment in which members could grieve prior trauma and learn to empathize and give up control of others. Saunders found that the process psychodynamic group had 71% of its members remain non-violent based on victim reports 3-54 months after treatment. As this was a comparison study, no control group was used, however, it should be noted that survey

data have indicated that without intervention, 66% of batterers engage in a repeated assault within the same year (Rosenfeld, 1992).

Relatively more evidence is available on interventions with couples, with the inclusion of both partners indicating some adherence to a family systems perspective. Results have been mixed. Lindquist, Telch, and Taylor (1983) reported an early study with a 9 session couples group in which anger, aggression, and jealousy decreased and assertion and communication increased significantly from pre- to post- test. At only 6 weeks follow-up, however, 50% of the couples had again experienced violence and at 6 months follow-up, all of the 4 couples contacted had repeated the violence. Deschner and McNeil (1986) reported significant pre- to post- test decreases in anger, depression, inclination to aggression, and arguments in an anger management group for couples and parents engaging in spouse or child abuse, but found no decrease in violence based on a weekly measure. They did find that 85% of participants were non-violent by self-report at 6-8 months follow-up.

Neidig (1986) found that a majority of military couples reported remaining non-violent at follow-up from a 10 week couples group, while Harris (1986) found 73% of civilian couples treated conjointly to be successful. Harris, Savage, Jones, and Brooke (1988) compared an individual couples format with a group couples format and found no differences in recidivism rate, however, individual couples were more likely to drop out than those in the couples group. The rates of non-violence for these couples interventions are comparable to other interventions, with the noted exception of the Lindquist, Telch, and Taylor (1983) data. These results are difficult to interpret, however, because of the lack of comparison groups and questions regarding the sources of the follow-up reports.

Same sex groups for batterers from a largely social learning perspective have been the most extensively studied treatment modality for batterers. This is likely due to the high value that cognitive-behavioral theorists place on empirical validation. While early studies suffered from small sample sizes, lack of a comparison group, short follow-up periods, and recidivism based on self-report, recent studies have improved validity and reliability. Hamberger and Hastings (1988) found that 1 year after their 15 week skill training program, 72% of batterers remained non-violent based on self, victim, and police reports. This was a significant difference from pre- to post- test as well as compared to a drop out control group. In Edleson and Grusznski's (1988) series of three studies, 67, 68, and 59% of completers were found to be nonviolent at follow-up from studies 1, 2, and 3, respectively. While Study 2 lacked a comparison group, Study 1 completers were significantly less violent at 4 1/2 months follow-up than drop-outs based on partner reports. In study 3, the experimental group was not significantly different at 6 months follow-up when compared with the control.

Dutton (1986) found that men court-mandated to attend a 16 week program had a 4% rearrest rate over 3 years while those not treated were rearrested at a rate of 40%. Furthermore, based on victim report, 84% of the treated group remained nonviolent at a follow-up interview which occurred 6 months to 3 years after treatment. Generally these outcome studies have reported that between 53 and 85% of treatment completers have stopped their physical abuse at follow-up (Tolman & Bennett, 1990). Lower percentages are associated with programs that use a longer follow-up interval and whose success rates are based on women's report. This is somewhat contradictory to Bohannon et al.'s (1995) findings that husbands acknowledged their own violence at a higher rate than their wives reported it,

indicating that victims may also underreport violence. Unfortunately, despite these generally positive outcomes, between 39 and 86% of treatment completers continue to use verbal threats and indirect forms of aggression (Tolman & Bennett, 1990).

Outcome studies based on a feminist perspective of battering are limited in number. The primary reason for this may be that discussions of how traditional sex roles and issues of power and control relate to the occurrence of battering are incorporated into many of the skill building or educational groups. Program developers may often be more interested in creating a program that is complete and has the greatest likelihood for success than in creating "pure form" approaches that can be studied for theoretical importance. Intervention programs may also include the feminist model as part of their treatment but fail to label the program as feminist if the remainder of the techniques are largely cognitive-behavioral. Saunders (1996) examined a feminist-cognitive-behavioral program (FCBT) in his study comparing efficacy with a process psychodynamic treatment and found that 69% of men in the FCBT group remained non-violent 3-54 months after treatment based on victim reports.

Criminological interventions have included mediation, separation, arrest, civil orders of protection, and post-arrest legal sanctions, including mandated treatment. The Minneapolis Spouse Abuse Experiment was a highly influential study in which legally eligible cases of spouse abuse were randomly assigned to either an arrest, mediation, or separation condition (Sherman & Berk, 1984). Recidivism based on official reports over 6 months indicated that men who were arrested were less likely to reoffend than those who were separated for 8 hours (13% vs. 26%). Victim reports of repeated violence confirmed that the arrest condition resulted in lower recidivism than mediation or separation (19% vs. 37% vs. 28%, respectively).

Since this influential study was published, efforts to replicate its findings have been mixed at best, with some findings supporting the original study (Berk & Newton, 1985; Jaffe, Wolfe, Telford, & Austin, 1986; Sherman, 1992; Tolman & Weisz, 1995) and others indicating that in some places arrest increased domestic violence after a brief initial deterrent effect (Sherman, 1992). Sherman and his colleagues (Sherman, Smith, Schmidt, & Rogan, 1992) state that there is evidence that arrest can have a deterrent effect when used for batterers who are married and employed, possibly because they have a stake in conformity. For the unemployed, arrest seems to increase the likelihood of violence. This finding has been supported elsewhere (Pate & Hamilton, 1992). If anything at all appears clear from this research, it is that arrest alone is not a sufficient deterrent to prevent domestic violence.

Civil orders of protection are intended to protect victims from further violence and victimization and are available in virtually every state. Harrell, Smith, and Newmark (1993, as cited in Davis & Smith, 1995) found that one year after an order was issued 60% of women reported that the order had been violated. Despite many women calling police when orders were violated and Colorado's law making violations a criminal offense, only 20% of women's calls resulted in arrest. Others have also found that civil protection orders fail to protect the women who obtain them and may even increase the likelihood of suffering subsequent injuries (Grau, Fagan, & Wexler, 1984 and Berk, Berk, Loseke, & Rauma, 1983, as cited in Davis & Smith, 1995).

Post-arrest legal sanctions have been examined for their effect on subsequent use of violence toward a female partner. Steinman (1988) found that other correlates of abuse explained more of the variance in recidivism than post-arrest legal sanctions. Significant

predictors of recidivism included being charged with another crime after the initial arrest, minority status of the couple or victim, if the original arrest occurred between 3 & 6 am, and recidivism was less likely if the victim required medical attention at the time of the arrest. Post-arrest legal sanctions, such as probation, fines, and jail, however, did not have significantly different effects than arrest.

Courts have also ordered batterers to attend treatment programs with some mixed results. One study examined court-ordered and non-court-ordered men in treatment and found that those who were court-ordered were no more likely to start the program, to drop out, or to complete the program (Grusznski, 1986). One study found that, compared to other sentences, court-ordered treatment programs may actually increase violence (Harrell, 1991, as cited in Davis & Smith, 1995). Gondolf (1997b), however, in a large multisite evaluation of batterer treatment programs, found that voluntary men were significantly more likely to drop out and to reassault than court-ordered men. Waldo (1988) found no rearrests in the 1 year follow-up of 30 men referred for treatment as part of a pretrial diversion program. This was significantly lower than the 20% rearrest rates for both comparison groups: court-referred but refusing treatment and non-referred due to lack of knowledge about the program by the courts. Chen, Bersani, Myers, & Denton (1989) described a quasi-experimental design in which a logistic regression was used to predict recidivism (rearrest), which found that program participation was not related to reduced recidivism. When the outcome measure was expanded to include violence in other situations, however, men who attended more than 75% of sessions were found to be less likely to engage in renewed violence than those who attended less than 75%.

Comparison of Interventions

As studies have become more sophisticated and researchers have improved their designs and methodologies, studies in the batterer intervention field have begun to compare treatment modalities and to examine if certain interventions are more or less effective with different types of batterers. Gondolf (1999) found in a comparison of four programs with different court-referral procedures, program lengths, and additional services no significant differences in reassault rate or quality of life. The longest, most comprehensive program, however, did have significantly lower rates of severe reassault. He concluded that differing intervention systems that conform to fundamental standards can achieve similar outcomes.

As described above, Sherman and others (1992; Pate & Hamilton, 1992; Sherman et al., 1992) suggest that arrest may be an effective deterrent for those who are married and employed, but that for the unemployed, arrest may increase the likelihood of repeated violence. Gondolf (1997b) found that men who were ordered to attend treatment by the courts were less likely to drop-out and less likely to reassault. Saunders and Parker (1989) found an interaction between age and mandated status to predict completion, such that voluntary, younger men were less likely to complete treatment than older or court-mandated men. They suggest that a court-mandate may help younger, less educated men to attend treatment.

Harris et al. (1988) in their studies on treatment with couples found that couples whose worst level of violence was at moderate levels were more likely to complete treatment than couples whose worst violence was at more or less severe levels. Edleson and Syers (1990) generally found greater efficacy for education versus self-help formats in treatment groups for men, particularly for the 12 session version. While no overall differences emerged between their 12 and 32 session variants of these groups, findings suggest that minority men may

respond more favorably to the 32 session version as indicated by lower recidivism rates.

Saunders (1996) recently found that men scoring higher on dependent personality characteristics on the MCMI had a better outcome when treated using a process psychodynamic model, as compared with men scoring higher on antisocial personality characteristics whose outcome was better after completing a feminist-cognitive-behavioral group. What these studies may be indicating is that the somewhat inconsistent results found with outcome studies of single interventions were due to trying to intervene with all batterers in the same way. What may be necessary is a more refined approach where the intervention is tailored to the characteristics of the batterer in a way that is most likely to reduce his continued use of violence with his female partner.

Difficulties Faced by Researchers and Clinicians

Certainly of utmost concern to professionals involved in this field are issues of safety. The very definition of the problem area involves violence, detrimental effects on victims and perpetrators, and the increased potential for injury and even death. Studies have documented that people involved as the petitioner or respondent in petitions for protection from domestic violence are at a significantly increased risk for suicide and homicide (Stawar, 1996). Clinicians must be concerned about safety of their clients and others, whether they are working with victims or perpetrators, and must be careful to assess and warn when necessary (Sonkin, 1986). For researchers, these concerns often preclude truly experimental designs because of the potential dangers of randomly assigning subjects to no intervention conditions without making some provisions for safety. Even providing batterers with treatment does not lessen these concerns, as there are no guarantees that a batterer will remain nonviolent. In fact,

administrators of treatment programs need to be particularly vigilant because women are more likely to return to a batterer from a shelter if he is enrolled in a treatment program (Gondolf, 1988a) and batterers are more likely to drop out of treatment programs if their partners return to them or curtail threats of leaving them (Edleson & Grusznski, 1988).

The area of intervention programs with batterers is plagued by problems of attrition and drop out. Examination of each step of the process indicates significant loss occurs from referral to completion. It has been found that, of those who initially inquire or are referred, between 27 and 41% attend the first session (Cadsky, Hanson, Crawford, & Lalonde, 1996; Gondolf & Foster, 1991a). For a brief 10 week program, 25% of the original referrals actually completed the program (Cadsky et al., 1996), while for an 8 month contracted program only 1% made it from initial inquiry to completion (Gondolf & Foster, 1991a).

A survey of program administrators cited reasons for non-completion as lack of motivation or interest, wife leaving, wife returning, problems following the program format, and denial of violence (Pirog-Good & Stets, 1986). Factors that have been associated with program drop-outs include unemployment, being non-married, prior arrest record, violence beginning prior to marriage, younger age, lower income, use of alcohol, use of more indirect threats of violence, and greater borderline, schizoid, and general psychopathological tendencies according to the MCMI (DeMaris, 1989; Grusznski & Carrillo, 1988; Hamberger & Hastings, 1989). Inconsistent results have been found with regards to race, with some finding that white men are more likely to drop out (Pirog-Good & Stets, 1986), while others find that black men drop out more (Hamberger & Hastings, 1989). Organizational variables such as

shorter program length, no cost to participants, and extensive criminal justice system referrals have been found to lead to lowered drop out rates (Pirog-Good & Stets, 1986).

Conclusions to be Drawn from this Research

Certainly over the last three decades, attention and knowledge with regards to the field of domestic violence has grown incredibly. The questions remain about what we have gained from this knowledge and what further work can be done. In order to progress in this field, we must remind ourselves of the knowledge that has been gained already so that limited resources are not spent gathering redundant information. Attention must also be paid to where gaps exist or to areas where the field is ready to move to a higher level of complexity or sophistication in order to broaden this understanding. The efficient acquisition of important and useful knowledge is dependent upon a sound understanding of where we are and where we are going.

Violence among intimate partners is a social problem that affects millions of families a year. The costs to victims, bystanders, society, and the perpetrators themselves are significant, including, at times, death. While violence is frequently used by both men and women, we know that differences in the type, frequency, impact, and intent of violence can be used to identify men most frequently as the primary perpetrators of violence in heterosexual relationships. Harmful consequences can result from the use of physical, psychological, and sexual abuse, and people utilizing these strategies can be identified as batterers. Our understanding of the phenomenon of battering has moved from theories that blame the victim to conceptions that consider the batterer, his background, personality make-up, and the systems that include him. Interventions have included the provision of shelters and services for women and children, to treatment programs for batterers, to criminal justice system interventions.

For a long time, the primary focus of intervention has been in providing shelter and services to women and children to give them sufficient resources to remove themselves from abusive relationships. Somewhat later, interventions aimed at holding the batterer responsible for his behavior so that it would not be repeated in the current or future relationships emerged. Information that has been gathered about interventions with batterers has been somewhat mixed, although several reviews have concluded that, generally, interventions with batterers are effective at stopping the use of violence in some men (Gondolf, 1997a; Tolman & Bennett, 1990). Program completion has been found to lead to nonviolence rates of between 2/3 and 3/4 at one year follow-up, roughly the success rate that has been found for most forms of psychotherapy (Smith & Glass, 1977). Criminal justice system interventions have also met with mixed results, although positive results have been found when police action was coordinated with other criminal justice efforts (Steinman, 1990). In fact, what seems clear is that there is no single intervention that will substantially reduce and prevent the occurrence of domestic violence. Many have concluded that interventions conducted at multiple sources within a community in a coordinated effort are necessary to significantly impact domestic violence.

Coordinated Community Response

Many findings and recommendations point in the direction of coordinated community responses to domestic violence. As long ago as 1985, the Surgeon General recommended that all health professionals and other groups who work with the public have information on spouse abuse as a component of their basic education and training and that protocols for spouse abuse identification and intervention be developed by health professionals in all settings ("Surgeon General's workshop...", 1986). Bourg and Stock (1994) found that even in an area with a pro-

arrest policy toward domestic violence, less than 1/3 of domestic violence reports resulted in arrest. While data were lacking to determine why the pro-arrest policy was not being consistently enacted, they suggest lack of a community approach as one possibility. Gondolf and Fisher (1988) in their study of battered women in Texas concluded that battered women need a variety of services in order to be able to remove themselves from the relationship. This, coupled with the finding that battered women are more likely to return to the perpetrator if he is enrolled in batterer's counseling, led them to conclude a need for systematic coordination of efforts for women. Steinman (1990) found that police actions that were not coordinated with other criminal justice sanctions led to increased violence, while actions, particularly arrest, that were coordinated with other criminal justice responses served as significant deterrents.

Initial studies report success in communities where a coordinated approach is being implemented. Babcock and Steiner (1999) report on findings examining the outcome of a coordinated effort to mandate batterers to domestic violence group treatment. They found that on 2 year follow-up program completers had lower rates of domestic violence reoffenses than program drop-outs or incarcerated batterers. They found the number of domestic violence group sessions attended to be negatively correlated with recidivism. Others have reported on the success and struggles of the Miami-Dade County's Juvenile Court to assess and intervene in families with both spouse and child abuse (Lecklitner, Malik, Aaron, & Lederman, 1999).

The success of particular forms of intervention in domestic violence may depend in large part on community agencies working together to support each other. Finn (1987) found that the men's domestic violence treatment groups in North Carolina were largely dependent upon court-referrals for clients in their programs. Only one of the fourteen programs had less

than 70% of its clients referred by the courts. This dependency on court-referrals may be the cause of the frustration experienced by batterer's program staff when it is felt that the support of the court is lacking. A survey of court-mandated batterer program staff found that lack of court action against non-compliant participants to be the concern listed by the greatest number of respondents (Gondolf, 1990).

Unfortunately, the coordination of community responses is poor and there is evidence that even individual professionals are failing to identify and intervene in cases of domestic violence. Bennett and Lawson (1994) found that only 27% of chemical dependency programs in Illinois made referrals to batterer's programs at least sometimes. Warshaw (1989, as cited in Gondolf & Fisher, 1988) found that observations of emergency rooms and analysis of records indicated that information about abuse was reported in only 21% of identified spouse abuse victims. In 90% of cases, no social worker consultation or shelter information was offered, despite clear protocols indicating this. While perpetrators of domestic violence have been found to be present at higher rates in psychiatric populations (Bland & Orn, 1986), clinicians working with VA alcohol rehabilitation patients failed to identify a significant number of patients with histories of prior assault (Gondolf & Foster, 1991b). Screening for domestic violence in chemical dependency programs was found to be haphazard and largely involved the self-report of the client during the course of therapy (Bennett & Lawson, 1994). Domestic violence has also been found to be common among couples seeking marital therapy (Holtzworth-Munroe et al., 1992, O'Leary, Vivian, & Malone, 1992, as cited in Holtzworth-Munroe, Beatty, & Anglin, 1995), however, marital therapists may often fail to detect it (Hansen, Harway, & Cervantes,

1991; O'Leary, Vivian, & Malone, 1992, as cited in Holtzworth-Munroe, Beatty, & Anglin, 1995).

The coordination of community efforts may be even more important where resources available to victims and perpetrators of violence are limited. The occurrence of domestic violence in rural areas and the particular difficulties faced by rural communities are rarely addressed in the literature (Krishnan, Hilbert, VanLeeuwen, & Koila, 1997). Reed (1992) suggests that psychiatrists practicing in a rural area need to be aware of the problem of domestic violence and carefully assess for this among their clients. The Surgeon General, however, has recommended that "a full range of coordinated health, mental health, legal, and social services for victims, abusers, and their children shall be available in *every community* [emphasis added]" ("Surgeon General's Workshop...", 1986).

While coordination of services for victims and perpetrators of domestic violence has been recommended by a variety of sources, the practice of this has been far more limited. In order to make recommendations that will facilitate the coordination of services, the current responses of professionals within communities needs to be documented in order for necessary changes to be identified and made.

Help-Seeking in Women and Professional Responses

While some have suggested that abused women learn to become helpless in the face of their abuser (Russell, 1988), others have argued that abused women engage in a number of strategies to influence and cope with their situation (Dobash & Dobash, 1987; Donato & Bowker, 1984; Frieze & McHugh, 1992; Gondolf & Fisher, 1988; Limandri, 1985). These strategies include seeking help from a number of formal and informal sources. Studies have

found that women's help-seeking increases over the length of time in the abusive relationship and with the severity of the abuse (Dobash & Dobash, 1987).

Dobash and Dobash (1987) argue that women have strong feelings of shame and guilt associated with the violence due to widely held beliefs about domestic privacy and autonomy, respectability, and that marital happiness and stability are primarily the responsibility of women. These feelings, compounded by a sense of isolation, their partners' justifications and threats, and concerns about negative responses, make it very difficult for women to seek assistance. Because of these difficulties, Dobash and Dobash argue that the type of response a woman receives when she seeks help can be a crucial factor determining how often or even whether she will seek help again.

Many accounts document the failure of professionals to adequately help abused women seeking assistance; some professionals' responses are frankly detrimental to these women. Martin (1983) published a letter from a battered woman detailing the severity of her abuse and unsuccessful attempts to solicit help from professionals: "Everyone I have gone to for help has somehow wanted to blame me and vindicate my husband. I can see it lying there between the words and at the end of their sentences. The clergyman, the doctor, the counselor, my friend's husband, the police—all of them have found a way to vindicate my husband." (p. 311). Others have documented that too often professionals either fail to help or engage in a negative action, such as denial, negation, victim-blame, or refuse to assist (Dobash & Dobash, 1987; Roberts, Lawrence, O'Toole, & Raphael, 1997b).

Understanding Professional Responses to Help-Seeking

Dobash and Dobash (1987) found that responses given by professionals to abused women seeking help were influenced by a number of factors. An important factor was the type of help that was requested, which differed greatly among the professionals the help was requested from. They noted that women rarely asked medical professionals for help that challenged the violent situation; they usually requested supportive types of help. Social service agencies, housing departments, and the police were more frequently asked for help that in some way challenged the violent situation. While requests for supportive and challenging types of help were offered by many professionals, there were a significant number where these requests were not met or in which the professional responded in some negative way.

Dobash and Dobash (1987) looked at the negative or unhelpful responses of medical professionals and social workers for ways to understand the response in its context. They found that responses given by general practitioners were restricted and generally confined to treating wounds, prescribing psychotropic medication, or referring to a psychiatrist. They indicated that the failure of general practitioners to recognize or understand these women must be understood against the background of patriarchal assumptions about women, institutional and situational demands made on the professional, and professional training that seeks to reduce complex social, psychological, and physical problems to clear-cut physical symptoms treatable within the context of medicine.

Dobash and Dobash (1987) found that women had higher expectations of social workers and that their requests for support were met more often than requests for help challenging the violent situation. They felt that unhelpful or negative responses reflected the social workers obligations to protect children but not women, professional ideals about family

unity and privacy, psychoanalytic views of women, traditional views of the relationships between men and women, and the misguided concept of remaining “neutral”.

Dobash and Dobash (1987) made some initial hypotheses to explain the responses that medical professionals and social workers had to the help-seeking of battered women. How can we understand the responses of professionals to situations involving intimate violence? How do we understand how professionals respond or make referrals in situations that do not involve violence? Attempts were made to examine literature on how professionals engage in the process of making referrals in non-violent situations. It was discovered that there is a dearth of information examining this process in professionals. The information that is available is primarily related to the field of education or focuses on characteristics of the person being referred. Of the studies that were available, one found that younger physicians and those experiencing the stress of uncertainty were more likely to make referrals elsewhere, while those with greater workloads were less likely to refer (Bachman & Freeborn, 1999). Another found that women and older faculty members tended to be more likely to make referrals to a university counseling center than men or younger faculty (Lott, Ness, Alcorn, & Greer, 1999). It appears that professionals may be reluctant to examine characteristics of themselves that influence their decision-making.

Professional responses to domestic violence have been studied in several contexts. Hansen et al. (1991) mailed a vignette about a family in which the husband was violent to marital and family therapists, finding that 40% failed to address conflict in their conceptualizations of the problem. Wood and McHugh (1994) examined the responses of members of the clergy to battered women. What appears to be lacking in the literature is an

examination of professional responses to help-seeking behavior in batterers. The current study seeks to address this deficit in the literature on domestic violence.

Current Study

This study involves presenting professionals from various agencies or professions with a vignette of a batterer approaching the professional for advice. Vignettes have been utilized elsewhere to examine professional responses to domestic violence. As indicated above, Hansen et al. (1991) presented a vignette of a couple in which the husband was violent to a sample of marital and family therapists to examine their responses to questions about the case conceptualization. Wood and McHugh (1994) utilized a vignette of a battered woman seeking help to study the responses of the clergy. To date, no vignette studies have been undertaken to examine the responses of professionals when the batterer is seeking assistance. Nor has any study to date compared the responses of various professionals to the same vignette.

The current study seeks to address the following questions related to the responses of professionals:

1. How do professionals in rural western Pennsylvania respond to help-seeking in batterers?
2. Do professionals respond differently if there is an organized batterer intervention program in their community?
3. Do professionals respond to batterers in ways that are idiosyncratic or predictable based on their profession?
4. How likely are professionals to address violence as of primary importance, and are certain professionals more likely to address the violence than others?

Professional responses to the vignette are hoped to provide initial information to understand the responses of people who are likely to have direct professional contact with men who batter. By examining how professionals respond, recommendations can be made to address deficits, reduce barriers, and facilitate coordinated responses in communities.

It was hypothesized that professionals would respond in many and varied ways to help-seeking in batterers, not at all resembling a coordinated community response. The lack of coordination among professionals in addressing domestic violence in general has been found elsewhere (Bennett & Lawson, 1994; Caputo, 1988; Gondolf, 1990). It was also hypothesized that many of the professionals would fail to address the violence as of primary concern or take steps to ensure the safety of the victim and hold the batterer accountable for his behavior. It was expected that they would focus on other aspects of the vignette as of primary concern or would address the violence through indirect means, for example by improving the marital relationship. This hypothesis was based on findings that various types of professionals fail to assess for or address violence in real life or vignette situations (Gondolf & Foster, 1991b ; Hansen et al., 1991; O'Leary, Vivian, & Malone, 1992, as cited in Holtzworth-Munroe, Beatty, & Anglin, 1995).

Certain types of professionals, such as women's shelter staff, whose awareness of the problems and dangers associated with domestic violence is heightened, were expected to see the violence as the primary problem in need of intervention. It was expected that due to this heightened awareness, they would be the most likely to attend to the violence and address it as a problem in need of intervention. It was felt that other professionals would likely respond in ways that are consistent with their training and background, making referrals or giving advice

consistent with their profession. For example, drug and alcohol counselors might recommend drug and alcohol counseling or mental health professionals might recommend psychotherapy. Demographic characteristics were examined as potential predictors of responses addressing violence directly. For example, it was expected that people with less time in their primary profession would be more likely to have had training specifically addressing domestic violence intervention and awareness given the recommendations to training programs and increasing awareness over the last 30 years.

The presence of an organized batterer's intervention program was hypothesized to increase the likelihood that the responses of professionals would involve a referral to such a program. It was expected, however, that, even in communities with a batterer intervention program, a majority of the responses from that community would not involve a referral to the program. Bennett and Lawson (1994) found that only 27% of chemical dependency programs in Illinois made referrals to batterer's programs at least sometimes. Demographic characteristics were examined as potential predictors for making a referral to a batterer program. Certain professions and holding a master's level of education were thought to be predictive of making a referral to a batterer intervention program. This is based on findings from Hansen et al. (1991) who found self-identified psychologists (almost all holders of a doctorate degree) were significantly less likely than other mental health professionals to address conflict in their conceptualization of a case involving violence. It was anticipated that those who were less likely to address violence directly would also be less likely to make a referral to a batterer intervention program.

CHAPTER III

METHOD

Participants

Participants in this study included individuals representing various categories of professionals working in 4 counties in western Pennsylvania. The counties were selected based on the following criteria: primarily rural in setting and having all of the agencies/professionals described below operating within the county limits. Rural for the purposes of this study was defined as an area with a low ratio of inhabitants to land and not within an hour's driving distance from a major city, a city with a population of greater than 100,000. The interest of this study was in examining those areas in which there is likely to be limited educational, economic, and/or human service resources available within the community, necessitating efficient use of the limited resources.

Of counties that met the above criteria, two counties were selected with a formal batterer intervention program in operation—Franklin and Blair counties--and two counties were selected without formal batterer intervention programs—Cambria and Elk counties. Table 1 presents data on the population, population density, per capita income, percentage of people living below the poverty level, educational attainment, and main economic activities for each of the four counties, as well as some comparison data for the state of Pennsylvania.

Participants were selected within these counties to represent professionals or agencies with a high likelihood of coming into direct contact with a batterer, someone or someplace a batterer might go seeking assistance or advice. Participants were selected from the following agencies to represent the indicated categories of professionals: children and youth services

Table 1

Indicators of Economic, Educational, and Population Resources for the Four Counties and the State of Pennsylvania.

County	Population ^a	Population Density ^b	Indicators		
			Per Capita Income	% Below Poverty	Educational Attainment ^c
Blair	131,450	250	11,233	14	75
Cambria	158,500	230	10,460	14	71
Elk	35,141	42	10,775	9	75
Franklin	127,035	164	13,060	8	69
Pennsylvania	11,881,643	258	14,068	11	75

County	Main Economic Activities
Blair	Services, Retail Trade, Manufacturing
Cambria	Services, Retail Trade, Steel-making, Bituminous Coal Mining
Elk	Electronic Equipment, Fabricated Metal
Franklin	Industrial Machinery, Textiles, Farming (Cattle, Dairy, and Fruit)

Note. Information gathered from www.britanica.com and www.census.gov.

^a1996 estimated population.

^bPer square mile.

^cPercentage of people 25 and older with at least a high school diploma.

(child welfare), community mental health center (mental health), probation department (criminal justice), drug and alcohol rehabilitation center (drug and alcohol counselors), women's shelter (domestic violence staff), and religious leaders representing various denominations. While this list is certainly not exhaustive of all the professionals in a community that a batterer may approach seeking services, these were felt to be the groups with the greatest likelihood of direct contact with batterers. This selection was also felt to represent agencies likely to respond to batterers in different ways.

Religious leaders do not fall in the same category as other agency-affiliated professionals because they are not necessarily connected with a larger organization that brings together many religious leaders in the same community. These participants were contacted individually by phone and mailed a survey. While this made for an exception to the procedures described below, it was felt to be important to sample this population as batterers may seek the advice of their religious advisor when they may be less likely to approach the other professionals indicated above.

Procedure

The current study proceeded in three phases. The first phase involved identifying the counties and the agencies to be sampled. This involved considering counties in western Pennsylvania, identifying those that have an organized batterer intervention program, and determining which counties have all of the agencies indicated above. The directors of the agencies listed above were contacted in these counties for permission to participate in the study. Permission was sought for this researcher to attend one of the agency's staff meetings briefly to explain the study and distribute the surveys or for the director to distribute the

surveys to staff which could then be mailed in return.

After permission had been granted to distribute the surveys, phase two of the data collection began. Whether through personal communication at a staff meeting, or through a cover letter, potential participants were informed that participation in this study was completely voluntary and responses were anonymous. There were no known risks to participants either for participating or for refusal to participate. To reduce the likelihood of socially desirable responding due to the highly sensitive nature of domestic violence, the study was introduced as one examining professional problem solving and decision making. Participants were informed that the study would compare responses given by various professionals across several counties in western Pennsylvania. They were then given the survey (see Appendix A), asked to read the vignette and respond to the questions following, and to complete the demographic information. They were informed of the approximate time required to read the vignette and complete the questionnaire and given instructions for how to return completed surveys to the researcher. Participants were either given a postage-paid return envelop or were informed of an anonymous drop box in which surveys could be returned. This researcher's name and phone number was included on all materials to answer any questions or concerns regarding the study.

Phase three of the data collection involved making follow-up contacts to express appreciation to participants who completed and returned the survey and to encourage those who had not completed the survey to do so. This was completed through phone contacts or letters to the directors of the agencies contacted or through direct contact with participants where possible. In-service presentations or information regarding the results of the study were provided to agencies that expressed interest in receiving such.

Instrument

The vignette and questions comprising this survey were developed by the author, as a study of this particular type has not yet been attempted. A vignette was used in order to more closely approximate the situation under investigation: how professionals in rural communities respond to batterers. The vignette presented to all professionals involved several elements to make it relevant to the study hypotheses and to the various professionals who received it (see Appendix A). The man seeking advice in the vignette presented a story involving conflict with his wife, clear use of violence on his part, children who are not directly involved but are witnesses, use of alcohol during some but not all violent incidences, legal involvement, and a motivational factor, namely that his wife threatened to take the children and leave him. These elements have all been found to be common in the context of battering and thus were felt to approximate a "real life" situation. These elements also made the situation relevant to all of the professionals sampled by increasing the likelihood that they would have direct contact with such a person.

The vignette involved the man approaching the professional for advice on what he should do in the situation, but was sufficiently vague as to what his primary concern was and what course(s) of action he would be most willing or likely to take. This was intended to allow the professional a wide range of options on how to potentially advise this person, as opposed to advising based largely on the supposed interests of the batterer. After reading the vignette, participants were asked a few open-ended questions regarding what they would do or say to this man right away and what follow-up actions, if any, they would take. They were also asked what led them to this course of action, if they have had experience with similar situations, and

what services would they not recommend, before completing the demographic items (see Appendix A). Again, these open-ended questions were intended to be least restrictive to the possible ways that any of these professionals may respond. This approach explores what they considered to be the most important elements of the vignette. This was relevant to the hypotheses that the professionals would be likely to respond based on different elements of the vignette that they deemed most important, possibly related to their training.

Demographic information was collected including county, highest level of education, educational degree, primary profession, and number of years in their profession. This demographic information was compared to determine differences in demographic make-up between counties. It was anticipated that there would be differences in demographic characteristics among professions in terms of level of education and degree. These were considered and explored as potential correlations for particular ways of responding. For example, Hansen et al. (1991) found that self-identified psychologists (almost all holders of a doctorate degree) were significantly less likely than other mental health professionals to address conflict in their conceptualization of a case involving violence. It was anticipated that similar differences in response would be discovered in this study based on educational or other demographic information.

Coding System

The survey asked for participants to give written responses to open-ended questions following the vignette. These responses were reviewed and a coding system developed so that the response data could be analyzed quantitatively. Upon examination of the written responses, some patterns emerged. It appeared as if participants had not

responded to all of the questions as distinctly separate questions and one of the questions was worded in such a way that was confusing and misinterpreted by many of the participants.

Questions 1 & 2. No real distinctions could be made between responses to questions 1 and 2 (“How would you respond to this man?” and “What follow-up actions, if any, would you take?”). Question 2 seemed to be answered in a way that was best understood as an elaboration of the answer given for Question 1, thus, the responses to these questions were treated and analyzed as one response.

As the responses to these questions were the primary interest of the study and the responses were many and varied, the coding system that developed as a result of these responses was extensive and elaborate. As responses included multiple elements and respondents included a varying number of elements in their responses, responses were coded for the presence or absence of a particular element. For example, one respondent might have given the response of referring the man to drug and alcohol counseling, while another respondent might have referred him for counseling, referred the wife to a shelter, and advised him to quit drinking. The first respondent in this example received a single response code; the second received three.

Responses from the surveys were studied in order to discern the general types of responses given. Five of these broad Level 1 categories were identified then refined into 2 additional levels of sub-categories of increasing specificity. The result was a hierarchical coding system with 3 levels of increasing specificity, with 5 categories at Level 1, 29 categories at Level 2, and 109 categories at Level 3. All three levels could be utilized to

most accurately reflect the actual data. The higher levels could be used to facilitate analyses. The coding system was developed and refined by comparing it with the responses from all of the surveys to examine its fit with the data. After several revisions, the final coding scheme was developed (see Appendix B).

Reliability was developed through the use of two raters, the author and a male volunteer with a graduate degree in psychology. The volunteer was trained in the use of the coding system and given practice responses to code. Raters coded a set of 10 surveys independently, compared rates of agreement, and discussed the responses until the final codes were agreed upon. This process was repeated until the inter-rater reliability reached 85%, which was achieved with the last set of surveys.

Question 3. It was determined that this question was interpreted in different ways by different respondents. Some gave responses that appeared to be a further elaboration of responses given in Questions 1 & 2. Others gave the reasons for their responses in Questions 1 & 2, as the question was intended to be read. Still others seemed to give explanations for the man's behavior. As a result, the responses to this question were difficult to include in the current analysis. As the information was not felt to be central to the primary questions of the current study, these responses were not analyzed.

Question 4. Responses to this question reflected how often the participant had encountered a similar situation. As the response was written to an open-ended question, responses were somewhat varied in their form and needed to be placed on a common metric. An ordinal scale seemed to reflect a majority of the responses—never, rarely, sometimes, and often. Numeric responses were transformed into this ordinal scale (see

Appendix B).

Question 5. After reviewing the responses given to this question, it became clear that the question had been poorly worded. Some respondents indicated that the question was confusing and did not give a response. Other respondents answered with other services they would recommend. Some respondents did give services they would not recommend and reasons why. For still others, it was unclear how they interpreted the question. Given the current study's interest in the obstacles to a coordinated community response, it was felt that important information could still be garnered from those questions in which it was clear that the respondent interpreted the question in the manner it was intended. These responses were analyzed separately in a qualitative analysis.

Familiarity With agencies/services. These questions were asked as a way of providing additional information about the respondents knowledge of available resources in the community and as a possible explanatory variable for differences in responding. Responses to these questions were examined for differences based on county, education, profession, and years in primary profession.

Analyses

Data were analyzed using the SAS for Windows statistical program. Demographic data were examined first by frequencies for significant differences using Chi-Square tests. The most common responses represented at the various levels of the coding system were presented for the entire sample, as well as the most common responses given by the different professions. As participants gave multiple elements as part of their responses and varied in the number of elements included, multivariate analyses could not be performed. As the major analyses

involved the response codes which were categorical in nature, Chi-Square tests were the primary method used in these analyses. Demographic variables, familiarity with other agencies, and amount of experience with similar situations were transformed into categorical variables to be included in the Chi-Square analyses. The general linear models procedure was used to examine differences between professionals in the average number of response elements given.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

In all, 21 separate agencies and 68 individual religious leaders were contacted about this study. One agency director did not grant permission to distribute the surveys (Cambria County Probation Department). A total of 433 surveys were distributed and 120 were returned, resulting in a response rate of 28%. This relatively low response rate is felt to be in part due to the lack of direct contact with a majority of survey recipients and in part to a low response rate at one agency where a large number of surveys were distributed. Eliminating the surveys distributed to this one agency raises the response rate to 35%. The response rate among religious leaders who were each contacted by phone was 43%.

Demographics

The demographic characteristics of survey participants are given in Table 2. Given the large number of variables and the number of levels within each of the variables, there was concern about the validity of the analyses given the number of cells with expected counts below five. Efforts were made to reduce the number of categories within each of the demographic variables to increase the expected cell counts and validity of the analyses. As the analyses were to involve the use of Chi-Square tests because of the categorical nature of the response variable, continuous and ordinal variables were transformed into categorical variables (i.e., level of education and years in primary profession).

The County variable was collapsed into two levels: counties with a batterer's intervention program and counties without this type of program. The Education variable

Table 2
Demographic Characteristics of Survey Participants and Collapsed Categories

Variable	N	Collapsed Variable	N
County			
Cambria	35	Without Batterer's Program	62
Elk	27	With Batterer's Program	58
Franklin	37		
Blair	21		
Education			
High School	3	Bachelor's Degree or less	63
Some College	3	Master's Degree or more	54
Associate Degree	2		
Bachelor Degree	55		
Master Degree	49		
Doctorate Degree	5		
Years In Profession			
Mean	12.8	0-5 Years	38
Standard Deviation	11.5	6-15 Years	40
Range	1-56	16 or more Years	38
Profession			
Child Welfare Agent	14		
Women's Shelter Staff	11		
Mental Health Professional	37		
Drug and Alcohol Counselor	5		
Probation Officer	17		
Priest/Pastor/Rabbi	29		
Other	7		

Note. N = 120.

was collapsed into two categories: those with a Bachelor degree or less and those with a Master degree or more. Years in Primary Profession was transformed into a categorical variable with three levels: 0-5 years, 6-15 years, and 16 or more years. The variable of Profession had already been reduced to 7 levels from the original 13 levels listed on the survey. In order to reduce low expected cell counts, the category of “others” was treated as missing values and drug and alcohol counselors were eliminated from some of the analyses (where indicated).

The demographic variables were examined for systematic differences. (All of the analyses utilized for this study used an alpha of $p < .05$ as the cut-off for significance.) There was a significant difference in level of education for the two types of counties, $\chi^2 (1, N = 117) = 6.30, p < .05$. Study participants in Cambria and Elk counties had more years of formal training leading to the attainment of a degree than those in Franklin and Blair counties (58% vs. 35% with a Master degree or higher, respectively). There was also a significant difference in level of education between the different professions, $\chi^2 (5, N = 110) = 36.56, p < .05$. Most child welfare agents, women’s shelter staff, probation officers, and drug and alcohol counselors have a Bachelor degree or less (93%, 100%, 88%, and 60%, respectively). Most mental health professionals and religious leaders have a Master degree or more (67% and 69%, respectively).

Significant differences were found in the level of education based on length of time in the primary profession, $\chi^2 (2, N = 114) = 11.07, p < .05$. Those with less formal education (Bachelor degree or less) tend to have been in their primary profession for less

time, while those with a Master degree or more tend to have been in their primary profession for longer periods. Differences between the professions in the number of years in the field could not be examined as low expected cell counts made the Chi-Square an invalid test.

Experience With Similar Situations

The data were examined first with respect to how often the respondents had encountered similar situations. This was assumed to reflect their professional experience in situations involving domestic violence, but since this was not labeled as such specifically, this may not be a safe assumption. Based on the relative amount of experience reported by the different professions, as reported below, at least some of the respondents are likely to have interpreted the question as experience with domestic violence specifically in which the perpetrator is seeking assistance.

The amount that respondents have encountered similar situations is listed in Table 3. Respondents overall report having a significant amount of experience with situations such as those given in the vignette. Only 12% of respondents indicated that they had never encountered a similar situation, while 33% indicated they have encountered this type of situation often. The likelihood of encountering a similar situation increases with length of time in the field and approached significance, $\chi^2 (6, N= 110) = 11.77, p = .067$. While 24% of those with 0-5 years of experience in their profession say they have never encountered a similar situation, all of those with 16 or more years of experience have faced similar situations.

Table 3
How Often Respondents Have Encountered a Similar Situation

How Often	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Never	14	12.4	12.4
Rarely	35	31.0	43.4
Sometimes	27	23.9	67.3
Often	37	32.7	100.0

Note. N = 113.

There were no differences in the amount of respondents' experience with similar situations based on county or education. In assessing whether there were significant differences in the amount of experience with similar situations among the professions, the cell counts were too low for the Chi-Square test to be valid. A look at Table 4, however, would seem to indicate that generally women's shelter staff and religious leaders have somewhat less experience than the other professionals with the type of situation presented in the vignette. Given the extensive amount of experience that women's shelter staff have with domestic violence in general, it seems likely that at least some in this group in particular were responding to their experience with situations in which the perpetrator was seeking assistance. Overall, most of the professionals surveyed have had some experience with situations resembling the vignette.

How Professionals Respond to a Batterer

As indicated above in the development of the coding system, the professionals sampled gave many and varied responses to the man described in the vignette. Most participants gave extended answers containing multiple elements, for example referring the man to drug and alcohol counseling, referring his wife to a shelter, and suggesting he reduce his work hours. Each of these elements was coded as a separate response. The mean number of responses given by participants was 4.7 ($SD=2.3$), with a range from 1 to 12 responses.

The responses given by participants overall are listed in Table 5. The most common response when examining the Level 1 categories was to make a referral for him, a response given by 86% of survey respondents. The most common type of referral was

Table 4
Percentage of Professionals That Have Encountered Similar Situations

How Often	Child Welfare Agent	Women's Shelter Staff	Mental Health Staff	Drug and Alcohol Counselor	Probation Officer	Religious Leader
Never	7	29	8	20	13	14
Rarely	21	43	28	20	13	52
Sometimes	43	14	14	0	33	24
Often	29	14	50	60	40	10
N =	14	7	36	5	15	29

Table 5
Responses Given by All Participants

Responses for Level 1	Percent
Level 1	
Referral for Him	85.8
Non-referred Counseling/Advice	70.8
Services for Wife and/or Children	52.5
Label the Behavior or Situation	33.3
Consequences for Him	12.5
Levels 2 and 3	
<u>Referrals for Him</u>	
Refer Him to Drug and Alcohol Services	52.5
Refer Him to Drug and Alcohol Counseling	23.3
Refer Him to AA/NA	15.8
Refer Him for D & A Services (unspecified)	11.7
Refer Him for a D & A Evaluation	11.7
Refer Him to Inpatient D & A Treatment	5.0
Refer Him to Dual Diagnosis Treatment	0.8
Refer Him to Counseling (unspecified)	23.3
Refer Him to a Batterer's Program	16.7
Refer Him for Mental Health Services	15.0
Refer Him to Therapy/Psychotherapy	10.8
Refer Him to Mental Health Services (unspecified)	3.3
Refer Him for Assessment for Medication	2.5
Refer Him to a Mental Health Caseworker	0.8
Refer Him to a Crisis Hotline	0.8
Refer Him to a Specific Program	12.5
Refer Him to Anger Management Program	12.5
Refer Him to Stress Management Program	3.3
Refer Him to a Specific Program	0.8
Refer Him to an (unspecified) Agency	10.8

Table 5 (cont.)

Responses for Levels 2 and 3 (cont.)	Percent
Refer Him to Religious/Spiritual Services	6.7
Refer Him to Pastoral/Religious Counseling	2.5
Refer Him to a Pastor/Minister/Rabbi	1.7
Refer Him to Church	1.7
Refer Him to Religious Services (unspecified)	0.8
Refer Him to Legal Services	6.7
Refer Him to an Attorney/Lawyer	5.0
Refer Him to Legal Services (unspecified)	0.8
Refer Him to a Probation Officer	0.8
Refer Him to Children and Youth Services	0.8
Refer Him to a Physician	0.8
<u>Non-referred Counseling/Advice</u>	
Assessment/Gather Information	40.8
Gather Further Information	26.7
Help Him to Assess the Situation	14.2
Assess His Intentions/Goals	8.3
Help Him to Assess the Costs of His Behavior	0.8
Ask if He Thinks His Wife is Justified	0.8
Non-specific Counseling/Support	29.2
Give Non-specific Counseling/Support	14.2
Make Empathic Statements	7.5
Listen to Him/His Story	4.2
Use Reflective Listening	4.2
Discuss His Needs	1.7
Build Rapport	0.8
Build His Inner Strength/Self-Esteem	0.8

Table 5 (cont.)

Responses for Levels 2 and 3 (cont.)	Percent
Give Him Advice	19.2
Give Advice (unspecified)	7.5
Follow the PFA/Stay Away From Wife	3.3
Move Out of the House	3.3
Reduce his Work Hours	1.7
Change Jobs	1.7
Stop Drinking	1.7
Spend Time With His Family	1.7
Stop His Violence	0.8
Reduce His Stress	0.8
Cooperate With Authorities	0.8
Address His Willingness to Change	18.3
Encourage Him to Accept Responsibility	7.5
Address Willingness to Change (unspecified)	5.0
Encourage Actions on His Part (unspecified)	5.0
Encourage Him to Carry Out His Roles	1.7
Address Specific Issues with Him	13.3
Address His Alcohol Use	7.5
Address Specific Issue (not otherwise listed)	5.0
Address His Anger	4.2
Address Communication Issues	4.2
Address Control Issues	0.8
Address Inferiority Issues	0.8
Address Poor Decision-Making	0.8
Address His Involvement with Others	0.8
Address Goal-Setting	0.8
Address Spirituality Issues with Him	7.5
Inquire About/Encourage Relationship with God	4.2
Encourage Prayer	2.5
Inquire/Address Spirituality Issues (unspecified)	1.7

Table 5 (cont.)

Responses for Levels 2 and 3 (cont.)	Percent
<u>Services for Wife and/or Children</u>	
Recommend Services for Wife	28.3
Contact Wife/Offer Support to Wife	15.0
Services for the Wife (unspecified)	5.8
Referral to a Shelter	4.2
Referral to Al-anon	4.2
Offer/Refer for Counseling	1.7
Referral to an Attorney	0.8
Suggest Getting a PFA	0.8
Suggest Finding Time for Herself	0.8
Suggest that She Seek Employment	0.8
Recommend Services for the Couple	24.2
Refer/Offer Couple's Counseling	20.8
Meet With the Couple	4.2
Recommend Services for the Family	13.3
Refer/Offer Family Therapy	8.3
Services for the Family (unspecified)	4.2
Referral of Family to Al-anon	0.8
Recommend Services for the Children	8.3
Services for the Children (unspecified)	4.2
Referral of Children for Counseling	4.2
<u>Label the Behavior or Situation</u>	
Indicate that His Behavior is Unacceptable	14.2
Indicate that His Behavior is Unacceptable	11.7
Indicate that Wife is Justified in Her Actions	3.3
Label His Behavior as Abuse	13.3
Indicate to Him that the Situation is Serious	9.2
Some Indication of Seriousness of Situation	5.8
He Needs Help	2.5
He Needs to Get His Priorities Straight	0.8
Unsure How to Respond	1.7

Table 5 (cont.)

Responses for Levels 2 and 3 (cont.)	Percent
Negative reaction to Him	1.7
Would Have Little Sympathy for Him	0.8
Would Find It Difficult to Work With Him	0.8
<u>Consequences for Him</u>	
Give Him Legal Consequences	10.8
Mandate Him to Drug and Alcohol Counseling	4.2
Report Him to the Police/His Parole Officer	2.5
Increase His Supervision	1.7
Violate His Parole	1.7
Jail Time	1.7
Legal Consequences (unspecified)	0.8
Add "No Alcohol" Clause to Probation	0.8
Mandate Him to Violence Classes	0.8
Mandate Him to Sensitivity Training	0.8
Work Release Program	0.8
Threaten Legal Consequences	3.3
Threaten Legal Consequences (unspecified)	1.7
Threaten Jail Time	1.7
Threaten Loss of His Job	0.8

Note. D & A = Drug and Alcohol.

for drug and alcohol services, a response given by over half of all respondents. The most common response at the most specific level of coding was to gather more information (27%), followed by referring him to drug and alcohol counseling and referring him to unspecified counseling (23% for each).

Level 1 respondents indicate that participants generally were willing to offer assistance to the man in the vignette and his family. Eighty-six percent wanted to make a referral for him, while 71% offered some form of counseling or advice themselves. More than half responded with some sort of service for the wife or children. One-third of respondents gave some sort of label to his behavior or the situation. Consequences was a response rarely given by the participants, as only 13% included giving some form of consequence as part of their response.

Differences Among Professionals' Responses

The average number of responses given to questions 1 and 2 was 4.7 (SD=2.34), with a range of 1-12. The average number of responses given by the different professional groups are as follows: child welfare agents- 5.3, women's shelter staff- 3.2, mental health professionals- 4.8, drug and alcohol counselors- 6.0, probation officers- 4.4, and religious leaders- 4.7. There were no significant differences in the number of responses given by the different types of professionals.

Responses were examined for differences based on their county, level of education, years in their profession, and profession. There were no differences between counties with or without a formal batterer's intervention program in the frequency of making referrals for him, offering non-referred counseling/advice, recommending services for the wife or

children, labeling the behavior or situation, or in giving consequences to him (Level 1 responses). There were also no differences between these counties in the rates of labeling his behavior as abusive or as unacceptable. There was a significant difference in the rate of referrals made to a batterer's intervention program, $\chi^2 (1, N = 120) = 4.51, p < .05$.

Professionals in a county with a batterer's intervention program were more likely to make a referral to a batterer's intervention program than those in a county without such a program (24% vs. 10%).

There were no differences found between those with a Bachelor degree or less and those with a Master degree or higher on any of the Level 1 responses. The difference between these levels of education and referral to drug and alcohol services approached significance, $\chi^2 (1, N = 117) = 3.35, p = .067$. Those with a Master degree or higher were more likely to refer him to drug and alcohol services (63% vs. 46%). The differences between the levels of education with respect to making a referral to a batterer's intervention program also approached significance, $\chi^2 (1, N = 117) = 3.59, p = .058$. Those with a Bachelor degree or less were more likely to make a referral to a batterer's intervention program than those with a Master degree or higher (22% vs. 9%). Finally, level of education was significant with respect to making a referral to mental health services, $\chi^2 (1, N = 117) = 8.56, p < .05$. Those with a Master degree or higher were more likely to make a referral to mental health services than those with a Bachelor degree or less (26% vs. 6%).

There were no differences found between those with more or less years in their profession on any of the Level 1 responses. There was a significant difference between the number of years in the profession and making a referral to a batterer's intervention program, $\chi^2 (1, N = 116) = 6.29, p < .05$. Those with 0-5 years in their profession were more likely to make a referral to a batterer's intervention program than those with either 6-15 or 16 or more years (26% vs. 8% and 11%, respectively).

Level 1 responses were examined for differences in responding among the professions. As indicated above, due to the small number of drug and alcohol counselors, this category was eliminated from these analyses to improve the validity of the Chi-Square tests. Table 6 gives the frequency of Level 1 responses among the professions included in the analyses.

There were no significant differences among professions in the frequency of their referrals for him or recommending services for the wife and/or children. Differences in non-referred counseling or advice approached significance, $\chi^2 (4, N = 108) = 9.34, p = .053$. Women's shelter staff and probation officers were less likely to give some sort of counseling or advice than were child welfare agents, mental health professionals, and religious leaders.

There were significant differences in the amount that different professionals would give some sort of labeling response, $\chi^2 (4, N = 108) = 14.72, p < .05$. Child welfare agents, in particular, and priests were more likely to give a response that labeled the situation or his behavior than were the other professionals. Analyses could not be

Table 6
Percentage of Professionals Giving Level 1 Responses

Level 1 Responses	Child Welfare Agents	Women's Shelter Staff	Mental Health Staff	Probation Officers	Religious Leaders
Referral for Him	93	91	89	82	76
Non-referred Counseling or Advice	71*	55*	78*	41*	76*
Services for Wife and/or Children	64	36	51	41	48
Label the Behavior or Situation	71**	27**	27**	12**	45**
Consequences for Him ^a	0	0	3	71	3

Note. * $p < .10$. ** $p < .05$.

^aChi-Squares test not valid due to low cell counts.

completed for the response of giving consequences because of low expected cell counts, however, it is clear that probation officers were almost exclusively the respondents to give this type of response.

Level 2 responses were also examined for differences among professions.

Significant differences were found among professionals in their rate of referring him to drug and alcohol services, $\chi^2 (5, N = 113) = 25.39, p < .05$. Women's shelter staff and religious leaders were least likely to refer the batterer to drug and alcohol services (9% and 28%, respectively), mental health professionals and drug and alcohol counselors were most likely to refer him (76% and 80%, respectively), and child welfare agents and probation officers were about equally likely to refer as not to refer him (57% and 59%, respectively).

Chi-Square analyses were not valid for any of the rest of the Level 2 or Level 3 response comparisons among the professions due to low expected cell counts. Table 7 gives the top Level 2 response frequencies for each of the professions.

Addressing Violence Directly

Responses were examined for those that addressed the violence more directly by including one of the following elements: making a referral to a men's domestic violence program, advising him to stop his violence, advising him to follow the protection from abuse order, ordering him to a mandatory men's domestic violence program, indicating to him that his behavior is unacceptable, or labeling his behavior as abuse. A total of 32.5% of respondents included one of these elements to address the violence more directly.

Table 7
Percentage of Level 2 Responses by Profession

Response	Percent	Response	Percent
Women's Shelter Staff		Mental Health Professionals	
Refer Him to Counseling (unspecified)	46	Refer Him to Drug and Alcohol Services	76
Address His Willingness to Change	46	Assess/Gather Further Information	60
Recommend Services for Wife	36	Give Non-specific Counseling/Support	35
Refer Him to Batterer's Program	27	Refer Him to Mental Health Services	30
Give Non-specific Counseling/Support	27	Recommend Services for Wife	30
Probation Officers		Religious Leaders	
Refer Him to Drug and Alcohol Services	59	Give Him Advice	38
Give Him Legal Consequences	59	Refer Him to Counseling (unspecified)	31
Recommend Services for the Couple	35	Give Non-specific Counseling/Support	31
Refer Him to a Specific Program	29	Refer Him to Drug and Alcohol Services	28
Give Him Advice	24	Assess/Gather Further Information	28
Threaten Consequences	24	Recommend Services for the Couple	28
Child Welfare Agents		Drug and Alcohol Counselors	
Refer Him to Drug and Alcohol Services	57	Assess/Gather Further Information	100
Assess/Gather Further Information	50	Refer Him to Drug and Alcohol Services	80
Refer Him to Counseling (unspecified)	36	Recommend Services for Wife	60
Indicate that His Behavior is Unacceptable	36	Give Non-specific Counseling/Support	40
Refer Him to Legal Services	29	Address His Willingness to Change	40
Refer Him to an (unspecified) Agency	29		
Give Non-specific Counseling/Support	29		
Recommend Services for the Children	29		

The responses addressing violence more directly were examined for differences based on county, educational level, profession, and years in primary profession. No differences were found based on county, level of education, or years in primary profession in frequency of responses addressing violence directly. Differences based on profession could not be tested as low cell counts made the Chi-Square an invalid test.

Familiarity with Agencies and Services

Respondents were asked about their level of familiarity with agencies and services in their community. In general, most respondents indicated some familiarity with most of the listed agencies and their services. For most agencies, 90% or more of respondents indicated being familiar with the agency. The notable, and expected, exception to this was men's domestic violence programs, with only 54% of respondents indicating some familiarity.

Familiarity with Agencies and Services was examined for significant differences based on county, education, profession, and years in profession. In general, analyses testing differences in familiarity among professions were not valid as a result of low expected cell counts. A general pattern was noted, however, in that religious leaders seemed to be less familiar with agencies and services than other professionals. For most agencies of inquiry, approximately twice as many religious leaders as other professionals failed to indicate any familiarity with a given agency. Unfortunately, low cell counts did not allow for this difference to be tested for significance.

No differences were found based on county, level of education, and years in primary profession for familiarity with local children and youth services, domestic violence

shelter, community mental health center, drug and alcohol counseling/rehabilitation center, probation department, and church, mosque, or synagogue. As expected, significant differences were found in familiarity with men's domestic violence programs based on county, $\chi^2 (2, N = 113) = 25.69, p < .05$. Respondents in a county with a batterer's intervention program reported more familiarity with men's domestic violence programs than those respondents in a county without such a program. In counties with such a program, 52% of respondents indicated familiarity and 24% reported having direct contact with such programs, while in counties without this program only 27% of respondents indicated familiarity and 3% indicated having direct contact.

Familiarity with men's domestic programs was examined for its relationship to making a referral to such a program. Unfortunately, the Chi-Square test was not valid due to the number of low expected cell counts. Overall, 16% of respondents made a referral to a men's domestic violence program. Of those respondents who did not indicate any familiarity with these programs, 9% made referrals to them. Of those indicating that they were aware of men's domestic violence programs, 21% made a referral. Surprisingly, even of those respondents who indicated that they had previously had direct contact with a men's domestic violence program, only 27% made a referral to this type of program.

Services Not Recommended

As indicated above, responses to the question regarding services that would not be recommended for this particular situation indicated a poorly worded question that was confusing to respondents and whose responses were difficult to interpret in many cases. Nonetheless, this question was felt to be of significant interest to questions in the current

study regarding barriers between agencies. As such, responses in which it was clear that the question was responded to in the way it was intended will be reported for their informative value.

Several responses indicated that therapy or counseling for the couple would not be an appropriate intervention and was given by several different types of professionals. A women's shelter counselor, a mental health worker, and a drug and alcohol counselor stated that couple's counseling is not appropriate in situations where a partner is abusive. A women's shelter counselor indicated that couple's counseling does not usually work in the types of situations given in the vignette.

Other respondents indicated that couple's counseling was not appropriate until certain conditions were met. Two mental health workers indicated that safety needed to be established first; a probation officer and a priest felt that the man needed to figure out what made him angry first. A mental health worker indicated that he would need to complete a batterer's intervention program and drug and alcohol treatment first. Another mental health professional indicated that both partners must be ready before couple's counseling could begin. Finally, one mental health worker gave the practical consideration that couple's counseling could not begin while the protection from abuse order was in effect.

Other respondents indicated that they would not recommend particular services until drug and alcohol treatment was completed. Two mental health workers suggested that they would not recommend a batterer's intervention program until drug and alcohol treatment was completed. One mental health worker suggested that individual or family

counseling should not begin until drug and alcohol treatment was completed. A drug and alcohol counselor suggested that family counseling wait until he remained sober. A participant who was identified as a dual mental health professional and drug and alcohol counselor recommended that psychiatric treatment or consideration for psychotropic medication not be considered until he remained sober for a period of time. In contrast to these responses, a child welfare agent felt that the alcohol issues should not be addressed until the family relationships and safety issues were addressed first.

Various other treatments and responses were not recommended. Al-anon or abuse counseling for the wife was considered, but the mental health professional who suggested it indicated the dilemma that the wife had not presented for treatment. A child welfare agent was concerned about recommending shelter services for the wife for fear it would anger him. In a similar vein, a probation officer said they would not recommend a men's domestic violence program for fear it would result in resistance on his part to acknowledging he had a problem. A mental health worker felt that outpatient dual diagnosis treatment would probably not be intense enough. A priest indicated that individual or family counseling would probably be useless right away. Another priest said they would not recommend a lawyer and divorce until therapy had been attempted. One probation officer would not revoke his supervision if he was willing to participate in counseling. Lastly, a priest in Elk county did not know of a men's domestic violence program to which to refer the man.

Barriers Between Agencies

Some of the responses regarding services that would not be recommended give some information about barriers that may exist between agencies. A few responses from probation officers indicated that they would not refer to mental health treatment, children and youth services, or a crisis center feeling that he would not meet the criteria or rules for that particular agency. These responses indicated that they had some prior experience in which this was the case.

Others indicated dissatisfaction with services provided in the community and seem to point to a division between spiritual and secular services in the communities. Several religious leaders indicated that social and government agencies tend to deal with immediate symptoms, not the root causes of problems, and that they are not effective in dealing with drug and alcohol problems. Another religious leader felt that many in the counseling professions were in the field for the “dollar” and felt that little long-term counseling was done. Another said that self-help groups, such as AA, can be dangerous in that they allow participants to “feed off each other”. One priest felt that women’s shelter staff were quick to encourage couples to divorce. Lastly, a mental health professional felt that if they were approached outside of their work they would encourage him to attend church or to talk to a minister. These responses seem to indicate a potential barrier of some religious leaders having a distrust or dislike for services provided by agencies in the community. There may also be the barrier of professionals in non-religious service agencies feeling that they are limited to making referrals to secular agencies while they are in the role of their profession.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

There were a number of findings from the current study to support the hypotheses that professionals respond in many and varied ways to batterers, that many fail to address the violence directly, and that professionals tend to respond in ways consistent with their own training and background. An elaborate coding system, encompassing various clusters of 109 different types of responses, was developed to characterize the varied responses given by 120 participants. While there were some trends in the data, these responses were certainly many and varied and did not resemble a coordinated community response.

Professionals in rural Pennsylvania are most likely to respond to a batterer by making a referral for him, the most common referral being for drug and alcohol services. Only 33% of participants, however, addressed the violence present in the vignette directly and few (16.7%) made a referral to a men's domestic violence intervention program, even in counties where one was in operation. Some respondents did address the violence directly by making a referral to a men's domestic violence program, advising him to stop his violence, advising him to follow the protection from abuse order, ordering him to a mandatory men's domestic violence program, indicating to him that his behavior is unacceptable, or labeling his behavior as abuse. While some respondents did address the violence in these direct ways, most did not. This is consistent with other findings that professionals do not tend to assess for abuse among intimate partners or address it when it is presented to them (Bennett & Lawson, 1994; Gondolf & Foster, 1991b; Hansen et al., 1991; O'Leary, Vivian & Malone, 1992, as cited in Holtzworth-Munroe, Beatty, &

Anglin, 1995). The current study extends these findings in that professionals tends to not assess for violence or address it when it is the perpetrator seeking help as well.

The results of the current study are consistent with several findings from a sample of marital and family therapists asked to conceptualize the problems of a family presented in a vignette (Hansen, Harway, & Cervantes, 1991). While the questions asked of respondents, the sample of respondents, and methods of coding and reporting the data differ between the Hansen et al. study and the current study, some general comparisons can be made. Hansen et al. report as their main finding that only 60% of marital and family therapists addressed conflict in their conceptualization, a category they defined fairly broadly. They do report, however, that a total of 39% of their respondents described the scenario as abusive or involving violence or battering. This rate is comparable in the current study to the 33% of respondents that labeled the behavior or situation as abusive, unacceptable, or serious. They found that among social workers 45% described the situation as abusive or involving battering or violence, while marriage and family therapists did so at a rate of 40%. A more dramatic difference was found in the current study in which 71% of child welfare agents labeled the behavior or situation and only 27% of mental health professionals did so.

The Hansen et al. (1991) sample had a total of 45% of respondents indicate that they would intervene with some form of crisis intervention for the situation. This rate seems to be somewhat higher than the 33% of respondents that addressed the violence directly somehow in the current study. One similarity between the two studies is that 48% of the Hansen et al. sample indicated that they would conduct further assessment, while

41% of the current sample responded that they would gather more information. Also, 33% of the respondents in the current study suggested couples or family counseling, while 28% of Hansen et al.'s marriage and family therapists suggested couples or family counseling. The similarity of these rates is striking given the diversity of professionals in the current sample and a sample entirely of the American Association of Marriage and Family Therapy in the other study (Hansen et al., 1991). The similarity of the rates of responses between these two studies despite the differences in these studies supports these findings as accurate depictions of professional responses to situations involving domestic violence, not only among marriage and family therapists, but among a wider range of professionals.

No differences were found based on county, education, profession, or years in primary profession to account for those who responded to the violence directly in the current study. Those who made a referral to a batterer's intervention program were most likely to be in a county that has such a program, had a Bachelor degree or less, and had 5 years or less in their primary profession. This is contrary to the hypothesis that those with a Master degree or higher would be more likely to refer to a men's domestic violence program. The differences based on education and years in the field may be spurious results, as professionals in the counties with a men's domestic violence program in general tended to have less education and those with less education tend to have been in their primary profession for less time.

It also may be a true finding that those with Bachelor degree training are more likely to refer to a batterer's intervention program and may be related to training issues. Professionals working in an agency with Bachelor level training may receive a significant

portion of their training from the agency. They may be more likely to receive information on other services in the area and how to go about making referrals, as well as other practical issues they may face. Those with Master level training may receive more of their training in their formal education than from the agency in which they work. Formal training programs are likely to be focused more on theoretical issues. This may result in fewer opportunities to receive information about services available in the community or to address practical issues related to local resources. Those with Bachelor level training may also see their expertise as limited to a particular area and thus more likely to refer in situations outside of this area. Those with Master level training may see their knowledge-base as broader and be more likely to address more situations themselves.

Hansen et al. (1991) found that psychologists, almost all of whom held Doctorate degrees, were less likely than other mental health professionals to address the conflict in their conceptualization. This was a large part of the basis for the current study's hypotheses that professionals with a Master degree would be more likely to address the violence or make a referral to a batterer's intervention program. The Hansen et al. sample, however, consisted primarily of Master and Doctor level professionals, while the current study consisted primarily of Bachelor and Master level participants. This may suggest that less formalized training is associated with a greater likelihood of directly addressing the violence in domestic violence scenarios. A study utilizing a sample with all three levels of training present in sufficient numbers for comparison is necessary to answer this question more definitively.

This study has proposed that a coordinated community response would allow for more efficient use of the limited resources in a community. What would such a coordinated response look like in a community? How should professionals who do not deal with intimate violence situations on a regular basis respond to an abused or abusive person's help-seeking, especially when those in the field disagree on appropriate interventions, such as anger management and couple's counseling (Bograd, 1984; Gondolf & Russell, 1986; Margolin & Burman, 1993; Neidig et al., 1985; Tolman & Saunders, 1988; Yllo & Bograd, 1988)?

While there is no single response that is "right" or ideal, good responses would likely include a number of elements. Professionals should be aware of the problem of violence among partners and assess for it in the clients they are working with. They should assess for the level of severity of the violence by asking about frequency of occurrence, injuries, worst incident, most recent incident, and weapons used or available to determine the level of dangerousness and level of intervention necessary. They should be clear about labeling the violence for what it is—abuse—so that it is defined with this label as unacceptable behavior that is the responsibility of the abuser and in need of intervention. Where a batterer's intervention program is available, a referral should be made. These programs have been demonstrated to generally be effective at reducing violence, although certainly not in all cases. They are, however, the intervention most directly targeted at ending the violence. Referrals to services for the abused partner in this situation should also be made so that she is aware of resources available to her. Other supportive services that might be offered along with this overall response could be included as well.

To the credit of the professionals who participated in this study, they did have some of the elements of this sort of an appropriate response. A vast majority of the respondents offered assistance in the form of making a referral or offering some sort of counseling or advice. Very few gave responses that only included a referral for the wife and/or a label for his behavior without giving some type of referral or advice. Also, the most frequent single response was to gather more information. While this may not have been specifically to assess for the level of violence per se, this shows that these professionals were approaching and becoming more involved in the situation, as opposed to ignoring or turning away from the situation. A little over half did offer services for the wife and/or children and a third labeled his behavior or the situation.

What appears to be the primary missing piece in the responses of these professionals is the referral to batterer's intervention programs where they are available. This appears to be a resource in these communities that may not be utilized to the extent possible. The reasons for this are not clear, however, it does not appear to be simply related to not being aware of the program. There were no significant differences in referring to a men's domestic violence program based on familiarity with such programs. Even though more than half of respondents reported some familiarity with the programs, referrals were still made at a low rate. This question of the low rate of referrals is an area for future research. If professionals are aware of a program but not referring to it, is it because they do not believe it is effective, do not believe it is appropriate, feel that some other intervention is more appropriate, or do not refer for other reasons? These are important questions for batterer's intervention programs and communities to ask.

Based on some of the responses to other questions, some may feel or have been taught that drug and alcohol issues were important to address first before attention could be given to the violence. Clearly given the rate of referrals to drug and alcohol services, this is what many of the respondents attended to in the vignette. There are theoretical models that view the use of substances as a defense against facing painful issues and believe this defense must be removed before other changes are possible. While there is research to support that certainly alcohol abuse is a factor that increases the risk for intimate violence (Gelles et al., 1994; Tolman & Bennett, 1990), there is no evidence to suggest that treatment for alcohol abuse alone will also address the use of violence. Violence occurs outside of the context of alcohol use or alcoholism, as well. O'Farrell, Van Hutton, and Murphy (1999) found that after behavioral marital therapy for alcoholism violence decreased to the level of non-alcoholic controls, but it was not eliminated.

Alcohol is likely a part of the problem in situations that involve both violence and alcohol. There is a danger, however, in addressing intimate violence by addressing alcohol alone. The risk is that the alcohol will be used to explain the violence and thus serve as an excuse for violence: "If it were not for the alcohol, he would not be violent." This phenomenon of attributing a man's violence to his alcohol use has been documented to occur in battered women (Katz, et al., 1995) as well as in batterers (Ptacek, 1998). Husband violence had less impact on marital satisfaction and thoughts about divorce when wives attributed their husband's behavior to external factors and when he was a problem drinker (Katz et al., 1995). Ptacek (1998) found that batterers would commonly blame alcohol as an excuse and justification for his violent behavior. Framing alcohol as the

reason for violent behavior places the explanation as external to the batterer and fails to place him as solely responsible for his behavior. Professionals need to be cautious of excusing a batterer of responsibility for his behavior, intentionally or unintentionally, by focusing interventions too heavily on the alcohol.

Another related area in which the responses of these professionals were lacking is in labeling the behavior or situation. This study can only speculate as to the reasons why professionals did not label the man's behavior as abusive or unacceptable. Some responses indicated that there may be an element of fear as part of the reasons why more professionals do not address the violence more directly. Some respondents indicated that they would not suggest that the man attend a batterer's intervention program or refer the wife to a shelter out of fear that this would make him angry or resistant to admitting he has a problem. This may be an indication that professionals feel a need to proceed with caution with perpetrators of violence. Some of this may be an accurate concern about potential risks to the woman's safety. It may also be a concern that a perpetrator of domestic violence is particularly sensitive to negative feedback and in danger of acting out in violent ways in all contexts and fear for their own safety. Failure to address violence directly may also reflect service providers own discomfort with addressing the topic.

It is unclear whether the respondents who did not address the violence in the vignette directly did not attend to the violence, noted it but felt it to be of lesser importance, or felt it to be of significant concern but felt that indirect means were the best way to address it. These possibilities have very different implications for service providers and their ability to intervene in cases of domestic violence. If professionals are not

attending to the violence that is presented to them in various situations, then efforts would need to be directed at increasing their awareness and ability to detect violent scenarios. If it is felt to be of lesser importance than other concerns, efforts would need to be directed at raising awareness of the danger and consequences of domestic violence. If indirect means are being used to address violence, discussions and research aimed at identifying effective means of addressing violence and arriving at recommendations would be the course of action.

Barriers to a Coordinated Community Response

The current study provided some initial information regarding the barriers that currently exist within communities to potentially formulating a coordinated community response. Probation officers in this study had experience with making referrals to mental health, child welfare, and crisis center agencies and found that the person referred or the procedures followed did not match those of the agency and the referral was not accepted. This is an important area of concern, as many cases of domestic violence may not fit the “typical” profile of clients served by these agencies. Being a perpetrator of domestic violence does not necessarily warrant a mental health diagnosis, child welfare involvement, legal supervision, or drug and alcohol treatment. Agencies need to be aware if these referrals are “falling between the cracks” and how to address this problem.

This study also identified a potential barrier that seems to exist between secular and spiritual services in communities. There was a pattern of religious leaders being somewhat less familiar with agencies in the community than other professionals. This may in part be because the other professionals have more reasons to be familiar with other

agencies and do so on a more regular basis. Religious leaders also, however, expressed some mistrust in other agencies and their commitment to the people they serve and their ability to be effective. One response indicated that the resistance to referring between secular and spiritual services may be present in the other direction as well. Professionals in secular agencies may feel unable to refer to spiritual services while they are in their role as a professional. This barrier may arise due to true differences in beliefs and approaches that would lead to working at cross purposes. It may be due to misperceptions that would lead each to expect they would be working at cross purposes. This might also be a purely arbitrary barrier limiting the ability of these service providers to work together and utilize other resources available in the community.

Differences Between Professionals

Some differences were found in the ways that different professionals responded to the vignette. Mental health professionals and drug and alcohol counselors were the most likely to make a referral to drug and alcohol services, whereas women's shelter staff and religious leaders were least likely to make such a referral. Child welfare agents and religious leaders were the most likely to label the man's behavior as unacceptable. Child welfare agents, mental health professionals, and religious leaders were more likely to give non-referred counseling or advice than were women's shelter staff and probation officers.

Some of these differences in responding do seem to reflect the nature of the training and experience of the professions. Drug and alcohol counselors do tend to refer to drug and alcohol services. Mental health professionals are likely to give non-referred counseling or advice. Religious leaders are likely to give non-referred counseling or

advice, and are more likely than most other professionals to label the man's behavior as unacceptable. Probation officers were the only ones that were likely to give the man consequences, as would be expected based on their professional capabilities.

Limitations of the Current Study

Despite the differences listed above, relatively few differences among professionals were found, primarily as a result of low expected cell counts and an inability to conduct valid statistical tests. A greater number of participants more equally distributed among the professional groups would have increased the power of the analyses and the ability to detect significant differences. The relatively low response rate was a contributor to the low number of participants.

One reason for this response rate could be the lack of direct contact with the majority of the participants. Agency directors were contacted by phone or in person, but more of the participants were contacted by letter only explaining the study and seeking participation. Religious leaders were each contacted by phone and their rate of response was 43%, an improvement over the 28% response rate overall.

Another factor in the low response rate was the amount of time and effort required to participate compared with the potential incentives. While efforts were made to keep the survey simple and reduce the time and effort demands of the participants, the survey required reading the vignette and providing open-ended written responses. This requires more effort than, for example, answering multiple choice questions. Also agency directors and participants were offered in-service presentations or written materials regarding the results of the study. This is likely to have served as an incentive for agency directors to

agree to distribute the surveys, as several accepted this offer. This was unlikely, however, to serve as much of an incentive to individual participants.

Yet another reason for the low response rates could be the nature of the study and the questions asked. It is possible that participants read the vignette and the questions and felt that they were not able to offer useful information to the study or that they were not sure how to respond and chose to not participate. In fact, one set of surveys that had been sent to a women's shelter were returned with a letter indicating that because the vignette involved a clear situation of a perpetrator of domestic violence their staff would have no useful responses besides to refer him to counseling. Attempts were made to reassure the staff that this was a valid response and would provide valuable information to the study. Other respondents who did return the surveys included comments in their responses indicating that it was difficult to formulate a response or that they did not know exactly how to respond. This raises the possibility that others who found it difficult or did not know how to respond chose not to participate.

Survey studies commonly suffer from low response rates. It is not unusual to response rates of 25-30%. The Hansen et al. (1991) study had a return rate of 20% to a mailed vignette. One reason for the low response rate in the current study is that a large number of surveys (120) were distributed to employees at one agency and were returned at a low rate (10). Compared to the number of surveys returned per agency from other sites, this return rate is comparable. The large number of surveys distributed at this site, however, drove the overall rate down. Eliminating this outlier brings the return rate up to 35%, a very respectable rate for a survey study. The primary reason for the low cell

counts, however, is that this study attempted to sample from a wide range of professional groups from several counties. The diversity of the participants and the number of cells required to capture their differences was a significant contributor to the low cell counts. Despite efforts to collapse across some of the categories in the variables, many of the statistical tests examining differences among the professionals were not valid.

Gender is an important variable to consider when examining responses to domestic violence, given the different rates of men and women as perpetrators or victims and the different implications gender has on power and potential for injury. This variable was removed from the demographic questions in the survey when concerns regarding the ability to identify participants was raised by the Institutional Review Board. Looking back, the potential differences in responding based on gender seem lacking in these analyses. The results of this study would be more informative and powerful had gender been available to include in the analyses. In future studies, greater attention could be given to other means of protecting the anonymity of participants while retaining the meaningful variable of gender for these analyses. As a side note, Hansen et al. (1991) did include gender of participants as a variable and found no differences between males and females in terms of whether they addressed the conflict or not, how serious they saw the conflict to be, or how they would intervene.

The current study suffered from some poorly worded questions whose responses could either not be used at all or only selectively when the interpretation of the question was clear. It is unknown the information that could have been gained if greater attention and consideration had been given to this potential problem before the distribution of the

survey. Given the open-ended questions, distinctions between the questions were not clear and given the lack of clarity in the wording of some of the questions, it was difficult to tell how some participants had interpreted them. Distinctions between the questions might have been improved by numbering the questions and separating them with more space. The wording was particularly troublesome for questions 3 and 5 (see Appendix A). The wording could have been improved for question 3 to “Given your responses to questions 1 & 2, what led you to these decisions?” For question 5, a simpler, more straight-forward question would have improved the clarity of the question. Question 5 might have read “What services are not appropriate or would you not recommend for this situation? Why?”

A future study of this sort would involve a greater number of participants, with questions that were unambiguously worded, and would include gender as a variable. The study might seek participants that would represent Bachelor, Master, and Doctor levels of formal training. The open-ended questions might include a question asking for a list of all of the concerns that the respondent has about the situation in the vignette and asking the respondent to prioritize these concerns before being asked how they would respond to the man.

After participants were allowed to respond to the open-ended questions, they would be given a follow-up questionnaire asking about specific responses, such as labeling his behavior as abuse, and seeking reasons why they did or did not give this response. This type of follow-up questionnaire could explore potential reasons that violence would not be addressed directly. Did the participant recognize the presence of domestic violence in the vignette? Was this of concern to them? Did they consider addressing this directly? Did

they consider a referral to a batterer's intervention program? More detailed information could be gathered in such a way about the decision-making process that professionals engage in as a way of pinpointing difficulties and developing strategies to address these.

Another study might involve focus group discussions with representatives from the different professions or agencies about how a man should be responded to as a means of examining barriers to a coordinated community response. These discussions would be a way of highlighting differences in responding and facilitating articulation of these differences and the reasoning behind them. These focus groups could serve as the basis for developing community-wide plans for how to address domestic violence in a collaborative fashion, utilizing the resources in a community in a more effective manner.

Implications of the Current Study

The current study supports previous findings and highlights what may be the greatest barrier to a coordinated community response to domestic violence. How can there be a coordinated community response when most professionals in the community fail to recognize or address domestic violence as a problem unto itself? While there certainly is no consensus about the proper way to respond to domestic violence in communities, it is clear that it needs to be addressed in some fashion. Granted, most if not all of the participants in the study were willing to make a referral for the man or to give him some sort of counseling or advice. If communities are going to be effective at addressing domestic violence, however, professionals will need to be able to address the problem of violence directly.

Given the responses of the participants in this study, it appears that drug and alcohol counselors in particular need to be vigilant to the problem of domestic violence, as this may be where many batterers will be referred. Research has already demonstrated that alcohol and drug use is an important risk factor for domestic violence and that violence occurs in these populations at a higher rate than average. Agencies offering drug and alcohol services should have a protocol for screening for domestic violence as a standard part of their intake procedures and establish plans for addressing it in their clients. Staff should participate in training that highlights the importance of routine screening for domestic violence and interventions that address the violence directly.

Most of the participants in this study indicated a fair amount of experience with the situation given in the vignette. This supports the data that domestic violence is a pervasive problem that no professional will be able to avoid facing at some point. All professionals serving a community should be prepared with how to identify and address it. Agencies as a whole should develop protocols for routine screening for domestic violence and should examine their intake procedures to identify if referred batterers would “fall between the cracks”. Regular in-service presentations on domestic violence, its prevalence, assessment for dangerousness, and appropriate actions should be offered for all of the professionals involved in the current study. As religious leaders often lack the benefit of being at a single agency with other professionals where these types of presentations could be offered, attempts to increase their knowledge and awareness during their training and through the regular receipt of published information might be one way to disseminate this information.

Domestic violence workshops or informational sessions could also be a regular offering at conferences or retreats for all of these professionals.

Batterer's intervention programs face the problems of how to make members of the community aware of their programs, and in cases where they are aware, how to get people to refer to these programs. This is an area where it would be very useful to know why these referrals were not made, especially in cases where participants were familiar with the men's domestic violence program. "Did the respondents fail to recognize the domestic violence?", "Did they place a higher priority on some other issue?", "Are they unsure about the program's effectiveness?", or "Is there some other reason that they did not refer?" Until these questions are answered, these programs can seek to establish connections with other agencies, such as those providing drug and alcohol services, to improve communication and coordination of services. They can also seek to make themselves known in the community by disseminating information or setting up informational meetings to establish their efficacy and utility.

The current study has a number of clinical implications. Any professional in a role providing direct services to clients will more than likely be faced with situations involving domestic violence. Clinicians must be prepared to assess for the presence of violence, attend to the information when it is presented, and be prepared to address the violence in a way that is meaningful and considers the needs of the perpetrator and the welfare of the victim and others involved. Clinicians must be aware of the resources available in a community and know how to access and utilize these resources. They must be aware of

their own resistance to assessing or addressing violence directly and barriers to making full use of resources in the community.

Doctoral level psychologists serve an important position in a community. Whether in private practice or in a public clinic setting, they are involved in providing direct services to clients and will likely be faced with situations involving domestic violence with their clients. It is important that in their training they be made aware of the nature and the extent of the problem of domestic violence, how to assess for its presence and for dangerousness, and how to consider the needs of the perpetrator as well as the victims and others involved. They also need to be aware of resources available in the community and seek cooperative relationships with these agencies.

Doctoral level psychologists not only serve as direct service providers in a community, but also as agency directors and administrators. These types of positions give them decision-making power regarding policies and programs offered by the agency, as well as some ability to oversee other service providers in the agency. This position affords the opportunity and responsibility for developing policies and procedures that will encourage appropriate assessment for domestic violence, provide appropriate services for perpetrators of domestic violence, and offer training for other staff members. These clinicians may also have the opportunity to become directly involved in the development of a batterer's intervention program, as many of these are being developed in mental health settings. Initial knowledge of these types of programs, their benefits, and that they are being developed in mental health settings would be required before the process of developing such a program could begin.

Clinicians trained in the use of systems theories can be important contributors to coordinated community responses. This knowledge can provide the theoretical basis for developing on-going cooperative relationships among agencies and service providers to serve a community efficiently and consistently. Again, as likely directors and administrators of these community agencies, doctoral level psychologists are in a position to encourage and facilitate the development of these relationships within a community.

For a psychology training program, this means offering an expanded view of the role that clinicians can play in the lives of their clients and their communities. Students can be encouraged to consider the social conditions present in the lives of their clients and in their communities that they might also be able to impact, in addition to the diagnoses and psychological factors that are the focus of their training. Additional attention should be given to the likely roles that many will fill as clinical psychologists, including those that do not directly involve service to clients. Issues related to staff development and training, program development, and community involvement have not traditionally been covered in training but can be an important role a clinician will fill. Supervisors in these training programs should model and expect regular attention to and screening for involvement in intimate violence in the clients of their students. Regular screening for violence should be a habit that supervisors seek to develop in their supervisees.

Communities, particularly those with limited resources, would benefit from greater coordination of services among agencies so that the resources can be utilized as efficiently as possible. Small communities would benefit especially from community forums where representatives from various agencies, including those offering secular and spiritual

services, could discuss the services offered by their respective agencies and address the difficulties they face in common as service providers in their community. This would facilitate dissemination of information regarding programs, collaboration among agencies in the development of new programs, address concerns among agencies about admission criteria, and might facilitate problem solving sessions about social problems in the community, such as domestic violence. With regular contact and communication, some of the misconceptions and barriers that have prevented cooperative relationships in the past may be reduced.

Areas of Future Research

There is still much that we do not know in the areas of intimate violence, batterers, help-seeking, and professional responses. Just as there are no studies that seek to directly estimate the number of batterers, there are no studies as yet attempting to estimate the number of batterers that seek help. We do not know who batterers might seek help from, how they go about doing it, or how they react to the responses they get. There is certainly a sense that batterers seek help less often than the victims of their violence do. There may also be some unspoken sense that batterers rarely seek help for their behavior. The results of this and other studies, however, suggests that many professionals may not be aware batterers seeking help when they do.

There is also much that we do not understand about why professionals respond to intimate violence situations the way that they do. While we are beginning to get a sense that they do not attend to it or address it as directly as we would like, a more complete understanding of why they do not will lead to developing ways to improve the response.

There seems to be little that we currently know about the process of decision-making in professionals and the characteristics that determine responses and referrals. We also do not know what happens for professionals when they do not know how to respond in a difficult situation and how they go about making a decision about what to do. Violence is just one of a number of difficult issues that professionals must face.

Domestic violence is a social problem that affects all communities, races, classes, and ages. Advances have been made in trying to understand and to address the problem. It has become increasingly clear, however, that no single solution will adequately address this problem. Effective solutions will be multi-focused and multi-disciplinary. Developing these solutions will require the removal of barriers; the barriers that prevent adequate communication between community agencies, that prohibit individuals from assessing for and addressing violence directly, that exist between secular and spiritual interventions, and that prevent communities from making efficient use of the resources available to them. Addressing these barriers will be the next steps to addressing domestic violence in our communities.

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APPENDIX A

PROFESSIONAL DECISION-MAKING SURVEY

Thank you for agreeing to participate in this study. Participation is completely voluntary and there are no known risks for your participation. Please read the following vignette and respond to the questions below.

A man, Bill (31), comes to you and says:

"I just don't know what I should do. My wife, Carol, and I have been having a lot of problems lately. I'm working 50-60 hours a week driving truck trying to get all the bills paid. I'm beat when I get home and it seems like the first thing she does when I get through the door is tell me about something that's gone wrong or nag me about something. All I want to do when I get home is to sit with a couple of beers and relax for a while. But she's just got to start in on me. So we've been getting into it pretty bad lately and I've shoved her a few times just to get her out of my way and to leave me alone. But I only actually hit her just the once and that was after I'd had a few and she was on me about my DUI. And the kids get all crying and upset and the place is just nuts. This last time she hit her head on the wall and went to the hospital for x-rays and they said she had a contusion. Now she says she's going to get a protection from abuse order and take the kids. I just don't know what I should do. What do you think?"

How would you respond to this man?

What sort of follow-up actions, if any, would you take?

What leads you to respond in this way?

Have you encountered this or a very similar request? If so, how many times?

Are there other services you might recommend but feel are not advisable or appropriate for this particular situation? If so, what are they and why might you not recommend them in this situation?

Please complete the demographic information on the reverse side.

Please complete the following demographic information.

What county do you work in?

☐ Cambria ☐ Franklin
☐ Elk ☐ Blair

What town/city do you work in? _____

What is your highest level of education?

☐ Less than high school ☐ Bachelor's degree
☐ High school or GED ☐ Master's degree
☐ Some college ☐ Doctorate degree
☐ Associate's degree

Please list highest degree and major _____

What is your primary profession?

☐ Child Welfare Agent ☐ Probation Officer
☐ Women's Shelter Advocate ☐ Psychologist
☐ Women's Shelter Counselor ☐ Psychiatrist
☐ Therapist ☐ Priest/Pastor/Rabbi
☐ Psychiatric Nurse ☐ Batterer Counselor
☐ Mental Health Case Manager ☐ Other, please specify. _____
☐ Drug & Alcohol Counselor

How long have you worked in your primary profession?

____ Years ____ Months

Which of the following agencies in your community are you familiar with, i.e., you are aware of the population they serve and the services available? Which have you had direct contact with, i.e., spoken directly with a staff member, referred someone to the agency, participated in a collaborative meeting? Also, please indicate where you are currently employed (can be more than one).

Familiar With	Direct Contact	Currently Employed by	
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Children and Youth Services
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Violence Shelter
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Community Mental Health Center
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Drug & Alcohol Counseling/Rehab. Cntr.
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Men's Domestic Violence Program
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Probation Department
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Local church or synagogue

Thank you for your participation in this study. Please return this survey to the designated box or send it in the postage-paid envelope to Tammy Redhead. If you have any questions or concerns regarding this survey, please call (724)357-6228.

Cambria County Children and Youth
110 Franklin Avenue, 4th Floor
Johnstown, PA 15901

February 15, 1999

Dear Child Welfare Agent,

As a professional in your community, your ability to solve problems and make decisions is an important part of your work. Every day you are faced with a range of tasks that require critical thinking and decision-making, from the more mundane to decisions that have a real impact on people. This type of problem solving and decision-making has rarely been studied. More specifically, no one has compared this type of decision-making across professionals.

I am interested in just this type of research. I am a doctoral student in clinical psychology at Indiana University of Pennsylvania. For my doctoral project, I am conducting a study to examine the problem solving professionals within a community engage in. My aim is to compare the responses given by various professionals to examine them for similarities and differences.

Please find enclosed the survey that I am using to conduct this research. It takes less than 15 minutes to read and complete the entire survey. Participation is completely voluntary and anonymous. You'll notice that there are no questions asking you for your name or other information that would allow your response to be traced back to you. There are no known risks for your participation.

Please take a few minutes to look over the enclosed survey and complete the questions that follow. Your participation would be greatly appreciated and would go a long way toward helping me to complete the requirements for my coursework. If you decide to participate, please complete both sides of the survey and return it in the postage-paid envelope before March 7, 1999.

Thank you for taking the time to consider participating in this study. If you have any questions or concerns, please feel free to call me at (724)357-6228 or my advisor, Dr. Beverly Goodwin at (724)357-6259.

Sincerely,

Tammy A. Redhead, M.A.

APPENDIX B
Coding System

Response Codes for Questions 1 and 2

1xx- Referrals for him

10x- Drug and Alcohol Services

- 100- Drug and Alcohol Referral (unspecified)**
- 101- Drug and Alcohol Assessment/Evaluation**
- 102- Drug and Alcohol Counseling**
- 103- AA and/or NA**
- 104- Inpatient D&A Treatment/Detox**
- 105- Dual Diagnosis (D&A and MH) Treatment**

11x- Domestic Violence Services for him

- 110- Domestic Violence Services for him (Batterer's Counseling, Group Counseling for Abusers, Men Helping Men, etc.)**

12x- Religious/Spiritual Services

- 120- Religious/Spiritual Services (unspecified)**
- 121- Pastor/Minister/Rabbi**
- 122- Church**
- 123- Pastoral/Religious Counseling or Christian Counseling**

13x- Legal Services

- 130- Legal Services (unspecified)**
- 131- Attorney/Lawyer**
- 132- Probation Officer**

14x- Children and Youth Services

- 140- Referral to Children and Youth Services (unspecified)**

15x- Mental Health Services

- 150- Mental Health Services (unspecified)**
- 151- Therapy/Psychotherapy**
- 152- Assessment for medication/Psychiatrist**
- 153- MH Caseworker**
- 154- Crisis Hotline**

16x- Counseling (unspecified)

- 160- Counseling/Professional Counseling (unspecified)**

17x- Medical Services**170- Medical Services (unspecified)****171- Physician****18x- Specific Program Referral****180- Specific Program Referral (unspecified)****181- Anger Management****182- Stress Management****19x- Other Agency Referral****190- Other Agency Referral (unspecified)****2xx- Non-referred counseling/advice for him****20x- Non-specific counseling/support****200- Counsel/Support him****201- Listen to him/his story****202- Build rapport****203- Empathize****204- Reflective listening****205- Build his inner strength/esteem****206- Discuss his needs****21x- Assessment/Gather information****210- Gather further information (unspecified)****211- Help him to assess situation****212- Help him to assess the costs of his behavior****213- Assess his intentions/goals. What outcome would he like to see?****214- Does he think his wife is justified?****22x- Willingness to Change/Responsibility****220- Address willingness to change (unspecified)****221- Encourage acceptance of responsibility****222- Encourage actions on his part (unspecified) What is he willing to do?****223- Encourage him to carry out his roles as husband and father****23x- Spirituality Issues****230- Inquire/address spirituality issues (unspecified)****231- Inquire about/Encourage relationship with God****232- Encourage prayer****24x- Specific Issues to be Addressed****240- Address specific issues (not otherwise listed)****241- Anger**

- 242- Control
- 243- Communication
- 244- Alcohol
- 245- Inferiority
- 246- Poor decision-making
- 247- Involvement with others
- 248- Goal-setting

25x- Advice

- 250- Advice (unspecified)
- 251- Reduce his work hours
- 252- Change jobs
- 253- Follow PFA/Stay away from wife
- 254- Move out of the house
- 255- Stop drinking
- 256- Stop violence
- 257- Spend time with family
- 258- Reduce stress
- 259- Cooperate with authorities

3xx- Consequences for him

- 30x- Consequences for him (unspecified)
 - 300- Consequences for him (unspecified)

31x- Threatened Consequences

- 310- Threatened consequences for him (unspecified)
- 311- Threaten legal consequences (unspecified)
- 312- Threaten jail time
- 313- Threaten loss of job

32x- Legal Consequences

- 320- Legal consequences for him (unspecified)
- 321- Increased supervision
- 322- Report him to police/parole officer
- 323- Add "no alcohol" clause to probation
- 324- Mandatory Drug and Alcohol Counseling
- 325- Mandatory Violence Classes
- 326- Mandatory Sensitivity Training
- 327- Parole violation
- 328- Work release program
- 329- Jail time

4xx- Services involving wife and/or children**40x- Services for wife and/or children (unspecified)****400- Services for wife and/or children (unspecified)****41x- Services for wife****410- Services for wife (unspecified)****411- Contact wife/Offer support****412- Shelter referral****413- Offer/Referral of counseling****414- Referral for Al-anon****415- Referral for an attorney****416- Offer her reading materials****417- Suggest getting a PFA****418- Suggest finding time for herself****419- Suggest that she seek employment****42x- Services for the couple****420- Services for the couple (unspecified)****421- Meet with the couple****422- Offer/Referral of couples/marital/family counseling/therapy (for two of them)****43x- Services for the children****430- Services for the children (unspecified)****431- Counseling for the children****44x- Services for the family****440- Services for the family (unspecified)****441- Offer/Referral of family counseling/therapy (unspecified or involving all of them)****442- Referral of family to Al-anon****5xx- Label the Behavior or Situation****50x- Uncertainty How to Respond****500- Unsure how to respond/I don't know****51x- Negative Reactions to Him****510- Negative reaction to him (unspecified)****511- Would have little sympathy for him****512- Would find it difficult to work with him**

52x- Seriousness of Situation**520- Some indication of seriousness of situation (unspecified)****521- He needs help****522- He needs to get his priorities straight****53x- Indication that His Behavior is Unacceptable****530- Some indication to him that his behavior is unacceptable (unspecified)****531- Wife is justified in her actions****54x- Label His Behavior as Abuse****540- Indicate to him that his behavior is spouse abuse/wife abuse/physical abuse****Response Codes for Question 4****0- Never****1- Rarely (less than 10 times total or less than 1x per year, infrequently)****2- Sometimes (10-20 times total or 1-2x per year, several, many)****3- Frequently (more than 20 times total or more than 2x per year, numerous, routinely)****9- Did not answer**