

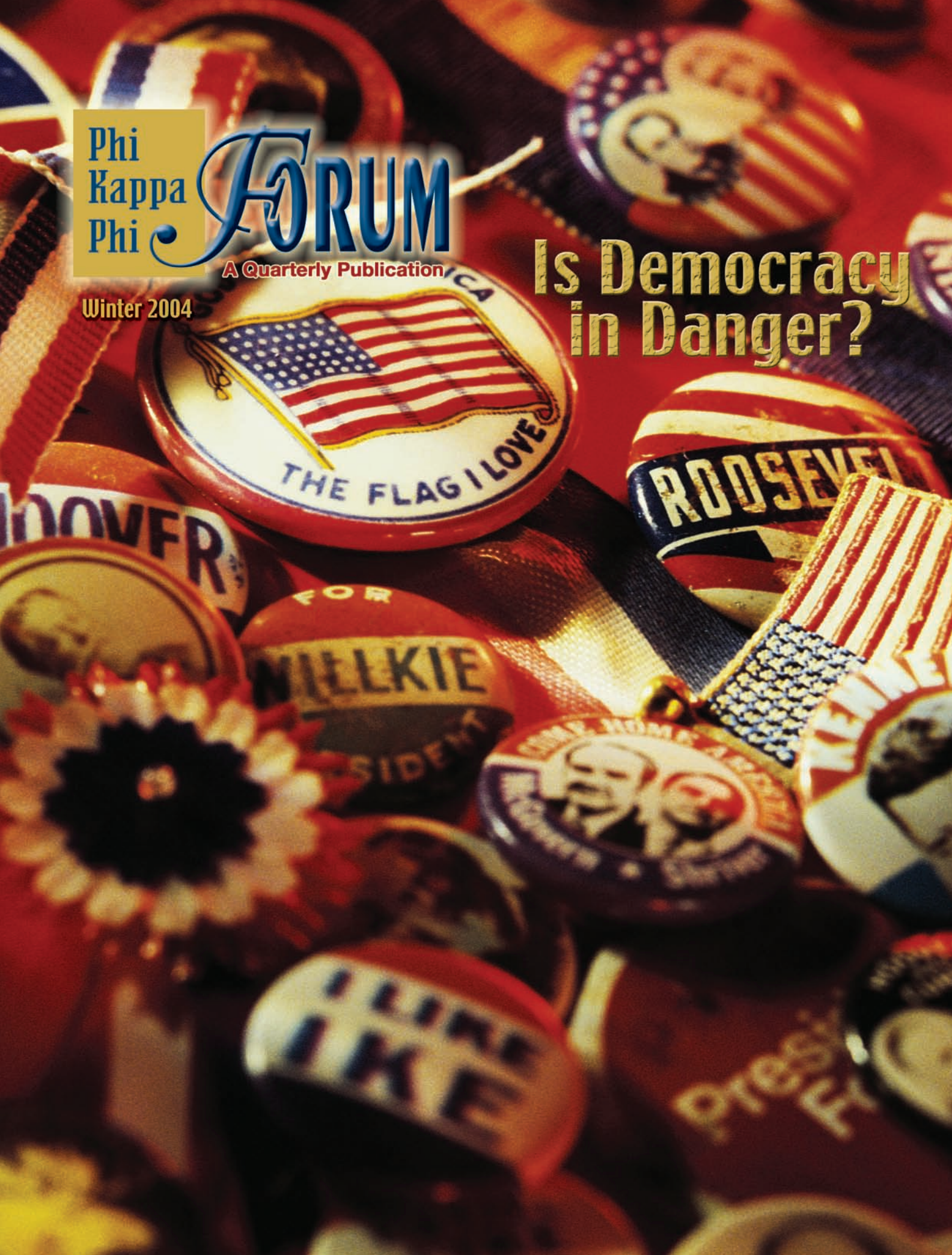
Phi
Kappa
Phi

FORUM

A Quarterly Publication

Winter 2004

Is Democracy in Danger?



Phi Kappa Phi FORUM

Phi Kappa Phi Forum Staff

Editor:

JAMES P. KAETZ

Associate Editors:

STEPHANIE J. BOND

LAURA J. KLOBERG

Copy Editor:

JAMES T. BARRS

Poetry Editors:

LOIS ROMA-DEELEY

RANDY PHILLIS

Interns:

JENNIFER BROWNING

KELLY MESSERSCHMIDT

Phi Kappa Phi Forum Mission Statement

The purpose of the *Phi Kappa Phi Forum* is to enhance the image of the Honor Society of Phi Kappa Phi and promote the pursuit of academic excellence in all fields through a quality, intellectually stimulating publication for its membership.

The views expressed in this publication are not necessarily those of the staff of *Phi Kappa Phi Forum* or the Board of Directors of The Honor Society of Phi Kappa Phi.

Phi Kappa Phi Forum is indexed in *PAIS Bulletin*, *Current Index to Journals in Education*, *Sociological Abstracts*, *Book Review Index*, *Management Contents*, *America: History and Life*, *SIRS*, and *Magazine Index*. It is also available on microfiche from University Microfilms International and Bell & Howell Micro Photo Division and in print from UMI Article Clearinghouse, Ann Arbor, MI. **Reprint Permission:** Written permission to reprint articles may be obtained by mail or FAX to the following: Permissions Department, *Phi Kappa Phi Forum*, 129 Quad Center, Mell Street, Auburn University, AL 36849-5306; FAX: 334/844-5994. Copying for other than personal or internal reference use without permission of *Phi Kappa Phi Forum* is prohibited.

The Honor Society of Phi Kappa Phi was founded in 1897 and became a national organization through the efforts of the presidents of three state universities. Its primary objective has been from the first the recognition and encouragement of superior scholarship in all fields of study. Good character is an essential supporting attribute for those elected to membership. The motto of the Society is *philosophia krateritō phōtōn*, which is freely translated as "Let the love of learning rule humanity."

Phi Kappa Phi encourages and recognizes academic excellence through several national programs. Through its awards and grants programs, the Society each triennium distributes more than \$1,300,000 to deserving students and faculty to promote academic excellence. These programs include its flagship National Fellowship program for students entering their first year of graduate study, Promotion of Excellence grants for faculty-led projects, Study Abroad grants for undergraduates, and Literacy Initiative service grants. For more information about how to contribute to the Phi Kappa Phi Foundation and support these programs, please write Perry A. Snyder, PhD, Executive Director, The Honor Society of Phi Kappa Phi, Box 16000, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, LA 70893 or go to the Phi Kappa Phi web page at www.phikappaphi.org.

Phi Kappa Phi Forum (ISSN 1538-5914) is published four times a year — winter, spring, summer, and fall — by The Honor Society of Phi Kappa Phi, Box 16000, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, LA 70893. Printed at R.R. Donnelley, 1600 N. Main, Pontiac, IL 61764. ©The Honor Society of Phi Kappa Phi, 2004. All rights reserved. Nonmember subscriptions \$25.00 per year. Single copies \$6.25 each. Periodicals postage paid at Baton Rouge, LA and additional mailing offices. **POSTMASTER:** Send address changes to The Honor Society of Phi Kappa Phi, Box 16000, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, LA 70893. Material intended for publication should be addressed to James P. Kaetz, Editor, *Phi Kappa Phi Forum*, 129 Quad Center, Mell Street, Auburn University, AL 36849-5306.

The Honor Society of Phi Kappa Phi Mission Statement:

*Recognizing and Promoting Academic Excellence
in All Fields of Higher Education
and Engaging the Community of Scholars
in Service to Others*

Board of Directors

Wendell H. McKenzie, PhD
National President
Dept. of Genetics
Box 7614 NCSU
Raleigh, NC 27695

Paul J. Ferlazzo, PhD
National President-Elect
Northern Arizona University
Dept. of English, Box 6032
Flagstaff, AZ 86011

Donna Clark Schubert
National Vice President
Troy State University
101-C Wallace Hall
Troy, AL 36082

Neil R. Luebke, PhD
Past President
616 W. Harned Ave.
Stillwater, OK 74075-1303

James L. Heflin, PhD
Vice President, South Central Region
Cameron University
2800 West Gore Blvd.
Lawton, OK 73505

Ronald E. Johnson, PhD
**Vice President,
Northeastern Region**
Old Dominion University
Dept. of Ocean, Earth &
Atmos. Sciences
Norfolk, VA 23529

A. Wayne Lacy, PhD
**Vice President,
Southeastern Region**
415 N. Moye Drive
Montgomery, AL 36109-4615

Terry Mathias, PhD
**Vice President,
North Central Region**
130 Sasamac Road
Carbondale, IL 62901

Penny L. Wright, PhD
**Vice President,
Western Region**
13844 Avenida de la Luna
Jamul, CA 91935

Nancy H. Blattner, PhD
Regent
Longwood University
201 High Street
Graham Building 142
Farmville, VA 23909

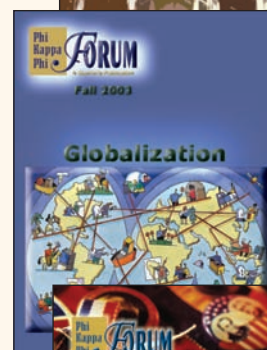
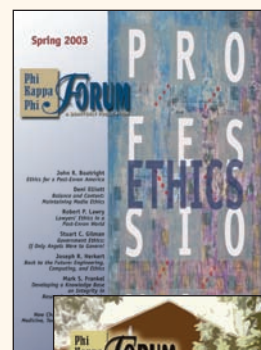
Marya M. Free, PhD
Director of Fellowships
185 Oakland Way
Athens, GA 30606

Perry A. Snyder, PhD
Executive Director
The Honor Society of Phi Kappa Phi
P.O. Box 16000 — LSU
Baton Rouge, LA 70893

Back Issues*

Number of Copies

Spring 2000	Race	_____
Summer 2000	Marriage and Family	_____
Fall 2000	Violence	_____
Winter 2001	When Technology Fails	_____
Spring 2001	Film and History	_____
Summer 2001	Art Matters	_____
Fall 2001	Teachers Teaching	_____
Winter 2002	Crime and Punishment	_____
Spring 2002	Terrorism	_____
Summer 2002	Food & Culture	_____
Fall 2002	Big Space/Little Space	_____
Winter 2003	Cancer Research	_____
Spring 2003	Professional Ethics	_____
Summer 2003	Architecture	_____
Fall 2003	Globalization	_____
Winter 2004	Is Democracy in Danger?	_____



Please send me _____ copies of back issues of *Phi Kappa Phi Forum* checked above at \$6.25 each for nonmembers and \$2.75 each for members**

\$ _____

Please enter my nonmember subscription to *Phi Kappa Phi Forum* at \$25.00 per year.***

\$ _____

TOTAL AMOUNT:

\$ _____

NAME: _____

ADDRESS: _____

Check, money order, or purchase order only. Please make checks payable to *PHI KAPPA PHI FORUM* and return to: Subscriptions, *Phi Kappa Phi Forum*, The Honor Society of Phi Kappa Phi, Box 16000, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, LA 70893.

* A complete list of past issues is available on *Phi Kappa Phi Forum's* World Wide Web page (<http://www.auburn.edu/natforum>) or by request.

** Ten or more copies of the same issue are available for \$5.00 each for nonmembers and \$1.65 each for members.

*** Members of Phi Kappa Phi receive *Phi Kappa Phi Forum* as a benefit of membership. To renew your membership, please contact The Honor Society of Phi Kappa Phi at the above address.

ADDRESS CORRECTION REQUESTED

NOTE TO PHI KAPPA PHI MEMBERS AND NONMEMBER SUBSCRIBERS

Please check the space below for "MEMBER" or "NONMEMBER SUBSCRIBER" and list your old address, current address, and I.D. number (if you are a member). On your mailing label, your member I.D. number is the first multi-digit number from the left immediately above your name. Then return this form to:

**The Honor Society of Phi Kappa Phi
Box 16000, Louisiana State University
Baton Rouge, LA 70893.**

JOURNALS THAT ARE NOT DELIVERED BECAUSE OF FAILURE TO NOTIFY THE NATIONAL OFFICE OF A CHANGE OF ADDRESS CANNOT BE REPLACED FREE OF CHARGE.

Change of Address Form

Please check one: _____ MEMBER _____ NONMEMBER SUBSCRIBER

Name: _____ I.D. Number (members only): _____

Old Address: _____ New Address: _____

<i>Where Did All the Voters Go?</i> Thomas E. Patterson	11
<i>How Much Knowledge Does Democracy Require?</i> Eric R.A.N. Smith	16
<i>Corruption and Democracy</i> James B. Jacobs	21
<i>The American Slippage toward Plutocracy</i> Amitai Etzioni	26
<i>The Essential Role for News Media</i> Deni Elliott	32
<i>Civic Education and Political Participation</i> William A. Galston	36

Letters to the Editor

Phi Kappa Phi Forum publishes appropriately written letters to the editor every issue when submitted. Such letters should be 150–300 words in length.

Send to:

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR
Phi Kappa Phi Forum
129 Quad Center, Mell Street
Auburn University, AL 36849-5306
fax: 334.844.5994
e-mail: kaetzjp@auburn.edu

Columns:

- 2 A Note from the Editor
- 3 Forum on Education & Academics (Jennifer M. Stolpa)
- 4 Forum on Business & Economics (Anthony J. Dukes)
- 6 Forum on Science & Technology (Evelyn Tiffany-Castiglioni)
- 8 Forum on the Arts (Heidi Tolles Motzkus)

Poetry: "Otake the Cat" by Sean Brendan-Brown (30); "Flying Over the Bering Strait: A Meditation" by Sally Ridgway Proler (31); "The Second Time Around" by Walt McDonald (41).

Book Reviews: Patrick D. Morrow's *Academic Memoirs: Essays in Literary Criticism for American and British Literatures*, reviewed by Pat Kaetz (42).

Letters to the Editor: 43



A Note from the Editor



James P. Kaetz

IN THIS ISSUE

Welcome to another election year. After the controversy and chaos of the 2000 presidential election, I am sure that a number of voters are wary about stepping into the booth to pull that lever — or sitting in that cubicle to mark the scan sheet, as we do in my area, or touching that computer screen, as others do. (And note how neatly I skipped over the midterm elections, as apparently most Americans do as a matter of course.) Given that voter participation has been barely at 50 percent during the past thirty years, we can ill afford too many more people avoiding the voting booth, lest we become a nation ruled by a minority of its citizens.

I am always amazed when people tell me that they do not bother to vote. I can vividly remember turning eighteen and being eager to vote in my first presidential election, which took place the next year (I cannot even say for sure whom I voted for all these years later). So when I witness firsthand the apathy of so many young people today, I am always a little dismayed. Of course, I grew up in the Sixties, and my political consciousness was formed during the Watergate years and by the Vietnam War. You could not ignore these issues, whether you were on the right or left. At the same time, however, such events (Watergate especially) increased voter cynicism. To this day I often think in terms of voting for “the lesser of two evils,” rather than for a candidate about whom I am enthusiastic. Yet I still vote because I know that the people with whom I agree or disagree will, too, and I want my voice to be heard.

Is democracy actually in danger? We thought it would be worthwhile in an election year to explore this question. In this issue, we present some thought-provoking articles on topics such as voter absence, government corruption, campaign financing, the news media, and the lack of education about basic civics. As usual, we have only scratched the surface of the topic, but we are sure that you will let us know through your letters about what we have missed.

To lead off, Thomas Patterson looks at the disappearing American voter. He examines the trend of decreasing participation by the electorate since the 1960s and suggests that a number of factors are to blame, including negative ads that discourage voters, lack of galvanizing issues, and media coverage. Patterson then offers some innovative solutions to the problem. Eric Smith tackles the issue of the uninformed electorate — the decline in public knowledge and awareness of the key issues and of the candidates themselves. In a conclusion that may surprise many, Smith argues that even though the individual voter might be ignorant of the key issues, the public as a whole displays a collective rationality that seems to be “right” more often than not.

James Jacobs then looks at the idea of corruption in government and how that does or does not damage democracy. He cautions us to recognize that some types of corruption might be worse than others, and warns against the often political motivation behind charges of corruption. Rather than making government better, anticorruption laws actually might make it less efficient and also might discourage people from entering public service for fear that something

they have done in the past might now be defined as corrupt. In looking at a similar problem, Amitai Etzioni comes to quite a different conclusion. Etzioni examines how the current system of financing campaigns and the tremendous amounts of money that can still be donated to campaigns is pushing the United States toward becoming a plutocracy rather than a democracy.

Deni Elliott next discusses the essential role of the media in preserving democracy. She sees today’s news media as passive and lazy and too often controlled by ratings or sales instead of real journalism; the media run the risk of misinforming an already poorly informed public. Finally, William Galston argues that a chief threat to democracy is the lack of support for civics education in the schools. Fear of litigation and the imposition of high-stakes testing have caused school systems to back away from teaching civics, which in turn lends itself to voter ignorance and apathy. It is a recipe, he argues, for disaster.

APPRECIATIONS

Primarily I want to thank all the people who contributed to the *Forum* in 2003. From the authors who contribute their articles to the members who take the time to sit down and write thoughtful letters to us, without such contributions the magazine would not be what it is. And in particular, I want to thank associate editors Stephanie Bond and Laura Kloberg for another excellent year; without their daily work, the *Forum* literally would not exist.

Enjoy the issue—and get out there and vote at every opportunity!





Forum on
Education
&
Academics
Jennifer M. Stolpa

Interdisciplinary Studies

Some students enrolled in my introductory literature course last summer were surprised on the first day of class to see items on the schedule that may have seemed unconnected to our focus. “Why is the physics professor going to present on the theory of special relativity? This is literature, not physics!” Although the relationships were not immediately obvious, as the course continued the connections among literature, mathematics, and science became clearer. We discussed the creativity involved in science and mathematics research as we studied poems, novels, and plays which not only engaged the reader in a fictional world, but introduced and explored mathematical and scientific concepts.

With increasing interest within education in interdisciplinary studies, such courses are less and less surprising to students. At all levels of education, instructors are continuing to examine the benefits of connecting content from various disciplines. Some classes become interdisciplinary through the addition of presenters from other fields of study. As with the introductory literature course, a class devoted to the geography of the southwestern United States can become more interdisciplinary by interweaving presentations by sociologists, anthropologists, and historians on aspects of the core subject relevant to their fields. Interdisciplinary work sometimes takes the form of two or three courses taught separately but with the content carefully constructed by all instructors to highlight connections among the disciplines. A separate seminar can be offered to help students make those connections.

Alternatively, two or three classes can be team-taught in a learning-community format. Using longer blocks of time, instructors integrate courses on biology and anthropology, for example, focusing students on the study of humans from two different but related perspectives. Students might enroll in a learning community connecting music, literature, and history courses all focused on nineteenth-century America. In such learning communities, the focus becomes at once broader and narrower; while students may be examining an issue from two or more different angles, they are probing more deeply into one specific issue.

Many university students are already receptive to making connections between two disciplines because of similar interdisciplinary coursework at the elementary or high school level. High school math and science courses may include history, literature, and writing components to engage students and to demonstrate the breadth of their subjects. Foreign-language instructors bring in music, history, anthropology, and geography to teach students about culture and language simultaneously.

Many elementary school teachers teach any number of subjects, must work to stay current in all of them, and must strive to see interdisciplinary connections among them. Activities are carefully constructed to teach students the inherent connections that exist among all types of knowledge — the utility of drawing skills in geography or social studies, the narrative nature of history, or the relationship of arithmetic to music.

Although many instructors are interested in pursuing interdisciplinary studies options for their students, such courses present obstacles as well. They take a tremendous amount of preparation time as teachers must learn more about other disciplines during the design stages of any interdisciplinary course. They must learn to work together in the classroom and outside of it, merging various assessment techniques and diverse pedagogical practices. In the case of team-taught courses, they must often be willing to spend twice as much time in the classroom as they would normally.

At various levels, teachers also may be presented with even larger barriers such as time constraints and course-load requirements. High school and elementary school teachers engaging in interdisciplinary efforts of any kind must overcome inflexible schedules, limited textbook funding, and fixed curricular plans.

Despite these obstacles, teachers at all levels are using aspects of this form of teaching. For those who do, the rewards must seem well worth the additional time. How do these courses benefit students? Interdisciplinary courses of all types remind instructors and students what it really means to learn something. We learn by examining all aspects of an object or issue. We learn by delving below the surface. We learn about a given subject not in isolation, but in connection with other disciplines. This model of learning speaks to the core values of a liberal-arts education, as it forces students to reexamine their ideas about the learning process itself.

Additionally, students may learn that a subject which they thought they disliked is not so bad after all. Students of all ages complain about having to take courses outside of their fields of interest, but sometimes an interdisciplinary approach can force them to reexamine their preconceptions. For example, students who argue that they do not like poetry might change their minds after a visit from a literature professor to their class on the Social Aspects of Sport. “You mean people can write and study poetry about basketball?” Absolutely. Students sometimes go on

(continued on page 5)

Forum on **Business** & **Economics**



Anthony J. Duker

The FCC and Media Regulation

A great deal of debate has arisen over the Federal Communications Commission's (FCC) proposed ownership guidelines, which were rejected by Congress last fall. Nevertheless, incentives for media companies to lobby for ownership reform still exist, and we are likely to see this debate again. Thus, a discussion of the issue is worthwhile.

The conflict begins with media companies such as Clear Channel Communication, CBS/Viacom, and others. They have appealed to the FCC to relax restrictions that prevent them from owning wider access to television viewers, radio listeners, newspaper readers, and generally anybody whom advertisers wish to reach. Current restrictions limit, for example, any single company from reaching more than 35 percent of the nation's television audience. The next FCC initiative probably will propose relaxing this to around 40 percent as well as relaxing other limitations on cross-ownership of media.

Members of the media industry desire looser ownership restrictions because they feel that there is much duplication in media production, which, when consolidated, would allow companies to provide media services, such as the production and delivery of your local news, more cheaply. For an example already in place, consider Baltimore-based Sinclair Broadcasting, which owns local-affiliate television stations in Michigan and in Alabama, among sixty other locations. Sinclair consolidates costs by using the same Baltimore employee to broadcast

weather reports for Flint, as well as for Birmingham. Generally such cost saving is an incentive for firms to merge. Regulatory authorities allow for these mergers if they feel that some of these savings are passed on to consumers via lower prices or innovative new products.

Many consumer groups and free-speech organizations see mergers in the media industry differently. Their opposition against looser ownership restrictions is rooted in the expectation that program diversity and journalistic plurality will be sacrificed. These groups argue that big media companies would grow even bigger, swallow up smaller media outlets, and consolidate the media industry into a few corporate giants. The giant media companies would then have even more control over what views, opinions, and programming the nation's citizenry would or would not see.

An economic perspective can help sort out the elements of this debate. The media industry, which includes television, radio, newspapers and magazines, and the internet, to name a few, is unique when compared to most other industries such as, for instance, automobiles. For example, customers, or end users, pay for the cars that they wish to buy. However, the end user of a television program does not typically pay for that program. There is, of course the exception of pay-per-view shows, but that is not at issue in the current debate. And while we might pay a service fee for cable or satellite, we are not paying per use of the television programing.

Television and radio users pay for broadcasts indirectly by patronizing the advertisers who have sponsored the program. The bulk of media's revenues comes, in fact, from these advertisers rather than from service fees paid by your local cable or satellite provider. As a result of this unusual payment system, advertisers seek programming that reaches a lot of people. Commercial programming is thus chosen to appeal to popular tastes. For instance, situation comedies about thirty-somethings and crime dramas are never in short supply, while educational or cultural programming is harder to find. We typically rely on public broadcasting, rather than commercial broadcasting, to provide the latter.

The surprising outcome of this payment system is that *fewer* media companies might actually provide *more* variety in programming and perspectives than a collection of many smaller media companies would. To take a simple, illustrative example, suppose three-fourths of the population liked crime dramas, and only one-fourth liked educational shows. Two independent commercial-television stations seeking to maximize viewers would prefer to offer two different crime dramas rather than to offer educational programming because obtaining half of three-fourths is better than obtaining one-fourth. However, if only one company owned both commercial stations, then it would maximize its audience by offering one crime drama and one educational program because this strategy would capture the entire market. This theory suggests, therefore, that the proposed ownership policies of the FCC would broaden the variety of broadcast alternatives and avoid wasteful duplication of similar programming.

So why do FCC critics, such as Americans for Radio Diversity and many others, not subscribe to this theory? Note that the theory assumes that the objective of media firms is to *maximize its audience* to attract advertising revenue. Suppose media owners, on the other hand, had political ambitions or sought to acquire power rather than profit. Then a consolidation of media ownership would lead to a loss in plurality of public discourse; power-seeking media owners, or those

in the pocket of rich politicians, could take control of editorial content, deny the public alternative viewpoints, and propagate support for their own political agenda.

Such a situation is not without precedent. In the early twentieth century, media-mogul William Randolph Hurst used his newspaper empire to offer editorial support for his own senate bid and to give his lover's latest movies rave reviews.

But the media industry now is quite different from that of the early twentieth century. The key difference is that media companies are no longer made up of a singularly rich, Hurst-type magnate, nor are they owned by political institutions, such as the government. Rather, these media companies are owned by investors who expect executives to run a profitable company, not to run for public office or shape policy. This more-modern form of corporate governance provides incentives for media companies to earn profits and puts the media industry in line with the *audience-maximization* assumption of the theory outlined above.

As an example, take NewsCorp's FOX Broadcasting, which is known to offer a center-right stance on public issues. Several years ago, FOX entered the television industry believing that many viewers felt conservative perspectives were lacking. It has been successful because it attracts viewers, which in turn attracts advertising revenue. This example illustrates how market incentives can fill the need for plurality in journalism.

That is not to say that the profit motive solves all of the media industry's potential problems. In particular, if existing media companies are permitted to use their market power to prevent entry by a new competing player, this power would have the undesirable consequence of denying the public an alternative perspective. Therefore, some degree of regulation in the media industry remains necessary. As such, it should be the FCC's role to ensure that competitive entry is possible.

It is also useful to point out that since June 2003, when the FCC proposal was announced, ReclaimTheMedia.org and hundreds of other groups have erected

new media posts, on the internet for example, to organize an opposition voice. This outpouring of opposition precisely illustrates that it is easy to propagate contrasting viewpoints. Perhaps we forget how many more sources of opinion we have in today's world. Just look back a few years ago, before the internet and before Americans had more than a handful of television options (ABC, CBS, NBC, and a couple of UHF channels), and a limited number of local AM/FM radio stations.

Americans will always demand alternative perspectives, and profit-seeking media companies can supply them. With the internet to keep them in check, there is little to fear from modest deregulation in the media industry.



Anthony J. Dukes is an assistant professor at the School of Economics and Management, University of Aarhus in Denmark. He holds a PhD in economics from the University of Pittsburgh and conducts research concerning the economics of advertising, marketing, and commercial media.

(Interdisciplinary Studies continued from page 3)

to try a course that they might have felt was beyond their capabilities or interests simply because of exposure to the subject in a different forum.

Furthermore, through interdisciplinary courses, we are providing students with a valuable model of lifelong learning. We may say to students that learning continues after school ends, but this model is stronger than any words. When I sit in my own classroom and take notes on the information that other instructors provide to students, when I ask questions, when I grapple with new ideas along with the students, and when I exhibit continued enthusiasm about learning a new subject or idea, students observe a powerful model of lifelong learning. In addition, teachers get the chance to

learn something new about another subject or about teaching strategies. Teachers are reminded of what it feels like to be a beginner in a subject and that, in turn, affects the way we teach.

Interdisciplinary educational efforts are not new to our time, nor are they the cure-all for educational problems. Part of the challenge of being an educator is working to uncover the positive aspects of any new or recycled pedagogical option while being wary of throwing out all previous methodologies. Our task is to take the opportunities of interdisciplinary studies and meld them with what we have learned from other approaches. We continuously evaluate and assess the effectiveness of methods.

As we discover the effectiveness of aspects of interdisciplinary efforts, educational institutions must be responsive to the needs of teachers as they try to implement new approaches. Many administrative and government leaders already recognize the rewards and challenges that educators face as they try to adapt teaching approaches to best meet student needs. With this awareness must come a flexibility in educational policies that allows teachers to bring pedagogically sound innovations to the classroom.

When I was a student, at times I would sit in one class, and the material being discussed would remind me of something I had heard in a different class. I found such moments fascinating. Now as an instructor, I am often excited during class to be able to show students the connections between what we are studying in English or Spanish and what they are studying in other courses. As I continue to learn, I see the relationships among ideas more deeply, and I value the chance to pass that vision on to students.



Jennifer M. Stolpa is an assistant professor of English at the University of Wisconsin-Marinette, where she also teaches Spanish. She can be reached at jstolpa@uwec.edu.

She is indebted to her colleagues Katherine Holman and Jane Oitzinger for their thoughts on learning communities and interdisciplinary studies.

Forum on Science & Technology




Evelyn Tiffany-Castiglioni

Chicken Liver and the Soul

[For this column, Phi Kappa Phi correspondent Ethel Cetera interviewed Dr. Olivia Pate, a professor of the venerable subject of anatomy.—ET-C]

ETC: Dr. Pate, which would you consider the most important organ of the body?

Dr. P: Could you please clarify the question? Do you mean most important for life? Best to eat? Most inspiring to poets?

ETC: Well, any of those. I guess I mean important to the readership in terms of scientific interest.

Dr. P: That would have to be the liver. It is essential to life, good eating (especially *foie gras*), and inspiring to Shakespeare: “. . . the liver white and pale, which is the badge of pusillanimity and cowardice.” *Henry IV, Part 2*.

ETC: Yes. Lily-livered means cowardly. Didn't John Wayne call people that?

Dr. P: Not unlikely. The liver, you see, is a metaphorical well-spring of courage. I think the idea evolved in some distorted fashion from Plato, who proposed that the liver housed the appetitive aspects of the mortal part of the soul. Galen also thought part of the soul was in the liver, the vegetative part, but had entirely the wrong notion that the liver made “nutritive” blood.

ETC: Excuse me, Dr. Pate?

Dr. P: Yes, I am digressing. Let's get back to the biological importance of the liver. I'll give you a little quiz. Of these four foodstuffs, which do you think might contain a toxic substance at high enough

concentrations to be harmful: distilled water, sushi from puffer fish, swordfish steak, or peanut butter?

ETC: Um. Not distilled water. How about puffer fish? I've read that people have died from eating *fugu* that was not correctly cleaned.

Dr. P: Right you are! The toxin in *fugu* or puffer fish is tetrodotoxin, which paralyzes and kills in fifteen minutes. But two of the other items I mentioned may also contain harmful amounts of toxic substances. Swordfish is high in mercury. Peanut butter and peanuts sometimes are high in aflatoxins, which are produced by the *Aspergillus flavus* mold, which grows on peanuts and grains.

ETC: Whoa, there! You're taking all the fun out of eating. I gave up swordfish long ago, except for special occasions, but I eat peanut butter every day. Does that mean I should stop?

Dr. P: No. Manufacture of the major brands of peanut butter in the United States is well-regulated. However, you should not eat moldy peanuts.

ETC: Okay. I'll stop that right away. But I thought we were getting back to liver?

Dr. P: Right. The liver is a marvelous organ, well-organized, hard-working, self-cleaning, and quiet.

ETC: Like an ant farm?

Dr. P: Funny you should say that, but it is a very apt comparison. Most of the ants in the colony are worker ants, and they all do multiple tasks. In a sense they are interchangeable units. In the liver, most

of the cells are of a type known as hepatocytes, which likewise do multiple tasks and are redundant.

ETC: So there is no division of labor, no specialization?

Dr. P: Not nearly as much as in some other organs. For example, the small intestine does many things: it digests carbohydrates, makes mucus, absorbs nutrients, makes hormones, mixes and churns food, and attacks ingested microbes, among other things. It does these things with a variety of cell types, most of them limited to one function. The liver also does a lot of things: it picks up nutrients and ammonia from the blood, stores certain vitamins, releases glucose when the body needs it, makes blood proteins, hormones, cholesterol, and bile, and detoxifies poisons. These functions are all carried out simultaneously by one cell type times 180 billion: the hepatocyte.

ETC: I see. A multitasking cell. A jack-of-all-trades.

Dr. P: A master-of-all-trades. I admire it greatly. I even wrote a song about it for teaching my students. Would you like to hear it?

ETC: Very much.

Dr. P: (takes out a small guitar and sings in a surprisingly strong soprano to the tune of “Annie's Song”):

You fill up my bloodstream
With albumin and glucose,
Prothrombin, urea,
And fibrinogen, too!
I don't know how you do it,
One cell, many faces.
Come, filter my bloodstream,
I'd feel sick without you!

The portal vein brings you used blood
Loaded up with nutrition;
Hepatic artery brings red blood
Loaded up with O₂.
What happens next is the two bloods
Mix in sinusoidal spaces,
Swapping things through your membrane,
As it percolates through.

When you synthesize bile juice,
Canaliculi drain it
And transport it to bile ducts,

Never mixing with blood!
I don't know how you do it.
Could it be your tight junctions?
Come, fill up my bile ducts;
You make me feel good!

ETC: I'm all amazement. Until this moment I never knew what a work of art I house in my very own abdominal cavity. What was that again about can-of-icku-lye?

Dr. P: Canaliculi. They are tiny canals formed between two adjacent hepatocytes. The cells secrete the bile into these canals, and it then flows into increasingly larger ductules and ducts like streams flowing into a river. At the end, the common bile duct empties into the gall bladder, where bile is stored. As Aristotle knew, some species such as horse and deer do not have gall bladders and the bile goes directly to the small intestine.

ETC: Bile is bitter green stuff, right? What does it do?

Dr. P: It emulsifies fats into tiny particles that are more easily digested in the small intestine.

ETC: Now, what was that part about blood and bile never mixing? I guess it would be bad if they did?

Dr. P: Right. Because of the remarkable arrangement of blood vessels and hepatocytes, blood and bile never mix in a healthy liver. One surface of the hepatocyte is in contact with the blood. Another surface of the same cell forms a bile canaliculus.

ETC: Okay. How about the part of the song where blood from arteries and veins mixes? I didn't know that happened in the body.

Dr. P: It does in the liver. Arterial blood from a branch coming off the aorta mixes with venous blood from the small intestine, pancreas, and spleen. When the hepatocyte interacts with this blood, it adds things, such as proteins and hormones, and removes things, such as glucose, metabolic waste products, and toxic substances that were ingested or inhaled. Which brings us back to aflatoxin.

ETC: Oh, yes, the bad stuff that sometimes is in peanuts.

Dr. P: The liver attempts to filter aflatoxin from the blood. In so

doing, the liver becomes damaged. Aflatoxin B1, the most common and most toxic form, is associated with liver disease and liver cancer in people whose diets are high in aflatoxins. This is a major problem in parts of Asia and Africa, where drought and food shortages often force people into eating food contaminated with aflatoxin or feeding it to their livestock. I just wanted to mention, while on the subject, that some scientists are creating food additives that prevent the digestive system from absorbing aflatoxin from food and feed.

ETC: What kind of additives? I suppose they need to be inexpensive and completely harmless to eat?

Dr. P: Right. They are specially designed clays.

ETC: Clays? Like you make pots from?

Dr. P: Similar. Except highly purified and selected for their specific ability to bind up aflatoxin. Clay consumption by humans is quite common. If you don't believe me, check the ingredients on your bottle of Pepto-Bismol™. A major ingredient is magnesium aluminum silicate, which is a clay. Now have a look at these photographs of two livers, courtesy of Dr. Timothy Phillips of Texas A&M University, which I use in teaching my students. What do you see [see Figure 1]?



Figure 1. Aflatoxin causes liver damage in animals and humans, including fat infiltration and tissue death. Dramatic effects of aflatoxins are shown in the liver from a chick exposed to aflatoxin (left). NovaSil clay inclusion in the diet significantly protects the animal from hepatotoxicity (right). Photo and caption kindly provided by Dr. Timothy Phillips.

ETC: Well, the liver on the right is dark reddish brown, and the one on the left is pale tan, sort of the color of putty.

Dr. P: Yes. The dark liver is normal-looking and came from a chick fed both aflatoxin and a special clay called NovaSil™, which was

designed by Dr. Phillips to bind aflatoxin and prevent its absorption by the intestine. The pale liver is from a chick that received aflatoxin but not NovaSil. NovaSil clay is now routinely added to the diets of farm animals in the United States, Latin America, Asia, and Africa to block aflatoxin exposure and prevent the toxicity and carcinogenicity of these poisons.

ETC: That's pretty impressive. Science in action. Can the liver repair itself? Could that putty-colored one have returned to normal if the animal had been given an uncontaminated diet? I remember the Greek myth about Prometheus, who stole fire from the gods and gave it to humans. For his punishment, Zeus chained him to a rock and let an eagle eat his liver every day. Yet every night his liver grew back, so his misery was unending until he was rescued.

Dr. P: Yes, the liver does indeed have powers of regeneration. A large percentage of a healthy liver can be removed and the lost volume will regenerate. However, if damage to the cells is widespread, the hepatocytes die and are replaced by fibrous tissue and fat, which are functionally useless. This happens in severe liver disease induced by aflatoxin, alcohol, and other toxic substances.

ETC: Thank you, Dr. Pate. Our time is up. You have taken all the fun out of eating liver, but your discourse has been most enlightening.

Dr. P: My pleasure.



Evelyn Tiffany-Castiglioni, PhD, is associate dean for Undergraduate Education and head of the Department of Veterinary Anatomy and Public Health, College of Veterinary Medicine, Texas A&M University. She conducts research on the neurotoxicity of environmental contaminants. She is on the editorial boards of Neurotoxicity and the International Journal for Developmental Neuroscience.



Heidi Tolles Motzkus

An Artist of Fire and Ice: Sara Björnsdóttir

Geologically speaking, the island of Iceland is an infant; only 20 million years have elapsed since lava-spewing volcanoes laid its foundation. This island continues to be one of the most volcanically active places on Earth. With the birth of Surtsey, an island just off the coast of the mainland, from a volcanic eruption that began on the ocean floor, it is evident just why Iceland is referred to as “a land in the making.” Created by volcanoes and sculpted by the most massive moving glaciers in Europe, this island is truly a landscape of extremes, of fire and ice.

The people of Iceland possess the edgy attributes of this wild landscape in which they live. With a population of only approximately 283,000 in the entire country, winters in which the sun never rises, summers in which the sun never sets, and a remote setting in the Atlantic Ocean, there exists the recipe for a truly individualistic and self-reliant people. In recent years, technology has greatly diminished the tangible aspects of Iceland’s centuries-long isolation. The country joined the modern world almost overnight, with more changes taking place in the past fifty years than in the thousand previous years. Despite this transformation, however, the tradition of isolation and self-reliance lives on in the temperament of the Icelandic people, creating an art scene with a most distinctive flavor.

The tradition of written poetry in Iceland dates back to the twelfth century, and the tradition of fine arts gained foothold in the eighteenth century. From the medieval literature

of sagas and poems, which continue to be a living presence in Iceland, to the numerous displays of contemporary art on exhibit in the cities, the creative energy in this small country is palpable.

Sara Björnsdóttir, an Icelandic artist of the younger generation, embodies the unique landscape, history, and energy of Iceland. Receiving the majority of her artistic training in Iceland, she draws inspiration from her land and its people. Her work characteristically deals with opposites, energy, and feelings. She observes that she is most inspired by “the creative energy of the people I’m surrounded by here in the dark cold island in the North Sea.” The role of the Icelandic artist seems clear when she states that

“in such a demanding, intensive environment we make life worth living for each other by always creating.”

During the summer of 2003, The National Gallery of Iceland, in the capital city of Reykjavik, displayed her installation entitled, “Flying Saucers.” I had made the fortuitous decision to visit the gallery during my recent excursion to Iceland. My first experience of the installation occurred before I even entered the room. The sounds of shattering, smashing, and crashing reached my ears. Aurally violent, the continual sound of objects smashing and breaking gave me reason to pause and gather myself before I entered the installation. Upon entering, I discovered a film being projected. In this film, saucers are being thrown by an unseen person, smashing against a wall and exploding into many bits. As the film played, the heap of broken saucer shards grew ever higher, and still the smashing relentlessly continued. As this disembodied expression of pure, raw anger washed over me, discomfort ensued. Watching the film, I had the intense sensation that I was witnessing someone’s emotional meltdown, and that I should leave immediately. The sense of intimacy was imminent. I felt like a voyeur, but the film was on a continuous loop, and I found myself lost in this pure, raw, and angry activity, eagerly anticipating the next saucer that would be hurled into view. The forbidden quality being expressed



“Flying saucers,” detail, by Sara Björnsdóttir, 1962. Used by permission of Myndstef.

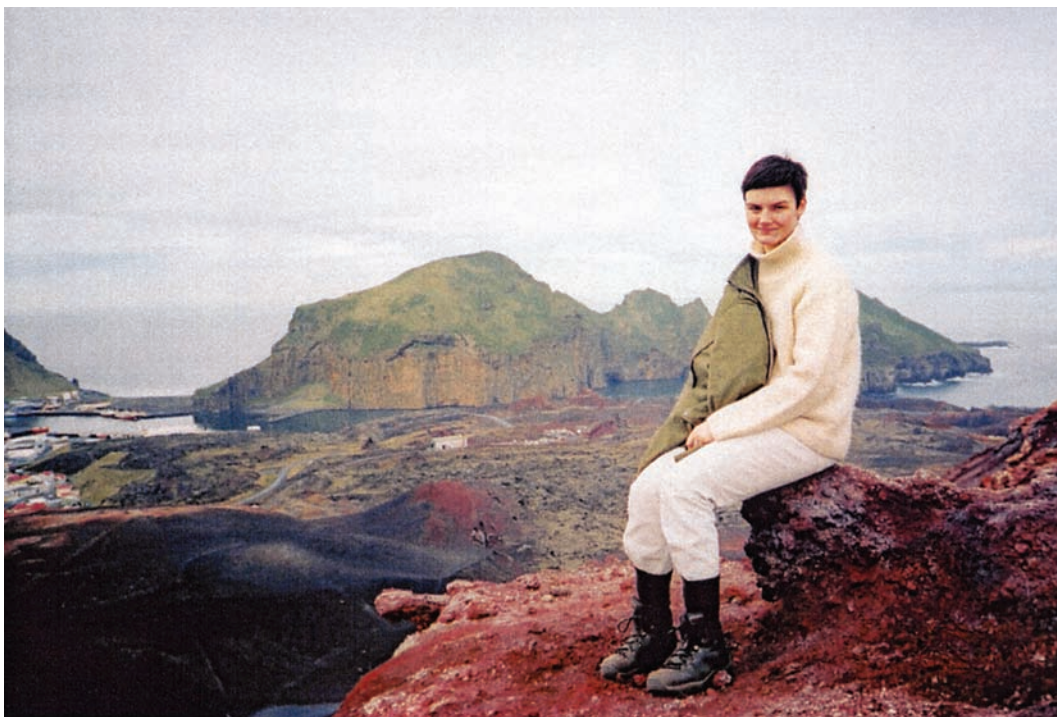


Photo courtesy of Sara Björnsdóttir.

compelled me to watch the explosive film. (Many a day I have felt mad enough to hurl dishes at a wall, but something that I learned somewhere made the serious contemplation of such an act an impossibility.) Having lost track of time and place, I slowly became aware of the other component of the installation, sitting in lovely repose under a soft light. The armchair and footrest, which were upholstered with the broken bits of saucers, sat bearing witness to the events in the film. The saucer shards had been painstakingly and lovingly arranged into a beautiful mosaic and glued to the chair and footstool. The effect was stunning and surprising. The contrast between the shattering dishes in the film and this lovely chair made from the pile of saucer rubble captured my imagination. The fury expressed in “Flying Saucers” had a cathartic quality. It spoke to me of a pressure that must be released, whatever the consequences, and the exquisite transformation that might result.

The tradition of the Icelandic poet endures in the way that Björnsdóttir artfully translated raw emotion into another form, a form that can pierce a person’s soul. In creating “Flying Saucers,” Björnsdóttir wanted to express her frustration with the state of women’s liberation today. In her mind, she explained, she imagined a frustrated someone throwing dishes

at the wall, instead of washing them. The expression of anger is viewed by Björnsdóttir as healthy and necessary, and “wrongly labeled by society as bad.” She likens anger to a “natural force.” With volcanoes, avalanches, earthquakes, and glaciers a fact of daily existence for Icelanders, her choice of the words “natural force” speaks volumes about the power she sees vested in emotions. Björnsdóttir explains that the expression of anger can be a “wondrous thing because something new and more exciting will be created.” In the short run, this wondrous thing might be a mosaic chair, or in the long run it might be substantial social change.

A great thinker once observed that the amount of oppression inflicted upon people is in exact proportion to how much they will put up with. Whether it is seen at work, within the family, or on the larger scale of world events, this observation certainly rings true. In our own history, many great social achievements came only as a result of a people deciding that it was time to express their frustrations overtly, and the changes that followed are wondrous. The organization of labor, women’s suffrage, the Civil Rights Movement, and other seminal events in U.S. history all grew out of a feeling and an expression of frustration and anger.

In this modern era, from childhood on, we are encouraged to control our emotions. In recent years, anger management has become a big moneymaking business. Björnsdóttir’s work makes the global suggestion that the very anger we as a society work to extinguish is the key to positive transformation of the individual and of society.

Raised on the island forged by fire then honed by ice, Björnsdóttir’s art is sublimely reflective of the psyche of this small island, writ large for the global community to consider.



Heidi Tolles Motzkus is a PhD candidate in Cultural Studies at Claremont Graduate University. She teaches in Los Angeles and has held the positions of dramaturge and theatre critic.

Calling All Professors!

Here is your opportunity to tell all of our readers about the real world of higher education!

In the fall of 2001, the then-titled *National Forum* published “Teachers Teaching,” a special issue featuring the voices of numerous K–12 teachers from across the nation. Those dedicated educators told us their stories, their wishes, and their hopes for their profession. In the upcoming Fall 2004 issue, we want to give our members in higher education the same opportunity, in an issue that we are titling “Professors Professing: Higher Education Speaks Out.”

We are looking for 500- to 1500-word submissions, dealing with the most pressing issues in higher education today. We will select from among those submissions as many as possible, either in their entirety or in part, to appear in the issue. Topics that you might address include the following:

- Shared governance
- Academic standards and grade inflation
- Finances in higher education
- The academic job market
- Tenure and tenure review
- Adjunct/temporary faculty
- Academic freedom
- Political correctness — real or apparent?
- The student body
- The place of athletics

Of course you are not limited to only these topics, but please make sure that your topic is broad enough to be of general interest to our diverse audience. For example, a controversy unique to the field of Latin American history would not be appropriate unless you are using it as an example to illustrate a broader academic issue.

Guidelines/Rules for Submission:

- You must be an active Phi Kappa Phi member and employed either full or part-time at a post-secondary institution (university, college, or junior college), or emeritus from such a position, to submit a manuscript.
- Deadline for submissions will be August 1, 2004; selections will be made by September 1, 2004.
- Only one submission of 500–1500 words, please; multiple submissions will be returned, unread.
- Submit manuscripts either via regular mail (three clean, double-spaced hard copies and an electronic file on either a floppy disk or CD in WordPerfect or Word) or as an e-mail attachment to kaetzjp@auburn.edu.
- Provide a self-addressed, stamped envelope for notification and/or return of manuscript. Manuscripts will not be returned unless postage is included.
- *Phi Kappa Phi Forum* reserves the right to refuse any manuscript.

We are looking forward to your submissions — remember that deadline of August 1, 2004, but early submissions will be greatly appreciated!

Thomas E. Patterson

Where Did All the Voters Go?

The 2004 election is shaping up as one of the most exciting in years, what with a wide-open Democratic-nominating race and economic and foreign-policy woes that have cut into George W. Bush's popularity.

What can be expected in 2004? Will Americans go to the polls in near-record numbers? Likely, voter turnout will be somewhat higher in 2004 than it was in 2000, but it will not even begin to approach the 60-percent plus level once considered normal for a U.S. presidential election.

The period from 1960 to 2000 marks the longest ebb in turnout in the nation's history. Turnout was nearly 65 percent in 1960 but has fallen steadily and is now in the range of 50 percent. And fewer voters are not the only sign of the public's waning interest in elections. In 1960, 60 percent of the nation's television households had their sets on and tuned to the October presidential debates. In 2000, less than 30 percent tuned in.

The decline has occurred despite developments since 1960 that should have pushed participation rates higher: college graduates have increased greatly in number; registration has been simplified; literacy tests and poll taxes have been eliminated as requirements for voting eligibility; and minorities and women have been brought more fully into the electoral process (even as late as 1960, the voting rate of women, which today is equal to that of men, was 10 percentage points lower).

What is going on here? Why are Americans less engaged by political campaigns today than even a few decades ago? Generational replacement is part of the answer. The civic-minded generations molded by the Depression and World War II have been replaced gradually by the more private-minded X and Y generations. Today's young adults are less politically interested and informed than any cohort of young people on record. The voting rate of adults under age thirty was 50 percent in 1972. It barely exceeded 30 percent in 2000.

Generational replacement, however, is not the sole cause of the downward trend. Political campaigns have become less appetizing, less inviting, and less rewarding. As a result, citizens have less reason today to take part in elections. This development is the subject of this article, which is based on my book, *The Vanishing Voter*. The book, in turn, is a product of the Vanishing Voter Project that was conducted at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government during the 2000 campaign. For the project, we interviewed nearly 100,000 Americans — easily the largest study of campaign involvement ever conducted. (For information on the project, including state-by-state comparisons of involvement levels, see the project web site: www.vanishingvoter.org.)



THE ATTACK PACK

In the 1950s and 1960s, control of election campaigns shifted rapidly from the political parties to the candidates, largely because of television. Americans were initially thrilled by the chance for a close-up look at the candidates and their campaigns. Theodore H. White's *The Making of the President, 1960*, topped the best-seller list.

Gradually, however, people came to dislike everything that they saw. The new style of campaigning brought out aspects of politics that had been kept largely out of sight. Ambition, manipulation, and personal peccadilloes were suddenly as visible to the electorate as issues of policy and leadership. It may be that politicking, like sausage making, is best viewed from a distance. Elections are supposed to bring out the issues; they are not supposed to ruin one's appetite. But that is the best way to understand much of what Americans now see during a campaign and why they do not have much taste for it.

Negative campaigning has long been part of campaign politics but now dominates it. Candidates have discovered that it is easier in many situations to attract swing voters by tearing down one's opponent than by talking about one's own platform. Research indicates that negative advertising has more than tripled since the 1960s. Such ads now account for well over half of the ads featured in presidential and congressional races.

Our surveys indicate that a cumulative effect of negative campaigning, election after election and race after race, is reduced interest in elections. Attack politics wears some people down to the point at which they simply want less politics. Day in and day out during the 2000 campaign, those who believed that campaigns are akin to mud wrestling were less attentive to the election, even when levels of education and income were controlled.

The modern campaign is also filled with promises, lots of them. Of course, candidates are constrained by their alliances and by the fact that not even the U.S. Treasury is bottomless. Nevertheless, they make many promises. Unlike their predecessors in the age of party-centered politics, they are unable to campaign on broad statements of principle within the context of a stable base of party loyalists. At one

Attack politics wears some people down to the point at which they simply want less politics. Day in and day out during the 2000 campaign, those who believed that campaigns are akin to mud wrestling were less attentive to the election, even when levels of education and income were controlled.

time, party platforms were declarations of broad goals and ideals. Today, they have become promissory notes to voting groups and special interests. The 1948 Democratic and Republican platforms were each less than 3,000 words. By the 1980s, they had exceeded 20,000 words.

An effect of all these promises is a public wary of taking candidates at their word. If voters welcome any promise that serves their narrow interest, they get suspicious when promises are made to nearly every interest under the sun. In our Vanishing Voter surveys during the 2000 campaign, 81 percent agreed with the statement "most politicians will say almost anything to get themselves elected." Respondents who felt this way were significantly less likely to vote than other respondents.

The length of the modern campaign is also a turnoff for many Americans. Because candidates are self-starters who depend on themselves rather than the parties to win nomination and election, active campaigning now begins much earlier in the election year than it once did. Throughout the 2000 election, our respondents expressed displeasure with the long campaign. The interviews also revealed that a lengthy campaign serves to wear down the electorate and tax its attention such that, at the end, people are tired of the process and eager to see it end.

Somehow, the United States has managed to create just about the least-inviting and least-savory campaigns imaginable. Campaigns should not leave citizens with a disheartened feeling, but our campaigns have precisely that effect. In the concluding week of the 2000 campaign, when asked whether the campaign had been "rather depressing, that it hasn't been nearly as good as a campaign should be" or whether it had been "uplifting, that it made [you] feel better about elections," respondents by more than two to one judged it "depressing."

BAD NEWS BEARERS

On the network evening newscasts during the 2000 general election, George W. Bush's coverage was 63 percent negative in tone and only 37 percent positive. Al Gore's coverage was no better. A good deal of Bush's coverage suggested that he was

not too smart. There were nine such claims in the news for every contrary claim. Gore's coverage was dotted with suggestions he was not all that truthful. Such claims outpaced rebuttals by seventeen to one.

Although the news media are often accused of having a liberal bias, their real bias is a preference for the negative. It was not always that way. When John F. Kennedy and Richard Nixon sought the presidency in 1960, 75 percent of their coverage was positive in tone and only 25 percent was negative. By the 1980 campaign, however, candidate coverage had reached a point at which more than half of it was unfavorable. Since then, no major-party nominee has received on balance more positive news coverage than negative news coverage.

The change in the tone of political coverage is partly attributable to the poisonous effect of Vietnam and Watergate on the relationship between the press and the politicians. A larger influence, however, has been the emergence of an interpretive style of journalism. In the 1960s, it began to replace and has since supplanted the older descriptive style where the journalist's main job was the straightforward reporting of the facts of events. Because the facts were often based on what politicians had said or done, they greatly influenced the tone of their coverage. The "good press" that Kennedy and Nixon received in 1960 came largely from their own words and those of the people supporting them.

Interpretive journalism is very different in kind. It places reporters in the role of analysts and elevates their voices. Whereas reporters were once the passive voices behind the news, they now get more time than the newsmakers whom they cover. In the 2000 campaign on the nightly newscasts, the journalists covering Bush and Gore spoke six minutes for every minute that the candidates spoke.

Given a greater opportunity to shape the news, journalists have increasingly shaped it around politicians' failings, missteps, and accusatory statements. Thus it is nearly impossible for a candidate to emerge looking good after being under constant attack in the press. According to Gallup polls, Barry Goldwater was the only major-party presidential nominee between 1936 and 1968 who, at the end

of the campaign, had a more negative than positive public image. Since 1968, in the era of attack journalism, more than a third of presidential nominees have been perceived unfavorably and nearly all, including Bush and Gore in 2000, have had relatively high negative ratings. Voters can hardly be expected to march enthusiastically to the polls on Election Day when they feel that they are choosing between the lesser of two evils.

THE PARTY'S OVER

For a long period in American history, elections were waged on economic issues powerful enough to define the two major parties and divide the public. These issues stemmed from Americans' deepest hopes and fears, and had the power to cement their loyalty to a party and draw them to the polls. That era ended during the twentieth century with the eventual triumph of New Deal politics. By the early 1960s, a safety net for the economically vulnerable was in place, as were policy mechanisms for stabilizing the economy. An electoral majority that could be easily rallied by calls for economic redistribution no longer existed.

As the economic issue weakened, a large set of smaller issues began to dominate the agenda. Civil rights, street crime, school prayer, and welfare dependency were among the first wave of such issues, which were followed

by others, such as abortion, the environment, and global trade. All were persistent issues, but none was consistently at the top of the political agenda. The issues of one election were often quite different from those that had dominated the previous election or would be at the forefront of the next election. Moreover, these issues intersected with each other and with the older economic division in confounding ways.

How could the political parties create cohesive and enduring coalitions out of such a mix? The short answer is that they could not do so. The issues were too numerous and too conflicting in purpose for either party to combine them in a way that could easily satisfy a following. By the 1970s, the number of self-described independents was equal to those who called themselves Democrats or said that they were Republicans.

Like any other emotional attachment, party loyalty heightens interest and commitment. Americans who have a party loyalty have much higher voting rates than do independents. It was that way also in the 1950s. The difference today is that there are many fewer partisans and many more independents.

Like any other emotional attachment, party loyalty heightens interest and commitment. Americans who have a party loyalty have much higher voting rates than do independents. It was that way also in the 1950s. The difference today is that there are many fewer partisans and many more independents.

The change in party politics also helps to explain why, disproportionately, the decline in participation has been concentrated among Americans of low income. Although a “class gap” in turnout has been a persistent feature of U.S. elections, the gap has widened to a chasm. The voting rate among those at the bottom of the income ladder is only half that of those at the top. The New Deal era was a time when the interests of working-class Americans were at the heart of political debate and party conflict. The new era is one of multiple issues, nearly all of which address middle-class concerns. Lower-income Americans now occupy the periphery of policy debates, and they know it. In our Vanishing Voter surveys, they were 30 percent more likely than those in the middle- or top-income groups to say that the election’s outcome would have little or no impact on their daily lives.

ELECTIONS WITHOUT VOTERS?

The developments that have diminished Americans’ interest and involvement in election politics are deep-seated and unlikely to be reversed in the foreseeable future. If that is the case, electoral participation in all of its forms, from voting to watching debates, is likely to continue to stagnate. However, several changes in election law would be of some help.

Election-Day registration is an example. In the six states that allow Election-Day registration, turnout in 2000 was 15 percent higher than in other states. Although these states, which include Minnesota and Wisconsin, have traditionally ranked high on participation indicators, all of them moved up in the rankings after implementing same-day registration. Studies suggest that universal same-day registration could boost turnout by as much as 5 percent.

Polling hours also could be extended. Amid the uproar over ballot irregularities in Florida in 2000, no commentator saw fit to ask why the polls in that state closed at 7 p.m. local time. Florida is one of twenty-six states that close their polls before 8 p.m. Turnout in these states is several percentage points below that of the other states. Limits on polling hours go back decades and have been a convenient way to discourage the participation of lower-income workers who are stuck at their jobs during the day and do not get home in time to cast a ballot.

Declaring Election Day to be a national holiday, as the National Commission on Federal Election Reform has recommended, also could contribute to increased turnout. It is noteworthy that support for this reform, as well as for same-day registration and extended polling hours, is highest among young adults. They are the citizens who are most likely to wait until the last moment before deciding to vote and therefore the ones most likely to benefit from steps to ease participation.

Structural change by itself will not be enough to turn things around. Today, the schools must do more to give students a decent civic education and to help them register so that the first election upon graduation is a step toward lifelong participation. Other entities — including the churches, the news media, the universities, the nonprofits, unions, and corporations — also must use their power to assist people in the exercise of the vote. For if people do not vote, America will face, as Arthur M. Schlesinger and Erik McKinley Eriksson wrote, the unprecedented problem of maintaining self-government in the absence of popular participation.



Thomas E. Patterson is the Bradlee Professor of Government & the Press at Harvard University’s Kennedy School of Government and was admitted to Phi Kappa Phi from South Dakota State University in 1964. This article is derived from his book, *The Vanishing Voter* (Knopf, 2002; Vintage paperback, 2003).

Start planning now to attend the 2004 Phi Kappa Phi National Triennial Convention in Albuquerque, New Mexico.

Nestled in the Sandia Mountains, Albuquerque is a city rich in history and culture that offers something for everyone. While there, visit Old Town with its 300-year-old adobe buildings, ride the tram to the top of Sandia Peak, and experience the culture and art of the area's Native American population. Our hotel in the heart of Albuquerque is within easy walking distance of many attractions. Come and join us as we conduct the Society's business, report our successes and concerns, and share in the camaraderie with other volunteers dedicated to doing their part for the nation's oldest and most prestigious multidisciplinary college honor society.

The convention will feature election of national officers for the next triennium, chapter-officer training workshops and presentations, exciting speakers, national scholar and artist award presentations, and much more!

Visit the Phi Kappa Phi Web Page at www.phikappaphi.org (under Events) for updates on plans, and watch for future notices in the *Phi Kappa Phi Forum* and *Phi Kappa Phi Focus*.



All chapter delegates will be reimbursed for travel expenses plus a \$100 voucher. In addition, the first 50 nondelegates to register for the convention will receive \$100.

2004 Phi Kappa Phi National Triennial Convention August 4-7 Albuquerque, New Mexico at the Hyatt Regency Albuquerque

A Heritage of
EXCELLENCE



A World of
OPPORTUNITY

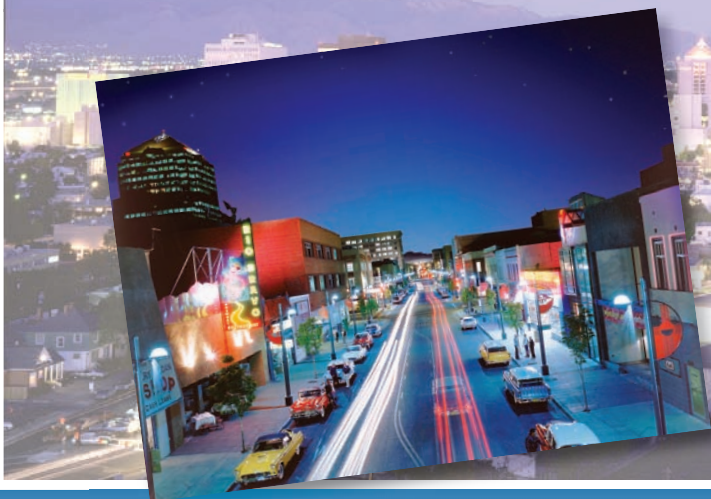
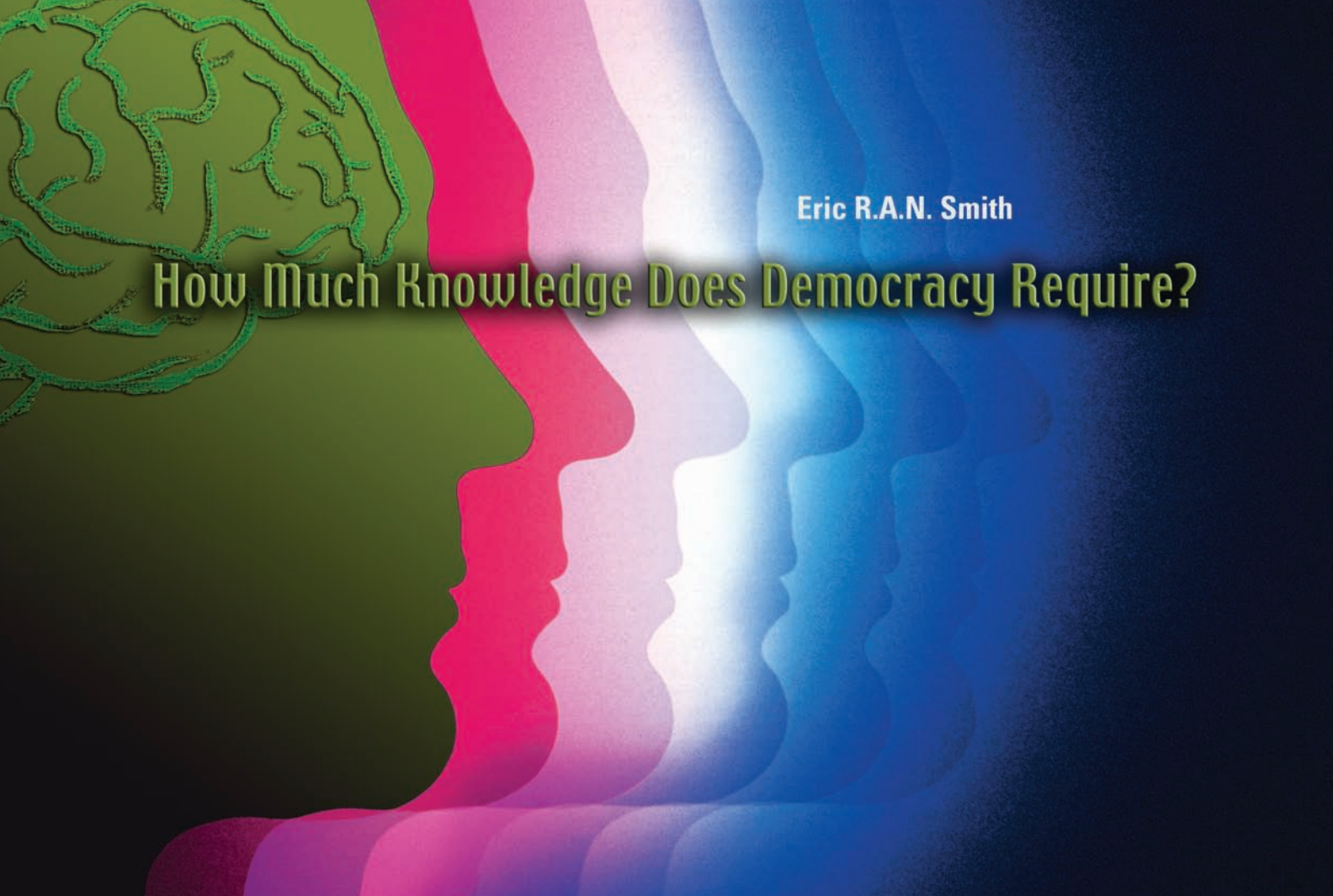


Photo Credits: Route 66, Luminarias in Old Town, and Albuquerque Skyline, marblstreetstudio.com; Night Cityscape, Ron Behrmann; Sandia Peak Tramway, Jay Blackwood.



Eric R.A.N. Smith

How Much Knowledge Does Democracy Require?

The phrase “weapons of mass destruction” came to most people’s attention for the first time when President Bush began warning the United States about Saddam Hussein and Iraq’s threat to world peace and American lives. During the months building up to the war, President Bush and his allies talked about weapons of mass destruction so frequently that newspapers began using the abbreviation WMD. The message was simple: Saddam Hussein had the weapons, and we had to stop him from using them.

In the months after the Iraq War, weapons of mass destruction continued to hit the front pages. At first the failure to find the WMDs merely caused surprise. U.S. troops had been told to expect Iraqi attacks with biological or chemical weapons, and they presumed that they would quickly find them. In the following months as U.S. forces still found none of the promised WMDs, the news media and the president’s critics began to attack the president on the failure to produce the evidence used to justify the war. WMDs and the president’s efforts to persuade the nation to go to war emerged as likely campaign issues for 2004. Did the nation’s intelligence agencies bungle their intelligence-gathering efforts, or did President Bush lie to the nation about Iraq’s weapons of mass destruction?

Despite the enormous media attention given to WMDs, a good portion of the American public failed to understand what was happening. By June 2003 — a month after President Bush declared that hostilities were over — a national poll conducted by the Program on International Policy Attitudes at the University of Maryland showed that 41 percent of the public either thought that the weapons had been found or admitted that they did not know. On what could turn out to be a pivotal issue in the next election, the public was seriously uninformed.

The public’s lack of knowledge about the discovery of weapons of mass destruction is not a fluke. Since scientific, public-opinion polling began in the 1930s, pollsters have been regularly producing results about the public’s lack of knowledge — some of which seem almost surreal. With whom was the United States negotiating nuclear-arms limitations in the SALT talks in Geneva during the 1980s? Canada? No, the Soviet Union, but only 23 percent of the public got that answer right.

The public is certainly not ignorant about everything. Table 1 presents a selection of knowledge questions showing that there are facts about politics which a majority knows. Unfortunately, on too many issues, the public does not know a great deal.

The reason for the public’s lack of knowledge about politics is not that people are stupid, but that politics is not interesting or important for most people. When pollsters ask people to name the most important issues in their lives, people talk about their jobs, their health, their families, and other personal matters. Politics rarely comes up. Still, the public’s lack of knowledge about politics raises troubling questions.

THE DANGERS OF PUBLIC IGNORANCE

Democracy requires some reasonable level of public understanding of the issues. We govern ourselves through elections. In the extreme case, if we knew nothing at all about candidates or public policies, we would be casting votes randomly, and we would have no influence on the direction of government.

Citizens’ need for political knowledge for democracy has been recognized since the founding days of our nation. James Madison, one of the principal framers of the Constitution, wrote:

Knowledge will forever govern ignorance: And a people who mean to be their own Governors, must arm themselves with the power which knowledge gives. A popular Government, without popular information, or the means of acquiring it, is but a Prologue to a Farce or a Tragedy; or, perhaps both.

To put the argument in contemporary terms, political knowledge is important because knowledge allows people to vote for what they want. If people are uninformed, they may vote for candidates who will do the opposite of what they want their elected officials to do. This phenomenon actually has been demonstrated empirically by political scientists Michael Delli Carpini and Scott Keeter, who show that informed voters are more likely to vote for candidates who agree with them on the issues. As Sir Frances Bacon observed more than four hundred years ago, “Knowledge is power.”

In the 1960s and 1970s, scholars gave a great deal of attention to the problem of the public’s lack of knowledge and its effects on democracy. The attention stemmed from concerns about the consequences of ignorance. What if we were unwittingly to elect a tyrant — perhaps a homegrown version of Adolf Hitler?

One source of hope that we would avoid such a disaster lay in the rising levels of public education. Some scholars expected that as the public became better educated, it would become more politically informed as well. The average American is, in fact, much better educated now than fifty years ago. Since 1960, the high school graduation rate has increased from 41 percent to 84 percent, and the college graduation rate has increased from 8 percent to 26 percent. Moreover, 60 to 70 percent of American adults now have internet access, with its virtually infinite offerings of information.

Despite the growth of education and the spread of the internet, repeated studies have shown that the public is not any better informed now than it was fifty years ago. The reason is apparently that the number of people who find politics

Table 1. The Public’s Knowledge about Politics and Issues

Year	Item of Knowledge	Percent Who Know
1989	The name of their state’s governor	73%
2000	Senator Joseph Lieberman is Jewish	66%
2000	Which party holds the majority in the U.S. House of Representatives	62%
1999	Kosovo was site of ethnic Albanian-Serbian conflict	66%
2000	Which political party won the majority in the U.S. Senate	54%
1991	The U.S. must import oil to meet its energy needs	50%
1999	Dennis Hastert is Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives	30%
1980	Definitions of liberal and conservative	42%
1996	What the federal minimum wage is	42%
1991	What majority is needed to override a presidential veto	37%
2000	Tony Blair is Prime Minister of Great Britain	29%
2000	Vladimir Putin is President of Russia	18%
1989	What percentage of Americans live below the poverty line	18%
1991	Canada is America’s largest foreign trading partner	8%
2000	William Rehnquist is Chief Justice of the United States	8%
2000	Jean Chretien is Prime Minister of Canada	2%

Source: Peverill Squire, et al., *Dynamics of Democracy*, 3rd edition.

interesting has remained roughly constant over the years. A good way to think about politics is that it is a hobby (at least for most Americans). Some people find politics interesting, and they learn about it. Others find football or flower-arranging or fine food more interesting, and those people learn about their hobbies (but not about politics). Greater education and more opportunities to learn using the internet helped people learn about their hobbies and other interests, but because interest in politics did not grow, neither did knowledge about politics.

So the American public is poorly informed, and the situation is likely to remain unchanged in the future. The question remains, what does this mean for the quality of our democracy?

In the last decade, a consensus has begun to form around the conclusion that although the low level of knowledge is hardly ideal, it is not a serious problem. There are two reasons for this belief: the Condorcet Jury Theorem, and findings that the public does seem to behave rationally when examined collectively.

CONDORCET JURY THEOREM

The Condorcet Jury Theorem, originally proposed by the Marquis de Condorcet in 1785, is mathematically complex, but the central ideas are quite simple. Consider two cases in which a group of people is voting on a decision. For example, consider a jury voting on the innocence or guilt of a person accused of a crime. In the first case, each juror votes by flipping a “fair” coin — that is, a coin that comes up heads 50 percent of the time and tails 50 percent of the time. In this situation, the odds of the person being found guilty are 50-50. The process is random and has no hope of arriving at the truth.

In the second case, each juror votes by flipping a coin that is “biased” in favor of the truth — that is, a coin that comes up with the correct answer, say, 51 percent of the time. In this situation, the odds that the group arrives at the truth by majority vote are much better than 51-49. The likelihood of a majority voting for the truth grows as the size of the jury grows. With a group of 400, the likelihood of a majority voting for the correct answer is 66 percent. With groups the size of even small towns, the likelihood of being correct is well over 90 percent.

The likelihood of being correct also increases with the probability that each person in the group gets the right answer. If each member of the group of 400 had a 55 percent chance of being right, then the group as a whole would have a 98 percent chance of being right. The central idea of the Condorcet Jury Theorem, then, is that the individual mistakes that

people make cancel out, so that society as a whole is likely to make correct decisions.

Many scholars maintain that the Condorcet Jury Theorem offers a good analogy which helps answer the question, how much knowledge does democracy require? If most voters have some knowledge — at least enough to be right more than half the time — then collectively, society should perform well. We do not have to worry about how little individuals know.

Condorcet’s theorem, of course, is just a piece of mathematics. It does not correspond perfectly to the real world of politics. Some critics point out that the theorem should break down if a majority of people were mistaken, or perhaps misled, about the facts. Before the Iraq War, most Americans believed that Saddam Hussein had a stockpile of weapons of mass destruction which were ready to be used. We now know that he did not have them. Would the United States and its allies have invaded Iraq if we knew that it had no WMDs? Advocates of the war presented many reasons why the United States should attack, but we cannot know whether the public would have accepted them, or whether President Bush would have acted without majority support. So perhaps the Iraq War is one case in which the theorem failed.

COLLECTIVE PUBLIC RATIONALITY

Despite a few cases such as the Iraq War, the conclusions of people who study the Condorcet Jury Theorem largely have been supported by empirical research. In their groundbreaking study, *The Rational Public*, political scientists Benjamin Page and Robert Shapiro agreed that most individuals are poorly informed, but they described the American public as “collectively rational.”

Page and Shapiro’s case stands on two sets of evidence. First, they found that Americans’ political opinions are remarkably stable over time. Since the earliest years of our nation, political observers have speculated that public opinion swings wildly and without sound reason. For example, in the *Federalist Papers* — the series of essays arguing that Americans should agree to sign the U.S. Constitution — Hamilton, Madison, and Jay claimed that the public was subject to “violent passions,” that “transient impulses” sometimes governed their thoughts, and that the “whimsy of the majority” was a potential danger to the republic.

In fact, public opinion is quite stable. Page and Shapiro collected all of the public opinion time-series available from the major commercial and academic survey organizations from 1935 to 1990.

That is, they found every instance in which a public-opinion survey question was asked more than once of a national sample. They discovered that fewer than half of the answers to these repeated questions changed at all, and that when they did change, most of the changes were quite modest. Fewer than 7 percent of all public-opinion items changed as much as 20 percent. All the speculations about the whimsical, passionate nature of the public seem to be wrong.

Second, Page and Shapiro found that when Americans did change their views, they altered them in response to dramatic events or major changes in economic or social conditions in ways that make sense. The Persian Gulf War and the September 11 attacks caused jumps in support for defense spending. The rising crime rates from the 1960s through the 1980s caused an increase in support for government spending to fight crime. The rising cost of health care in the 1990s caused an increase in support for government-funded health insurance. All of these trends make perfect sense.

The changing attitudes of Californians toward offshore-oil drilling offers another nice example. Californians have sometimes been described as unwavering opponents of oil drilling along their coast. Yet as Figure 1 shows, when gasoline prices rise, so does support for more oil drilling. And when gasoline prices fall, support for more drilling falls as well. Californians may hold strong environmental values, but they also respond rationally to the cost of oil. In short, what Page and Shapiro found, as the title of their book declares, is that Californians respond as a rational public.

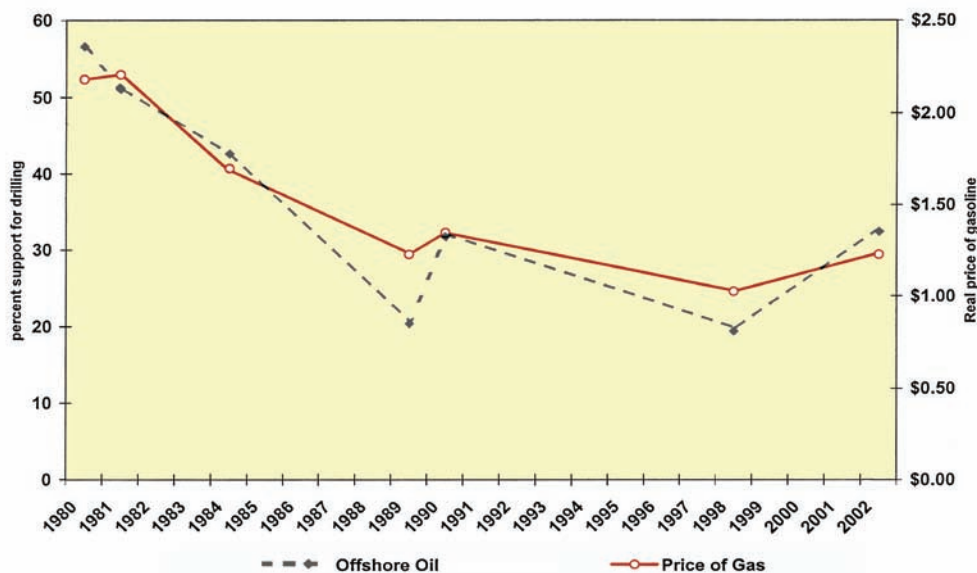
So what does all this mean for the quality of our democracy? Most citizens are not very well informed about the political issues that our nation faces, but collectively, we seem to respond in an intelligent, rational fashion.

To be sure, the situation could be better. If our citizens were better informed, our government would be more responsive to them and less responsive to special interests. This sort of problem probably will never go away. In addition, it is unlikely that we will ever agree on basic values. Some people favor liberal solutions to problems, while others favor conservative solutions. So disagreement about the direction of government is bound to continue. Still, although we may disagree about both values and facts, the evidence at hand shows that the public does know enough to make rational decisions. We may have causes for concern about the quality of our democracy, but the public's understanding of political issues is not one of them.



Eric R.A.N. Smith is a professor of political science at the University of California-Santa Barbara. His research focuses mainly on public opinion, elections, and environmental politics. He recently completed a book on public opinion toward offshore-oil development, nuclear power, and related energy and environmental issues — *Energy, the Environment, and Public Opinion* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2002). Professor Smith is also affiliated with the Environmental Studies Program at the University of California-Santa Barbara.

Figure 1. Trends in Support for Offshore-Oil Drilling and the Price of Gasoline





New Member Benefit!

Phi Kappa Phi invites you to post your résumé online at www.phikappaphi.org. The résumé database is available to active members through the secure server portion of the Web site. All you will need to get started is your member number and password. Member résumés will be made available at no charge to employers seeking top-quality candidates for available positions. Employers will be able to search for potential candidates in several ways, including field of study, experience, and region.

Make a career connection today!

www.phikappaphi.org/career.shtml



Phi Kappa Phi FORUM

Advertising Information

Phi Kappa Phi Forum is now taking reservations for ads. Because we are featuring ads as a benefit to our members and member institutions, our prices are very reasonable, often less than half of what magazines with similar circulation can offer. Members and member institutions receive a 15-percent discount off of our regular prices.

Deadlines for each issue are:

Issue	Reserve By	Files/Materials Submitted
Winter (appears early March)	October 15	November 1
Spring (appears late May)	February 15	March 1
Summer (appears late August)	May 15	June 1
Fall (appears late November)	August 15	September 1

For a rate-information brochure, call 1-800-243-1597 or write to:

Advertising Information
Phi Kappa Phi Forum
129 Quad Center, Mell Street
Auburn University, AL 36849-5306

Or read and print out the information by visiting our web page at www.auburn.edu/natforum.



James B. Jacobs

Corruption and Democracy

The relationship between corruption and democracy is complex and poorly understood. On first blush, it might seem obvious that corruption is democracy's enemy and that democracy is well-served by tough anticorruption controls. On reflection, however, it is not so simple. It is a mistake to conclude that democracy cannot take root in a country where corruption is widespread. Such a conclusion could serve as an excuse for not moving forward with social, economic, and political reforms and as a convenient explanation for all sorts of failures. It is also important to recognize that many initiatives taken in the name of fighting corruption may actually be pretexts for other goals, such as destroying political opponents. Even bona fide anticorruption controls are not necessarily effective in preventing corruption and do not necessarily increase governmental legitimacy or popularity.

Certainly in some democracies in the world corruption is commonplace — for example, in India, Brazil, the Philippines, and Italy. Within these countries, there may be a widely held myth of the inevitability of corruption. Within other democracies, regardless of the actual amount of corruption, there may be a widely held myth of integrity that remains unshaken despite one scandal after another.

In fact, the United States has a long and sordid history of corruption, especially in city government, but also in our state houses and presidential administrations. Anyone who needs a reminder would do well to read Robert Caro's wonderful biography of Lyndon Johnson, a book on Watergate, an account of Iran-Contra, an article on Bill Clinton's presidential pardons, or practically any day's copy of the *New York Times*. Just this week, for instance, articles appear on major corruption in Connecticut's state government, a federal investigation of corruption in Philadelphia, and the sentencing of Texas's former attorney general.

Widespread corruption occurs in the operation of our zoning boards, our drug war, and even our public schools. (See Lydia Segal's *Battling Corruption in America's Public Schools*, Northeastern University Press, 2003.) Most corruption never comes to light. However, the more that we invest in ferreting it out, the more we discover. Wherever we take a hard look, we can usually find at least some putative corruption. Just how corrupt a society is depends, of course, on who defines corruption and how. Can a society's corruption be judged only in terms of its own laws and morality, or can it be judged in terms of some universal definitions?

CAN CORRUPTION BE DEFINED?

Corruption is notoriously hard to define. "Corruption" itself is a pejorative word that different people use to denounce different kinds of conduct, some of which is legal, some illegal, and some on the borderline between legality and illegality. Lawyers would probably prefer to talk about

corruption in criminal-law terms: bribery, extortion, fraud, and theft. But bribery itself is an elusive concept. Individuals or firms can reward (now or later) those who act as they desire in so many ways

But bribery itself is an elusive concept. Individuals or firms can reward (now or later) those who act as they desire in so many ways — for example, direct payoffs to the compliant officer, indirect payoffs such as future jobs or investment opportunities, favors to the compliant officer's family members or friends. Societies are built around webs of reciprocal relationships and reciprocities. Distinguishing bribery from favor-doing and gift-giving is fraught with subjectivity.

— for example, direct payoffs to the compliant officer, indirect payoffs such as future jobs or investment opportunities, favors to the compliant officer's family members or friends. Societies are built around webs of reciprocal relationships and reciprocities. Distinguishing bribery from favor-doing and gift-giving is fraught with subjectivity. Until recently, for example, it was not illegal and perhaps not even considered corrupt for British MPs to take money from corporations in exchange for asking certain questions at Parliamentary sessions; indeed, some MPs sat on corporate boards. In the United States until recently members of Congress kept all unexpended campaign funds when they retired or were defeated; that is still the practice in many states. "Testimonial dinners" at which business executives and lawyers make gifts to politicians and judges were a common practice for generations. Indeed, we continue to debate whether the entire practice of financing political campaigns through pri-

private donations to political candidates is corrupt and ought to be considered a form of bribery.

Corruption defies measurement. What is the unit of analysis? What percentage of government officials commits a corrupt act annually or ever? What percentage of government "transactions" is tainted by corruption? What percentage of government expenditures or revenue collection could be called corrupt? Obviously, no such data are available. And the level of anticorruption investigation differs drastically from city to city, county to county, state to state, country to country, and from time to time. Therefore, it is not possible to know with any certainty whether more corruption exists in Philadelphia or Miami, or whether today more or less corruption can be found in New York City, California, or the United States as a whole than could be found one, two, or three generations ago. One thing is for sure: we have expanded the category

ries of conduct (for example, conflicts of interest) that are labeled corrupt. That expansion in itself may mean, practically by definition, that there is more corruption nowadays.

Corruption (think bribery) is often committed in private between consenting adults. Thus, only a fraction of corrupt conduct is ever discovered. When certain acts of corruption do come to light, their political significance depends upon how they are contextualized and publicized. Who reveals the corruption? Is it brought to light slowly by investigating journalists in an evolving scandal? Is it brought to light quickly by means of arrests and resignations? Is it portrayed as “just the tip of the iceberg” or as the venality of a single individual or small group of individuals? Are the wrongdoers contrite or brazen? Are they prosecuted? If so, are they convicted or acquitted? If convicted, are they severely punished or let off with a slap on the wrist? The answers to these questions will determine the effect of corruption’s exposure on the legitimacy of the government in power and on the legitimacy of the state itself.

A corruption charge is often employed as a political weapon in open societies with contested elections. (Obviously, corruption charges cannot be freely hurled against a dictatorial regime.) Political rivals may charge or insinuate that their opponents are personally corrupt or that their opponents’ allies, subordinates, or friends are corrupt. Whether the charges are true or false may never be established.

freely hurled against a dictatorial regime.) Political rivals may charge or insinuate that their opponents are personally corrupt or that their opponents’ allies, subordinates, or friends are corrupt. Whether the charges are true or false may never be established. Not all charges are investigated; not all charges that investigators believe to be true can be proven.

Sometimes police, prosecutors, and judges are allied with or biased toward or against the various targets. Sometimes the investigators themselves are trusted less than the politicians whom they are investigating. Whether corruption charges “stick” depends on many factors and on fortuitous events and personalities.

The truth or falsity of a corruption charge may matter little, if at all, to the political consequences. The very existence of corruption charges may significantly contribute to the citizenry’s cynicism about politics, politicians, and government. Recurrent corruption charges, even if unproven and unfounded, could undermine a democracy. My impression is that something like this may be happening in Eastern Europe, where the citizenry grew up

suspicious of private wealth and believing that capitalism is immoral and criminal. Such citizens are easily led to believe that all private wealth must have been corruptly acquired. They may believe that the prior dictatorial regime was less corrupt simply because, in those days, there was no free press or opposition party to expose corruption.

POLITICS OF CORRUPTION

The politics of corruption are fascinating. Sometimes a corruption charge leads to scandal, political mobilization, and regime change. Sometimes it does not lead anywhere. Among other things, the political consequences of corruption depend upon who is exposed and for what. Sometimes popular and powerful political figures can shake off corruption charges by accusing their accusers of being politically motivated or having ulterior (corrupt) motives. Sometimes the target of corruption charges is too old or too close to retirement to serve as a symbol of the “administration’s” venality. Sometimes the corrupt person is too inconsequential or the amount of money too small to mobilize popular indignation. Sometimes the citizenry is simply too anxious about other problems (the economy, war, rebellion) to worry about corruption.

A corruption charge is often employed as a political weapon in open societies with contested elections. (Obviously, corruption charges cannot be

LEVELS OF CORRUPTION

In considering the political consequences of corruption for democracy, it is important to recognize that not all corruption is created equal. Corruption exists at the top levels of government, at the very lowest levels, and at every level in between. Corruption can involve millions of dollars and corruption can involve tens of dollars. Corruption leads to, or is at least linked to, other injuries such as collapsed buildings or collapsed banks.

One common form of corruption that has been exposed over and over in New York City throughout the twentieth century is building inspectors exacting “rents” (taking bribes) for overlooking minor build-

ing-code violations or for expediting the issuance of certificates of compliance. Does such systemic corruption undermine the legitimacy of government in general or New York City government in particular? I think not, at least not significantly. Building inspectors are not public officials in whom the citizenry vests a great deal of trust. The vast majority of citizens have never had contact with a building inspector and certainly do not feel personally betrayed by seeing several of them led off in handcuffs. Indeed, the arrest and prosecution of some building inspectors once in a while functions as a morality play that persuades many citizens that honest government officials are vigilant in rooting out corrupt public employees. Another common form of corruption that may have little political impact is zoning-board officials who receive various pay-offs and favors for favorable rulings regarding development. Many people may favor the development (which translates into jobs) anyway and not see any harm in the board members getting a piece of the action. Or they may find such practices so common that the law seems confusing or wrong.

By contrast, a judge who awards a decision to the party who pays him off would seem to seriously undermine the government's and the regime's legitimacy. The maintenance of independent and honest civil and criminal courts would seem to go to the heart of what the citizenry expects of its government. Likewise, legislators who take money from special interests in exchange for introducing or supporting legislation sponsored by those interests might be widely seen to be fundamentally perverting the democratic process. Practically anything smacking of corruption committed by the President or high members of his administration is likely to command massive attention and negatively affect at least his administration's legitimacy.

ANTICORRUPTION POLITICS AND STATUTES

Anticorruption politics is just as interesting as corruption politics. Just as out-groups find strategic advantage in labeling in-groups as corrupt, in-groups resort to a variety of strategies to persuade the pub-

lic that they are taking every possible measure to prevent and root out corruption. Thus, local, state, or federal officials confronted with a corruption scandal usually draw on well-known and widely expected antiscandal strategies: convene a blue-ribbon commission to investigate; suspend or fire tainted officials; announce a series of organizational and personnel changes. If such responses are timely and seemingly sincere, they may redound to the government's benefit. Exposing and condemning corruption may be a valuable way for the government to reinforce or even increase its legitimacy and popularity.

The proliferation of rules, checks, and counterchecks makes government slow, “bureaucratic,” unresponsive, and inefficient. Governments of this type lose legitimacy. If honest officials are “overdeterred,” risk-averse, fearful of deviating from the rules, government may be seen as rigid, wasteful, and mindless. Ironically, all this anticorruption activity may have little or no effect on preventing corruption.

Ironically, tougher anticorruption statutes and administrative controls, plus more investigations, exposés, and prosecutions do not *necessarily* increase the citizenry's confidence in the government or the state. The more officials and official conduct that are labeled corrupt, the more corruption that is brought to light and publicized, the more corruption scandals, the less regard that the citizenry may have for public officials. In other words, too much anticorruption activity, like corruption itself, can increase cynicism and weaken the legitimacy of the government in power and government generally. In some nations, some segments of the citizenry may be so disillusioned that they are attracted to radical or revolutionary factions that promise integrity and a war on corruption.

Anticorruption controls also can amount to the over-regulation of government in a way that negatively affects governmental effectiveness and efficiency. The proliferation of rules, checks, and counterchecks makes government slow, “bureaucratic,” unresponsive, and inefficient. Governments of this type lose legitimacy. If honest officials are “overdeterred,” risk-averse, fearful of deviating from the rules, government may be seen as rigid, wasteful, and mindless. Ironically, all this anticorruption activity may have little or no effect on preventing corruption. In fact, it may increase it since now there are so many more rules and procedures whose violation can be called corrupt.

WHAT SHOULD WE DO ABOUT CORRUPTION?

Corruption is as old as government itself. There are many “causes” — psychological, sociological, economic, and political. Some are as simple as the government’s inability or unwillingness to pay public employees a living wage. Others are as complicated as ethnic groupings that value loyalty to one’s faction over loyalty to the polity as a whole. A healthy democracy must attempt to limit and manage corruption. It should assign higher priority to fighting corruption at the high levels than at the low levels. It should not treat all forms of corruption as equally bad. And it should not continuously pass laws expanding the categories of relationships and conduct that are corrupt. Fighting corruption must not become government’s exclusive or even highest priority. Would-be corruption controllers ought not lose sight of the fact that the government’s most important responsibilities are to maintain order, liberty, and justice; to promote social and economic opportunity; and to effectively deliver government services. Strange as it is to say, our goal should be the optimum amount of corruption and corruption control. That equilibrium will be different in different societies.

We ought to be wary of relentlessly expanding the definition of corruption. This trend seems to be happening in the United States with the move to treat politicians’ and governmental officials’ personal vices — sex, drugs, gambling — as a form of corruption, indeed a serious form of corruption. We do not want to overdeter governmental officials from taking risks and cutting through red tape. We do not want to treat all public employees as probationers under suspicion. We do not want to make political and governmental service unattractive. We do not want to

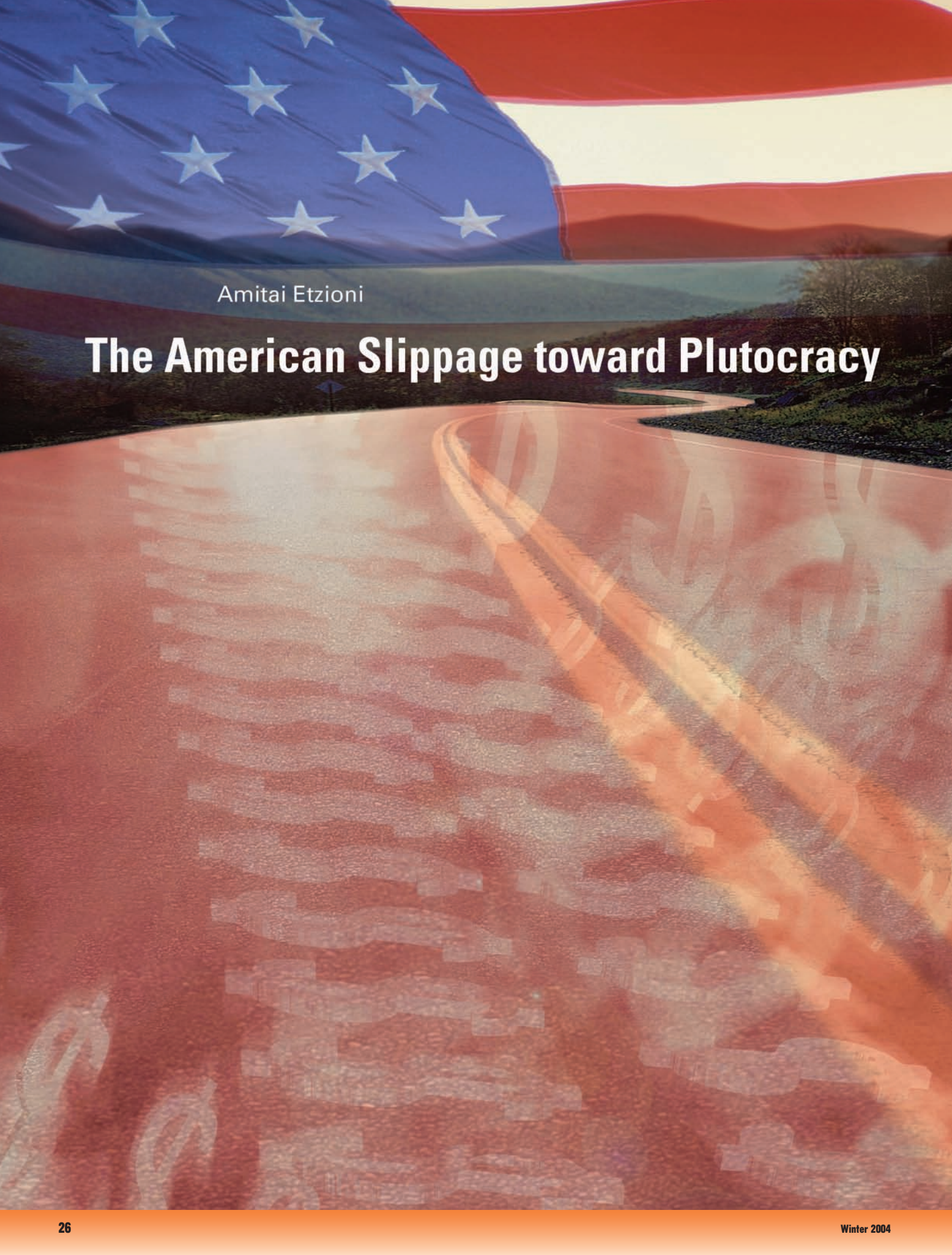
encourage or reinforce the citizenry’s cynicism about government. It would be ironic indeed if one of the primary consequences of more and more corruption laws and controls was the steady decline in confidence in government and participation in elections.

There is a tendency to despair of some countries developing into stable democracies on account of widespread governmental corruption. Here one thinks of countries such as Argentina, Mexico, Russia, Georgia, Armenia, and many others. It is important to remember that most western countries evolved as democracies despite a great deal of corruption. Comparing the “amount” of corruption in different countries is fraught with definitional and methodological problems, leading me to suggest that readers take the annual Transparency International Corruption Index with a grain of salt. (For what it’s worth, in 2002 TI ranked Finland the “least corrupt” nation in the world; it ranked the United States as number sixteen.) Corruption does not make democracy impossible, but the politics of corruption makes it more fragile. It takes a mature citizenry to understand that all governments experience corruption, that corruption cannot be eliminated, that many charges of corruption are unfounded and, if founded, exaggerated, and that managing corruption is a challenge for every government, every society, and every people.



James B. Jacobs is Warren E. Burger professor of law at New York University. He is co-author (with Frank Anechiarico) of *The Pursuit of Absolute Integrity: How Corruption Control Makes Government Ineffective* (University of Chicago Press, 1996).





Amitai Etzioni

The American Slippage toward Plutocracy



The American political system is moving ever further away from the ideal of one person, one vote to a political system based on one dollar, one vote. Votes are rarely directly purchased with cash on the barrel. However, the outcome of elections is determined more than ever by the amount of money that a candidate can raise. Funds are used to conduct studies of the emotions and prejudices of the voters; to hire consultants to spin messages that appeal to these feelings; and to create massive television advertisements that carry these spinned messages to the electorate.

True, those with the largest purses and deepest pockets do not always win, but frequently they have a decisive advantage over their opponents. Moreover, once in office, legislators both in Congress and in many state assemblies heed mainly those who have made and are expected to make campaign contributions. In some cases these are individuals (George Soros just made a contribution exceeding fifteen-million dollars and promised to give more), but often these are corporations and associations, especially large groupings of special interests. Among the major donors are the real estate lobby, banks, numerous industrial groups, labor unions, and the National Rifle Association.

Most of these funds do not flow into the personal pockets of legislators to enrich their way of life, but rather they are dedicated to their election or reelection. The costs of being elected are so high in many Congressional districts that members of Congress, especially in the House, spend a good part of their time not legislating or visiting with their constituents, but soliciting funds, including from out-of-state interest groups (or sometimes even out-of-country groups).

ANSWERING THE APOLOGISTS

Apologists for this thoroughly undemocratic system argue that campaign contributions do not buy legislation, but only “access.” They claim that legislators will indeed listen to those who make contributions to their campaigns, but do no more than that. But in a democracy, access should be based on how many voters you have lined up, the potency of your case, and service done for your country — not the size of your bank account. And access leads to influence. Corporations, unions, banks, and the real estate industry would have to be both stupid beyond belief and in violation of fiduciary duties to their shareholders or members if they rained millions on members of Congress without any expected payoff.

Others point out that lobbying is a constitutionally protected activity, meaning that citizens have a right to petition their elected officials about whatever specific causes or interests concern them — whether or not such issues are in the general “public” interest. A leading political scientist, James Q. Wilson, recently wrote an opinion article titled “Pork is Kosher Under Our Constitution.” Well, not in my book. It is fully democratic for voters to lobby their elected officials — by writing them, sending petitions, buttonholing them, and bending their ear. But gaining influence by paying cash on the barrel is a form of lobbying that the Constitution hardly favors.

Even if Wilson’s premise were true, this would mean that those who can afford to make large donations would be much more likely than less-endowed people and groups to be able to sway those who

are supposed to enact laws in the public interest. However, detailed analysis of legislation on both the national and the state levels shows that often the laws that are enacted follow closely the wishes of those with deep pockets and all too often contain direct payoffs to them. (See for instance *The Corruption of American Politics* by Elizabeth Drew, *Honest Graft: Big Money and the American Political Process* by Brooks Jackson, and *Capital Corruption* by Amitai Etzioni.) Much of this payoff is not in the public eye because it is buried in the small print of acts that run into hundreds of pages riddled with tax exemptions, subsidies, loans at below-market interest rates, zoning exceptions, and many other kinds of favors for those who made campaign donations.

Another defense of the slippage toward plutocracy is that the amount of money a person can raise is a measure of how much public support he or she has, which is inherently democratic. If this is true, it makes more sense to ask people to throw dollar bills into ballot boxes instead of, well, ballots. The fact is that those who are richer can make much larger contributions than those who are poor. Welfare mothers are no match to bankers. Much has been made recently of the wonderful spectacle of Howard Dean

Another defense of the slippage toward plutocracy is that the amount of money a person can raise is a measure of how much public support he or she has, which is inherently democratic. If this is true, it makes more sense to ask people to throw dollar bills into ballot boxes instead of, well, ballots. The fact is that those who are richer can make much larger contributions than those who are poor. Welfare mothers are no match for bankers.

being able to raise small amounts of money from a large number of people. However, what is disregarded in this celebration of money is that these donations are in addition to those which he gets from groups and individuals who are among the most powerful. A system in which one could give *only* small donations would still favor those with greater

means, but it would be vastly more democratic than the current system.

Defenders of the current system hold that individuals are limited in the amounts of funds that they can donate. The current limit is \$2,000 per individual per election, to their candidate of choice (primary and general elections could be considered as two elections). Each person can also donate \$5,000 for each calendar year to a PAC or state party com-

mittee and \$20,000 to their favorite national party. The total, though, cannot exceed \$25,000. Thus a family of four (assuming that the children are of age) can donate \$100,000 or more (if donations are spread over two years), an amount most families cannot possibly donate, leaving much of the field to the well-off. Moreover, many rich donors “bundle” — they get their relatives and friends to write checks and then use them to ensure that their own particular needs are addressed. Finally, the super-rich, such as John Kerry and Michael Bloomberg, can use as much of their own billions as their little hearts desire. Most importantly, despite various reforms, there is in effect no limit to the amount of money that corporations and other interest groups can put into an election campaign one way or another.

Whatever limits have been set by law on campaign contributions — and these change constantly as they are challenged in courts by advocates of legalized bribery — are often not enforced. The Federal Election Commission, which is supposed to be the watch dog of clean elections, has often been compared to a lap dog. It was set up to be a sop to reformers, but its design makes it prone to deadlock. This is because it is governed by three Democrats and three Republicans, and Congress limited its authority and accorded it a tiny budget.

PUBLIC INDIFFERENCE

Unfortunately, it is very difficult to get the public excited about the ways that monies corrupt the system. Although public-opinion polls show that more than half of Americans are in favor of campaign-finance reform, the public is much more interested in substantive issues such as health care and education and the war than in what is considered a procedural issue — the way elections and legislation are conducted. Moreover, told that public financing of election amounts to socialism, voters tend to shy away from it. Indeed, one of the least-addressed issues in the presidential primaries, at least so far, is the important question: How are we going to finance politics? As I see it, drawing on my year as a senior adviser to the Carter White House, there is no domestic issue more important. The reason is that most other public actions are undermined by the fact that decisions, all too often, are not made on the basis of public interests or inherent merit, but rather they are governed by special interests. Fix the “procedures” involved and get much substantive relief on many fronts. Indeed, as I see it, truly encompassing financing reform is as close to magic ever as one can come in public life.

Apologists for the existing system argue that whatever reforms are made will merely end up with

a flood of private monies looking for some other ways to flow into public hands. They should look at Great Britain. Parliamentary-election costs there are much lower because campaigns basically are limited to a few weeks. Each candidate is allowed to spend a small fixed amount (it is determined by a complex formula, but it averages a puny four figures, compared with the millions spent by most American candidates vying for Washington jobs). If a candidate spends more, the election results are invalidated. Candidates can mail one leaflet to each household free of charge, and the parties get free but rationed television time.

Many Americans abhor the idea of the government fully covering the costs of campaigns, and it has been labeled a “taxpayer-financed government takeover of campaigns.” The fact is, though, if clean elections could stop even a few of the laws that favor lobbies over public needs, then paying for campaigns from the public till would be a tremendous bargain. Thus, if we could kill some of the incredibly costly weapon systems that neither the Pentagon nor outside military experts favor, we would already be able to pay the costs of the next presidential and congressional elections.

Historically such major corruptions of a polity as we now face have not been corrected unless they have been made the core of a major social political movement. The best American example of such a major cleanup was the progressive movement, which took off some hundred years ago and is overdue for a second coming. Regrettably, the small groups interested in reform of the American polity, the biggest of which is Common Cause, have focused so far on drafting and marking up legislation. Without broad-based mobilization of those who are often locked out of the system by those with large oodles of money, reform, I hate to report, will not take place.



Amitai Etzioni is a University Professor at The George Washington University, and his most recent book is *My Brother's Keeper: A Memoir and a Message* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2003). Scheduled for release in April is *From Empire to Community: A New Approach to International Relations* (Paulgrave, 2004).

OTAKA THE CAT

My little brother was burned on his face
And hands and his face was all swollen.
He was a cute little brother but he died
After a week. He died calling mummy!
mummy!

Ruriko Araoka, Hiroshima survivor

Where the paper of the shoji's
lower panel is torn Otaka the cat
enjoys sliding his paw through
to pat the floor — he never
finds anything yet seems
immensely pleased.

He does not know what
he lived through; everything
is broken, we are hungry:
my school lunch is air
& dinner too sometimes
but I give my balls of rice

to the orphans. The hair
I lost from breathing poison
is back, it helps to tantalize
those silly paws with string,
smile into those wild eyes
haunted by nothing.

SEAN BRENDAN-BROWN

Sean Brendan-Brown is a photographer for the Insurance Commissioner's Investigative Division in Olympia, Washington (known locally as the "Yuck Unit") and a 1997 NEA recipient. He has published with *Confrontation*, *Notre Dame Review*, *Cold Mountain Review*, *Washington Square*, and the anthologies *American Diaspora* (University of Iowa Press, 2001) and *Like Thunder* (University of Iowa Press, 2002).

FLYING OVER THE BERING STRAIT: A MEDITATION

Moonlight glints sea ice like mirrors,
burns ice fields like sequins —
a necklace of jewels on black Chinese silk

the young woman knots hunched on her stool
inches from the ground, from her loom,
her head arcing up to the carpet's blue pattern,

down to methodical fingers threading taut strings.
Her eyes scan a corridor of inches,
never looking out, never seeing me.

She's seen enough like me, our tourist
shoes circling her haunches, her marathon art.
Daily the twisted silk she interlaces at right angles,

the thousand knots contingent on her lateral control,
the turn of color casting lotus cupping moonlight,
each petal fanning dreams. The dream behind her

eyes, ice floes to soothe.
She seeks release from tight measure.
Her mouth wants a puff of smoke,

soft, irregular, disappearing.
She longs to make nothing, after hours to be handled,
her body unfolding under moons — on a bed,

her own shining opening, a lover's cool touch, his
masculine scent. She wants to not see in his marble-black
eyes the day's too-many colors or her own talon fingers.

She unfolds their taut hourly
control, desires night-shining pearls, Chinese
fresh-water pearls strung across seas.

Her fingers open. He rolls pearls in her cupped palms,
ice fields flaming in the moonlight.

SALLY RIDGWAY PROLER

Sally Ridgway Proler leads writing workshops in Houston, Texas. She has won several awards for her poetry, and it has been published in literary journals such as *Confrontations*, *Phoebe*, and *Nimrod*. She has an MFA in Writing from Vermont College.



Deni Elliott

The Essential Role for News Media

On September 18, 2003, President George W. Bush said publicly that there was no evidence linking Saddam Hussein to the terrorist attacks of 9/11/2001.¹ That announcement must have confused the 70 percent of Americans polled who believed that the deposed leader of Iraq was “personally involved” with the suicide bombings of the World Trade Center and the Pentagon.² The president’s admission certainly surprised me because it was President Bush and the White House staff who had intentionally created the erroneous connection in the first place.

The purported connection between Iraq and Al Qaeda was not the only thing that confused Americans. Polls conducted by scholars and news organizations since the “War on Terror” began in September 2001 showed the development of other disturbing misunderstandings.

For example, polls conducted soon after 9/11 showed that very few Americans, fewer than 5 percent, mentioned Iraq in speculating who was responsible for the attacks. But, by January 2003, a Knight-Ridder poll found that 44 percent of those polled believed that “some” or “most” of the hijackers were Iraqi. The correct answer is none.³

A poll conducted by researchers at the University of Maryland in June 2003 found that 41 percent of Americans polled believed either that the United States had found weapons of mass destruction in

Iraq (34 percent) or were unsure whether weapons of mass destruction had been found (7 percent).⁴

Misperceptions such as these led to a level of public support for the United States-led invasion and occupation that might not have been there otherwise. For example, the University of Maryland pollsters found that of those who approved of U.S. operations in Iraq, 52 percent believed that, in the ensuing conflict, the United States had found weapons of mass destruction.⁵

Four months later, the University of Maryland researchers explored further the connection between misperceptions and support of the war. They found a direct link between the 60 percent of Americans who held one or more of three misconceptions (that the United States had found weapons of mass destruction, that Saddam Hussein was involved with the 9/11 attacks, and that people in other countries either backed the U.S. invasion or were evenly split in their support), and support for the invasion and occupation. According to a news report of the poll, “Among those with one of the three misconceptions, 53 percent supported the war. Among those with two, 78 percent supported it. Among those with three, 86 percent backed it. By contrast, less than a quarter of those polled who had none of the misconceptions backed the war.”⁶

It ought to be no surprise that citizens support policy and governmental action on the basis of their

understanding of the justification for that policy and action. But, the consequence of misperceptions regarding Iraq is an important illustration of the breakdown in contemporary American democracy, as are the even more-disturbing polls that relate to Americans' perception of their ability to trust their president and the connection between news sources and citizens' misunderstandings.

According to a story published July 1, 2003, by the Associated Press, only 39 percent of those polled believed that the U.S. administration was being "fully truthful" in presenting evidence about a link between Saddam and the Al Qaeda terrorist network.⁷

The October 2003 University of Maryland poll found that "80 percent of those who said they relied on Fox News and 71 percent of those who said they relied on CBS believed at least one of the three misperceptions. The comparable figures were 47 percent for those who said they relied most on newspapers and magazines and 23 percent for those who said they relied on PBS or National Public Radio."⁸

Government, news media, and citizens form the necessary triad for democracy. Democracy can truly work only with active, informed citizens who have reason to trust the information that they get from the government and the information that they get from news media. All three segments have responsibility for the erroneous beliefs cited above. While I will note the problems with governmental deception and passive citizenry, my main focus for this piece is the failure of news media to ensure that citizens have the adequate and accurate information necessary for self-governance.

Government, news media, and citizens form the necessary triad for democracy. Democracy can truly work only with active, informed citizens who have reason to trust the information that they get from the government and the information that they get from news media.

THE ROLE OF GOVERNMENT IN DEMOCRACY

Democracy is a fragile form of government, dependent as it is on the interaction of self-governing citizens with their leader-representatives. In the words of contemporary philosopher Israel Scheffler, himself a student of the passionate proponent of democracy, John Dewey:

The democratic ideal is that of an open and dynamic society: open, in that there is no antecedent social blueprint which is itself to be taken as a dogma immune to critical evaluation in the public forum; dynamic, in that its fundamental institutions are not designed to arrest change but to order and channel it by exposing it to public scrutiny and resting it ultimately upon the choices of its members. The democratic ideal is antithetical to the notion of a fixed class of rulers, with privileges resting upon social myths which it is forbidden to question. It envisions rather a society that sustains itself not by the indoctrination of myth, but by the reasoned choices of its citizens, who continue to favor it in light of a critical scrutiny both of it and its alternatives.⁹

A government that claims to legitimately lead in a democracy is tolerable only to the extent that it is transparent to the people whom it serves. While the current Bush administration is far from being the first to intentionally deceive American citizens, there is an increasingly disturbing tendency for the White House to be matter-of-fact about its deceptions rather than to feel a need to justify them.

Beginning in September 2001, the Bush administration worked to link Saddam Hussein with the terrorist attacks of 9/11. Then-White-House speechwriter David Frum said that his assignment "for the State of the Union last year was to extrapolate from the September 11 terrorist attacks to make a case for 'going after Iraq.'"¹⁰

Frum wrote and Bush said in the State of the Union address and news media repeated in January 2002 that "Iraq continues to flaunt its hostility toward America and to support terror. . . . States like these, and their terrorist allies, constitute an axis of evil, arming to threaten the peace of the world. . . . The United States of America will not permit the world's most dangerous regimes to threaten us with the world's most destructive weapons. . . . We can't stop short. If we stop now — leaving terror camps intact and terror states unchecked — our sense of security would be false and temporary."¹¹

The subtle linking of Saddam Hussein with 9/11 continued throughout other speeches in 2002 and was reinforced in the State of the Union address in January 2003. Bush said:

And this Congress and the American people must recognize another threat. Evidence from intelligence sources, secret communications, and statements by people now in custody reveal that Saddam Hussein aids and protects terrorists, including members of Al Qaeda

Before September the 11th, many in the world believed that Saddam Hussein could be contained. But chemical agents, lethal viruses, and shadowy terrorist networks are not easily contained. Imagine those nineteen hijackers with other weapons and other plans — this time armed by Saddam Hussein. It would take one vial, one canister, one crate slipped into this country to bring a day of horror like none we have ever known. We will do everything in our power to make sure that that day never comes.¹²

Frum’s claims of the White House-engineered link between Al Qaeda and Saddam Hussein were supported by candidate and retired General Wesley Clark in his June 2003 appearance on *Meet the Press*. Clark said that the White House had called him the day of the 9/11 attacks and asked him to claim that there was a link between Saddam Hussein and the attacks. Clark said that he refused to do so because there was no evidence for the claim.¹³

According to Fairness & Accuracy in Reporting (FAIR), “Clark’s assertion corroborates a little-noted *CBS Evening News* story that aired on September 4, 2002. As correspondent David Martin reported: ‘Barely five hours after American Airlines Flight 77 plowed into the Pentagon, the secretary of defense was telling his aides to start thinking about striking Iraq, even though there was no evidence linking Saddam Hussein to the attacks.’”

According to CBS, a Pentagon aide’s notes from that day quote Rumsfeld asking for the “best info fast” to “judge whether good enough to hit SH at the same time, not only UBL.” (The initials SH and UBL stand for Saddam Hussein and Osama bin Laden.) The notes then quote Rumsfeld as demanding, omi-

nously, that the administration’s response “go massive . . . sweep it all up, things related and not.”¹⁴

Christian Science Monitor reporter Linda Feldman reported that President Bush continued, subtly to make the Iraq-Al Qaeda connection during the buildup to the war. In a press conference in early March, Feldman said:

President Bush mentioned September 11 eight times. He referred to Saddam Hussein many more times than that, often in the same breath with September 11.

Bush never pinned blame for the attacks directly on the Iraqi president. Still, the overall effect was to reinforce an impression that persists among much of the American public: that the Iraqi dictator did play a direct role in the attacks

“The administration has succeeded in creating a sense that there is some connection [between Sept. 11 and Saddam Hussein],” says Steven Kull, director of the Program on International Policy Attitudes (PIPA) at the University of Maryland.¹⁵

It seems facile to state that a democratic government ought not deceive its citizens, or that it is unethical for leaders to create misperceptions in a people who are charged with self-governance. But, something has changed from the mid-twentieth century when American citizens expressed horror in learning that Senator Joe McCarthy would make false claims and manipulate the news media

into publishing the claims unchallenged. Manipulation of the truth and of media by governmental leaders — intolerable a half century ago — has been morally neutralized. Now that manipulation is called “spin,” and citizens assume that leaders cannot be trusted to tell them the truth.

This situation is a failing both on the part of

In many newsrooms, marketing values have replaced news values. Media managers think in terms of consumers rather than citizens. Good journalism sells, but unfortunately, bad journalism sells as well. And, bad journalism — stories that simply repeat governmental claims or that reinforce what the public wants to hear instead of offering independent reporting — is cheaper and easier to produce.

leaders and of citizens. Citizens do have the power to protest, whether the protest be against the FCC for allowing more monopolistic corporate control of electronic media, or against a president who would dare to lead his constituency astray. Unfortunately, ex-President Clinton's lies about his sexual activities generated more citizen outrage than President Bush's efforts to provide a false basis for Americans to support the invasion of Iraq.

THE ESSENTIAL ROLE FOR NEWS MEDIA

Most importantly, news media have gone through a disturbing transition since the days when broadcast journalist Edward R. Murrow brought down Senator McCarthy and even since the days that a couple of young *Washington Post* journalists brought down President Nixon. In many newsrooms, marketing values have replaced news values. Media managers think in terms of consumers rather than citizens. Good journalism sells, but unfortunately, bad journalism sells as well. And, bad journalism — stories that simply repeat governmental claims or that reinforce what the public wants to hear instead of offering independent reporting — is cheaper and easier to produce.

According to a recent FAIR report, while news media are finally covering stories regarding the “flawed” intelligence that was used to justify the Iraqi invasion, few journalists are speaking directly to what might be euphemistically called the “disinformation campaign.” The media, these critics say, are “strangely reluctant to pursue stories suggesting that the flawed intelligence — and therefore the war — may have been a result of deliberate deception, rather than incompetence. The public deserves a fuller accounting of this story.”¹⁶

News media have the responsibility to be an independent chorus in the triad of government, citizens, and journalism. Like the Greek Chorus of ancient dramatic performances, journalists have the responsibility to be separate from government and separate from citizens as well. The journalistic voices should give citizens information that they need instead of perceptions that that might make citizens happier to have reinforced. Journalistic voices should put governmental messages always in context of the truth. If journalists are doing their jobs well, the resulting stories will cause citizens and leaders alike a little discomfort.

Learning and educated action — the bedrock of democracy — begin with dissonance, with the discomfort of having one's worldview shaken. The open and dynamic society that Scheffler describes depends on continual inquiry and reflection. True democracy is possible only with leaders and citizens who are actively working together to create, and recreate, an increasingly better world.



Deni Elliott is the Poynter-Jamison Professor of Media Ethics and Press Policy at the University of South Florida-St. Petersburg.

End Notes:

1. <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/americas/3118262.stm>
2. http://www.usatoday.com/news/washington/2003-09-06-poll-iraq_x.htm
3. <http://www.csmonitor.com/2003/0314/p02s01-woiq.htm>
4. http://www.pipa.org/whatsnew/html/new_6_04_03.html
5. http://www.pipa.org/whatsnew/html/new_6_04_03.html
6. http://www.philly.com/mld/philly/news/special_packages/iraq/6918170.htm
7. <http://www.commondreams.org/headlines03/0701-05.htm>
8. http://www.philly.com/mld/philly/news/special_packages/iraq/6918170.htm
9. Scheffler, I. (1981). “Moral Education and the Democratic Ideal.” In Cahn, S. (1996). *Classic and Contemporary Readings in the Philosophy of Education*. New York: McGraw Hill, p. 436.
10. Reynolds, M. (2003). “‘Axis of Evil’ Rhetoric Said to Heighten Dangers.” *Los Angeles Times*, Tuesday, January 21, p. A 17.
11. Bush, G. (2002). State of the Union Address. <http://www.whitehouse.gov>
12. Bush, G. (2003). State of the Union Address. <http://www.whitehouse.gov>
13. <http://www.fair.org/press-releases/clark-iraq.html>
14. <http://www.fair.org/press-releases/clark-iraq.html>
15. <http://www.csmonitor.com/2003/0314/p02s01-woiq.htm>
16. <http://www.fair.org/press-release/clark-iraq.html>



William A. Galston

Civic Education and Political Participation

Anxiety about the civic attitudes and activities of young adults in America is nothing new, and its persistence is easy to understand. As far back as evidence can be found — and virtually without exception — young adults seem to have been less attached to civic life than their parents and grandparents. Nor is it difficult to find plausible explanations for this gap. Civic attachment is linked to such factors as professional interests (and self-interests), a stable residential location, home ownership, marriage, and parenthood, all of which are statistically less characteristic of younger adults.¹ Not surprisingly, in every generation the simple passage of time has brought maturing young adults more fully into the circle of civic life.

So are today's worries any more justified than in times past? Has anything changed?

The answer, I believe, is yes. The reason is to be found in the demographic distinction between cohort effects and generational effects. “Cohorts” represent a snapshot of different age groups at the same historical moment, while “generations” represent the same age groups at different historical moments. If we compare generations rather than cohorts — that is, if we compare today's young adults not with today's older adults but with young adults of the past — we find evidence of diminished civic attachment.

Some of the basic facts are well known. In the early 1970s, about one-half of eighteen- to twenty-nine-year-olds voted in Presidential elections. By 2000, fewer than one-third did. The same pattern holds for congressional elections — a bit more than one-fourth in the mid-1970s, compared with less than one-fifth in 2002.

Less well known are the trends charted by a remarkable UCLA study, conducted since the mid-1960s and involving 250,000 matriculating college freshmen each year. Over this period, every significant indicator of political engagement has fallen by about half. Only 33 percent of freshmen think that keeping up with politics is important, down from 60 percent in 1966 (though up a bit from the all-time low of 28 percent recorded in 2000). Only 16 percent say that they frequently discuss politics, down from 33 percent in 1966. Not surprisingly, acquisition of political knowledge from traditional media sources is way down, and as yet not enough young people are using the Internet to fill the role newspapers and network television news once played as sources of civic information.

But the news is not all bad by any means. Today's young people are patriotic, tolerant, and compassionate. They believe in America's principles and in the American Dream. They adeptly navigate our nation's increasing diversity. And, as has been widely reported and discussed, they are more than willing to give of themselves to others. College freshmen are reporting significantly increased levels of volunteering in their last year of high school, a trend that seems to be carrying over to their early college years. But only one-third of today's young volunteers believe that they will continue this practice once they enter the paid work force. And there is no evidence that such volunteerism will lead to wider civic engagement.

On the contrary, young people typically characterize their volunteering as an alternative to official politics, which they see as self-absorbed and unrelated to their deeper ideals. They have limited knowledge of government's impact, either on themselves or on those they seek to assist. They understand why it matters to feed a hungry person at a soup kitchen; they do not understand why it matters where government sets eligibility levels for food stamps or payment levels for the Earned Income Tax Credit. They have confidence in personalized acts with consequences they can see for themselves; they have less confidence in collective actions (especially those undertaken through public institutions), whose consequences they see as remote, opaque, and impossible to control.

I do not intend this as a reproach. The blame (if that is an appropriate characterization at all) rightly attaches to older adults, who have failed in their responsibility to transmit workable civic norms; to provide practical contexts in which young people can develop civic knowledge, dispositions, and skills; and to conduct our politics in a manner that engages young people's aspirations and ideals. The surge of patriotic sentiment among young people in the

immediate wake of September 11 has not yielded a comparable surge in engaged, active citizenship. And I am not alone in tracing this gap to the failure of our public institutions to offer enough meaningful venues for young people to put their civic impulses into practice. What is true of most people is especially true for young people: we tend to respond to concrete challenges and opportunities, in the absence of which we may not be motivated to translate our good intentions into action.

WHY DOES CIVIC DISENGAGEMENT MATTER?

I believe that the increasing civic detachment of the young cannot be regarded with equanimity. First, let me offer a truism about representative democracy: political engagement is necessary but not sufficient for political effectiveness. If today's young people have legitimate generational interests that do not wholly coincide with the interests of their elders, then those interests cannot shape public decisions unless they are forcefully articulated. We should be debating higher-education finance, job training, and family policy as vigorously as we do the future of Social Security and Medicare. We aren't, and we won't, unless younger Americans become more engaged. The withdrawal of a cohort of citizens from public affairs disturbs the balance of public deliberation to the detriment of those who withdraw (and of many others besides).

Second, I would offer an old-fashioned argument from obligation. Most young Americans derive great benefits from their membership in a stable, prosperous, and free society. These goods do not fall like manna from heaven; they must be produced and renewed by each generation. Every citizen has a moral responsibility to contribute his or her fair share to sustaining the public institutions and processes on which we all depend and from which we all benefit.

Third, I come to the relation between citizenship and self-development. Even if we agree (and we may not) on the activities that constitute good citizenship, one may still wonder why it is good to be a good citizen. After all, it is possible for many individuals to realize their good in ways that do not involve the active exercise of citizenship. Even if we accept Aristotle's characterization of politics as the architectonic activity, it does not follow that the development of civic capacities is architectonic for every soul.

Still, there is something to the proposition that, under appropriate circumstances, political engagement helps develop capacities that are intrinsically important. I have in mind the sorts of intellectual

and moral capacities that de Tocqueville and Mill discuss or gesture toward: among them enlarged interests, a wider human sympathy, a sense of active responsibility for oneself, the skills needed to work with others toward goods that can only be obtained through collective action, and the powers of sympathetic understanding needed to build bridges of persuasive words to those with whom one must act.

These links between participation and character development are empirical, not theoretical, propositions, and we do not yet have the kind of evidence we need to sustain them against doubt. On the other hand, we do not have compelling reasons to doubt them, and we can at least advance them as a plausible profession of public faith — as long we are not too categorical about it.

It may well be that, even as civic engagement has declined, it has become not less but more necessary for the development of the human capacities just sketched. Underlying this conjecture is the suspicion that, as the market has become more pervasive during the past generation as organizing metaphor and as daily experience, the range of opportunities to develop nonmarket skills and dispositions has narrowed. For various reasons, the solidaristic organizations that dominated the U.S. landscape from the 1930s through the early 1960s have weakened, and the principle of individual choice has emerged as our central value. Indeed, citizenship itself has become optional, as the sense of civic obligation (to vote or to do anything else of civic consequence) has faded and as the military draft has been replaced by all-volunteer armed forces. When the chips are down, we prefer exit to voice, and any sense of loyalty to something larger than ourselves has all but disappeared. In this context, the experience of collective action directed toward common purposes is one of the few conceivable counterweights to today's hyperextended principle of individual choice.

If civic engagement is more necessary than ever, our manifest failure to foster it among young adults looms all the larger. The formative mechanisms and mobilizing arenas of civic opportunity are many. For example, evidence presented in *The Civic Mission of Schools*, a national report jointly produced by the Carnegie

Corporation and the Center for Information and Research on Civic Learning and Engagement (CIRCLE) and made public earlier this year, demonstrates the impact of parents and faith-based institutions on the civic life of young people. In the remainder of this article, I will focus on the most traditional of these mechanisms and opportunities — our public schools — and on the most old-fashioned of their efforts to encourage political engagement: namely, civic education.

THE CURRENT FAILURE OF CIVIC EDUCATION

The evidence that we have failed to transmit basic civic knowledge to young adults is now incontrovertible. In our decentralized system of public education, the closest thing we have to a national examination is the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP), which is devised by teams of subject-matter experts and then carefully field-tested and revised in a process directed

by the National Assessment Governing Board. The NAEP is administered biennially in what are deemed “core academic subjects.” Unfortunately, civic education has not yet achieved that exalted status, and we are fortunate if civic knowledge is assessed once a decade. For each subject, four different achievement levels are defined: “below basic,” which means little if any demonstrated knowledge of the subject; “basic,” which indicates partial mastery; “proficient,” which is the level representing a standard of adequate knowledge; and “advanced.” These achievement levels represent absolute thresholds, not percentiles. In principle, every student could reach the level of proficiency.

The results of the most recent NAEP Civics Assessment were released three years ago. They were not encouraging. For fourth-, eighth-, and (most relevant

for our purposes) twelfth-graders, about three-fourths were below the level of proficiency. Thirty-five percent of high school seniors tested below basic, indicating near-total civic ignorance. Another

For various reasons, the solidaristic organizations that dominated the U.S. landscape from the 1930s through the early 1960s have weakened, and the principle of individual choice has emerged as our central value. Indeed, citizenship itself has become optional, as the sense of civic obligation (to vote or to do anything else of civic consequence) has faded and as the military draft has been replaced by all-volunteer armed forces.

39 percent were at the basic level, demonstrating less than the working knowledge that citizens need.

When we combine these NAEP results with other data from the past decade of survey research, we are driven to a gloomy conclusion: whether we are concerned with the rules of the political game, political players, domestic policy, foreign policy, or political geography, student performance is quite low. And this is puzzling. While the level of formal schooling in the United States is much higher than it was fifty years ago, the civic knowledge of today's students is no higher than that of their parents and grandparents. We have made a major investment in formal education, without any discernible payoff in increased civic knowledge.

Several state-by-state analyses of civic education, the most recent of which, *Educating Democracy: State Standards to Ensure a Civic Core*, was released by the Albert Shanker Institute in the spring of 2003, help explain these unimpressive results. While most states endorse civic education in their constitutions and declaratory policies, only half the states have even partially specified a required core of civic knowledge, fewer have made a serious effort to align their civics-related courses with challenging standards, and only a handful administer exams focused exclusively on civic topics. In many states, certification requirements do not ensure that teachers called upon to teach civics will have the education and training needed to do the job. Other studies indicate that a significant percentage of history and social studies teachers, who typically end up leading civics classes, have little formal preparation for that task (or indeed for teaching history and social studies).

In addition, school-based civic education has been in decline over the past three decades. According to *The Civic Mission of Schools*, most high school civic education today consists of a single government course, compared with the three courses in civics, democracy, and government that were common until the 1960s. Unlike the traditional civics course, today's government class analyzes and describes politics as a distant subject matter, often with little explicit discussion of citizens' rights and responsibilities. Nor is the decline limited to high school. In just one decade, between 1988 and 1998, the proportion of fourth-graders who reported taking social studies daily fell steeply from 49 percent to only 39 percent.

The causes of this decline are multiple and not easily summarized. Let me mention just two. First, many teachers, principals, and school boards fear criticism — or even litigation — if they address topics that some parents or other members of the community may consider inappropriately controversial or political. In response, many school systems have backed away from civic education. Second, the push

for high-stakes testing in core academic subjects can come at the expense of subjects not considered to be part of the core, as civics usually is not.

DOES CIVIC KNOWLEDGE MATTER?

It is easy to dismiss these findings as irrelevant to the broader concerns with which I began. Who cares whether young people master the boring content of civics courses? Why does it matter whether they can identify their representatives or name the branches of government? Surprisingly, recent research documents important links between basic civic information and civic attributes that we have good reason to care about.

- Civic knowledge promotes support for democratic values. The more knowledge we have of the workings of government, the more likely we are to support the core values of democratic self-government, starting with tolerance.
- Civic knowledge promotes political participation. All other things being equal, the more knowledge people have, the more likely they are to participate in civic and political affairs.
- Civic knowledge helps citizens to understand their interests as individuals and as members of groups. There is a rational relationship between one's interests and particular legislation: the more knowledge we have, the more readily and accurately we connect with and defend our interests in the political process.
- Civic knowledge helps citizens learn more about civic affairs. Unless we have a certain core of knowledge, it is difficult to acquire more knowledge. Moreover, the new knowledge we do gain can be used effectively only if we are able to integrate it into an existing framework.
- The more knowledge we have of civic affairs, the less we have a sort of generalized mistrust and fear of public life. Ignorance is the father of fear, and knowledge is the mother of trust.
- Civic knowledge improves the consistency of citizens' views as expressed on public-opinion surveys. The more knowledge people have, the more consistent their views over time on political affairs. This does not mean that people do not change their views, but it does mean that they know their own minds.
- Civic knowledge can alter our opinion on specific civic issues. For example, the more civic knowledge people have, the less likely they are to fear new immigrants and their impact on our country.

DOING SCHOOL-BASED CIVIC EDUCATION

As recently as a decade ago, the conventional wisdom (backed by academic research from the 1970s) was that school-based civic education was doomed to ineffectiveness. However, the most recent research points in a more optimistic direction. While there is no magic bullet, there are a number of effective approaches to civic education. The Civic Mission of Schools summarizes their shared characteristics as follows:

- a deliberate, intentional focus on civic outcomes, such as students' propensity to vote, to work on local problems, to join voluntary associations, and to follow the news;
- explicit advocacy of civic and political engagement, without advocating a particular position or partisan stance;
- active learning opportunities that offer students the chance to engage in discussions of relevant issues and to take part in activities that help put a "real-life" perspective on classroom learning; and
- an emphasis on the ideas and principles that are essential to constitutional democracy, such as those found in the Declaration of Independence and the U.S. Constitution, and on how they influence education, religion, the workplace, and government at every level.

In addition, this report stressed the importance of school environment and culture to the acquisition of civic skills and attitudes. The most effective programs occur in schools that:

- consciously promote civic engagement by all students, with special attention to those who might otherwise remain disengaged;
- give students opportunities to contribute opinions about school governance — through student governments and other forums such as all-school assemblies and small working groups — and to understand how school systems are run;
- collaborate with the community and local institutions to provide civic learning opportunities;
- provide teachers with access to professional development in civic education; and
- infuse a civic mission throughout the curriculum, offer an array of extracurricular activities, and provide a school climate that helps students put what they learn about civic education and democracy into practice.

THE IMPORTANCE AND THE CHALLENGE

While the importance of effective civic education is perennial, several trends combine to make it especially urgent today: the United States must integrate an unprecedented wave of immigrants into the mainstream of civic life; left unchecked, troubling inequalities in the civic participation of different socioeconomic and ethnic groups could exacerbate undesirable political and policy trends; and civic education is one of the few forces that can resist the rising tide of materialism in U.S. culture that numerous surveys have documented.

The difficulty of this task at least matches its importance. Not only do community-level disagreements about controversial policies continue to pose problems for teachers and school administrators, but also, at a deeper level, Americans do not wholly agree about the kind of citizenship we want our schools to foster. The question we face is whether there is enough agreement on some basics to allow us to proceed in spite of these differences. The experience of recent efforts to find common ground, spearheaded by such groups as the Center for Civic Education, the National Commission on Civic Renewal, and the joint Carnegie/CIRCLE project, points in an encouraging direction. The ultimate test, however, will occur on the ground, if and when every state decides to address this challenge in a serious and sustained way.



William A. Galston is the Saul Stern Professor of Civic Engagement, director of the Institute for Philosophy and Public Policy, University of Maryland, College Park, and founding director of CIRCLE.

SOURCES

1. Sources for the empirical claims made in this article include William A. Galston, "Political Knowledge, Political Engagement, and Civic Education," *Annual Review of Political Science*, vol. 4, 2001, pp. 217–34; Carnegie Corporation of New York and the Center for Information and Research on Civic Learning and Engagement (CIRCLE), *The Civic Mission of Schools*, available at www.civicmissionofschools.org; and fact sheets developed by CIRCLE, available at www.civicyouth.org.

Article reprinted by permission from the *Phi Delta Kappan*, September 2003, pp. 29–33.

THE SECOND TIME AROUND

After our romance collapsed,
I flew jet fighters, living in cockpit
and flight shack, lugging crash helmet

and clipboard, parachute
bumping the back of my legs.
Often at the bar or strapped in at 40,000'

I caught glimpses of her on maps
like blips on radar screens. I thought I'd find her
someday, married with babies and maids,

homes in Tahiti and the south of France,
a husband handsome as Gable or Cary Grant.
One night over Texas, a fire light flashed

miles above a base at her home town.
I spiraled and set it down, fire engines
leading me to base ops. Debriefed,

I found a phone and her name in the book,
her own name. Face creased by oxygen mask,
I punched the numbers like a code

and almost stalled, but there in my ear
was her voice, as if her phone was always open
and she'd been waiting for my call.

WALT McDONALD

A former Air Force pilot, Walt McDonald served as Texas Poet Laureate in 2001. His twenty collections include *Climbing the Divide* (University of Notre Dame Press, April 2003), *All Occasions* (Notre Dame, 2000), and others from Harper & Row, Massachusetts, Ohio State, and Pittsburgh. He has received four awards from the National Cowboy Hall of Fame.

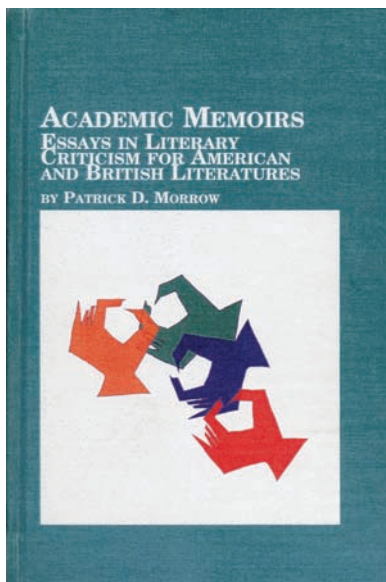


Book Review

PATRICK D. MORROW. *Academic Memoirs: Essays in Literary Criticism for American and British Literatures.* Lewiston/Queenston/Lampeter: The Edward Mellen Press, 2003. 178 pages. \$99.95.

The title of this collection of essays spanning the thirty-plus-year career of Patrick Morrow is way too stuffy for the material that it encompasses. The title suggests a dry volume of literary reminiscences and academic/literary name-dropping. Instead, what one finds is a series of essays that

demonstrates a lively intellectual journey through a number of literary fields and subfields, knit together with too-brief prefaces relating how each period came about in Professor Morrow's career.



Let me say up front that I am prejudiced toward liking this work. Patrick Morrow was one of my first mentors when I was an undergraduate at Auburn University, where he has taught

for more than twenty-five years (thus dating us both, I am afraid). His encouragement helped guide me to graduate school, and his friendship since then has been greatly valued. And I was surprised and more than a little moved to find myself listed as one of his all-time ten favorite students; in that, I can assure you, he is being too kind.

So, that said, this is a pretty neat book. From his candid remarks about being denied tenure at the University of Southern California early in his career (he was given what could have been a devastating reason; the tenure committee did not feel that he had a “really first-rate mind”), to the very personal essay on how his twenty-year battle with multiple sclerosis has affected his teaching, this book is highly readable and provocative.

Morrow divides his career into several phases, shown by the sections into which the book is divided. Section 1, “British Literature,” contains essays on the development of British poetry and on Doris Lessing; section 2, “American Literature,” presents essays on Hawthorne, Frost, Dos

Passos, Heller (and Lewis Carroll!), and Bret Harte — quite an array of authors. In Section 3 Morrow presents some of his work on “Popular Literature and Culture” with essays on Richard Farina, rock music, Bret Harte once again, and (of all things), “Those Sick Challenger Jokes.” He ends the book with probably his longest and still-ongoing incarnation as a scholar of South Pacific literature, with essays on Australian writer Patrick White, on the film *The Piano*, and on Katherine Mansfield. His essay on dealing with his multiple sclerosis caps the collection. For a not “really first rate-mind,” that is quite an impressive range of published critical endeavor.

The essays are invariably interesting. For example, in his essay on Frost, Morrow argues that “West-Running Brook” is a major poem underpinned by the philosophy of Heraclitus; as he puts it, “the Heraclitan cosmogony acts as a kind of trellis on which Frost hangs intertwining vines of playful oxymora and makes comments about men-women relationships, as well as the nature of the universe, all in a New Englishish Greek drama” (44). In “A Writer’s Workshop: Hawthorne’s ‘The Great Carbuncle,’” Morrow argues that a fairly dismal and failed early story by Hawthorne actually can be examined as a rehearsal for the themes and characters that come to fruition in later, mature works:

Every character in “The Great Carbuncle” Hawthorne is able to expand or alter in his more mature fiction. Matthew and Hannah become Phoebe and Holgrave; the Poet becomes Coverdale, the narrator of *The Blithedale Romance*. Cacaphodel is recognizable as a prototype of Aylmer or Rappaccini. In Dimmesdale, Donatello, Ethan Brand and others we recognize the Seeker-Carbuncle relationship made much more complex and interesting. Baglioni in “Rappaccini’s Daughter” and Miriam’s tormentor in *The Marble Faun* are cynics tailored into materialists. Pignort and Lord De Vere Hawthorne found to be aspects of character, rather than an entire character. They are brilliantly fused as Judge Pyncheon in *The House of the Seven Gables*. (34)

If there is a criticism to be made about this volume, it is that the prefaces that introduce the essay sections are not long enough; it is there that Morrow lets his candid and acerbic wit come through freely. In his preface to the “Popular Culture” section, Morrow recounts what turned out to be a disastrous presentation at the University of Southern California on “*Sergeant Pepper, Hair, and Tommy, Forerunners of the Jesus Rock Movement.*” As he discovers to his dismay, “that day I came to realize in spades that REAL LIT types found popular culture trash. . . . This was non-negotiable” (82). He recounts wryly, “as my future was lying in ruins right before my eyes, I saw no way of repairing the damage I had done to myself” (82). It would be very interesting to see a lengthier personal

memoir from Professor Morrow; one suspects that his three Fulbright-funded trips to the South Pacific alone might provide ample material for a book.

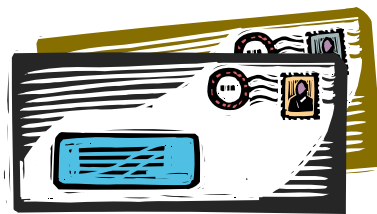
In his "Acknowledgments and Introduction," Professor Morrow notes that "Yes, these are all essays. For better or worse, it turns out that essays are what I can write. So that's what I do." He does them very well, and I for one am appreciative that these pieces of an academic life have been gathered into one place.



Pat Kaetz is editor of the *Phi Kappa Phi Forum*.



Letters to the Editor



PROFESSIONAL ETHICS

In "Developing a Knowledge Base on Integrity in Research and Scholarship" (Spring 2003), Mark Frankel writes that few "approaches are effective in reducing [scientific] misconduct." Here are two suggestions. The first is to examine the responsibility of coauthors. The investigatory panel in the Bell Labs case that he cites wrote: "The coauthors represent the first line of defense against misconduct." This approach, recommended by the American Association of University Professors, would be to require all coauthors to furnish a written statement of their respective contributions to a collaborative work. In addition, one or more coauthors could be assigned primary responsibility for ensuring the validity of the data.

The employer of the principal authors represents the second line of defense. For example, at NASA, no paper can be released for publication until it has undergone an internal technical review (and a review for export of intellectual property). Department heads of the principal authors' laboratory should require the submission of raw data, lab notebooks, and a demonstration

that the experiment works. A paper submitted for publication should include a statement that it has been reviewed internally.

Theodore J. Sheskin
Lakewood, Ohio

GLOBALIZATION

I thoroughly enjoyed the 2003 Fall issue of *Forum* ["Globalization"]. I could not help but notice that an article on global policing currently referred to as warfare (civil or international) was missing.

I find it ironic that at the same time we are involved in two wars, Afghanistan and Iraq, the Department of Defense and NASA are under severe scrutiny for their failure to change their internal "cultural environments." Both of these agencies are responsible for achieving the goals of one of America's favorite television shows, *Star Trek*. This show gave us hope that we could resolve our international differences of opinion without a nuclear war. During the height of the Cold War, Captain Kirk and Mr. Chekov manned the bridge and guided the *Enterprise* through fascinating space explorations.

Today, the Russians are responsible for transportation to and from the International Space Station as a result of the tragic *Columbia* accident, which killed several Americans, an Indian, and an Israeli.

The *Forum* Winter 2001 issue "When Technology Fails" addressed the consequences of human error in the *Apollo 1* and *Challenger* accidents [Thomas G. White, Jr. "The Establishment of Blame in the Aftermath of a Technological Disaster"]. Government and industry executives in charge of these programs were reassigned or dismissed. I have yet to see one political or social scientist reassigned or dismissed for mankind's consistent failure to tackle the problem of global policing/warfare.

Social efforts to establish a global authority which would identify, apprehend, and prosecute global criminals have not succeeded. If the political and social scientists do not undertake the problem of global policing in the next fifty years with the same diligence that the international technical community has pursued space exploration over the past fifty years, we will not have to worry about Globalization. Mankind will join several other species as endangered or extinct.

Michele F. Caram
St. Leonard, Maryland



PHI KAPPA PHI MERCHANDISE

Show your pride of affiliation with Phi Kappa Phi merchandise.

APPAREL

A. T-SHIRT

Offered in white and navy, this 100% cotton Hanes T features an embroidered Society name and Greek letters. Available in unisex sizes S-8X. For sizes 2X and 3X, add \$3. For larger sizes please call for pricing. (1 lb.) (White) Item #APP10 . . . \$17 (Navy) Item #APP11 . . . \$17



B. SWEATSHIRTS

Two styles available, both in unisex sizes S-1X.

B. Grey crewneck sweatshirt made of 43% cotton/57% polyester features distinctive navy and white appliqué logo. (1 lb.)

Item #APP31 . . . \$42



C. White crewneck sweatshirt made of 50% cotton/50% polyester with embroidered Society name and logo. (1 lb.)

Item #APP30 . . . \$34



D. LONG-SLEEVE T-SHIRT

100% heavyweight cotton T-shirt is pigment dyed and features the Society name and Greek letters in deep navy blue and gold embroidery. Reinforced seams and collar help shirt retain its shape wash after wash. Available in unisex sizes S-XL. (1 lb.)

Item #APP12 . . . \$22

E. FLEECE JACKET

Navy jacket has a full length zipper with hood featuring the ΦΚΦ embroidered logo. (2 lbs.)

Item #APP70 . . . \$49



F. FLEECE PULLOVER

Pullover zips from chest to chin featuring the ΦΚΦ embroidered logo. (2 lbs.)

Item #APP71 . . . \$46

G. HONOR CORD

Braided navy and gold cords, ending in fringed tassels. (.5 lb.)

Item #REC10 . . . \$10



H. STOLE

Gold satin stole with "ΦΚΦ" and Society key embroidered in a striking navy blue. (.5 lb.)

Item #REC20 . . . \$24

I. ΦΚΦ MEDALLION

Two inch cloisonné medallion hanging from royal blue ribbon, features a detailed rendering of the ΦΚΦ badge. (.5 lb.)

Item #S-5 . . . \$9

J. ΦΚΦ BASEBALL CAP

Made of durable, wheat-colored canvas and embroidered with the ΦΚΦ logo, this baseball cap makes an ideal present for any ΦΚΦ member. (.5 lb.)

Item #ACC11 . . . \$15



ACCESSORIES

PEN SETS

K. Blue marbled pen and letter opener in attractive case is an ideal gift for the new initiate. (.5 lb.)

Item #ACC70 . . . \$20



L. Handsomely engraved black pen, pencil, and letter opener set is sure to become a ΦΚΦ keepsake. (.5 lb.)

Item #ACC71 . . . \$25

M. CANVAS SADDLEBAG

Made of durable canvas and embroidered with the ΦΚΦ logo, this zippered saddlebag makes an ideal carry-on item for those ΦΚΦ travelers. Includes separate storage areas for pens, disks, calculators, or business cards; as well as two additional outside pockets, carrying handle and shoulder strap. Now available in two colors! (1.3 lbs.)

(Blue) Item #ACC12 . . . \$24

(Black) Item #ACC13 . . . \$24



N. COFFEE MUG

Navy blue and white 12 oz. ceramic coffee mug is perfect for everyday use. (1 lb.)

Item #ACC20 . . . \$7



O. KEY TAG

The Phi Kappa Phi key tag features a bright silver finish with raised Greek letter monogram and "Phi Kappa Phi." 2"x 1". (1 lb.)

Item #ACC19 . . . \$6



P. FASHION KEY CHAIN

The Phi Kappa Phi key chain is finished in brushed silver and chrome and has the ΦΚΦ monogram etched in the center panel. (1 lb.)

Item #ACC18 . . . \$8



Q. LICENSE PLATE FRAME

Die cast metal license plate holder features a chrome frame and the ΦΚΦ Greek letter monogram on a blue background. 12"x 6". (2 lbs.)

Item #ACC21 . . . \$15



R. BRONZE PLATED PAPERWEIGHT

Handsome and functional, the Phi Kappa Phi hand-crafted paperweight features an antique gold finish and is embossed with the Society seal. Backed with velvet. 3" diameter. (1 lb.)

Item #ACC22 . . . \$10

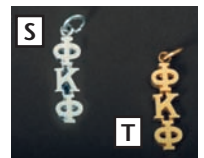


GREEK LETTER CHARMS

Vertical Greek letter charms are crafted in sterling silver and 10K gold. (1 lb.)

S. Sterling Silver Charm — Item #JE24 . . . \$16

T. 10K Gold Charm — Item #JE25 . . . \$32



U. EXECUTIVE GOLF SET

Custom Phi Kappa Phi golf set will give you years of quality use. Set includes a ball mark repair tool, two ball marks, and a money clip. (1 lb.)

Item #ACC16 . . . \$29



ORDER BY PHONE 1.888.302.9728

HOURS: M-F 8 A.M. – 4:30 P.M. CST

ORDER ONLINE www.phikappaphi.org