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Welcome to the sixth installment of the Oregon Undergraduate Research Journal! This publication cycle marks a period of significant growth for us as we received a record number of submissions for this issue. We are proud to publish six outstanding articles representing the departments of English, Economics Environment Studies, Comparative Literature, the Clark Honors College and the Environmental Leadership Program. This comprehensive range demonstrates one of the foundational goals for OUR Journal: to be interdisciplinary. It’s important to show not only that we value undergraduate research but that we value all the forms that it takes. This issue showcases exemplary student work that raises awareness of the wealth and breadth of outstanding undergraduate research here at the University of Oregon that may otherwise go unnoticed.

OUR Journal could not have been produced without the help of our wonderful Editorial Board. We already miss our former Chief Editor Zeph Schafer, who graduates this term but is fortunate enough to be spending it abroad studying at Oxford with Clark Honors College. His devotion to OUR Journal for the past three years is greatly appreciated by editors, faculty, and authors alike, and we especially thank Zeph for spearheading the effort to create our new website! We will also miss Laura Krogman who graduates this term with a degree in Environmental Science with minors in Biology and Chemistry. I am sure she will be successful in her pursuit of combating global climate change and social justice in her future ventures. I would also like to acknowledge the tireless Editorial Board, Mari, Janelle, Sage, and Jessica, for their invaluable efforts.

I would like to personally thank our faculty advisors Dr. Barbara Jenkins and Dr. Kevin Hatfield for their dedication to OUR Journal and for helping me ease gracefully into the role of Chief Editor this term. I am also sincerely grateful for the patient technology assistance provided by John Russell and Cat Bradley of University of Oregon Libraries. It’s a pleasure to work with Lisa Freinkel, Vice Provost for Undergraduate Studies, who graciously wrote the editorial for this issue and has many great ideas for the future of OUR Journal. I look forward to working more with all of you on upcoming publications and to seeing OUR Journal continue to grow by leaps and bounds thanks to all of your contributions.

Enjoy!

*Charlotte is a junior in the Clark Honors College majoring in Comparative Literature with minors in French and Economics. This issue marks the end of her second year with OUR Journal and her first as Chief Editor. Besides writing and editing, Charlotte enjoys dancing classical ballet and creative cooking. Please send all correspondence to charlotte.emily09@gmail.com
Editorial: Education with Heft

Lisa Freinkel, Vice Provost for Undergraduate Studies, Associate Professor of English and Comparative Literature

Some of my best friends are words.

I mean that quite, well, literally. I’m a language and literature person – having inhabited a world of signifying shapes and sounds with great delight since I first cozied up with the little bunny tucked in her little bed: “Goodnight moon, goodnight room....”

Of the many pages I have turned, and the many words I have loved, there’s something about the word “heft” that has long struck me as resonant in an almost onomatopoeic way. Heft: a late derivative of “heave” signifying weight, heaviness, ponderousness. With its Germanic origins, its fricative “f” followed by the full dental stop of “t,” the word itself sounds hefty, weighty, possessed of bulk. In this world of plastic and plywood, where so many of the objects that surround us are built for the moment, consumed in a heart beat, and consigned to a landfill: I am consistently drawn to those objects and practices that carry a bit of heft.... I am fan of that which thuds solidly onto the balance of our lives.

And so I remember with considerable joy and detail May 15, 1987: the completion of my undergraduate thesis in literature. In those hoary days, completing such a document required all manner of material support: spine clamp binders, typewriter ribbons, acid-free paper, six-inch rulers to measure off margins, and many caffeinated, perfectionist hours. And then it was done. I remember collapsing in the Quad on a beautiful Spring day, cradling the bound and finished document on my lap– feeling its weight and marveling at the perfect ink impression of each letter. This was a document with some heft. When I turned it in to my home department, I gave my advisor a fine cigar. A thesis is born! He held the thesis for a moment, then let it fall to the ground where, indeed, it thudded resoundingly. “Summa,” he declared, laughing. (Too bad that grading doesn’t indeed happen by the ounce!)

The experts in Higher Education studies will tell you that undergraduate research in its many forms is a “high impact practice”: it offers a dramatic opportunity for student engagement and success. I couldn’t agree more. Those of us involved in undergraduate research as students, advisors or mentors have seen at close range those amazing “aha” moments when something is uncovered on the very front lines, at the very cutting edge, of human culture and knowledge. Whether these contributions take place in a lab, in the archives, with a museum installation, in a dance studio, at a drafting table, at an easel, on the stage, or even in the streets: we all know that undergraduate innovation transforms undergraduate lives.
But instead of high impact, I’d like to talk about the heft of these moments. In our pixilated and digitized lives, undergraduate research transforms us because there’s something about discovery and innovation that feels substantial. Weighty. Real.

That sense of substance: of a lasting and authentic intervention in the age-old human work of meaning-making and comprehension.... Even here, in this digital journal hosted within the evanescent medium of the Internet, that sense of heft can be felt.

This is education with heft. Enjoy.
Artist’s Statement: “Skyscraper”
Sarah Hsu*, Department of Art

My childhood was spent caring for my ill mother. When I was 12 years old, we moved from California to Oregon and on July 11, 2004 I was a witness to her suicide. I was then placed into a foster home and after seven months of living with that family, my foster mom had passed. From there I was lucky enough to have my middle school counselor take me under her wings. My life has been like a skyscraper. Once I fall down, I work really hard to build myself back up. When another thing hits me, I fall back down. I express my past through art as it also helps me cope. Every block of wood has a word that describes me as a person. Every time I fall down, I grow stronger.

*Sarah is a Senior Digital Arts major with a Media Studies minor. Please send all correspondences to shsu@uoregon.edu
Monitoring Riparian Restoration Efforts in the Willamette Valley

Jessica Scott*, Johnmichael Lahtinen, Erin Engbeck, Terri Berling, Katie Ferra, Alexander Gregory, Natalie Otto, Garret Pemstein, Wayland Tan, Gail Tinkham, Environmental Studies**

ABSTRACT

The 10-student Environmental Leadership Program team, Wetlands Wildlife, collected data on Delta Ponds, a 61-hectare waterway site owned by the City of Eugene bordering the Willamette River. We used two primary monitoring activities to collect data on riparian communities and restoration efforts, focusing specifically on vegetative community type as well as biological indicators of survival and vigor. Six vegetative communities were subject to monitoring: Upland, Riparian, Wetland Transition, Emergent, Himalayan Blackberry and Recent Restoration. We collected data using protocols that were tailored to species identification, community mapping and vegetation health assessment. Overall, we found that the health of Delta Ponds appears to be improving; through community mapping we found a general increase in percent area cover for almost all target communities, with the Upland community displaying the largest increase, growing from 9% to 21% of the area surveyed. However, Emergent and Himalayan Blackberry actually decreased in percent area cover. We believe this general increase is due to extensive removal of the invasive Himalayan Blackberry (Rubus bifrons). Throughout monitoring efforts it was observed that there was a relatively high survival rate of riparian plantings with both tree and shrub plantings exhibiting a trend in growth over time. Various monitoring efforts including vegetation community mapping and riparian vigor monitoring were used to assist the City of Eugene in the prioritization of management resources and will serve as a baseline for future restoration efforts.

1. INTRODUCTION

Complex networks of side-channels with healthy native riparian and aquatic vegetation help to filter water, buffer flooding, provide erosion control and recharge groundwater as well as provide habitat for native fish and wildlife. These are just a few of the ecosystem services a healthy wetland area can provide. In addition, wetland areas, such as Delta Ponds, help to provide not
only key habitat for native fish and wildlife, but also educational and recreational benefits for the general public.

If properly managed, riparian zones within a wetland system become sites of complex biodiversity and play an essential role in the overall health and success of restoration efforts (Naiman & De’camps 1997). However, newly restored zones can be vulnerable to growth of invasive plant species such as Himalayan Blackberry (Rubus bifrons) and Reed Canarygrass (Phalaris arundinacea). Consequently, newly restored riparian zones must be actively monitored and managed until reaching a free-to-grow status so as to detect and correct problems of over-competition by invasive species (Pasquale et al. 2011). Plantings are considered free-to-grow when they are taller than surrounding competing plants and no longer require release treatments (Massingill 2003).

Monitoring efforts were conducted for both native and invasive plant species within Delta Ponds in an effort to detect change in the biological dynamics occurring after restoration efforts by the City of Eugene. Changes were determined through reapplication and comparative evaluation of the methods and findings completed by the 2005 Delta Ponds Team (Davis et. al 2005). Vegetation community mapping was completed with the specific goal of observing community succession since 2005. Further riparian vegetation monitoring was completed for 2008 and 2010 plantings with the goal of supplying critical feedback on planting methods, protection and maintenance, as well as information on species and sources of planted stock within newly planted riparian benches. Such on-going monitoring can provide insight into growth rates, vigor, damage, canopy closure, stream shading, and/or estimated time of free-to-grow status (Massingill 2003). In summary, the overarching goal of these two monitoring activities was to provide our community partners with feedback on completed restoration efforts and recommendations for future habitat improvements based upon the team’s findings.

2. STUDY AREA

Delta Ponds is a 61-hectare waterway located in northeast Eugene, Oregon, just off of Goodpasture Island Rd (Figure 1). Historically, the area provided a floodplain that surrounded much of the Willamette River, yet through human activities, such as urbanization and industrialization, the river’s complexity was altered and simplified. In the 1950’s and 1960’s, the once-historic floodplains were converted to gravel mines. Through this prolonged extraction, the local ecology was damaged and small networks of ponds were created, isolated from the flow of the Willamette (City of Eugene 2012). After being purchased in the late 1970’s by the City of Eugene, the former gravel quarry sat unmanaged for decades, developing a wetlands ecosystem that consisted of both native and invasive species. Between 2004 and 2012 the City of Eugene began an eight-year enhancement effort of invasive species control and native plantings. Projects also included establishing connectivity between the ponds and the Willamette River, which involved removal of invasive species such as Himalayan Blackberry from over 24 hectares of land within the ponds. Work was also done to improve 8.04 kilometers of riparian benches by converting steep banks, left by the process of gravel extraction, into gentle slopes. This was achieved through the planting of 75,000 native grasses, shrubs and trees along newly restored
embankments and zones cleared of Himalayan Blackberry (Delta Ponds Floodplain Restoration Project Summary, 2012). The overall motive for the restoration of Delta Ponds was to create and enhance habitat for juvenile Chinook Salmon (Oncorhynchus tshawytscha) and the Western Pond Turtle (Actinemys marmorata) with the intention that restoration would benefit other species as well, such as native amphibians.

**Figure 1: Aerial photo of Delta Ponds Eugene, Oregon.** Areas 1-3 indicate distinct sections separated by Goodpasture Island Road and Delta Highway.

### 3. VEGETATION COMMUNITY MAPPING

#### 3.1 METHODS

In an effort to examine the change in vegetation since 2005, we followed the methods provided by the 2005 Delta Ponds Team, delineating the area covered by six major vegetation communities: Upland, Riparian, Wetland Transition, Emergent Vegetation, Himalayan Blackberry and Recent Restoration communities (Davis et al. 2005). For consistency, the entirety of Delta Ponds was surveyed, including non-city property primarily following Delta Highway. Using aerial photos with clear plastic overlays, teams of two to three people outlined community boundaries through ground-based mapping, using a minimum mapping area of 5m². However, due to lack of accessibility in some areas, community identification was completed remotely using 2012 Google Earth aerial photos, assessing an area no greater than 10% of the total area surveyed. Community
boundary outlines were then transferred to Google Earth Pro for calculation of total area encompassed as well as the calculation of area subsections 1, 2 and 3 for each community type. In cases of overlapping or mixed community types, identification was completed based upon visual interpretation of the dominant community present. In an effort to more extensively survey the entirety of Delta Ponds our community boundary inclusion differed from the 2005 protocols. Community boundaries were mapped in 2005 based upon overstory characteristics while our methods evaluated both overstory and understory characteristics, examining shrub layer and reproduction in addition to canopy cover (Davis et al. 2005). The six communities were defined by dominant plant species as follows:

a. Upland Community: The Upland community occupies the higher and drier terrain around Delta Ponds and primarily consists of Bigleaf Maple (Acer macrophyllum), Oregon White Oak (Quercus garryana), Oregon Ash (Fraxinus latifolia), White Alder (Alnus rhombifolia) and Madrone (Arbutus menziesii).

b. Riparian Community: This community grows around the perimeter of ponds in wetter soil, lower in elevation than the Upland community. Black Cottonwood (Populus trichocarpa) and Red Alder (Alnus rubra) dominate the community though Oregon Ash, White Alder, and Pacific Willow (Salix lucida) can also be found.

c. Wetland Transition Community: Occupying pond edges and lowlands that are generally submerged during the winter but not summer months, the Wetland Transition community primarily consists of various species of willows (Salix ssp).

d. Emergent Vegetation Community: This community occupies wet lowlands seasonally submerged from September to May and includes sedges (Carex sp.), rushes (Juncus sp.) and Yellow Flag Iris (Iris pseudacorus).

e. Himalayan Blackberry Community: This community consists of an invasive blackberry species that can form monocultures. The Himalayan Blackberry can occupy a variety of ecological niches and as such, is found from the drier Upland area down to the Wetland Transition zone. f. Recent Restoration Community: Since 2004 the City of Eugene funded the planting of over 75,000 native tree and shrub saplings. Within each planting zone three to eleven different species, dependent on community, were planted and included various species of willows, Black Cottonwood, Red-osier Dogwood (Cornus sericea) and other previously listed species.

3.2 RESULTS

Extensive ground-mapping efforts were made to encompass the entirety of areas 1-3, surveying a total area of 27.2 ha (Table 1). Every community, Himalayan Blackberry aside, increased significantly in area, ranging from 413% - 1130% increases. Such high area increases do not accurately reflect growth as the 2005 baseline data used for comparison encompassed a much smaller area, including only 5.45 ha of the area we surveyed (Table 1). A more accurate reflection
of community growth is observed through community percent distribution of the area surveyed (Figure 2).

Table 1: Vegetation community total area for 2005 and 2013 surveys.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vegetation Community</th>
<th>Total Area 2005 (ha)</th>
<th>Total Area 2013 (ha)</th>
<th>Area 1 2005</th>
<th>Area 1 2013</th>
<th>Area 2 2005</th>
<th>Area 2 2013</th>
<th>Area 3 2005</th>
<th>Area 3 2013</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Upland</td>
<td>0.50</td>
<td>5.64</td>
<td>0.12</td>
<td>1.14</td>
<td>0.29</td>
<td>2.21</td>
<td>0.09</td>
<td>2.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Riparian</td>
<td>1.70</td>
<td>8.84</td>
<td>0.73</td>
<td>4.18</td>
<td>0.63</td>
<td>2.76</td>
<td>0.35</td>
<td>1.89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wetland Transition</td>
<td>1.07</td>
<td>6.76</td>
<td>0.47</td>
<td>2.97</td>
<td>0.43</td>
<td>2.85</td>
<td>0.17</td>
<td>0.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emergent</td>
<td>0.51</td>
<td>2.09</td>
<td>0.22</td>
<td>0.82</td>
<td>0.27</td>
<td>0.96</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>0.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blackberry</td>
<td>1.67</td>
<td>0.64</td>
<td>0.57</td>
<td>0.37</td>
<td>0.88</td>
<td>0.28</td>
<td>0.22</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Restoration</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>3.24</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>0.96</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>1.31</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>0.97</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total Area Surveyed 2005 (ha): 5.45
Total Area Surveyed 2013 (ha): 27.22

Completed ground-based mapping delineated each community separately: Upland, Riparian, Wetland Transition, Emergent, Himalayan Blackberry and Restoration in order to display spatial relations throughout Delta Ponds. Those that displayed the greatest change were the Upland, Himalayan Blackberry and restoration communities (Figures 3-5). Based on observations, upland communities were observed as having the largest increase in relation to area surveyed (Figure 2). In contrast, the Himalayan Blackberry communities had decreased, covering 39% of its total former area.
The majority of restoration efforts, in regards to planted areas, began after the 2005 mapping effort. Since the majority of plantings occurred after the initial mapping, Recent Restoration community areas were not mapped and our 2013 data serves as a baseline for future monitoring and restoration of riparian zones. Mapping of the Recent Restoration community revealed that this community encompasses 12% of the area surveyed (Figure 2). The remaining communities (Riparian, Wetland Transition and Emergent) were found to remain somewhat stable, exhibiting similar proportions to those of 2005 surveying efforts (Figure 2).

**Figure 3: Upland vegetation community mapping boundaries for 2013 (right) and 2005 (left).**
3.3 DISCUSSION

Due to extensive efforts by the City of Eugene, there has been a significant decrease in the proportion of area covered by invasive Himalayan Blackberry since 2005. As of 2013, the largest areas of remaining Himalayan Blackberry were located along the Delta Highway as well as by man-made paths; this coincided with 2005 findings (Figure 4). It should be noted that the Himalayan Blackberry contained within the property of the City of Eugene is substantially lower since part of the surveyed area along Delta Highway included lands owned and managed by Lane County. Because of this, the percent decrease in Himalayan Blackberry on City property is actually much lower. The Upland community displayed the largest relative increase (Figure 2) and often occurred alongside Delta Highway and man-made paths, much like the Himalayan Blackberry community (Figure 3). It is probable that due to reductions in Himalayan Blackberry communities, an increase in the area recognized as Upland resulted from encompassing former Himalayan Blackberry boundaries (Figure 4).

4. RIPARIAN VIGOR MONITORING

Between the years of 2008 and 2012, the City of Eugene conducted two major planting projects to vegetate the new riparian benches. In 2008, a contractor was hired to plant and maintain approximately 16,000 plants of various species spanning Emergent, Wetland
Transition, Riparian and Upland communities. All plantings were completed between November 2008 and March 2009, and the contractor was responsible for maintaining all plants until September 30, 2010. A survival rate of 80% is considered optimal. However, due to a lack of watering at the most pertinent growth stage of the plantings, this percent survival was not met (City of Eugene, unpublished data). This was followed by a second contract in 2010 that called for the planting and maintenance of over 30,000 native plants (City of Eugene, unpublished data). Following the end of the first growing season, the City of Eugene conducted monitoring to evaluate the survival of the plantings to determine whether or not the 80% survival requirement was met.

Though plantings spanned a multitude of community types, monitoring efforts focused upon Wetland Transition and Riparian plantings located in newly restored riparian benches, including various species of willows, Red-osier Dogwood and Pacific Ninebark (Physocarpus capitatus). Implementation of our baseline monitoring relied primarily upon measurements of vigor. However, comparison of 2008 and 2010 planting data allowed for qualitative evaluation of growth and survival. Comparisons of future monitoring with baseline data will provide growth rates, changes in vigor, survival and help to identify on-going maintenance needs.

4.1 METHODS

The team completed riparian vigor monitoring for a randomly-selected subset of plots monitored by the City of Eugene in 2009 and 2011. As exact locations for previous plots were not recorded, aerial photos were used to approximate site locations. Four plots in total were randomly selected for monitoring; Plots 2 and 5 from 2009 monitoring and plots 12 and 14 from 2011 monitoring (Figure 6). Plots were established to include an area of 5m x 30m. Starting with the southwest corner, pins were placed at each corner and connected by flagging tape to clearly mark plot boundaries.

After establishing plots, teams of four to five people surveyed the area, moving plant by plant and evaluating several key aspects for future evaluations of growth, vigor and survival. These variables included: species identification; live/dead determination; height (trees) or height class (shrubs); live crown height (trees); stem class (shrubs); level of brush and grass competition; protection type; and damage type, level and source (ELP Riparian Planting Monitoring Protocols, 2013). To determine height class for shrubs, the highest living part of the plant was measured and
recorded based on the following height classes 1 through 6: <0.3 m, 0.3-0.6 m, 0.6-1.2 m, 1.2-1.8 m, 1.8-2.4 m, 2.4+m. Stem class was determined by the number of stems present on the shrub (ELP Riparian Planting Monitoring Protocols, 2013). Trees were measured for live crown height, the distance from the uppermost live leader to the lowest live branch (USFS 2013). Brush competition was based on proximity and estimated amount of direct shading over the plant, ranging from 0 (no brush competition) to 3 (brush within 0.6 m and shading >51%). Grass competition was recorded on a scale of 0 to 3, measuring the distance from plant stem to continuous sod within 45 cm. Values were defined as no continuous sod and continuous sod within 16 cm respectively (ELP Riparian Planting Monitoring Protocols, 2013).

4.2 RESULTS

Surveys showed that the majority of plantings monitored in both 2008 and 2010 were various species of willow. Unable to identify the specific species for these plantings they were put into the general category of willows. Due to damage and the inability to identify some plants there were unidentified species recorded in all plots. The 2008 plots consisted of willows, Red-osier Dogwood, Pacific Ninebark, Common Snowberry, Black Cottonwood and Red Alder. The 2010 plantings monitored were predominantly willows, but other riparian species such as Red-osier Dogwood, Pacific Ninebark, and Black Cottonwood were identified.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Shrub Species</th>
<th>2008 Total</th>
<th>2010 Total</th>
<th>Trees</th>
<th>2008 Total</th>
<th>2010 Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Willows</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>Black Cottonwood</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Red-osier Dogwood</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Red Alder</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Common Snowberry</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pacific Ninebark</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Douglas' Spiraea</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A total of 152 shrubs and trees were monitored in the two 2008 plots with the dominate species being willow (Table 2). Eight plantings were unidentifiable. Of the 138 shrubs monitored, 42 were classified as mature with the others falling under the category of young or saplings. These plots had quite a bit of brush and grass competition and also exhibited some amounts of plant damage primarily located along the leaves. The damage appeared to be from insects and drought furthermore, the shrubs with the highest damage were willows. All six trees were alive and showed no signs of damage from insects or drought. Five trees had cages and one had vexar tubing for protection.
Of the 90 plants monitored from the two 2010 plots, Willow was still the dominate species with 65 plants monitored (Table 2). Two unidentifiable plantings were also found during monitoring. Only five of the 84 shrubs were mature, with the rest being young or saplings. Compared to the 2008 plots, there was very little brush and grass competition in the 2010 plots. These plots had more overall damage present, not only on leaves but also along the branches and stems. This damage was attributed to disease, drought, physical damage and insect damage. There was generally no protection for plantings, however, we did find two with cages. Of the four Black Cottonwoods, two were dead, and only one had vexar tubing for protection.

### Table 3: Average height for tree species monitored in 2008 and 2010 plots.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Species</th>
<th>Average Height (m) 2008 Plots</th>
<th>Average Height (m) 2010 Plots</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Black Cottonwood</td>
<td>1.72</td>
<td>0.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Red Alder</td>
<td>0.99</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 4: Average height class for shrub species monitored in 2008 and 2010 plots.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Species</th>
<th>Average Height Class 2008 Plots</th>
<th>Average Height Class 2010 Plots</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Willows</td>
<td>3.17</td>
<td>2.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Red-osier Dogwood</td>
<td>2.70</td>
<td>2.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Common Snowberry</td>
<td>2.50</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pacific Ninebark</td>
<td>2.67</td>
<td>2.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Douglas’ Spiraea</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>2.29</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 4.3 DISCUSSION

Through monitoring growth and vigor of our selected plots, it became evident that the majority of plants were alive with minimal damage. A total of 11 dead plants were counted, 9 of which were located in the 2008 plots, inferring high survival overall with an attrition rate of only a few plants dying per year. Wetland Transition and Riparian plantings from 2008 had an average survival rate of 66% when monitored in 2009. This did not meet the City’s 80% survival rate requirement and the contractor completed additional plantings to achieve the required survival rate (City of Eugene unpublished data, 2010). 2008 plots are now showing a higher percentage of survival, fitting the general pattern of increased survival once plantings are established.

Lack of watering by the contractor responsible for the 2010 plantings lead to more replanting of various species and could have affected the number of species found in these plots. The first summer after planting is the most crucial time for new plantings (City of Eugene, unpublished data). Once plants’ roots reach the water table, survival rates tend to be very high. Survival itself is a coarse indicator of success. Many plants can survive for several years with poor vigor and
minimal growth rates. Thus it is important to take into consideration vigor, overall plant health and appearance before making adaptive management decisions.

In general the 2008 and 2010 plots display low levels of overall damage. Damage found in the 2008 plots was relatively low, with classification of less than 10%, mainly found on leaves due to insects or drought. Along with damage, growth and vigor are important characteristics to observe in restoration areas. Growth is measured until stocks are considered free-to-grow and taller than the surrounding competing plants (Massingill 2003). All living plants monitored in both the 2008 and 2010 plots showed a positive growth trajectory by exhibiting higher average height or height class when comparing 2008 to 2010 (Tables 3 and 4). Vigor is more difficult to quantify but is critical to the success of a project. Vigorous trees can better tolerate disease and drought, as well as become free-to-grow faster (Massingill 2003). Since most of the plants in both plots showed growth and low damage, it reflects their suitability to the site, which will help in tailoring future planting decisions.

5. RECOMMENDATIONS AND MANAGEMENT IMPLEMENTATIONS

Restoration efforts by the City of Eugene have been largely successful and our data will inform future monitoring and management activities. Extensive blackberry removal has greatly reduced the overall percentage of Himalayan Blackberry bushes that made a distinct vegetative community at Delta Ponds (Figure 2). However, during ground-mapping efforts it was noted that several areas, specifically the less accessible peninsulas of Area 2, have new blackberry shoots growing. As of now, these shoots are too small to be accounted for in the vegetative community mappings, but if they are not addressed it will only be a few years before large areas of riparian vegetation are covered in blackberry bushes once again.

Improvement of habitat will be beneficial to fish and wildlife populations, but reduction of human-caused degradation is equally important in maintaining the biological integrity of Delta Ponds. Stricter measures to discourage off-trail use of Delta Ponds by pedestrians, anglers and unauthorized campers would further reduce this issue, as well as reduce disturbance of flora and fauna while decreasing the likelihood of future invasive species introduction. Vegetation communities adjacent to makeshift paths throughout the area are especially sensitive to human interaction and could benefit from the construction of more fencing.

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AUTHOR BIOGRAPHIES

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Mina Loy and Bikini Kill: Hidden Identities in Feminist Politics
Marina Claveria*, Comparative Literature

ABSTRACT

This paper reads the poetry of Mina Loy alongside her Feminist Manifesto (1914) as an expression of personal politics that would come to the forefront of third-wave feminism. By looking at her more expressive works of poetry we are given insight into her personality. When read alongside her politics, as stated in her manifesto, we see how personal desires as well as social pressures complicate her lived politics. Using this as the framework, the paper then looks at the music and publications of the riot grrrl band Bikini Kill to show how the strained relationship between a feminist’s personal life and politics would later be embodied in feminist art. I argue that the performative and participatory aspects of riot grrrl allowed Bikini Kill to embody the inseparability of women’s politics from their personal lives—something Loy acknowledged on paper, but that her historical period would keep her from ever actualizing.

Some people think little girls should be seen and not heard
But I think
Oh Bondage Up Yours!
-X-Ray Spex (1977)

The internal conflicts expressed in Mina Loy’s poetic cycle “Songs to Joannes” (1917) and in her Feminist Manifesto (1914) anticipate problems that surface in second and third wave feminism, namely those concerning the idea that the personal is political. These problems are laid out in terms of a woman’s challenge to achieve equality while finding fulfillment in romance and in feminine expression (in her manifesto, Loy refers to this as the false binary of “the mistress & the mother”). About seventy years later the riot grrrl band Bikini Kill addressed this dichotomy through their music and in their zines (self-produced magazines). The idea of the personal as political assumes that politics are not isolated to legislation, but that systematic oppression operates through the politics of personal interactions as well. Therefore, equality can only be achieved when it is re-enforced by the social norms that govern personal interactions. In order to read feminist work, acknowledging the personal as political, we must acknowledge the importance of the differences between personal and public mediums of expression, such as the difference in

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creative space between Loy’s manifesto and her poetry. I argue that the performative and participatory aspects of riot grrrl allowed Bikini Kill to embody the inseparability of women’s politics from their personal lives—something Loy acknowledged on paper, but that her historical period would keep her from ever actualizing.

Loy’s Feminist Manifesto provides insight into her radical, yet nuanced, feminism, thereby providing a lens by which to read her poetry. The two act as supplements to one another, in that the manifesto lays out her politics, and the poetry provides a more ambiguous medium in which the complications of living these politics is expressed. Loy’s first wave feminist contemporaries ignored the poignantly philosophical politics she expressed in her manifesto. Too concerned with legislated inequalities, they were fighting for changes within a system that would remain inherently male-centric, whether or not women were given the right to vote. It was still a man’s vote to give, or to extend to women. This power structure sets up an inevitable dichotomy in which a woman’s liberation is almost always at odds with her romantic relationships (Loy focuses on heterosexual relations). The question Loy explores, in both her poetry and manifesto, is whether or not one can live life as a fulfilled feminist and a fulfilled woman. These are not necessarily one in the same, when one is born into a social system that continually defines women as inferior to men. Self-aware of the confusion that could come along with her multi-faceted perspective, she told her friend and literary critic Carl Van Vechten that she felt feminine politics, “in a cosmic way that may not fit in anywhere” (Burke 187). It was these “cosmic” politics that surface in her poetry—a self-conscious incongruity of identity between the “mistress & the mother”—two coexisting sides of Loy that could never surface simultaneously.

In her manifesto, Loy presents the ways in which women’s oppression is rooted in their sexualities. She was once quoted as saying, she knew, “nothing about anything but life—& that is generally reducible to sex” (Burke 191). Loy places sex at the forefront, looking at the ways in which the moralization of sex functions to subjugate women. It is the duty of women to reject society’s moralization of sex, in order to bring about “absolute demolition” to patriarchal structures (Loy 153). Her call to destroy the system, rather than work within it to bring about change, differentiated Loy from her first wave feminist contemporaries. Aware of the radical nature of her politics, she acknowledged the complications that arose when true equality is fought for. Loy knew there must be personal sacrifices made towards ideas of romantic love in order for equality beyond the legislative scope to ever be realized. It is a woman’s challenge to find mutually equitable love with a man while functioning within a society that is structured in a way that divides the partners participating in loving relationships into the role of the subject, and that of the object.

In her Feminist Manifesto (1914), Loy presents the way in which women are oppressed through the patriarchal formation of a subject-object dynamic between women and men. Loy defines “othering” in its most basic sense—as the act of recognizing one’s place in the world through identifying and recognizing what one is not. Othering is a political act in that it allows one to assert superiority over another through consciousness of difference. This idea is inherent to her explanation of dominant social structures, in which male is the norm, and female is the other. Woman is not man; therefore, the lens that larger society looks through is that of the man. Man defines what he is, in noting that woman is different from himself. In doing this, he must
recognize the woman as an object, through which he situates himself in the world, rather than as another human being, which consequently directs the relationship towards the subject-object dynamic. If it is true, as Loy writes in her manifesto, “The value of man is assessed entirely according to his use or interest to the community, the value of woman, depends entirely on chance”—hopefully a woman will be lucky enough to strike the interest of a man (Loy 155).

If man is the image, and woman the negative image, woman’s existence relies entirely on man’s composition. Loy explains how women are then challenged to battle the “theoretical valuation of their sex as relative impersonality,” or rather, to define what they are, instead of what they are not (Loy 154). The relativity Loy talks about is subjectivity of a woman being given worth—her definition is dependent on the man comparing himself to her, rather than any intrinsic characteristic. The standard is male, and in not being male, women are deemed inferior by patriarchal standards. In this system women are diminished to isolated qualities, never functioning as independent agents. Consequently they remain unengaged with their full femininity. Loy’s femininity is not the hegemonic ideal of the passive housewife. She defines femininity as a quality in which the identities of “the mistress, & the mother” do not operate independently of one another (Loy 154). This was Loy’s take on the early twentieth century feminist ideal of the “New Woman” and her emerging social roles—she was working more, going to school more, and asserting herself socially. Instead of compartmentalizing female sexuality, defining it as immoral, and setting it aside from the self, Loy argues women ought to embrace sexuality as an integral part of themselves. I argue that this is much stronger an expansion of social roles than the average “New Woman” was fighting for. Loy would not settle for simply being allowed in the work place, she wanted full and blatant sexual liberation.

Returning to the subject-object dynamic, we can see patriarchy’s roots in the antiquated relationship between lord and subject. To keep this relationship functioning, patriarchy compartmentalizes women, making it much easier to hyper-sexualize them. As mentioned above, her identity is polarized into one of two archetypes: either the “mistress” or the “mother.” Women’s worth is held in their ability to bear and care for children yet they are not allowed to express that sexuality inherent to the childbearing process. The false binary inscribes the notion of a woman’s “physical purity,” essentially objectifying the woman by reducing her substance to the construct of virginity alone. No longer recognized for herself, or for her character, a woman is either “a virgin,” or “not a virgin.” Consequently her personality is no longer decipherable from her perceived purity, because in lacking virginity, she lacks all worth. She is no longer able to achieve society’s ultimate goal of finding a man to marry, “as a thank offering for her virginity” (Loy 155). Realizing “that there is nothing impure in sex—except the mental attitude to it,” Loy recognizes this moral code as arbitrary (Loy 155). It can be done away with, because its justification loses all worth when taken out of the oppressive subject-object dynamic. If the subject-object dynamic is rejected, the method for defining women can no longer be virginity alone. A woman’s selfhood could not be reduced to the presence or absence of a single quality, such as virginity. She could be powerful—an agent of sex, motherhood, and character—thereby giving life to her entire person.
I want to continue to look at Loy’s feminism by presenting Loy’s poetry as an inherently personal account of her own attempt to assert agency through sex, motherhood, and character—a
attempt to break down the false binary that the patriarchy creates for women of “the mistress & the mother,” as explained in her manifesto (Loy 155). In this false binary woman is caught in the middle—shamed for her sexuality yet prized for her childbearing abilities inherent to sex. In poem I, Loy removes morality from human sexuality by presenting a sexualized satire of traditional love. She employs a character named Pig Cupid to depict sex as amoral, expressing contempt for convention. The poem begins with a series of fragments, the first line reading, “Spawn of fantasies.” There is a tension between spawn, something clinical and infesting, and the notion of fantasies, which are something both desired and sentimental. “Spawn” alludes to the idea that the child is the unwanted burden of the mother; a parasite of sorts, given that the child is sustained by the mother but receives all of the intrinsic value. Continuing with the physical, her use of fragments at line 3 enhances the carnality of the poem embodied in Pig Cupid:

Spawn of Fantasies
Silting the appraisable
Pig Cupid his rosy snout
Rooting erotic garbage
“Once upon a time”
Pulls a weed white star-topped
Among wild oats sown in mucous-membrane

I would an eye in a Bengal light
Eternity in a sky-rocket
Constellations in an ocean
Whose rivers run no fresher
Than a trickle of saliva

These are suspect places

I must live in my lantern
Trimming subliminal flicker
Virginal to the bellows
Of Experience

Coloured glass

Pigs connote filth and base lowliness. Countering this connotation through the use of the name Cupid, she upsets the words’ natural associations. The language forces a compromise between their usual associations and the societal notion of ideal love bound up in the name Cupid. This love perceived as perfect and wholly moral is emptied of human decency and flattened to the level of the animal. In line 4, which contains the metaphor “Rooting erotic garbage,” the word “rooting” takes on multiple meanings. In the context of Pig Cupid, it serves to mean digging around (as in a trough)—the male sex organ becoming a snout. Looking at the noun form of the word, “root” Loy points to the inherent nature of sexual desire. It is rooted within us. Through this she proposes the possibility that sex and love are not separate from one another, and that this false differentiation is merely a construct. She plays with society’s tendency to name the sexual as dirty;
but if sex equals love, and sex equals dirty, here love becomes dirty. As she mentions in her manifesto, the virtue of sexual purity is something that must be given up in exchange for a woman’s self-respect.

Now let us consider the definitive break in the poem where Loy counters the overtly sexual “mistress” personality, with the nuance of her own embedded sentimentality: contrasting the eroticism of “Pig Cupid,” Loy inserts herself at line 8 as she goes through a number of metaphors explaining love. I say Loy, and not the speaker, because the intimate details of her poetry support the claim that Loy and the speaker are one. The first metaphor “Bengal light” is noteworthy, because it refers to flares used for signaling in a maritime setting. Loy plays with the double meaning of the words “I” and “eye,” hinting that she herself becomes an “eye” left to perceive this grand image of love as it burns out before her. Continuing with these rocket and ocean metaphors, Loy presents two impossible images of the uncontainable—“eternity in a sky-rocket” focuses especially on the ephemeral nature of love, as she watches the supposedly eternal explode in a moment before her. She presents these beautiful metaphors only to go on to say, “Whose river runs no fresher / than a trickle of saliva.” Bringing focus to the body with “saliva,” Loy emphasizes the paradoxical nature of love, as not only an inner struggle between philosophies, but between the mind and the body. In line thirteen she forefronts the inevitable realization that love cannot last, declaring that, “These are suspect places.” In other words, the places in which love is idealized, or taken out of context of the sexual, should be questioned. Animalistic sexual desire and fairy-tale love can only coexist for so long. The word “place” becomes important, because it differentiates one space from another. This division of space mirrors the division between Loy’s identities as “mistress” and “mother.” Both Loy’s definition of her self, and of love paradoxically morph and run together as her politics and sentiments find themselves continually in opposition with one another.

The push and pull to define an identity manifests itself within the poems like a peek into Loy’s own pseudo-neurotic internal dialogue. Her poetry tells the story of a feminist trying to live sexually without shame, but also contains the story of a woman desirous of the same sentimental love that would shame her. This woman is Loy herself. Loy the poet was Loy the controversial speaker, and because of this, we must read her work personally, nearing on the side of the autobiographical. By disclosing herself as the speaker through intimate details that mirror her personal life (see Becoming Modern and footnotes in The Lost Lunar Baedeker) she is able to express a philosophical dichotomy validated as subjectively true, largely because it is Loy’s own lived experience—it is her account of trying to live by an ethic-feminism more easily seen in black and white when isolated to paper than when lived out.

With the idea of Loy’s “mistress and the mother” in mind, I would like to display the relevance of Loy’s argument in the more contemporary context of the third-wave 1990’s feminist punk
movement riot grrrl, examining how public stage performance and personal zines allowed these riot grrrls to embody both identities in their movement, by recognizing that the personal is political. These women realized that it was not only national politics being run by men, but even within the supposedly radical culture of punk, sexism was an issue that must be addressed. Riot grrrl grew out of a desire to see women represented in the punk scene, but began to encompass much more than music in its goal to create an accessible space to explore their identities in an alternative space to the patriarchal status quo. As stated in the riot grrrl manifesto, the group rejected any system that said “Girl = Dumb, Girl = Bad, Girl = Weak” (Bikini Kill Zine #2). Riot grrrl’s do-it-yourself ethic destroyed the lines that existed between the personal and the political in earlier feminisms. It was abrasive screaming, not knowing how to play an instrument but nonetheless saying “let’s start a band,” and teen feminists putting out zines in isolated farming towns. When engaging personal politics, Mina Loy only went so far as to raise internal consciousness. Riot grrrl made these complex politics its cause, continually defining and redefining what it meant to be a woman in a patriarchal society through their art.

Riot grrrl’s most well known band was Bikini Kill, formed in 1990 in Olympia, Washington. I will look at the ways in which inclusion of the personal both strengthened and complicated Bikini Kill’s politics by looking at their zines, lyrics, and wild stage performance by front woman Kathleen Hanna. Riot grrrl had no defined rules or leaders; nevertheless, Bikini Kill would become an important figurehead. I would like to first frame their music within the context of their zines. In Bikini Kill Zine #2 (1991), the band states that riot grrrl matters:

BECAUSE we know that life is much more than physical survival and are patently aware that the punk rock you can do anything idea is crucial to the coming angry grrrl rock revolution which seeks to save the psychic and cultural lives of girls and women everywhere, according to their own terms, not ours. (Zine #2).
Its sense of collective energy, and validation of each individual’s experience valued and invited young women to live out their philosophies—it was not a feminism isolated to bookshelves. All you needed to contribute to this community was the willpower to change the status quo, and access to a Xerox machine.

Zines were important to the movement because riot grrrl existed on the belief that it only took one person living defiantly to radically change the world; the focus was action. It was not that one person’s radical lifestyle would spread like wildfire, but that the action itself, in saying that “I will not live according to the status quo,” was the first step to creating alternative communities. For example, on the page before the riot grrrl manifesto, one contributor writes, “I feel so many things, sadness and joy and excitement and anticipation, the J-word (jealousy). Left out” (Bikini Kill Zine #2). These are feelings typical to adolescence, but when printed within the feminist zine they support the fight that says being a woman is somewhat isolating. It was not so much what was being said, but that a very important and ordinary someone was saying it—these riot grrrls were determining their existence on their own terms. Simultaneously, personal confessions like this became a way of intertwining the vulnerable (and feminine) with the radically political nature of riot grrrl. As Stephen Duncombe says in his book, Zines and the Politics of Alternative Culture, creating zines was a way “to reject definitions given by the dominant society and replace them with one’s own” (Duncombe 73). The movement carved out a participatory space for the individual to express life as they saw it. Participation was so important because at some level an individual’s choice to live differently is the most radical thing that can come out of a capitalist society. The fact that women were consenting to this lifestyle made it radical, each action becoming a political action in opposition to patriarchal oppression.

What Loy expressed in words became physically manifested in the action of riot grrrl. To note the difference between personal and public mediums of expression, I’ll mention that Loy’s radical manifesto and “Songs to Joannes” often overlap in message, but as works of art, they operate in completely different spaces, meaning they were not published in conjunction with one another. Loy never published her manifesto in fear that it would be horribly misunderstood. In comparison, the riot grrrl manifesto is tucked within pages of the zine itself—nestled between illegible poems, and confessions about experiences of sexual assault. The political cannot be separated from the personal in riot grrrl to an extent beyond the philosophical, because the physicality of both their stage performance and nature of the zines make this impossible.
Just as the personal became intertwined with the political in zines, Bikini Kill’s paradoxical lyrics embed themselves within Kathleen Hanna’s stage performance. For a long time Hanna wrote most of her songs about sexual assault, something deeply personal yet undoubtedly the product of a sexist culture.

Picture this: “Bikini Kill had played its first few songs fully clothed, but now, wearing just a skirt and a scalloped black bra, Kathleen turned to face the audience so everyone could see what was written on her stomach: SLUT” (Marcus 75).

These stage antics forced the audience to make connections: we were calling victims of sexual assault sluts, but these victims were individuals, and they were not victims of isolated misfortune, they were victims of systematic oppression. Even further, in doing this Hanna was reclaiming the word “slut”, saying, “because I like to have sex does not mean I deserve to be assaulted”. If we look back to Loy, we can see the common theme of sexual shaming, and both of these women’s attempts to deconstruct the false binary between the mistress and the mother.

Let’s look now to the Bikini Kill song “Alien She.” Here Hanna expresses her duality of identity—the girl who wants to “put the pretty, pretty lipstick on” and the one society calls, “feminist ‘dyke’ ‘whore.’” The blurring of the lines occurs when Hanna cannot tell if she is participating or succumbing to typically feminine expression. Does she want to put the lipstick on, or is she pressured to? Even more complicated: does feminism pressure her to suppress her femininity? In the opening lines Hanna sings, “She is me / I am her” repeatedly, confusing the ability to ever separate the two. Isolating any one strict identity becomes impossible. One and the same, she yells, “Siamese twins connected at the cunt”. This abrasive metaphor sums up the position of a cisgendered (a woman whose assigned birth sex matches her chosen gender identity) feminist woman in society. She is forced to be two women at once from birth onward. This life path is based, as Loy would agree, in her sex. Consciously choosing to live in line with a feminist philosophy, society makes it impossible to fully realize oneself as both a feminist, and as feminine. Going back to the word “cunt,” let’s look at Hanna’s volatile diction. It is considered the most offensive word in the English language, and in using it, Hanna associates female sexuality with ugliness and shame, society’s message to women. They have no choice in their assigned sex, and in making sex both their point of inferiority and point of worth, patriarchy sets up a nearly inescapable dynamic. As with Loy’s character Pig Cupid in poem I, we can draw a direct connection between the functionality of reducing womanhood to sex in her poetry and Hanna’s
use of the word “cunt” in “Alien She.” “Siamese twins”— the feminist and the typically feminine
within Loy and Hanna are at odds, yet part of one another. This inescapable duality is heard in
Hanna’s voice when she begins the chorus, “I want to kill her / But I’m afraid it might kill me.”
Hanna expresses shame for her internalized sexism, while hesitantly questioning the possibilities
of feminism itself. We need to make a clear distinction when reading this: it is not Hanna
questioning the validity of feminism, but questioning the genuineness of her life choices as
inherent to her being, rather than as products of her chosen politics. In the context of “the
mistress” and “the mother,” sentiments expressed in “Songs to Joannes” mirror the
indecipherability of identity in “Alien She”. To fully understand this, we must look at one of Loy’s
more sentimental poems: in poem XVI, Loy the romantic reminisces on a sentimental love that
might have been:

XVI

We might have lived together
In the lights of the Arno
Or gone apple stealing under the sea
Or played
Hide and seek in love and cob-webs
And a lullaby on a tin-pan

And talked till there were no more tongues
To talk with
And never have known any better

Through Loy’s sentimental diction, like her use of the phrase, “We might have...” in line 1, it is
inferred that “Loy the feminist” and “Loy the romantic” are one and the same. In poem I Loy
presents a feminist standpoint, then counters it with the sentimentality of “once upon a time.” In
XVI Loy uses the same strategy, only performed backwards. The poem is constructed entirely out
of the sentimental, yet her inconclusive diction expresses an incongruity of identity. By beginning
the poem with “We might have...” Loy negates the possibility that these dreams of going “apple
stealing under the sea,” and playing “Hide and seek in love and cob-webs” were realized. She
wants to go apple stealing with her young lover—to get into harmless trouble. By situating this
metaphor in the ocean, Loy conveys the sense that this is a separate and impossible world, one to
which she does not belong. In the second metaphor Loy presents another innocent depiction of
young love, but in using the word “cob-webs” suggests that young love is a notion long past. Self-
doubting, Loy still desires these things. As much as Loy the feminist tries to separate herself from
the society that has created a false idealization of love, she is a participant in this society as well—
part of her identity is rooted within it, and this part of her continues to interject itself within her
radical politics.

Loy’s ability to express this dichotomy of identity through her poetry is inherent to the
personality of the poetic medium. The ambiguity of poetic language allows for a multi-
dimensional interpretation of each word, and consequently a live and experiential reading of each
poem. The vitality of poem XVI is made apparent by her use of the conjunctions “or” and “and.”
Looking at the words themselves we can see how they are reflective of her internal struggle. She
does not use the word “either” with “or”; the “or” “and” combination expresses the nuanced reality that she is not a feminist or a lover, but that she is a feminist and a lover. Let’s look at the last line of poem XVI: “And never have known any better.” Loy consciously recognizes her convoluted identity. Yes, it would be easier to not know any better, to be unaware of the power dynamics of society. Given her manifesto, the fact is Loy does know better. Her feminist philosophy does not negate her personality (her lived experience, her desire to love and be loved). Critical thought is at odds with basic human desire; this is not the fault of the individual, but rather the fault of an oppressive system. Here Loy discovers there is no perfect feminism without sacrifice.

In conclusion, let us examine the last line of “Alien She”: “And all I really wanted to know / Who was me and who is she / I guess I’ll never know.” Hanna may never understand her identity conclusively, but she was participating in the process of both finding, and creating an identity for herself. In choosing to write SLUT on her stomach, she refused any attempt to remove her politics from her being. Through performance, despite internal conflict, her body stands as a political statement. The binary Loy described as “the mistress and the mother” comes to mind. To break down this false binary Hanna had made her physical self a political spectacle—she sacrificed sentimentality for her politics. Through performance, a philosophy isolated to Loy’s mind and written work became the foundation for riot grrrl, and is now active, as opposed to being static on the bookshelf.

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In-Stream Monitoring on the McKenzie River, Oregon
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ABSTRACT
Salmon are valued not only as a food source and a symbol of recreation, history, and community, but also as bioindicators of broad ecological functions related to aquatic systems. Countless projects across the Pacific Northwest focus on creating quality habitat and connectivity for salmonids (e.g. salmon, trout) and other aquatic species. Thus, pre- and post-project monitoring of stream restoration techniques such as large woody debris placement and riparian plantings provide crucial information on the success and validity of current techniques. We, the 2013 Stream Stewardship Team from the University of Oregon’s Environmental Leadership Program (ELP), conducted pre-project monitoring in the McKenzie River to establish baseline data before restoration efforts. We partnered with the McKenzie Watershed Council at the Berggren Watershed Conservation Area (BWCA), an area of active restoration in the McKenzie Watershed near Eugene, Oregon. At the BWCA, we conducted three in-stream baseline monitoring protocols, including a longitudinal profile, cross sectional profiles, and pebble counts in Channel 2. The longitudinal profile showed that long, deep pools dominated the downstream portion of the channel, while shallow pools and marsh/dry units dominated the upstream portion. Cross sectional profiles documented banks with a large depositional feature of interest that were dominated by reed canary grass. Using our in-stream monitoring results, we hypothesize that the important, but limited, aquatic habitat complexity illustrated by this study will be improved by the addition of large woody debris in the summer of 2014.

1. INTRODUCTION
The McKenzie River is a critical waterway for sustaining both human and wildlife populations within the larger Willamette River basin. The McKenzie River's headwaters are sourced in the Cascade Mountains, where snowmelt filters through volcanic rock to provide clean drinking water year-round to Eugene city residents (Jefferson et al. 2006). Humans attach recreational values to the McKenzie River as well, which is popular for its boating, rafting, fishing, and picnicking opportunities. Human uses of the McKenzie River Watershed often clash with ecosystem structure and function, negatively impacting wildlife that depends on riverine habitat. Human development of the McKenzie River has resulted in channelization to reduce...
effects of flooding, removal of large wood to increase recreational safety, and riparian zone
destruction or alteration to promote residential or agricultural development (Pess et al. 2012).
Additionally, in the 1960s, Cougar Dam and Blue River Dam were built on the McKenzie River
specifically for flood control. These dams have altered the flows of sediment and water
downstream, greatly reduced the development of mid-channel bars and islands, and promoted a
single thread channel lacking areas of spawning gravel accumulation (Ligon et al. 1995). While
these changes are beneficial to humans, they also degrade vital habitat for both aquatic and
terrestrial species and affect the river’s geomorphology (Collins et al. 2012).

When allowed to exist under natural conditions, rivers such as the McKenzie meander
time, creating new channel habitats such as side channels, sloughs, and backwater features
(Ligon et al. 1995). Side channels are areas of slower moving water that offer feeding and resting
habitat critical for the success of many aquatic species, especially during seasonal high flows
when the river’s main channel is fast-moving and turbulent. River channelization has prevented
the McKenzie River from meandering naturally, and subsequently, the number and quality of
side channels has also been diminished (Alsea Geospatial 2000). Anadromous fish leave the sea
and travel up rivers to spawn and therefore require a range of different aquatic habitats
throughout their life cycle, including slow moving side channel habitat. The degradation of any
required habitat types can negatively impact anadromous species’ survival. Anadromous
salmonids can be used as bioindicators of the changing aquatic environment, meaning that their
health as a species can be used to monitor the health of the entire aquatic ecosystem. We will
gain information on multiple aspects of the aquatic environment by monitoring habitat
characteristics required by the native and endangered Chinook salmon (Oncorhynchus
tshawytscha). Required habitat characteristics include the riparian zone large woody debris
(LWD) and spawning gravels.

Riparian zones encompass the land area and vegetation directly surrounding the stream
channel. Healthy riparian zones can improve water quality, protect rivers from polluted upland
surface runoff, and provide valuable habitat conditions such as shading or inputs of organic
matter (Collins et al. 2012a; Collins et al. 2012b; Gonzalez & Garcia 2011; Sunil et al. 2010). In
the stream channel, fallen trees with diameters greater than 10 inches are categorized as LWD
and create complex river habitats by impacting channel form, water velocity, and the deposition
By altering water flow, these logs sort gravels suitable for salmon spawning and create scour
pools in the channel bed that shelter juvenile fish. Salmon redds are nesting areas composed of
spawning gravels that female salmon prepare during spawning season, which is in August and
September for McKenzie River spring Chinook salmon (Arthaud et al. 2010). The female salmon
requires a specific size class of gravel when preparing a redd that ensures protection and proper
aeration of the eggs (Arthaud et al. 2010). Pebble sizes less than 2 mm limit oxygen flow to the
eggs, whereas pebble sizes greater than 10.6 mm tend to increase the ability of predators to
access the eggs (Raleigh 1986). Therefore, the ideal gravel size for Chinook salmon redd
construction falls between 2-10.6 mm (Raleigh 1986). Efforts to increase Chinook salmon
populations have focused on preserving aquatic habitats that already contain these beneficial
characteristics, while also restoring aquatic habitats with the potential to support Chinook
salmon throughout their life cycle.
The McKenzie Watershed Council has partnered with the McKenzie River Trust and initiated multiple projects along the McKenzie River to enhance salmon habitat and create areas of suitable gravel for spawning redds. In 2013, we collected baseline data in side channels of the McKenzie River at the Berggren Watershed Conservation Area (BWCA) (Figure 1). In the main side channel (Channel 2) we conducted cross-sectional profiles, longitudinal profiles, and Bunte-Abt pebble counts to document channel characteristics in advance of planned restoration activities. Following a LWD placement project in the summer of 2014, these baseline data will help the McKenzie Watershed Council track the changes that occur in side channels at the BWCA. In combination, these methods will allow future investigators to compare not only the shape of the channel over time, but also to quantify the power of winter flows. Flood events that are difficult to observe change the channel’s form most dramatically. The operating hypothesis of this project, as with a plurality of other river restoration projects in the Pacific Northwest, is that the strategic placement of LWD will create habitat heterogeneity that benefits aquatic communities in side channels of the lower McKenzie River. The measurements and analysis presented here will allow that hypothesis to be evaluated in this restoration priority environment.

2. STUDY AREA

The BWCA is a 92-acre property, located in Springfield, Oregon, along the lower McKenzie River (Kezer et al. 2012). The site is comprised of 57 acres of critical riparian habitat that functions as a floodplain forest and 35 acres of residential area and farmland. BWCA was purchased in 2010 by the McKenzie River Trust with funding from Eugene Water and Electric Board and the Bonneville Power Administration, with long-term goals to conserve and protect the McKenzie River ecosystem (Kezer et al. 2012). Many side channel habitats no longer experience overbank flows due to upstream dam construction and associated reduced flows in the McKenzie River. Despite this trend, the BWCA still experiences frequent overbank flows due to high precipitation events in winter and early spring (Kezer et al. 2012). The interconnected system of side channels on the property is unique for the lower McKenzie Watershed, and provides critical rearing and resting habitat for salmonid species. With such a diverse habitat, the BWCA is home to many native species of plants and animals, as well as many invasive plant species that have spread along the property. Native wildlife species found on the property are: the Oregon chub (Oregonichthys crameri), red alder (Alnus rubra), and northern red-legged frog (Rana aurora) (McKenzie River Trust 2013). While native species have evolved to co-exist in this environment, invasive species such as reed canarygrass (Phalaris arundinacea) aggressively suppress the ability of native plant species to perform their function (Cook and Sundberg 2012).
3. METHODS

3.1 LONGITUDINAL PROFILE

The longitudinal profile is a critical element of establishing and monitoring a permanent reference site (Harrelson et al. 1994). To conduct a longitudinal profile, technicians measure channel bed and water elevations in the stream’s thalweg, the deepest part of the stream. The
resulting information characterizes overall slope and form and is useful in monitoring channel bed complexity, which is a critical component of functional salmon habitat. All surveying included the use of an auto-level and stadia rod with teams of at least three people. The teams conducted auto-level setup as described by Harrelson et al. (1994), with auto-level operator, recorder, rod holder, and an additional person for maintaining and tracking the channel-length measurement tape, which was laid parallel to the stream.

We established a permanent benchmark for the site, a precise and accurate point in three dimensions, with a non-survey grade elevation of 156.12 meters. We located that datum on the land surface with data from a light detection and ranging, or LiDAR (Oregon Department of Geology and Mineral Industries 2009). LiDAR is a widely employed remote sensing technique that uses light beams and sensors to accurately measure distance from an airplane or helicopter. Using the permanent benchmark and georeferenced elevation data, future surveys can use absolute elevation from sea level for assessing how site characteristics change in response to restoration activities. This permanent benchmark can serve as a standard for future longitudinal profiles of Channel 2 (the main side channel), ensuring that data comparison between years is accurate in portraying change. All subsequent stations were related to this first benchmark to maintain a consistent gradient along the channel profile. We collected in-stream foreshot measurements at points in the thalweg and recorded water depth. These measurements were taken every 0.25 - 1 channel widths, depending on how quickly elevation changed in the thalweg, with more frequent measurements taken in sections with an irregular gradient (Bonanno et al. 2011). Turning points were set with backshots to both the previous location and to the benchmark where possible, or to an additional turning point when necessary. In this way, all measurements were related to the benchmark and can be repeated in the same way.

We used scatterplot graphs to plot both bed and water elevation of the surveyed reach. We then calculated a linear regression to give the slope of the surveyed reach of Channel 2 (Figure 3). The mean squared error ($R^2$) value of this linear regression is an indicator of bed variability, where a lower $R^2$ value indicates greater bed variability (Mossop and Bradford 2006). We expect that future longitudinal profiles will document increasing channel bed variability, and thus lower $R^2$, following LWD placement, one of primary project goals.

The Longitudinal Profile of Channel 2 (Figure 3) was constructed from two days of data collection on May 17, 2013 (0 m to 350 m), and May 24, 2013 (350 m to 840 m). The discharge at the USGS 14162500 McKenzie River near Vida, OR was 4100 cfs and 3900 cfs, respectively. Cross sectional profiles were performed at points A, B, C, and D (Figures 5, 6, 7 and 8).

Water surface elevation was estimated from tape distance 450 m to 550 m (dashed line) in Figures 3 and 4 due to inconsistent data that may have been caused by faulty instrument setup or data recording discrepancies. This may have affected the bed elevation by +/- 0.2 m (as calculated from the discrepancy in water surface elevation) in that reach.

3.2 CROSS SECTIONAL PROFILE

We conducted four cross sectional surveys at Channel 2 to document changes in riffles and pools over time (Harrelson et al. 1994; Figure 2). Cross sections at riffle locations document
shallow, fast moving water, whereas deeper, slower moving water is characteristic of cross sections at pool locations. Conducting cross sections at the same locations over multiple years will document any changes in the depth or slope of the banks, which would accompany erosion or deposition by the stream. The cross sections are located within the longitudinal profile (Figures 5, 6, 7 and 8) at river meters 163.85, 332.6, 501, and 704.0. Similar to the longitudinal profile, surveys were conducted using an auto level and metric stadia rod by teams of at least three people, including an instrument operator, a recorder, and a rod holder (Harrelson et al. 1994). All four cross section measurements started at the left bank and ended at bankfull or greater on the right bank (Bonnano et al. 2011). Bankfull was defined as the threshold of the stream channel at which water overflows onto the adjacent floodplain (Harrelson et al. 1994). Water elevation and depth measurements were taken at each significant change in elevation, and at least every three meters where elevation was relatively constant (Bonanno et al. 2011). We then analyzed these data by graphing the cross sectional profile’s bed elevations and water depths.

3.3 BUNTE AND ABT PEBBLE COUNT

We used a modified version of Bunte and Abt’s (2001) pebble count procedure to quantify the streambed substrate of Channel 2 in ecologically important locations. Pebble count 1 was conducted in a glide downstream from a planned woody debris placement, count 2 in a riffle covered by reed canarygrass, and count 3 in a channel section containing the largest naturally-formed deposition bar (Figure 2). Pebble counts were correlated with cross sections in these key locations in order to provide an additional layer of insight into change over time. The distribution of pebble sizes is a proxy for the power of a stream since a more powerful stream can move larger pebbles. Using these data, the McKenzie Watershed Council will be able to assess how sediments are moving in the channel at cross section locations and how powerful the stream is during high flow events. We determined the number of transects at each pebble count location to best characterize the feature of interest. Each pebble count location included a minimum of 100 pebble samples blindly selected every 1 meter along each transect tape. For each pebble count we calculated $D_{50}$, the median pebble size, and $D_{84}$, the size of pebble that would move in a flood event. We used a gravelometer to measure the intermediate axis of randomly selected pebbles while also noting whether selected pebbles were embedded within the stream channel. A pebble was considered embedded when it was incorporated in the more permanent structure of the channel, as occurs when a pebble is partially buried by other rocks or sediments.
Figure 2: 2013 BWCA in-stream monitoring locations including longitudinal profile, cross sectional profiles, and pebble counts.
4. RESULTS

4.1 LONGITUDINAL PROFILE

Long, deep pools made up almost 90% of Channel 2 from 0 m to 550 m. From 550 m to 840 m, shallow pools and marsh/dry units classified the channel. These dry units are shown on the profile where water surface elevation is non-existent (Figure 3). Additionally, the Longitudinal Profile shows numerous riffles at the May 17 and May 24 discharge levels, which often have scour pools down-stream. A linear regression of the bed elevation data gave a channel slope of 0.28% (Figure 3). Linear regression was chosen for this reach because it is a relatively short and low gradient compared with larger scale rivers. Additionally, residual pool depth was calculated for pools as shown in blue in Figure 4. The $R^2$ (goodness of fit) value calculated with this linear regression was 0.7658. This high $R^2$ value demonstrated the low variability in the channel bed elevations.

![Figure 3: Longitudinal Profile shows the calculation of residual pool depth and channel slope using a linear regression of the bed elevation data. The high $R^2$ value of 0.7658 indicates low channel bed variability and complexity.](image)

4.2 CROSS SECTIONAL PROFILE

Steep bank slopes were seen in cross section A on the right bank, cross section B on the right bank, and in cross section D on the left bank (Figures 4, 5, 6, and 7). Gradually sloping banks were observed in cross sections B and C on their left banks. In cross section C the gravel bar was responsible for this slope. Reed canarygrass was growing into the active channel in many areas, as well as dominating the bank and floodplain. Cross section C documented the current shape of a large, naturally formed gravel bar, the only feature of its kind in the BWCA.
Figure 4: Cross sectional profile A in a pool at river meter 162.85 on the longitudinal profile, showing the steeply cut bank on the right, which indicates local stream channel movement to the right.

Figure 5: Cross sectional profile B in a riffle (fast, shallow water) at river meter 332.6 on the longitudinal profile, showing encroachment of reed canarygrass restricting the channel.
Figure 6: Cross sectional profile C in a pool at river meter 501 on longitudinal profile. Profile C included a large gravel-cobble point bar in a wide active channel.

Figure 7: Cross sectional profile D in a pool at river meter 704.0 on the longitudinal profile, steep left bank shows movement of the channel in that direction.

4.3 BUNTE AND ABT PEBBLE COUNT

Pebble count data indicated a larger percentage of fine sediment in both counts 2 and 3 as compared to count 1 (Figure 8). The full range of particle size classes (from <2 mm-128 mm) were represented cumulatively across all three counts, while each individual count recorded a $D_{50}$ that was gravel sized or smaller. In count 1, $D_{50}$ was 30 mm and $D_{84}$ was 63 mm; in count 2 $D_{50}$ was 16 mm and $D_{84}$ was 36 mm; and count 3 $D_{50}$ was 18 mm and $D_{84}$ was 30 mm (Figure 8).
Figure 8: A cumulative distribution of the three pebble counts and percent finer results, with D$_{50}$ and D$_{84}$ highlighted. D = intermediate axis length of a particle. The ideal particle sizes for Chinook salmon red construction are between 2-10.6 mm (Raleigh 1986).

5. DISCUSSION

5.1 LONGITUDINAL PROFILE

Our evaluation of the longitudinal profile of Channel 2 at BWCA created a baseline for monitoring the success of a future large woody debris placement. The R$^2$ value calculated from the linear regression (Figure 3) will be compared with future R$^2$ values to reflect channel bed complexity for salmon habitat. Restoration activities will hopefully result in lower R$^2$ values in the future, indicating increased bed form variability and thus habitat complexity. Our longitudinal profile documented the presence of multiple large pools with few riffles or turbulent reaches. It also showed that the pools do not receive overland input from the mainstem McKenzie during summer low flow, as there was no water above the surface above 750 m of the longitudinal profile. These low flows may result in disconnected channel habitat during the summer. Any through-flow during the time of survey was therefore due to hyporheic flow, where water from the river and the uphill watershed join this channel from underground.

Future surveys can compare the R$^2$ value of a linear regression to this baseline data as well as any changes in location of water inputs. Changes in the error function could be important indicators for changes in fish habitat in these channels. Mossop and Bradford (2006) found a correlation between the error function of a longitudinal profile regression and Chinook salmon population, where population increased as the error function decreased (that is, the habitat became more complex).
5.2 CROSS SECTIONAL PROFILE

Overbank flow events appear to occur at this channel during most years from flood events in the McKenzie. During these events, the channel receives direct input from the river, and these high flows and associated high stream power, are likely responsible for channel formation in BWCA. However, reed canarygrass encroachment may be simplifying these small side channels. By taking root within the active channel margins and altering flow and sediment deposition, reed canarygrass can limit habitat complexity (Martinez 2013).

Cross section A has fairly steep banks, especially its right bank (looking downstream), which may indicate erosion (Figure 4). Erosion of unstable channel banks is an ecological concern because massive influxes of fine sediment inhibit invertebrate species and negatively impact salmon redds by decreasing water and oxygen flows (Raleigh et al. 1986). Cross sections B and D also have steep right and left banks respectively, which may indicate channel migration (Figure 5 and 6). The gravel bar (Figure 6) and other depositional features reflected in the cross sections were most likely deposited in high flow and flood events during the winter season. Possible changes due to LWD placement may include the production of scour pools, erosion, deposition, changes in substrate composition, and changes in vegetation.

5.3 BUNTE AND ABT PEBBLE COUNTS

Channel 2 has slow moving water and low flows during the spring and summer, but experiences high flows and faster moving water during the fall and winter. The presence of gravels and cobbles indicates the power of a high flow regime as well as deposition from the mainstem McKenzie, which is connected to Channel 2 during high flows. Classifying the pebble sizes at cross sections A, B, and C allows for the McKenzie Watershed Council to track changes over time in locations where changes can be expected in the channel after LWD placement. Count 1 is important because it is downstream from a planned LWD installation; currently this section is characteristic of a glide scoured by seasonal high flows. We expect that the addition of LWD will increase channel heterogeneity both immediately upstream and downstream from the installation and promote the transport of smaller sediments downstream while retaining larger sediments upstream. Count 2 has importance as a riffle being choked with reed canarygrass, an invasive threat to the side channel system with the potential to alter and simplify channel geomorphology in an ecologically destructive way (Martinez 2013). Count 3 was conducted at the location of the largest naturally formed deposition bar within Channel 2; tracking pebble size classes at this location over time will provide insight as to how substrate is moving within the channel in response to high flows.

The calculated $D_{50}$ and $D_{84}$ values are of interest because, in general, the ideal particle sizes for Chinook salmon redd construction are 2 to 10.6 mm (Raleigh 1986). This particle size range is dependent on fish size because bigger fish can move larger gravels. At BWCA, restoration actions will be designed to increase average particle size to improve suitability for salmon redd construction. Coarser particles allow for better water flow and oxygen levels through the redds, leading to higher survival rates of hatching young (Raleigh 1986). Therefore,
LWD placement in Channel 2 and other restoration activities will ideally result in an increase of gravel sized particles and decreased levels of fine sediment over time.

6. RECOMMENDATIONS AND MANAGEMENT IMPLICATIONS

Based on precedent, we recommend conducting an additional paired cross section and pebble count above the LWD installation site before installation in summer 2014, as it is common to observe changes in channel morphology both above and below LWD installations (Collins et al. 2012a). In addition, we suggest that after the completion of LWD placement in the summer of 2014, subsequent post-treatment monitoring take place the following spring to document initial changes in substrate composition and channel geomorphology. Future data collection should continue to take place during the spring when low flows permit measurement within the thalweg. Furthermore, data collection would ideally take place during similar discharge levels to ensure consistency in data collection and subsequent analysis. Finally, based on our experience with orchestrating complex field operations using accurate instruments where precision is very important, we recommend beginning field days with quality assurance and quality control (QA/QC) tests where all teams compare results from the same location, thus ensuring repeatability. We recommend that whenever possible, the same teams of technicians conduct repeat pebble counts, cross sections and longitudinal reaches in order to reduce bias and the associated error. Since this may be logistically difficult, incorporating QA/QC measures into standard protocols should be routine for ELP teams in the future.

LITERATURE CITED


ABSTRACT

This paper aims to prove that H.P. Lovecraft, a celebrated twentieth-century American author of “weird fiction,” terrifies the reader not with content alone but with a particular style of language. It operates on a premise that syntactic structure is a tool to analyze language in order to reveal further insights into the function of its content. It argues that the patterns in Lovecraft’s style of elusive language, when parsed at a grammatical level, lay the foundations from which literary effects emerges to mold his horrifying vision of man on the precipice of madness in an incomprehensible universe. Characterized by sidestepping explication, Lovecraft’s syntactic patterns in “The Picture in the House” provide ground for grammatical structure as a literary device of its own: symbols connected by these patterns heighten the story’s suspense, and when woven together at the climax, they expose a secret horror still beyond our grasp, its lasting obscurity being the key demonstration of Lovecraft’s inferential style.

Key Words: Coordinating Conjunction, Inversion, Left Branching Sentence, Right Branching Sentence, Syntactic Parallelism, Syntax.

In The Call of Cthulhu and other Weird Stories collection, H.P. Lovecraft is quoted explaining his motive behind writing “weird fiction,” as “to achieve, momentarily, the illusion of some strange suspension or violation of the galling limitations of time, space, and natural law,” and to illuminate what is “beyond the radius of our sight and analysis” (xvii). This grand intention—to briefly expose a horror beyond our sight and comprehension—develops the revelation of secret murders in a hidden cottage in “The Picture in the House.” The discovery of it, however, is merely inferential. Lovecraft’s style of language avoids explication, and denies the reader certain knowledge of the murderous circumstances; so, our understanding of it remains limited throughout, but that distance leads us to make conjectures about its nature. This maneuvering of language to temporarily reveal the horrible existence of it, yet still conceal an explanation for it, is a technique executed by Lovecraft at the heart of language: syntax. From the introduction of the horrible thing to come, through each suspenseful advance toward its exposure, and to its climactic reveal, grammatical structure functions as Lovecraft’s tool for the preservation of its mystery. In the case of Lovecraft’s style, syntax works like a literary device that constructs a framework for the reader to infer, for the moments allowed, what terrors in...
this New England cottage and in the mind of its inhabitant exist, in a way too disturbing for man to comprehend.

For the purpose of analyzing linguistic constructions as stylistic and literary devices, an approach to observing Lovecraft’s style, described as “evocative prose-poetry” (xxi) must be established. In Artful Sentences: Syntax as Style Virginia Tufte writes: “But it is syntax that gives words the power to relate to each other in a sequence, to create rhythms and emphasis, to carry meaning—of whatever kind” (9). The Elements of Style confirms that connections between ideas may be realized through structure: “The likeness of form enables the reader to recognize more readily the likeness of content and function” (Strunk and White 26). Meaning—symbolic meaning especially—is inextricable from syntax. It can be further observed by experimenting with alternative arrangements seen in Tufte’s comments on Steven Weinberg’s writing: “Instead of writing ‘the sky at night,’ Weinberg turns the noun ‘night’ into an adjectival modifier in a noun phrase that becomes cohesive and enhances rhythm” (40). Tweaking like this lends clarity to the effect of the original composition: this is a crucial aspect of the following analysis of Lovecraft. Let it be seen, then, how syntax can parallel and create meaning in the “The Picture in the House.”

Near the story’s beginning, a symbolic link is made between two elements of the inexplicable horror in “The Picture in the House” simply by punctuation and a conjunction. The elements are the house which conceals the murder, and its host, an indulgent cannibal who hides his madness from the narrator. The symbolic likeness in the language performs their concealment, yet advances suspenseful intrigue. The house is described as “almost hidden now in lawless luxuriance of green and guardian shrouds of shadow; but the small-paned windows still stare shockingly, as if blinking through a lethal stupor which wards off madness by dulling the memory of unutterable things” (Lovecraft 34). The houses keep secret the horror within by remaining silent, as if enduring a voluntary coma, “dulling the memory.” However, the semicolon and the conjunction “but” establish a relationship between the house and their windows: on one end we have “they are hidden,” and on the other “windows stare” “blinking.” The windows provide an entrance to the confined mania: what form the horror might take, unknown to us now, may be seen inside. The semicolon’s pause suspends us there and the following “but” tempts us to look.

There is continuity between the appearance of the house and host: “His face, almost hidden by a long beard which grew high on the cheeks, seemed abnormally ruddy and less wrinkled than one might expect … His blue eyes, though a trifle bloodshot, seemed inexplicably keen and burning… Of what his clothing consisted I could hardly tell, for it seemed to me no more than a mass of tatters” (Lovecraft 38). The windows “stare” much like a pair of eyes, the host’s eyes. Both have an intense quality of being open, like the madness inside the house and inside the host threaten to peek at you. And like the house, the host’s face and body are hidden by the overgrowth of his hair and his clothing. However, the “almost” modifies “hidden” in both passages, which tells us that some aspect of him will be made available for partial discovery just as the windows stand for a sliver of an opening to the horrors yet to be seen. This thematic connection, made outstanding due to its structural intricacies, rouses discomfort, and employs the reader in the work of collecting pieces of information by inferred connections—Lovecraft’s language sidesteps clear hints to what secrets both the house and the host might have.
This relationship between ideas of seen and unseen, and the known and the unknown keeps familiarity at bay. Lovecraft’s furtive language to set the scene begins a pattern of withholding information; its nature ignites suspicion, and prepares the reader to suspend an expectation to know immediately what this horror might be. Syntactic ordering of descriptive details asserts that the upcoming horror is unknowable; we have nothing in our experience to compare it with, though we as the readers, being “searchers after horror,” are familiar with other “strange, far places”—the scenes we can already imagine (Lovecraft 34).

Because we read about “strange, far places … the catacombs of Ptolemais,” “ruined Rhine castles,” and “forgotten cities in Asia” before this story’s setting, we understand them comparatively: “But the true epicure in the terrible, to whom a new thrill of unutterable ghastliness is the chief end and justification of existence, esteems most of all the ancient, lonely farmhouses of backwoods New England …” (Lovecraft 34). The sharp “But” coordinates our initial imaginings of “strange, far places” with “the true epicure in the terrible” residing in the sticks of New England. “But” establishes that this scene we are heading toward is much like these “nightmare countries,” (Lovecraft 34) yet this “epicure in the terrible” in a farmhouse obscured by vegetation will be relatively a worse terror above everything we might know to recall when casting about for something horrific. So, a strategically placed conjunction prepares the reader to encounter a singular and never before witnessed thing.

The scene’s description continues: “… for there the dark elements of strength, solitude, grotesqueness, and ignorance combine to form the perfection of the hideous” (Lovecraft 34). The placement of the article “the” in its titles, “the true epicure in the terrible” and “the perfection of the hideous,” indicate it as a singularity. Alternatively, it could read “a terrible epicure” and “a perfected hideousness.” These titles typify the horror, while “the” charges it with absoluteness. “The epicure” and “the perfection” further prepare the reader to encounter a standalone horror; a single, strange happening.

But what really is “the epicure in the terrible” and “the perfection of the hideous” that we expect to encounter? Its following descriptors, the “dark elements of strength, solitude, grotesqueness, and ignorance,” are curiously distant from concrete detail and a bit useless when consulted for information, much like the names given to the horror. These intangible things, like a dark element of grotesqueness, repeatedly appear as an object of a preposition. A prepositional construction draws abstract connections in these instances; the effect is to delay a concrete image of the horror. Disconnected from something knowable, it hangs in the air for now. We do not yet know which form exactly “the perfection of the hideous” will take. The structure invites us to attempt to cast the mold of what these undefined things are, which makes us curious, suspicious, and we feel a suspenseful weight in the words as a result.

Further instances of achieved concealment arise from the linguistic devices that create visual structures which reflect its content, and add to its compelling motion. The language identifying the house’s exact location defines it as something hidden to then be exposed: “Most horrible of all sights are the little unpainted wooden houses remote from travelled ways” (Lovecraft 34). Attending to the placement of the subject “houses,” we see that the sentence is inverted. “We approach an English sentence with certain expectations, conditioned by our long acquaintance with basic patterns. We come expecting a subject first, or soon, and next—only
then—a predicate” (Tuft 161). Expectant of main information first, we are immediately thrust into a position of not knowing what the “sight” is. We might expect to read that “houses are the most horrible of all sights,” but since we are first informed of the horrible sight, we must hold that content, along with several adjectival modifiers, “little unpainted wooden” until we are finally informed of the subject “houses.” “Houses” occupies a space between a left branch and a lengthy right-branching sentence: much like the image of houses being “remote,” hidden in the middle of nowhere, the actual position of “houses” is nestled away in the center of the sentence.

We follow in first person the unnamed narrator—perhaps so the reader can occupy his perspective—through his suspenseful approach to this hidden house. The suspense achieved by another type of grammatical image which is developed through prepositional phrases. They can establish directional relationships to produce a kind of cinematic movement: “The English preposition has long carried a latent verbal force ... the preposition clearly imparts a verbal force, a motion” (Tuft 118). The setting’s scope finally narrows after roving around the world from Ptolemais to Asia, and continues to narrow fast. The syntax itself becomes a simulation. We follow a rather obscured route to the house that is significantly withdrawn into the woods: “upon an apparently abandoned road,” “between two elms,” “from the road” “up the weedy rise to the closed door.” The cinematic motion follows a path, rapidly gaining distance away from civilization as we squeeze through a narrow passage, the “singular channel,” through the “lawless luxuriances of green” and relentless “Nature” (Lovecraft 34-35). Like the subject “houses” is buried in the middle of the sentence, the structure here uses guiding information to illustrate a feeling of being sucked toward the ancient edifice, at once “so suggestive and secretive” (Lovecraft 35).

Upon entering and encountering the host, the appearance of a repulsive book featuring cannibalistic images of a butcher’s shop and its descriptive structure heightens suspense; it makes us suspicious that the host’s appreciation of human butchery is appallingly fanatical, and it is too immediate for comfort. A parallel construction winds tension: “The old man’s speech grew a trifle thicker and his eyes assumed a brighter glow; but his fumbling hands, though seemingly clumsier than before, were entirely adequate to their mission” (Lovecraft 40). “Speech thicker” paired with “eyes brighter,” quickens the pace of the moment just as the host’s ecstatic excitement begins to build, while “seemingly clumsier” paired with “entirely adequate” draws attention to the man’s familiarity with the book, which disturbs us and supports this suspicion if we recall that the “book fell open, almost of its own accord and as if from frequent consultation at this place,” at the picture of butchery (Lovecraft 40). What we have been waiting for to appear is “the perfection of the hideous,” some being who we are told is “the epicure in the terrible.” The staring windows and the burning eyes, the host’s greatly obscured location, his tender handling of the book though he is teeming with excitement over it. These details assist our imaginative crafting of the form which we have been waiting for the abstract titles to take.

Lovecraft knits the elements of the reveal together in a way that creates a momentary shock, and the implicit connections at the end ask the reader to piece the elements indicative of the revealed horror together. Through the following speech in an extinct form of Yankee dialect, the host unveils himself to the narrator as “the true epicure.” Through an ecstatic, husky voice he relates to the narrator his glutinous craving for human flesh: “I swar ter Gawd thet picter begun to make me hungry fer victuals I couldn’t raise nor buy—here, set still, what’s ailin’ ye?—I
didn’t do nothin’, only I wondered haow ‘twid be ef I did—They say meat makes blood na’ flesh, an’ gives ye new life, so I wondered if ‘twasn’t make a man live longer an’ longer ef ‘twas more the same—But the whisperer never continued” (Lovecraft 41). The standout feature is the frequency of dashes which provide a visual clarification. They communicate pauses in his speech to account for a response to perhaps the narrator’s facial reactions, and the reader’s.

Especially disturbing is his response “here, set still, what’s ailin’ ye?” made slow and perhaps incongruously compassionate by the rhythmic commas. “But” injects a rush of suspense while the last dash interrupts momentum of the scene, and slows it to a few hot seconds. In these few seconds of the coming climactic exposure of blood on the ceiling, Lovecraft chooses “impact” and “something” to be the subjects of each clause: “It was produced by a very simple though somewhat unusual happening. As the old man whispered the words “more the same” a tiny spattering impact was heard, and something shewed on the yellowed paper of the upturned volume” (Lovecraft 42). Alternatively, it could read “we heard a tiny spattering impact” and “it shewed on the yellowed paper.” The ones to do the hearing, “we” are replaced with the subject “impact,” which narrows the experience to hearing the plop of the spatter. This structure adds a significant weight to this moment, which is then doubled by the following information: “I thought of the rain and of a leaky roof, but rain is not red” (Lovecraft 42). Skillfully, “rain is not red” avoids explicitly saying blood dripped onto the page, and instead the conjunction “but” establishes both a likeness between a raindrop and this liquid, and a distinction that asks the reader to assume it is in fact blood.

The final exposure again asks the reader to make a conjecture: “The old man saw it, and stopped whispering even before my expression of horror made it necessary; saw it and glanced quickly toward the floor of the room he had left an hour before” (Lovecraft 42). Here, a parallel structure communicates the focus on the sight of the red spattering: “The old man saw it...; saw it” brings our attention to the dot twice. The semicolon acts as a powerful pause between the two snapshots on the red in which we might imagine a sharp intake of breath, from both the host and the narrator, upon the surprise of its appearance. While we are absorbed by the spattering and the silence that follows its impact, Lovecraft chooses to put “glanced quickly toward the floor of the room” before “he had left an hour before” to require us to recall information we learned earlier, that the host descended from his room upstairs. It first sounds as if we are meant to look at the floor of the room the two of them currently occupy, but this asks the reader to infer that the red is blood, and that it is dripping from the host’s upstairs room. This weaving of information makes the realization quite sudden, just like the surprise blood drip itself.

Even as the murder in the house and the cannibalistic host are revealed, Lovecraft’s language reinforces that the horror, though we do witness it, is indeed beyond “the radius of our sight and analysis.” We can merely hypothesize that this ancient Yankee seems to have survived the passage of time since the Revolutionary War by consuming humans in secret. Lovecraft maintains that distance through syntactic structures which lend only partial visuals of the revelatory blood stain. This stylistic choice must be pointed out because it greatly emphasizes that a peek at the unknown is a brief one; by the end, we still do not comprehend it all.

Prepositions, a well-established tool for Lovecraft by the end, construct the physical space of the moment we infer the host has recently murdered a man. Our vision never actually
targets the mutilated body; we never witness the deed itself: “On the butcher’s shop of the Anzique cannibals a small red spattering glistened picturesquely, lending vividness to the horror of the engraving. The old man saw it, and stopped whispering even before my expression of horror made it necessary; saw it and glanced quickly toward the floor of the room he had left an hour before. Our vision is above the picture, “On the shop,” then underneath the ceiling, which we know from “toward the floor of the room.” These directional relationships establish a connection between the picture’s gruesome content and whatever lies above; we oscillate between the depicted butchery and the host’s room now suggested to hold a bloody mess.

However, the vision is in a detached place; we are left hovering above one horror and below the other without an overt mage to grasp onto. Perhaps we imagine the host having guzzled down the blood and tenderly chewed on a still-beating heart, bloated and gleaming in the room’s “air of archaism,” under the light of fading candles in “the prevailing gloom.” A shadowy room of purples and reds, “dusty windows,” a musky smell, the body being dragged around a floor that creaks with every clunk accompanying the ax blow (Lovecraft 36). But, the point is that the gradual hints toward the house and host as living relics from a pre-revolutionary time, and the realization of the cannibalism as the host’s means of sustenance, still remain distant from our eye, and the details of the event stay mystifying and incomprehensible.

Because Lovecraft’s linguistic techniques of withholding information, of a gradual inclusion of telling detail, and of obscuring our vision at the climactic reveal so heavily stylize “The Picture in the House,” the words which Lovecraft chooses to place at the very end should be considered: “I did not shriek or move, but merely closed my eyes. A moment later came the titanic thunderbolt of thunderbolts; blasting that accursed house of unutterable secrets and bringing the oblivion that alone saved my mind” (Lovecraft 42). This last bit reinforces the reveal of something hidden by acting as a closure to follow it, emphasizing the brevity of the horror’s exposure. Coordinating conjunction “but” and adverbial modifier “merely” hint that this instance of realization happened quickly, without time for the narrator to react to the “abhorrent creature,” (Lovecraft 41) only a second long enough for him to close out the horrifying host in front of him. “The titanic thunderbolt of thunderbolts” is in keeping with Lovecraft’s preference for absolute titles, which acts as a deus ex machina to suddenly demolish the horror, as if its exposure requires an event to render the house, its host, and the murder forever incomprehensible; we are denied an opportunity to cross its threshold again.

From the secretive language that prepared us for an unknown horror, to the gradual nods toward the house as an anomalous relic from the past and the host as a gluttonous cannibal, to the final reveal of the murder inspired by the picture, Lovecraft’s favoring of implicit information invites the reader to cross into the realm of a terror too disturbing to fully realize. Skirting around explicit language, Lovecraft’s subtle linguistic patterns—placement of coordinating conjunctions, slight manipulations of articles, prepositional phrases as abstract, directional and spatial connections, parallelisms, and simply punctuation—support and drive Lovecraft’s intention: to plunge the reader into the unknown, to bloom through the framework.

Through Lovecraft’s linguistic devices we were sent into darkness, and even as the details seemed to cohere as the story picks up momentum, we are still left without a full comprehension of the events. After all, the peek beyond our “radius of sight and analysis” is constructed from
the interplay of syntax and content as an illusion; we never learn the complete truth behind the
circumstance of this mystifying house out of time, this unthinkable disaster of a man, and his
murder out of sight. Like the house attempts to “dull the memory of unutterable things” which
took place inside, perhaps we as the now terrified readers should return to the limited space in
which we began. As stated by the narrator, the devastation of the house “alone saved my mind;”
even an inferred sight through the veil which obscures such a horror can be only momentary if
we hope to return to a comprehensible place with our minds intact.

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Social Conservatives’ Adoption of a Subaltern Discourse After the 2012 US Presidential Election
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ABSTRACT

Mitt Romney’s defeat in the 2012 Presidential Election led to rampant speculation, both within and outside of the Republican Party, that President Obama’s victory required the GOP to re-evaluate its platform, leaders, and future. Some groups amongst the Republican coalition, specifically the Evangelical Christians, believe the electoral loss carries deeper meaning. They see the Democratic Party’s general success as a sign of America being ‘lost’. In response to the election, Evangelicals have formed a counter-public based on a narrative of defeat to increase its cohesiveness thus defining its political identity. Beyond politically defining Evangelical Christians, this report will inspect Pastors’ speeches, TV personalities’ testimonies, newspaper editorials, and previous studies regarding the 2012 election and stances on relevant issues to determine who is promoting this idea of a ‘lost’ America and why they stubbornly maintain this sentiment. Consideration of Evangelical sources will highlight their reasons for increasingly feeling morally threatened and politically trapped. While previous works have stressed the power held by Evangelical groups, this study will analyze the narrative giving them their influence.

INTRODUCTION

After the 2012 US Presidential election, an unexpectedly large victory by President Barack Obama sparked a Republican internal investigation into the causes of their political defeat. The official ‘autopsy’ report produced by the Republican National Committee identified several policy stances that required a reform. The Party’s positions on social issues, for example, have been questioned. More specifically, many have demanded a shift away from conservative beliefs regarding hot-button social items such as abortion and gay marriage. Previously considered one of the strengths of the party, the evangelical or socially conservative wing of the Republican coalition has been alienated as a result of their stubborn adherence to strict moral principles amidst a wave of secularization. Thus, the majority of evangelicals, when regarded as a political entity, have become a subculture defined by both a narrative of defiance to policy changes and by a narrative based on America’s moral defeat. However, those who identify with the faction dispute any notion that suggests the social conservatives have embraced a subordinate position within the Republican Party. This stance contradicts at least one definition of a counterpublic. Citing their historical political significance to the GOP, notable socially

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conservative figures demand recognition of their ideals in the platform or threaten the creation of a new party. By means of studying firsthand accounts from pastors, TV personalities, and politicians this study will politically define this counterculture. Then, it will analyze its leaders, their narratives, and the effects induced by these messages on their electoral standing.

METHODOLOGY

Analysis of the media produced by the Religious Right reveals their similarities to a counterculture, as defined by Michael Warner. Unlike other papers, this study will view the social conservatives as more than just a political faction. Utilizing Warner’s perception of a counterculture, one begins to see how the evangélicals closely meet his model. In the same way, while others focus on the day-by-day messaging conveyed by the 24-hour news cycle, consideration of the group’s narratives as a whole will be taken into account. The inclusion of eclectic sources – debate transcripts, editorials, TV show segments, and Ministers’ emails – further distinguishes this paper from other documents. As an author of Publics and Counterpublics, Warner stresses three points when defining a counterpublic: the circulation of texts, the tension with the larger public, and the idea of being cognizant of their subordination. Although the social conservatives’ adoption of a subaltern discourse adheres to the first two requirements assigned by Warner, only a small portion of this unit has embraced the idea of being an inferior body. As previously stated, throughout the post-election turmoil eminent social conservatives have maintained a narrative of opposition to policy shifts and a narrative rooted in America’s decreasing respect for Christian principles. Defining the sources of and motivations for these messages will be the primary focus of this paper. Nevertheless, the paper will also expose how the majority of the GOP’s most traditional members refuse to accept the subordination clause included in Warner’s definition of a counterpublic. Numerous accounts suggest that one division feels that the evangelicals have already passed their political prime and will continue to have increasingly less influence. This sentiment, which aligns with Warner’s vision of counterpublics, stands in stark contrast to the rest of the social conservatives who still feel they possess political power.

HOW SOCIAL CONSERVATIVES COMPARE TO WARNER’S DEFINITION

Contrary to Warner’s idea that countercultures acknowledge their secondary position, many of the most influential social conservatives feel they still have the ability to significantly impact the political sphere. Their denial, however, has only strengthened the group’s resolve and unity. Abstaining from change has given the social conservative movement more power by further detaching them from the main Republican bloc. Admonishment by the leadership of the Republican Party has failed to produce the desired changes in the social conservatives’ beliefs. Subsequently, the narrative of a ‘lost’ America and of adamant conservatism preached by various leaders has expedited the development of a social conservative counterculture. According to Warner, a counterpublic is at least partially defined by its tension with the larger public and is “mediated by print, theater, diffuse networks of talk, commerce, and the like.” Media produced by the faction confirms that social conservatives meet these two characteristics. Consideration of the thousands of Megachurches, the plethora of talk radio channels, and of the ever-expanding reach of TV programs all devoted to the social conservative cause makes it clear how such a united, identifiable counterpublic has been formed. Such a large media empire
allows for the diffusion of communication necessitated by Warner’s interpretation. Likewise, Christian groups’ feelings of oppression as a result of general condemnation for views deemed as insensitive speak to their identification as a group with plenty of external tension. To Nancy Fraser, the social conservatives likely resemble a “subaltern counterpublic” where “members of subordinated social groups invent and circulate counterdiscourses to formulate oppositional interpretations of their identities, interests, and needs.” Fraser denotes the centrality of counterdiscourses to counterpublics - a theme that will be appearing frequently below. While one could debate exactly which term best defines the movement, it seems clear the social conservatives represent a subset of the public committed to an alternative ideology. Even so, Warner’s instance on counterpublic subordination means his definition fails to entirely embody this group. Both the narratives shared via and the actions taken by Religious Right organizers emphasize the political power and internal solidarity generated by denying subordinate status. Their collective action at the polls as well as their commitment to consuming and sharing media that propagates the narratives of both American moral defeat and defiance to change has sufficiently severed ties with the majority of the population. In the same way, the social conservatives’ denial of a lesser role in the GOP has bolstered the group’s identity as a counterpublic.

THE DEMOGRAPHICS OF SOCIAL CONSERVATIVES

Demographics taken from election results, census data, and Pew Polls suggest this counterpublic does wield considerable influence. These results further detach the social conservatives from Warner’s idea of subordinate status. Modern media has labeled this political counterculture as the ‘social conservatives’: a term, which primarily encompasses those within the evangelical sect of Christianity as well as people against progressive positions on social issues. Others frequently use the term ‘Religious Right’ to refer to the same movement. Election data provide a relatively clear picture on how social conservatives vote and who represents a part of their constituency. According to The Economist, over half of Republicans identify as evangelical but not all of these voters belong in the ‘social conservative’ category. Amongst those labeled as evangelicals in exit polls, 44 percent of those under the age of 40 defined their social views as ‘liberal.’ Hence, not all evangelicals, especially younger members, are a part of the movement. Additionally, the group appears to have limited participation by non-white evangelicals. Immigration has increasingly led to the inclusion of minorities in evangelical counts, which has dramatically altered the demographics of the sect. Once again the electoral results make the exact delineations more explicit. Analysis of Protestants’ votes, of which evangelicalism resides within, confirms the need to include race when defining social conservatives. Approximately 90 percent of black Protestants voted for Obama, in stark contrast to the 70 percent of white Protestants who supported Romney. The Pew Research Center data from May 2011 includes the following demographical breakdown of those who view themselves as staunch conservatives: 56 percent male, eight percent under the age of 30, 31 percent between the ages of 30 and 49, 61 percent over the age of 50, and 92 percent white. In terms of geography, 38 percent of staunch conservatives reside in the South. Unfortunately, this report does not directly distinguish between staunch fiscal and staunch social conservatives. Gallup poll data from May 2012 suggests economically conservative citizens do not necessarily possess socially conservative views as well. Poll results show 38 percent of Americans identify as total
social conservatives while 46 percent view themselves as economically conservative. As a consequence, the Pew statistics only provide a general idea of the make-up of the social conservative movement. In terms of geography though, a different Pew survey demonstrates the prevalence of the ‘Evangelical Protestant Tradition’ in Southern states. For example, over 51 percent of US adults in Oklahoma, Arkansas, and Tennessee view themselves as part of the evangelical movement. These figures confirm the group’s Southern orientation. Data compiled for the spring 2008 primaries demands that one additionally considers religious traditionalism. Clear differences can be seen in Protestants’ positional stances based on whether they identify as traditionalists, centrists, or modernists. For example, when asked if same-sex marriage should be legal, nine percent of traditionalists agreed, 26 percent of those in the center assented, and 42 percent of modernists supported the initiative. Despite the age of this survey, religious traditionalism must factor into a definition of social conservatism. Above all else, the election results highlight the uniformity of the social conservatives. This collection of individuals displayed remarkable solidarity in the 2012 Presidential election as 80 percent of white evangelicals voted for Mitt Romney. In summary, the social conservative movement predominantly comprises elderly, Republican, white, traditionalist or centrist Protestants (especially evangelicals), who likely reside in the South, and may or may not hold economically conservative values as well. For comparison, Robert Jones, in his book Progressive and Religious, defines the Christian Right as “...a fairly homogeneous group dominated by white evangelical Protestants concentrated in the South and Midwest...” Both definitions highlight the significance of age, religion, and geography when defining the faction. Additionally, each definition provides evidence that urges one to view the social conservatives as a counterpublic due to their lack of diversity and general exclusiveness.

HISTORY OF THE FACTION

After becoming nationally relevant, cohesiveness during elections has, to this day, led to social conservatives shedding the subordinate status associated with most counterpublics. In the past, the faction likely yield greater influence on national campaigns but now, they possess the ability to shape Republican races. Prior to the 1980s, a period in which several national figures utilized their close ties with the social conservatives to propel themselves into office, Ed Dobson, an evangelical pastor, said, “Evangelicals were considered obscurantist, sweat-drenched Appalachian hillbillies.” However, as Frank Lambert notes in Religion in American Politics, “Though fundamentalists had been barely visible in national public affairs over the previous several decades, they had been far from idle.” Support from Ronald Reagan, during his campaign and after he assumed the Presidency, and the apparent secularization of the American government, as reportedly evidenced by the Roe v. Wade ruling, led to evangelical leaders using their pulpit politically. GOP leaders sought to organize these social conservatives to broaden their coalition, as many of them had previously voted for Democrats. “The basis for the coalition,” according to Kenneth Wade, author of Politics and Religion, “would be a frontal attack on ‘big government’ as a threat to the traditional religious and economic values.” After initially dealing with politics at the national level, the social conservative movement gained immense power through the implementation of an extensive grassroots network. However, by the 2012 election cycle, the movement had reached its zenith in terms of national sway. Jeff Zeleny of The New York Times detailed in his article “Iowa May Turn G.O.P.’s Focus to Social
Issues” how the social conservative movement’s focus on social issues in a time of economic uncertainty threatened to get Republican Presidential candidates off-message. Zeleny summarizes:

social and religious conservatives are pressing the likely candidates on issues like same-sex marriage and abortion rather than on jobs, the budget deficit and other economic concerns that leaders of both parties expect to dominate the general election.\footnote{16}

Similar articles stressing the social conservative movement’s stubborn refusal to ignore social issues occurred frequently in newspapers across the nation prior to the election. A Gallup poll from October 10 demonstrates how the social conservatives’ failure to be flexible has led to their isolation both nationally and within the Republican Party. Only 44 percent of Americans thought the government “should promote traditional values in our society.” Within the Republican Party, 65 percent denoted their desire for traditional values - down from 79 percent in 2004.\footnote{17} So although this section of the GOP has become less dominant in determining general elections, the subaltern counterpublic has perpetuated its pull in Republican primary elections.

‘TENSION WITHIN THE LARGER PUBLIC’ FOLLOWING THE 2012 ELECTION

Social conservatives, as seen by their narratives and population data, undoubtedly adhere to the section of Warner’s definition that couples counterpublics to tension with society at large. Evidence from polls and the election show an electorate embracing secular beliefs. Such a transition has motivated the Republican Party leadership to question if the social conservatives still have a place within their party. Months prior to the 2012 election, a USA Today survey found “only 38 percent of the registered voters said social issues like gay marriage and abortion are extremely or very important to them in the context of the presidential campaign.”\footnote{18} Statistics like these, in addition to Romney’s loss, sparked the generation of an election autopsy report. A five-member panel of the Republican National Committee created the document, titled “The Growth and Opportunity Project.” Released in December, the project outlined potential changes to the Republican platform to improve its relationship with a diversifying electorate. Included changes such as a more favorable stance on immigration, consideration of maneuvering on gay marriage, and several alterations to the Presidential primary procedure have been widely regarded as attempts to marginalize the social conservatives in the party.\footnote{19} Former Oklahoma Congressman Mickey Edwards supports the calls for primaries designed to produce more moderate candidates. While speaking at an Intelligence Squared US debate, he said, “It’s the primary system where the Republican activist, the true believers, people like you [a social conservative] show up. And what happens is you end up with nominees like Christine O’Donnell...” He goes on to say that radicals running for office is “what’s killing the party.”\footnote{20} Such a change obviously angers social conservatives who believe their candidates represent winnable politicians. Similarly, public figures such as Rick Santorum equate potential Republican acceptance of gay marriage with assured electoral defeat as well as an invitation to create a new political party.\footnote{21} Thus, the social conservative movement has come full circle - apolitical prior to the radical 1960s, extremely politically powerful throughout the 1980s and early 2000s, and now a tumor within the Republican Party. Attacks from “the Establishment” on the social conservatives did not stop with the publication of the report. Perennial Republican Karl Rove, widely regarded as a highly influential party member,
sponsored the development of the Conservative Victory Project. Tired of losing seemingly winnable races because of primaries producing extremist Republicans, Rove’s project, in the words of Kevin Cirilli of Politico, sought to, “...go after certain conservative grass roots efforts.” Beyond being blamed by many Republicans for spoiling their chance at the White House, the “establishment” now seems to be actively trying to prevent social conservatives from even running for political office. These accounts demonstrate the dramatic and ongoing separation of social conservatives from the main players in the Republican Party. In the past, the group primarily only struggled with non-Republicans while the GOP found a way to include them in the conservative battle. “Establishment” attacks confirm that social conservatives now have to worry about isolation from the GOP as well. Additionally, the attacks represent how 2012 served as a landmark cycle in regards to the formation of a social conservative counterpublic.

CONTINUED EXAMPLES OF SEPARATION

The strain on the GOP-social conservative relationship serves as excellent evidence for the separation component of the counterpublic definition. Recent cultural events have deepened the divide between the two coalitions. As immigration reform and the discussion on gay marriage have gained national media coverage in the aftermath of the election, the wedge dividing the ideology camps has significantly deepened. For some on both sides complete separation represents the only viable option. David Brooks, columnist for The New York Times, envisions a GOP division occurring along geographical lines, creating a coastal and Midwestern party in addition to a Southern and Western party. He views this as a necessary step in making the Republican message relevant again in a period in which they have lost the popular vote in five of the last six Presidential elections. Others believe the divisional fence should be drawn according to policy lines as seen by younger Republicans’ more favorable stance towards Ohio Senator Ron Portman’s support of gay marriage. For example, one writer, Mark Chaves, rejected his evangelical base in his youth as a result of its affiliation with rigid conservative policies. Chaves now checks unaffiliated when asked for his religious status because of the group’s perception of gay marriage and the general LGBT community. For fifty years, in Daniel William’s view, author of God’s Own Party, social conservatives have maintained close ties to the Republican Party “because the GOP shared their vision of a ‘Christian’ nation resolutely defending itself against internal and external enemies.” Given that voters have questioned the GOP’s devotion to the maintenance of a strict ‘Christian’ nation, how will the Republican Party respond? Will shifts toward the center on social issues increase their standing with independents or destroy their base? Members of the Republican team, such as former Republican Senator John Danforth, seek to free the party from the Religious Right’s conservative tug. An ordained Episcopal minister, Danforth is, according to Lambert, “critical of the Religious Right primarily because of what he considers to be its negative influence on the GOP.” The social conservative response to questions of this sort has been consistent - though the times may be changing, sticking to conservative principles will provide the GOP with the easiest path to victory. Such a position, founded upon the idea of political power, again shows how social conservatives reject an inferior role.
RELIGIOUS LEADERS’ MEDIA EMPIRES AND THE CIRCULATION OF TEXTS

Various media networks, espoused by religious figures, facilitate the spread of literature crucial to the survival of a subaltern discourse. Broadcasts of the leaders’ responses to the 2012 election represent the social conservative narrative that America, with its morality in steep decline, has become ‘lost’. Their dedication to their core beliefs has increasingly made them a counterculture in the American political universe. Using email, TV, editorials, and speeches to convey their narrative, this isolationist approach has solidified their power over the Republican Party’s future due to the loyalty exhibited by their followers. In Religion in America, Lambert summarizes, “Dissatisfied with the mainstream media that Conservative Christians believed expressed humanist ideas and ridiculed Christian principles, the Religious Right has developed an alternative media that advances their views.”

In addition to normal media, reverends have the unique ability to connect with voters during a special time in their week: Sabbath. Mega-churches, almost entirely Protestant, have made an increasingly large political impact as the number of churches (with at least 2,000 attendees) has soared from 50 in 1970 to 1,300 in 2009. Progressive & Religious describes the social conservatives’ prominent media presence. Author Robert Jones cites James Dobson, founder of Focus on the Family (FOF), as an example of the networks many reverends have established. With 2.3 million magazine subscribers, a radio program carried by more stations than National Public Radio, and more monthly readers than The New York Times Dobson possess a media empire. Such an empire can have an extensive impact on the electoral process. Some, like Daniel Williams, speculate that access to a portion of this network allowed Mike Huckabee to win a number of early primaries in the 2008 election cycle. Williams points out that Huckabee received the emails of 414,000 young evangelicals in Iowa from a local evangelical leader prior to the state’s primary: a contest he won. This substantial contact sheet emphasizes the power of access to such a tight network of voters. These networks also aid with political messaging. Immediately following the 2012 Presidential Election, Ted Haggard, an evangelical Pastor with immense popularity, used his blog to comment on the disappointing loss. Rather than acknowledge Obama’s well-run campaign or Romney’s inability to connect with average voters, Haggard said, “I think Obama won the election primarily because his culture was more appealing to most Americans.”

Haggard claims Americans embraced Obama’s past use of drugs and alcohol and that specific political positions “were not the determining factors in the election.” In the opinion of people like Haggard, Americans no longer prioritize strong morals contributing to the nation’s deterioration. Refusing to change his political views in correspondence with the majority of Americans, Haggard also embodies the message centered upon defiance to policy change. Reverend Albert Mohler Jr., President of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, shares Haggard’s disappointment in American morality. In an interview shortly after the election, Reverend Mohler used the opportunity to start building upon the narrative of a ‘lost’ America. Acknowledging that they did get their anti-abortion, anti-same-sex marriage message out, he laments, “An increasingly secularized America understands our positions, and has rejected them.” Instead of perceiving the electoral loss as a sign of required reform, these central social conservative figures have used the results as a symbol of American moral depravity. Ralph Reed, an early leader in the Christian Coalition, renounces efforts by ‘the Establishment’ to moderate its stance to increase voter appeal. Displaying the movement’s rebellious attitude, Reed argues, “We’ve been hearing the same old song [for change] for 30 years.” Additionally, Reed founded...
Families of Faith, an organization that has worked tirelessly to promote the narratives of America needing ‘saving’ and the importance of remaining steadfast in support of conservative principles. At an April 2013 debate with David Brooks, Reed gave an explicit vision of the Republican Party from a social conservative’s perspective. “The fact of the matter is what the Republican Party stands for, what it fights for and what it seeks to advance,” in Reed’s opinion, “is policies that will strengthen marriage, family, childbearing and rearing.” According to Reed, the GOP is synonymous with conservative principles, a distinction increasingly at odds with the rest of the Party’s members. Clearly, to social conservatives, the GOP must play a role in rescuing America from moral decline. This objective conveys how these narratives are heavily based on social conservatives having a persistent role in American political discourse. The necessity of a vibrant Religious Right serves as the movement’s reasoning behind rejecting subordination.

THE MEDIA’S CONTRIBUTION TO THE DISPERSAL OF THE NARRATIVES

A narrative based on a ‘lost’ America has taken hold throughout social conservative camps and has further alienated them by preventing them from shifting their views. So although the majority of Americans, according to a Wall Street Journal poll from March 2013, now support gay marriage and legalized abortions in most cases, social conservatives will not budge. TV personalities have assumed this defiant narrative as well. The dissemination of these narratives over another media outlet illustrates the wide reach of the social conservatives’ circulation of ideas. Depressed by the Presidential election defeat, Mike Huckabee issued a statement to his attentive social conservative audience through his blog, podcast, and radio outlets. Like the evangelical ministers, Huckabee purports America’s primary problems are spiritual but that as a body, social conservatives must not give up the fight. He urges his followers to “…gear up and get ready for the next battle. That’s what we do as people of faith and a party of principle. We don’t stop believing what we believe. We do a better job of doing what we’re supposed to do. That is how you save America from herself.” In this message Huckabee reinforces the narratives of both defeat and defiance through his stubborn refusal to accept an America with ‘immoral’ standards. According to Huckabee, American can be ‘saved’ but it will require the social conservative movement to stick to its principles and remain cohesive. To prove his recognition of the Religious Right as vital body, Huckabee asserts that they still have the potential to alter America’s course. Likewise, Bill O’Reilly has used his position as a Fox News TV personality to share the narrative of America’s moral defeat and the duty of Republicans to prevent it. Pew data from May 2011 state that a remarkable 54 percent of all staunch conservatives regularly watch Fox News. Such a connected audience undoubtedly helps TV personalities spread their message. Analysis of O’Reilly’s show helps to further define the social conservative narrative. He urges his viewers to “…convince younger Americans, minorities and apathetic people of which there are plenty that the country is heading for disaster.” Focusing on minorities, the young, and the unreligious, O’Reilly demonstrates the movement’s inability to communicate with a large portion of the population. Such a narrow, albeit focused, reach helps clarify the origin of the movement’s tenseness with several American demographics.

Both Huckabee and O’Reilly rely on dramatic rhetoric to keep their followers dedicated to the cause. Religious figures cite the prospect of going to Hell as motivation to preach conservative values. On The Bill O’Reilly Factor episode covering the apparent culture war
raging in the United States, O’Reilly presents another apparently awful possibility: “If 
traditional people don’t begin standing up we will become Sweden. No question about it.”
To 
social conservative leaders there is no middle ground: America will either be saved or damned to 
Sweden-hood. A notorious radio personality, Rush Limbaugh, shares O’Reilly’s concern 
regarding American morality. Using the same polarizing diction as O’Reilly, Limbaugh worries 
that the Obama administration seeks “to effectively erase the 2,000 years of Judeo-Christian 
values as a governing force, as a positive influence on cultures and society.” Statements like 
this solidify the idea of America being forced away from its Christian base. Progressives seized 
the White House and now threaten to destroy the Christian role in the US government. These 
TV personalities have fully embraced both narratives, which ensure their pious followers will as 
well.

POLITICIAN’S REFUSAL TO ACCEPT LESS INFLUENCE

Elected officials advanced the narratives and continually voice their faith in the social 
conservative’s ability to make a difference. Disregarding the polls and statistics, Presidential 
candidate Rick Santorum asserts, “If we had candidates in the last two presidential elections 
who weren’t ashamed of the positions they had on these issues and played offense, instead of 
listening to the same people who now want to abandon the issues, we would’ve been 
successful.” Calling for Republicans to stand up to those opposed to their moral beliefs, 
Santorum personifies the social conservatives’ rejection of any suggestion to alter their 
principles. Moreover, the Pennsylvania Senator’s remarks indicate that social conservative 
leaders have spurned subordinate status. Lindsay Graham, an influential Republican senator, 
recently displayed the difficulty ‘the Establishment’ is having with the social conservatives. As 
Ed O’Keefe reported, Graham has allowed the faction to maintain its narrative. Although 
Graham did ask the Religious Right to re-word their messaging at a recent Republican meeting 
in South Carolina, he admitted that members of the far right “don’t have to be embarrassed 
about [their] social conservatism.” As the election results suggest, the GOP’s platform could 
apply to a broader cross-section of Americans if the whole party allowed for slightly more 
progressive stances. However, the narrative of defiance and defeat defines the Religious Right, 
leaving the rest of the party with few options. GOP politicians from the House to the Senate have 
failed to persuade the coalition to consider any other narrative. Recently, Herman Cain, a 
Republican Presidential candidate, made the group’s defiance explicit. Immediately after the 
election results became official, Cain encouraged the creation of a third party of true 
conservatives. His idea represents the devotion of the movement to retaining its ideological 
base. Cain’s support of such a drastic measure emphasizes the Religious Right’s zealousness and 
confidence in their timeless political impact. Reverends, personalities, and politicians have 
utilized the same strategies in developing the narrative. Echoing O’Reily’s dire predictions, 
Texas Senator Ted Cruz said the movement has the choice between “surrendering or standing up 
now to defend our liberty.” This statement led to massive rounds of applause at the Conservative 
Political Action Conference signifying the general receptiveness towards an uncompromising 
path forward. These politicians likely remember how well this narrative worked in the 2004 
election. “I Vote Values” embodied the narrative of defiance and defeat for the Republican Party 
in 2004. The phrase painted an image of an American in need of superior values and signified 
Republican refusal to place social matters on the political back burner. Author Robert Jones had
an interesting interpretation of the strategy. For Jones, “The genius of this bold plan was to brazenly claim all of religion and morality for one party and to radically contract the scope of these terms to a few narrow wedge issues such as abortion, same-sex marriage, and embryonic stem cell research.” It appears social conservatives still consider the use of the same plan vital to ‘saving’ America. Just as they did when fighting for George W. Bush’s re-election, social conservatives have relied on a negative narrative to inspire action. Wald mirrors this sentiment when he argues that Republican candidates rely on social conservatives to turn out at the polls. GOP politicians have, as Wald observed, sought the traditionalist vote by implementing their narrative. “By blaming liberal programs...for breaking down family structure, fueling a rise in crime, and undermining the social order,” Wald thinks, “Republican campaign themes have echoed the language of the Christian right.”

The idea of a collapsing social structure based on family values represents the core essence of both the narrative of America’s defeat and the need to fight for conservative ideals. The past successes of the social conservatives may explain why most have not accepted the idea of being beneath any governmental faction. Political scientist Matthew Moen concurs that the Religious Right’s adoption of ‘victimization’ rhetoric has been used “as a clever and calculated ploy to tap the reservoir of positive sentiment for victims of American society.” These leaders have efficiently delivered this message to millions and include heated diction to ensure that their followers and the American public take the message seriously. Likewise, stressing the public’s need for salvation courtesy of the social conservatives, organizers of the movement have successfully woven the theme of political relevancy into their narratives.

HOW EVERYDAY SOCIAL CONSERVATIVES ADOPTED THE NARRATIVES

Common social conservatives also promote both narratives. They bolster the narratives through their undying support for conservative politicians, solely watching Fox News, and buying their reverend’s books, magazines, and podcasts. When NBA player Nick Collins came out as the first declared homosexual athlete in the league, it led to more people questioning the evangelical stance towards the LGBT community. However, for typical social conservatives, “their sense of persecution,” according to John Blake of CNN, “goes beyond their stance of homosexuality.” Blake’s recent article outlines how the narrative of opposition to policy alterations amidst America’s secularization has clearly led to the augmentation of pressure with the public. A few organizations, such as the Southern Poverty Law Center, have even labeled evangelical groups like the Family Research Council as “hate groups.” This serves as an example of the extreme tension that has increasingly manifested itself through cultural events. In response to these harsh distinctions, leaders have continually maintained the need to fight back in this cultural war.

SOCIAL CONSERVATIVES WHO FEEL SUBORDINATE

Others take the narrative of defeat to the next level; they view America’s secularization as foreshadowing the end of social conservatives’ political influence. In essence, they accept the subordination generally assigned to countercultures. Writing a month after the election, John S. Dickerson, an evangelical Pastor from Arizona, tried to summarize the effect of the religious right on voters. Unlike many, he felt social conservatives had little impact on the Republican primaries or the general election. Furthermore, the fundamental changes in American culture
suggests “...that the structural supports of evangelism are quivering...” Dickerson mentions an aging congregation, failure to react to cultural shifts, and shrinking church attendance as indicators of evangelicalism’s inability to ever return to the political height it reached in 2004.

Opposing Warner’s model, most other social conservatives remain steadfast in their belief that they can reclaim the political high ground, assuming they do not stray from the righteousness-based path they have frequently followed. In his summary, Dickerson asserts, “Strategies that served evangelicals well just 15 years ago are now self-destructive. The more that evangelicals attempt to correct the course, the more they splinter their movement. In coming years we will see the old evangelicalism whimper and wane.”

Although many, such as Dickerson, have suggested that evangelism as a political force will end sooner rather than later, Chris Hedges’ investigation into the movement suggests otherwise. Hedges points out, “But within this mass of divergent, factitious and varied group [of evangelicals] is this core group of powerful Christian dominationists who have latched on to the despair, isolation, disconnectedness and fear that drives many people into these churches.” Similarly to Dickerson, Hedges tends to disagree with the social conservative movement’s narratives, but his analysis references the continual strength produced by their negative message.

POWER GARNERED FROM STUBBORNNESS

Appeasing Republican leadership by becoming a lesser player and willingly submitting to the findings of the Growth and Opportunity Project would likely help Republicans nationally compete for independent voters. However, the acceptance and spread of the two related narratives mentioned above has given the social conservative movement power as a result of their unity. Writing for The Washington Post, Greg Sargent mentions, “Social conservatives remain a large and powerful part of the Republican coalition. They provide donors and volunteers, and they are the driving push behind the GOP’s nationwide effort to pass state-level abortion restrictions...” Sargent’s analysis displays the utility of the social conservatives to the larger Republican movement. Similarly, Ralph Reed questions those Republicans who want to “give the cold shoulder to evangelicals and other voters of faith who make up the overwhelming majority of their voters.” Although some debate just how influential evangelicals are on election results, losing the social conservative faction would likely injure the Republican Party’s numbers. Through studying the research of Sociologist Kenneth Wald, Lambert came to the same conclusion. While some evidence does suggest evangelicals make an impact on how people vote, “perhaps the biggest impact of the Religious Right is voter turnout.” To Lambert and many others, social conservative consensus and democratic participation fuels their political power.

SUMMARY OF SOCIAL CONSERVATIVE’S HISTORY

The social conservative movement represents a body of primarily white, older evangelical individuals affiliated with the Republican Party who reside in the South. After gaining political influence in the 1970s, the group has increasingly played a role in determining Republican platforms and Presidential candidates. However, their staunch refusal to allow for the secularization of the party in accordance with the general US population has led to creation of a counterpublic within the greater Republican Party. Social conservatives acknowledge their subordinate status but have bound together as a result of the circulation of common ideas from...
Reverend to media to politician. Some blamed the group for Mitt Romney’s loss as well as
dismal performances in a number of Senate races, which fostered the development of two
narratives within the social conservative coalition. More specifically, representatives of social
conservatism at churches, on the airwaves, and in Washington D.C. have created a narrative of a
‘lost’ America that requires saving which their movement can provide if they keep their values.

FUTURE OF SOCIAL CONSERVATIVES

The next election should show whether the leaders of the social conservative movement,
in choosing to steadfastly remain true to their stances on social issues, selected the correct
course of action. In the short term, the maintenance of the narrative of moral defeat and of
defiance has bolstered the movement’s solidarity and electoral importance in a time of external
pressure to conform to new American values. While other groups may have taken the prescribed
route of subordination, social conservatives have relied on their narratives to prove why they
matter. Lambert maintains that both religionists and secularists alike often “oppose the
exclusivism of any group that purports to speak for all Americans on moral issues.” This
analysis implies that social conservatives will undoubtedly face steep challenges as they try to
lead all Americans in the culture war. Recent Republican history demonstrates the difficulty
associated with denying the wants of the social conservatives. In 1992, the GOP faced a similar
situation: they had the opportunity to create a new image for the Party while creating its official
platform. In the words of the authors of The God Strategy, they choose to, “...mobilize the base
of the religious conservatives that had been built over the past 12 years.” Arguably, the social
conservative base is even broader today; will the Party side with them again?

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Learning Behind Bars: An Inquiry into the Early Development of Correctional Education in Oregon
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ABSTRACT

In the timeline of criminal justice, integrating education into the prison system is a fairly recent development that did not emerge until the early 1900s. In Oregon in particular, we can track these changes through the progress made at the Oregon State Penitentiary. This paper asks when and to what extent did organized correctional education programs for male prisoners at the Oregon State Penitentiary develop prior to 1929? To answer this question, I compare the findings of the “father of correctional education,” Austin H. MacCormick, to three main source bases: newspaper articles from the time period, a book on Oregon prison superintendents, and accounts of prisoners in the OSP inmate magazines Lend A Hand and Shadows. While MacCormick stated that there were no education programs in place when he visited the Oregon State Penitentiary in 1929, my other sources suggest otherwise.

Many criminologists recognize the year 1929 as the beginning of the modern trend in correctional education. It was around this time that societal sentiments about prisoners shifted from “once a crook, always a crook” toward a belief in the possibility of rehabilitation. However, it took years of deliberation to reach this change in thought and finally introduce education into America’s prison systems. In Oregon in particular, the majority of these changes were first implemented into the Oregon State Penitentiary (OSP) in Salem: the state’s oldest prison and its largest throughout the first half of the twentieth century.

My research question asks: When and to what extent did organized correctional education programs for male prisoners at the Oregon State Penitentiary develop leading up to the year 1929? To answer this question I will compare the studies of the “father of correctional education,” Austin H. MacCormick, to three main source bases. I begin by analyzing several newspaper articles from the time period relating to prison education in Oregon. Next, I examine a book on Oregon prison superintendents by Sue Woodford-Beals and Carl E. Beals titled: Oregon State Prison Superintendents: The Shepherds of State Street 1864-2009. Finally, I explore accounts of prisoners in the OSP inmate magazines Lend A Hand and Shadows. I argue that MacCormick did not give the OSP enough credit in stating that no form of education existed at the prison when he visited on July 12, 1928. My sources indicate that academic programs were in place at the prison as early as 1912 and as close to his visit as 1926 and 1931.

The year 1929 is significant in modern correctional education due to MacCormick’s service as the Assistant Director of the US Bureau of Prisons. His book, The Education of Adult
Prisoners, published in 1931, presents his research from a grant through the National Society of Penal Information to study educational and library work in American prisons. Through 1927 and 1928, MacCormick visited all but three federal prisons in the country and made a “general survey” of their educational programs and libraries. The goal was to formulate “a program which may be adopted as a standard for penal institutions.” It is clear that his seminal work provided the foundation for studies and histories of correctional education in a number of forms since. MacCormick’s opinion was the only one taken into consideration in every source that I found, including Marjorie J. Seashore and Steven Haberfeld’s Prisoner Education: Project NewGate and Other programs, the American Prison Association’s Correctional Education Today, the American Academy of Political and Social Science’s Prisons of Tomorrow, and Lawrence D. Salmony’s Corrections Education in Oregon: A Way to Proceed. In each account, his conclusions were neither supplemented by further studies nor his methods critically examined.

In The Education of Adult Prisoners, MacCormick makes the general conclusion, “Not a single complete and well-rounded educational program, adequately financed and staffed, was encountered in all the prisons in the country.” Furthermore, he states, “There is no educational program in thirteen of these prisons,” followed by a list that includes the OSP. He continues on to note the wide range of programs he found across the country:

In about an equal number [to those with no program] the educational work makes little more than a halting and grudging bow to state laws requiring that every prisoner...shall be given a third or fifth grade education. In less than a dozen prisons the work is extensive enough or effective enough or sufficiently well supervised to rise above the level of mediocrity. In the remainder, the educational work has little significance in spite of conscientious efforts of those in charge and the inmates who work under them.

Although the scale of success MacCormick uses to judge education in prisons by is rather vague, he specifically discusses why the OSP made the short list in the Handbook of American Prisons and Reformatories. For each institution, MacCormick includes an analysis of the grounds, the administration, the prisoners themselves, discipline, health, industries, religion, inmate community organization, cost, and education. However, under the “education” section for the OSP, he writes a single sentence: “There is no educational work.” Then, in his final comments on the OSP, MacCormick observes, “a fairly good library has been developed but this is one of the few institutions in the country of its size in which no educational work is done.” This stands out against the descriptions of education in other prisons, in which MacCormick acknowledges the existence of correspondence courses, the presence of a physical area devoted to school, state laws requiring education, and alternative methods of education such as periodically bringing in teachers or ordering textbooks for independent study.

In reading MacCormick, one is led to believe there was no education program of any kind at the OSP, or any efforts the state had made to provide education to its prisoners worth mentioning. MacCormick’s high status in regard to the American prison system, his systematic study of every prison in the country, and the lack of a prominent contemporary in his field give him (previously) unquestioned credibility in the canon of correctional education literature.
However, the following evidence indicates that not only did education programs exist at the OSP prior to MacCormick’s visit, but they “sufficiently...rose above the level of mediocrity” marking the top dozen educational programs in the country leading up to and directly after 1928.

Newspaper articles can provide insight into the timeline of educational programs in place at the OSP. A 1902 article in *The Daily Journal*, a Portland newspaper, recounts a sermon given by Reverend Eliot in response to a recent prison riot. The reverend’s sentiments toward prison reflect the strictly punitive view popular before widespread educational reform in the late twenties: “The jail, which is often nothing more than a country club house for the criminal class, is one of the causes of crime... Men are not punished out of justice to the criminal, but in justice to society.” Regarding education, Reverend Eliot states, “Education alone is not a solution. A rogue by nature, a man’s roguery is multiplied by education...Firstly education is not a cause of crime and secondly, it is not a cure for crime.”

The prison was seen as a place for society to seek vengeance against its malcontents and deter them from future crime, not to educate and reform.

The reverend’s sermon conflicts with the emerging belief in the reformation of the prisoner exemplified in a 1902 article in *The Morning Oregonian*, another Portland newspaper: “Aside from punishment by confinement in the Penitentiary, the enforcement of rigid discipline, and employment at useful labor, the other means of accomplishing the reform of the prisoners is through education.” The article describes the library at the OSP and the calls by Superintendent Lee to employ an usher to “conduct a night school for those prisoners who desire to attend it.”

An article in the same newspaper 20 years later entitled “Modern Prison Methods” states, “Prisoner though he be, society has not the right to break his body and spirit.” These instances illustrate that there was a conversation brewing about correctional education in Oregon as early as 1902.

After 1902, I was unable to find any concrete indication of developments in correctional education until a 1926 article in the *Christian Science Monitor* in Boston called “Prisoners Eager to Learn to Improve Life by Study.” It reads, “Inmates of the Oregon State Penitentiary who show signs of rehabilitation are receiving every encouragement by J. W. Lillie, warden, who has installed a correspondence course for their benefit.” These courses allowed teachers and professors from surrounding schools and universities to provide inmates with education ranging from elementary subjects to more advanced college instruction to be completed during leisure time in the prisoners’ cells. The article gave an optimistic rendition of these correspondence courses, which Oregon was “among the first on the Pacific coast” to introduce.

This would seem like a definitive example of education programs in place at the OSP prior to 1929. However, these efforts were not significant enough to have their own designated area on a Sanborn Fire Insurance map until corrections were made sometime between 1927 and 1951, when the main area behind the administration building reserved for the chapel and hospital turned into the library and school (See Figures 1 and 2). Even if the change was made with the first correction in 1927, there is still discrepancy in the exact introduction of correspondence courses into the OSP. A 1936 article in the *Oregon Daily Emerald* that describes the correspondence courses offered at the prison states, “During the last year the prisoners at Salem who wish to continue their education have been carrying on correspondence...
courses with the general extension division of the University.” This would imply that the courses did not start until 1935, or that they had been suspended in 1926 and then restarted nine years later. It is difficult to disprove one newspaper account or the other, but nevertheless there is still evidence that the courses were in place and would qualify as an organized educational program that should have been acknowledged in MacCormick’s study.

The compilation of OSP superintendents provides a more chronologically sound picture of education reform at the prison. The first superintendent, Major Montgomery P. Berry, “provided an area where school was taught by better educated fellow inmates” during his time in office from 1866 to 1870. After Berry, George S. Downing is said to have “recommended construction of a building to be used for hospital purposes, a portion of which could be for a reformatory school, where young criminals could receive moral and religious training” during his term from 1888-1895. It is unclear if he succeeded in starting the school, but the motive to do so is apparent. After this, no education programs were observed until Charles A. Murphy’s term from 1916-1918, during which he devoted a corner of the inmate dining room to providing elementary education to inmates. Woodford-Beals writes, “The school area was outfitted with slates, text books and writing tablets. [Murphy] indicated that the foreign born inmates especially benefited from learning to read and write.” However, the author adds, “Murphy’s reform policies were short lived because of the occurrence of 58 escapes during the span of 1917 and 1918.” The final mention of educational efforts of superintendents before 1929 is “humanitarian” Johnson S. Smith’s “soft glove” approach to the handling of inmates in 1923. He believed that good health, skill, education, and attitude were critical to an inmate’s success and attempted to mold public opinion into believing this, too. Woodford Beals did not describe any educational pursuits in particular, but she did say that, like Murphy, Smith’s lenient policies were blamed for 37 escapes in his first and only six months as superintendent.

The correspondence courses under Warden J. W. Lillie that were praised in the Christian Science Monitor were not mentioned in his biography in Oregon State Superintendents. However, Woodford-Beals states that correspondence courses were provided to all prisoners through the University of Oregon under Superintendent James W. Lewis during his term from 1931 to 1938. If the Christian Science Monitor was correct, this could mean that the unpopular Superintendent H. W. Meyers discontinued the correspondence courses put in place by Lillie and Lewis during his four-year term from 1927 to 1931. This would explain why MacCormick might have overlooked the existence of educational programs at the OSP when he visited in 1928.

In assessing the reliability of Oregon State Prison Superintendents, it is important to note the reason for its publication. Unlike the majority of my sources, this book is not the result of a study, nor is it a history or a report. The subtitle “Shepherds of State Street” and the biographical nature of the excerpts on each superintendent suggest that the motive behind the work seems to be more to praise and commemorate the efforts of the superintendents over the years. It is not clear what connection Woodford-Beals and Beals have to the OSP, and there are many grammatical and stylistic errors in the text, which indicate that their work may not have been heavily edited or checked for facts for scholarly use. Although citations and photos are included, the research was not methodical like that of MacCormick, so the authors could have
excluded details about educational programs from some of the biographies prior to 1929. Nonetheless, the text gives evidence that efforts to provide education to inmates were in place as early as 1866, and that more organized programs were in place by Charles A. Murphy’s term in 1916.

My third and perhaps most reliable source base are the monthly publications that were edited, contributed to, and printed by the inmates at the OSP. *Lend A Hand* was born in 1903 and continued until 1936, when it became *Shadows*. The mission of *Lend A Hand* was “to encourage moral and intellectual improvement among the inmates; to devote its energies along lines calculated to lead recreant ones back to usefulness in society; to acquaint the public with our true status, and to dispel the prejudice which exists against those who have paid the penalty of their transgressions.” The magazines themselves represent the preexisting education of the prisoners and the desire to promote “intellectual improvement among the inmates,” although this is certainly not reflective of the majority of the prison population. They also present an inside view of the prison that is untainted by outside sources. Even though the magazines do reflect the bias of the inmates, I have no reason to believe that their reports on prisoner education programs should be questioned for accuracy.

The earliest issue of *Lend A Hand* that I could obtain was from 1908. The first few years of the magazine did not yield precise evidence of education programs at the OSP, but they did include a number of articles suggesting that they were not far from being a reality. In an article called “Trade Schools the Convicts’ Hope of Reform,” author Johnnie “Reb.” states, “Throughout the country, in almost every state, conditions have been made such that any person confined within a reformatory or penitentiary may attend a school of letters and receive competent instruction in a trade school.” He continues to highlight some of the institutions that participated in this, but he does not specifically say anything about Oregon. An unknown author of a 1909 article entitled “Kindness and Education Accomplish Reformation” praises the practices of the Indiana Reformatory and includes the trustees report from the prison in full that “shows for itself the beneficial results that are being obtained by kindness and education...The school of letters is upon an excellent basis and much good in the matter of education is being done for the illiterate and wayward men who come to the Institution.” A poem in the same issue called “Does An Education Pay?” adds to the collection of pieces in the magazine in favor of education in prisons: “Does it pay for an acorn to become an oak? Does it pay to fit oneself for a superior position? Does it pay to get a glimpse of the joy of living? Does it pay to experience the joy of self-discovery, to open up whole continents of possibilities in one’s nature which might otherwise remain undiscovered?—Success.” In several additional cases, the inmates printed articles praising the education programs in place at other institutions and speaking to what their idea of modern penology should be in order to benefit both the prisoner and society.

There is no mention of education at the OSP until a March 1912 article entitled “Schools in Prison Tend to Reformation.” An unspecified author writes, “the OSP, along with many other prisons, has instituted a school for the inmates, in which the practical elementary branches are taught.” The writer adds, “Among the prisons in this institution are some highly educated men, some of them experienced teachers. In addition, a number of teachers from the schools and colleges of Salem have kindly volunteered their services. On the whole, the classes are now well
supplied with competent instructors.” He points out that schools in prisons may even be more beneficial to students on the inside than on the outside because there are no distractions and students have ample time and regular hours. Furthermore, visitors were impressed with the “earnestness and enthusiasm” of the incarcerated students. Although the article does not provide more details about the education program such as how many students were enrolled and how often classes took place, it provides convincing evidence that an organized education program was in place at the OSP as early as 1912.

After this article, proof of education programs at the OSP was not hard to find. A second article in the March 1912 issue called “Ambition Among Prisoners” describes the more than 30 men studying Spanish at a night school at the prison, along with a “much larger number” of inmates taking classes in math and English. The writer of the article even mentions that he teaches a class at the school at the prison. A November 1912 passage advertises a Shakespeare class held every Wednesday evening in the penitentiary auditorium with a membership of 24 incarcerated students. The excerpt reads that the class was developed “more than three and a half years ago,” which would have been in 1908, but I found no mention of the class until the 1912 issue. A feature of the course was the opportunity for each student to learn “extemporaneous speaking” in front of the class. The remaining volumes of Lend A Hand were unavailable except for volumes 16 and 17 from the years 1921 to 1922. These issues continued the discussion about education in prisons but did not contain concrete evidence of an education program at the OSP.

Developments in correctional education as a whole in the United States spread in the 1930s, receded, and then came back in favor in the 1960s. The situation at the Oregon State Penitentiary is no exception. In taking all three source bases into consideration, there were discrepancies in the timeline and the degree of success of education programs at the OSP. However it is apparent that the programs existed before and after 1929, regardless of their results. Not only were they present, but they also seem to have evolved into programs that should have been mentioned by the figure who spearheaded the correctional education movement, Austin H. MacCormick. There is no easy way to decipher the reason why MacCormick did not find any educational developments worth mentioning at the OSP. My best guess would be that either the programs phased out during his visit in 1928, or that his research of the prison was not thorough enough. After comparing MacCormick’s work to the newspapers, superintendent biographies, and inmate magazines, it is evident that the question of when and how correctional education developed at the OSP was not as clear-cut as expected.

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