Democracy in America today as seen through Hawley Pa

In 1831 Alexis De Tocqueville traveled to the United States. De Tocqueville was intrigued with the notion of American democracy and was eager to see the country. De Tocqueville then spent nine months traveling throughout the United States in search of America's essence. De Tocqueville interviewed presidents, lawyers, bankers and settlers and even met with Charles Carroll of Carrollton, Maryland who was at the time the last surviving signer of the Declaration of Independence. De Tocqueville also recorded his thoughts and observations on America's social and political institutions, and reported meticulously on the structure of government and the judicial system. De Tocqueville put all of his observations into a book entitled Democracy in America. (De Tocqueville & In Search)

The purpose of this year's senior seminar is to make the students enrolled in the class examine a central theme of the class. That central theme revolves around the premise that De Tocqueville used while making his observations in the 1830’s. De Tocqueville used his observations to pen his work entitled Democracy in America. So the purpose of senior seminar and the purpose of this paper are one in the same; to make observations using the material and skills we have learned over the course just as De Tocqueville did as we try and discover Democracy in America today. Since it is not plausible to examine the whole of America while trying to find
democracy in America today it is therefore becomes necessary to narrow the scope of
the examination. So it best to choose a specific city/ area locally to focus our
examination of democracy in America today. The town of my choice is the borough
of Hawley Pa. After examining the borough I hope that my observations will prove
that the borough of Hawley is a functioning and healthy democracy.

To start the examination of democracy in America today it becomes necessary
to define the Key term. What is democracy? Webster's Dictionary defines
Democracy as 1.) Government by the people exercised either directly or through
elected representatives; 2.) A political or social unit that has such a government; 3.)
The common people be considered as the primary source of political power; 4.)
Majority Rule; 5.) The principles of social equality and respect for the individual
within a community. (Dictionary) For the purposes of this paper it is necessary to
combine these definitions into a working one. So therefore we will define democracy
as a political or social unit that has a government comprised of it's citizens or elected
representatives; that perpetuates social equality and respect for the individual in the
community. Using this definition we can derive three criteria that a democracy
possesses. The first criterion is a political or social unit in a given area. The second
is a government system set up by the people in that society that is comprised of the
people in that society or elected representatives of that society. The third criterion is
that there is social equality for everyone as well as respect for individuals in the
community.

The borough of Hawley is a small community in northeast Pennsylvania. The
area now known, as the borough of Hawley was first settled in 1812 when a tiny
sawmill was built at the convergence of three small creeks that were all tributaries to the Lackawaxen River. The settlers ran a lumber business cutting down trees and rafting the lumber down the Lackawaxen to the city of Philadelphia. The settlement continued primarily to operate as a lumberyard and sawmill until 1828 when the Delaware & Hudson Canal, running from Honesdale to New York, was completed. From this point on the settlement was a waypoint on the canal, which transported anthracite coal by barge to the New York City markets. (History I)

In 1842, The Pennsylvania Coal Company completed a gravity railroad system as another route to connect coalmines, which were located primarily in the surrounding areas of Scranton and Honesdale to the canals. Then the people of the settlement were employed at the transfer docks, in train car and repair shops, storehouses, and other places needed for business. With the boom of big business interest and a thriving coal industry, the population grew dramatically and the settlement turned into a town. At first, the town was known as Paupack Eddy. It was renamed Falls Port, then Hawleysburgh, in honor of Irad Hawley, the first president of the Pennsylvania Coal Company. Finally in 1851, the name was shortened to its present name, Hawley. The coal industry continued to thrive in Hawley until the completion of the Eerie Railroad in 1862, which greatly decreased the use of the gravity railroad and the canal system. The canals were filled in and the town's economy switched from coal production to textiles and glass. (History I)

Then in 1925 another cycle of growth and prosperity began for the small community. In 1925, the Pennsylvania Power and Light Company (PP&L) began construction on a hydroelectric plant that would damn up the Wallenpaupack River.
Upon completion the Hydroelectric Plant and damn created at that time the largest man made lake in the world. The lake known as Lake Wallenpaupack was now located in the town's backyard and became a new resource for recreational and business opportunities. Today the whole region's economy is based on the Lake and the recreational activities associated to the lake. Every resident of the area either owns or works for some sort of business that caters to the guests who visit the lake region. (History I & II)

Currently the Borough of Hawley encompasses 6 square miles that includes a one-mile stretch of business route six that also doubles as the main street. 1303 citizens claim residence within the borough. The system of government that the borough uses is an abridged mayoral system. The mayor is elected to a four-year term and has power to make a budget and propose changes to the borough charter. The other part of the governing body is an eight member planning board. The planning board oversees debate and votes on all issues concerning the borough. Each of the eight members is elected to a two-year term. The mayor also holds a seat on the planning board as the ninth member. The planning board holds open bimonthly meetings for all residents to come and voice any concerns for the borough that they may have. The borough also operates a small police force headed by the borough sheriff who is an elected official that serves a three-year term in office. The borough also maintains a small volunteer fire company. (H. Pennsylvania and H. Library)

If we follow our definition of democracy that was stated earlier, the borough of Hawley must meet the criteria that were discussed to function as a democracy. The first criteria that is necessary for a functioning democracy is that there is a political or
social unit in a given area. The borough of Hawley meets this criterion because all
1303 residents who currently reside in the borough identify themselves as residents of
the borough. Because they identify themselves as residents they are a socially distinct
group. This distinction is further noted by the fact that only this distinct group can
participate in their governing system. (H. Population)

The borough of Hawley is clearly a distinct political and social unit and
because of this it fulfills the first criterion. The second criterion for a functioning
democracy is a government system set up by the people in that society that is
comprised of the people in that society or elected representatives of that society. This
criterion is based on theories of pluralist democracy. In an ideal pluralist democracy
the citizens of that democracy will band together and select representatives from
within their group to serve the purpose of democracy. Arthur Bentley and Robert
Dahl are two prominent pluralist democracy theorists who would support the addition
of this criterion to our definition of a working democracy.

“Because pluralists hold that any society is comprised of individuals with
assorted concerns, the “good polity” will be open to citizens who join with
other like minded individuals to pursue their shared interests” (Terchek
p.123)

The borough of Hawley has such a system. The town/borough charter has been
rewritten and changed several times since the city/borough came into existence under
its current name in 1851. The current borough charter has been in existence since
1955. The current borough charter sets up an abridged mayoral system in which the
borough mayor holds most of the powers. The powers that the mayor specifically
holds are the power to create and maintain the budget for the borough including the funds to operate a police force, snow removal, maintain roads etc. The mayor can also propose changes to the town charter as well as ordinances to be followed in the borough. The mayor is directly elected to a four-year term. The mayor also sits as the ninth member on the borough planning board, which is the other part of the borough governing body. The charter also sets up for an 8 member planning board, which serves as a legislative branch for the borough. All of the board members are also directly elected and serve two-year terms. The planning board approves the borough budget and oversees any debate concerning the borough ordinances and or any concerns that the residents may have. The borough also holds regular elections every two-years to elect the other public service positions in the borough. The borough sheriff and the fire chief are town of the other elected positions that service the borough. The borough also elects a borough road manager to handle snow removal and road maintenance. The borough residents occupy all of these elected positions. This is ensured by the fact that the current charter requires that anyone running for said offices must claim residence in the borough for at least one year before they are eligible to run for office. Because all of the leadership positions of the borough are limited to and occupied by borough residents; the borough of Hawley clearly meets all the requirements of the second criterion of a democracy. (Library)

The third criterion necessary for a functioning democracy is that there is social equality for everyone as well as respect for individuals in the community. This criterion is influenced by participatory democracy as well as some of the post modernist critiques; more specifically Chantal Mouffe’s radical democracy modern or
post modern. The first part of the criterion calls for social equality to exist in the area for a working democracy to exist. Participatory theorists would argue that in order for social equality to exist all citizens must be able to participate in political decisions. This ideal is elaborated by participatory theorist John Dewey when he said:

“It is not necessary that the many should have the knowledge and skill to carry on the needed investigations; what is required is that they have the ability to judge of the bearing of the knowledge supplied by others up common concerns.” (Terchek 170)

The second part of this criterion is that there is respect for individuals in the community. This part of the criterion comes directly from performance democracy.

“According to the performance model of democracy, this move from collective conception of politics to the individual one is the mark of modern democratic politics and realistically illustrates the way that both voters and candidates understand themselves today.” (Terchek 141)

Performance theorists would see a direct link between respect for the individual in the community and performance democracy. This model sees the voter as an individual making political decisions to vote for or against a candidate based on the perceived effect that it will have on their individual lives. Also fitting into this criterion is Mouffe’s postmodern critique. Mouffe would argue that in order for democracy to work there must be respect for the individual in the community as part of a search for the greater common good of the whole community:
“Its central achievement, the welfare state, has held up badly under attack from the right, because it has not been able to mobilize those who should have interests in defending its achievements.” (Terchek 223)

This criterion is harder to establish or represent that the previous ones. Unlike the previous criteria there is no set example or clear statistics and information that can be used to prove or disprove the criterion. Because of this fact we must create our own methods to determine if a given place meets the third criterion necessary for a functioning democracy. The first method we will use to determine if the borough of Hawley possesses social equality and has respect for the individual is by conducting a survey with a sample of the borough population. The second will be a personal interview with a few select individuals in the community.

There are a few concerns that must be accounted for when selecting a sample. The first concern is the size of the population that the sample will represent. The population size that will be represented by the sample is 1,303 people. According to the 2000 national census the borough of Hawley has 1,303 residents between the ages of one and eighty-nine. Of those 1,303 residents there are 716 females and 587 males and 944 of the residents are over the age of 18. So for the sample to accurately represent the population of the community it must reflect the population. The second concern is the size of the sample. Since it is not plausible to interview the entire population for the purposes of this project it became necessary to select a sample of the population. To keep the sample reasonable it was decided to restrict the number interview in the sample to fifty residents. This kept the sample to a reasonable size but allowed for a sufficient amount of information to be gathered. (H. Population)
The third concern is that sample must reflect the host population. So therefore it must be an accurate depiction of the host population. To do this it becomes necessary to model the sample after the host population. In this case the sample to be taken from Hawley should be forty-three percent male and fifty seven percent female. So therefore of the fifty residents interviewed twenty-two will be male and twenty-eight will be female. Also the sample of Hawley should be sixty-two percent comprised of residents who are over the age of eighteen and thirty-eight percent comprised of residents under the age of eighteen. So therefore of the fifty residents interviewed thirty-one will be over eighteen and nineteen will be under the age of eighteen. The fourth and final concern will be how to conduct the sample. Due to time constraints and limited resources the best possible way to conduct the sample was randomly. So a questionnaire was developed consisting of five questions was distributed at random to fifty residents of the borough. The questionnaires were distributed according to the guidelines previously discussed. The survey was conducted on Main Street in the borough of Hawley during the hours of 10am and 3pm on Sunday 03/13/2005. All the questions on the questionnaire were designed to be simple. Each question had a simple statement and asked the participant to select to agree or disagree with the statement. If the participant agreed with the statement they were to check the "Yes" box; if the participant disagreed with the statement they were to check the "No" Box. However a third option was provided for each question in case the participant did not know; if that were the case then the participant was to check the "Don't Know" box. The results of the sample are as follows.

The first question on the questionnaire was:
"Do you feel that you are a member of the Hawley community?"

Of the fifty participants forty-eight indicated that they agreed with the statement and did view themselves as members of the greater Hawley community. This overwhelmingly proves that the residents of the borough of Hawley clearly identify themselves as a distinct social group further justifying that the borough of Hawley meets the first criterion. The specific empirical breakdown of this question is as follows:

(Survey 1)
The second question on the questionnaire was:

“Do you feel that you are an equal in the community?”

Of the fifty participants questioned thirty-three indicated that they agree with the statement and they did view themselves as an equal in the community. However twelve of the participants did not view themselves as equals and five did not know. Unlike the previous question there was not a clear consensus at first glance from the data collected from this question. Upon further examination it became clear that the reason for this discrepancy is due to the age of the participants. All of the participants over the age of eighteen viewed themselves as equals where as only two of the participants under the age of eighteen viewed themselves as equals in the community. This may be due to the fact that you can only register to vote after your eighteenth birthday as per national law. Therefore those under eighteen cannot feel equal to everyone else in the community because they cannot participate in the decision making process of the borough. Since they cannot participate in the election process that governs the borough they cannot affect their community. However once they can legally participate in the decision making process all of the residents view themselves as equals in the community. The evidence to support this can be seen by examining the fact that all of the participants of the sample survey over the age of eighteen agreed to the statement. This data helps fulfill the third criterion for a functioning democracy. Once the residents of the borough of Hawley reach the legal participatory age they view themselves as equal members of the community. Which helps fulfill a part of the third criterion for a functioning democracy. The specific empirical breakdown for this question is as follows:
The third question on the questionnaire was:

"Do you feel you are respected as an individual in the community?"

Of the fifty participants questioned forty-one agreed with this statement and they felt that they were respected as an individual in the community. The data clearly shows that the residents of the borough feel that they are respected as an individual and that their individual rights are respected. Upon the extrapolation of this data we can
discern that eighty-two percent of the population of the borough of Hawley believes that they are respected as individuals in the community. Such an overwhelming belief is clear evidence that the borough of Hawley meets the second part of the third criterion for a functioning democracy; that its residents feel that they are equals and are respected as individuals. The specific empirical breakdown for this question is as follows:

**Total Residents C**

- **Yes**: 82%
- **No**: 14%
- **Don't Know**: 4%

**Over 18 v. Under 18 C**

**Men v. Women C**

(Survey 1)
The fourth question of the questionnaire was:

"Do you feel that your views and concerns are appropriately listened to and acted upon by the borough planning board?"

Of the fifty participants questioned thirty-six agreed with this statement and felt that their views and concerns were properly taken care of by the borough planning board. This data is a good indication that the residents of the borough of Hawley feel that they are being listened to. This should give the residents a good indication that their participation is working and helping the planning board make decisions. This brings us back to the idea that was discussed during the analysis of question number two; Participation is a determining factor for the people of a community or area to believe that they are equals in the community. That idea is the first part of the third criterion for a functioning democracy. The data shows that seventy-two percent of the sample of residents believes that their views and concerns are being handled properly by the planning board. Since they believe that their views are being represented the residents therefore believe that they are equals in the community. The specific empirical breakdown for this question is as follows:

Total Residents

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<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Don’t Know</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Over 18</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>72%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under 18</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>72%</td>
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Over 18 v. Under 18
The fifth and final question of the questionnaire was:

"Do you feel that democracy works?"

Of the fifty participants questioned thirty-eight indicated that they feel that democracy works. This question was designed to discern how the residents of the borough feel about democracy. More specifically to see if the residents feel that democracy works in the borough. As the data shows the residents of the borough of Hawley believe that democracy works. This is evident because seventy-six percent of the residents believe democracy works as opposed to twenty percent who believe that it does not. Such a high percentage is a good indication that the residents are involved in their local community. The specific empirical breakdown for this question is as follows:
Participation has been a key element in measuring how the borough of Hawley meets the third criterion for a functioning democracy. In keeping with that theme it has now become time to examine the participatory history of the borough. The most visible indicator of participation is voting. Voting in local, state and national elections is the visible and common form of political participation for the average individual. It is usually the only time that a person takes an interest in the politics of their community. With that being said it is now time to look at the recent participatory history of the borough of Hawley.
To begin we will look at the most recent election. As previously stated there are 803 residents above the age of eighteen in the borough of Hawley. According to the statistics that are kept by the borrow mayors office of the 803 residents only 497 are registered voters. The Hawley public library also holds records of voter turn out in the last twenty elections. According to the statistics in the 2004 election 455 out of 497 registered voters turned out to vote. This is a ninety-two percent turnout which is an astonishingly high participation ratio. With such a high participation percentage it would be easy to say that the borough of Hawley clearly meets the third criterion of a functioning democracy. However if you compare the 2004 election which was a presidential election with that of the 2002 mid term election it becomes clear that the borough of Hawley has different levels of participation based on the kind of election that is being held. In 2002 there were 415 registered voters; and out of that 415 only 297 actually voted. That gave the borough a seventy-one percent participation ratio. That is also a good participation ratio. After analyzing the past two elections it has become obvious that there has been an uprising of participation in the borough.

(Library)

Using the same five questions on the survey I also personally interviewed some random individuals to try and discern more specific answers from individuals in the community. The fist interview was of the newly elected second term borough mayor. Ann Morgan is a forty-seven year old businesswoman who has lived in Hawley for the past twenty years. Mrs. Morgan was just recently re-elected to her second term and has been elected on a platform to help bring more business and
tourism back to the community. After speaking with Mrs. Morgan and finding a little about her I began my interview.

The first question I asked Mrs. Morgan was: “What do you believe gives the borough residents a sense of membership to the borough community?” She replied:

“I believe that we have such a strong community here in Hawley, because all of its members are long time residents. Most of our residents have either lived here ten plus years or has lived here their entire life. Our community is a great place for families and I believe that is why people tend to stick around for a while and because of that we all get to know each other pretty well. People have a strong sense of membership because they view Hawley as their home.” (Morgan)

Mrs. Morgan attributed the sense of belonging to the community to a sense of ownership of the area. She believes that people view the whole area as their home.

The second question I asked Mrs. Morgan was: “Do you believe that the Hawley community and its residents view themselves as equals with their neighbors?” She replied:

"Yes I certainly do, going back to my previous answer I believe that everyone who lives in Hawley views it as their home and because of that we are all very close with our neighbors. When you get that close with your neighbors you tend to stop looking at each other as different people and come together to view each others as equals and because of that everyone has a voice."

(Morgan)
Mrs. Morgan clearly stated her opinion that she views everyone as equals in the community. She seemed to justify her statement on the fact that everyone in the community has a sense of belonging and a sense of closeness with one another however small it may be. But such a sense leads to a sense of being among friends and of being among equals.

The third question I asked Mrs. Morgan was: "What do you feel are the necessary factors for democracy to work?" She replied:

“I think in order for democracy to work you need an involved and a concerned governing body. A good democracy depends on that governing body to be able to read and solve the problems that the community has. Also you need avid participation from the people of the community to let you know what they want and what problems they have." (Morgan)

Mrs. Morgan's definition of a working democracy is right along the same lines as the participatory theorists such as John Dewey and Benjamin Barber. Both Dewey and Barber believe democracy can only be a healthy and true democracy if its citizens participate in the governing process on a regular basis. Mrs. Morgan molds her own interpretation of functioning democracy to fit the ideas of the participatory theorists.

The fourth and final question I asked Mrs. Morgan was: “What do you feel are the major problems facing the borough today and how do you feel democracy can help solve them?” She replied:

"Well the biggest problem facing Hawley is the lack of jobs in the winter. AS you know our local economy is largely based on tourism and quite frankly there is no real tourism in the winter. Our area lacks any significant year
round industries. Almost all of our jobs are in the service industry and because of that they disappear along with the tourists. To fix that we have been constantly asking the residents what they want the borough to officially do to solve the problem. The planning board has enacted several ordinances that allow for major resorts to come in and purchase land and local businesses to keep them open year round. We have granted liquor licenses to local businesses to try and promote more business. We have also begun programs such as winterfest that are designed to attract tourists back to the area during the winter months. All of these ideas have come from the borough and we debated on and decided on by the borough. So far we have actually seen an increase of year round jobs.”

(Morgan)

Mrs. Morgan seemed very pleased when discussing how the borough has attempted to solve the problem the borough has with the lack of jobs in winter. Mainly because she views it as the borough fulfilling what the residents want and ask for. The interview with Mrs. Morgan helped give the perspective of an older well-informed and involved member of the Hawley community. Her statements clearly help prove that Hawley fulfills all of the criteria necessary for a functioning democracy.

To gain the perspective of another member of the Hawley community I interviewed Eric Flynn. Mr. Flynn is a twenty-one year old college student who claims residence in the borough and commutes to school. Mr. Flynn is an average resident of the borough. He works in the service industry in the summer and attends school in the winter. I asked the same four questions to Mr. Flynn as I did to Mrs.
Morgan. The first question was: “What do you believe gives the borough residents a sense of membership to the borough community?” He replied:

“I don't know I never really thought about it; but if I had to say something its that everyone who lives here is the same. We all come from a relatively similar background most of us moved here when we were little. Almost all of us work on varying levels of the same job. We all make about the same money, and we are all lower middle class. If you ask me we all feel like we belong here because we do it's our place in the world.”(Flynn)

Mr. Flynn gave the same type of response as Mrs. Morgan. They both attributed the sense of belonging to the community to a feeling of being at home there. Of knowing your surroundings and the people around you; that knowledge is what makes you feel like you belong.

The second question I asked Mr. Flynn was: "Do you believe that the Hawley community and its residents view themselves as equals with their neighbors?" He replied:

"I would say yes. Everyone comes from the same background, works the same type of job, and makes the same amount of money with some exceptions so we all feel equal to one another. Here everyone has a voice and can be heard.”(Flynn)

Mr. Flynn believes that everyone in the community is equal and that they all have and equal voice in the community. His answer and views help prove that the borough of Hawley meets the requirements to be a functioning democracy.
The third question was: "What do you feel are the necessary factors for democracy to work?" He replied:

"Well first and foremost everyone must be heard; for a democracy to work everyone that is governed by it must have a say in how its run. The elected leaders have to be accessible and willing to make changes based on what the people want. Basically what I think a democracy needs to work is an area that has people who get involved and care about what happens to the area. Those people need to elect people who are willing to listen and who want to help. A democracy needs those things to work." (Flynn)

Mr. Flynn takes a classical view of democracy. He defines democracy the same way that the Greeks did. But he also has some modern concepts of participatory democracy in his definition as well. The basic theme to his working democracy is involvement.

The fourth and final question I asked Mr. Flynn was: “What do you feel are the major problems facing the borough today and how do you feel democracy can help solve them?” He replied:

"Well I think the most pressing problem that Hawley faces is that it is outdated. The place looks old and rundown. There are no new buildings or attractions that will get people to come visit. In my opinion this whole town needs an overhaul. We need an influx of new business and new people. The planning board can fix this by using some of the budget to renovate Main Street. If you make the town look nicer it will encourage people and industry to move into the area.”(Flynn)
Mr. Flynn basically came up with the same answer that Mrs. Morgan but in different terms. He also indicated the major problem of a lack of new year round industry for the borough. But he also indicated a need to renovate the whole town. Mr. Flynn takes a cosmetic approach to help entice new businesses to come to the borough.

After reviewing the empirical evidence and the testimony of a select group of residents it becomes clear that the borough of Hawley meets the third criterion for a functioning democracy. The data collected and the surveys prove that the people of the borough believe that there is social equality for everyone as well as respect for individuals in their community.

Now that we have finished our examination of the borough of Hawley it has come time to answer the question posed by this examination: Is the borough of Hawley a working and healthy democracy? As stated earlier there are three criteria for a working democracy: 1.) There is a political or social unit in a given area. 2.) There is a government system set up by the people in that society that is comprised of the people in that society or elected representatives of that society. 3.) There is that there is social equality for everyone as well as respect for individuals in the community. It has become clear though the examination of the borough that the borough fulfills all the criteria we have set down for a working democracy. Therefore it is safe to say that there is a working democracy in the borough of Hawley. And based on the satisfaction levels of the residents in the borough community as found through the conducted survey; the democracy contained within the borough is not only a working democracy but a healthy democracy. In conclusion we have observed democracy in America today in action through the examination of the borough of
Hawley; and have found that there is a healthy and working democracy in America today. The existence of a working and healthy democracy on such a small localized area of American society is evidence that it is possible for a working and healthy democracy on the national level. The potential for a healthy national democracy is what De Tocqueville saw when he traveled the U.S. in 1831 as is evidenced when he said:

“I confess that in America I saw more than America; I sought the image of democracy itself, with its inclinations, its character, its prejudices, and its passions, in order to learn what we have to fear or hope from its progress.”

And if De Tocqueville was able to tour the country today I am sure that he would see a partial fulfillment of that potential as well as opportunity for the future of democracy.


4.) Hawley Public Library 2412 Min St Hawley, Pa 18428

5.) Hawley Pennsylvania. 3/24/2005. [http://members.aol.com/johnnic/hawley.htm](http://members.aol.com/johnnic/hawley.htm)


7.) History of Hawley. 3/24/2005. 

   [http://www.hawleywallenpaupackcc.com/history.htm](http://www.hawleywallenpaupackcc.com/history.htm)


   [http://members.aol.com/jbnmatch/history_of_hawley.htm](http://members.aol.com/jbnmatch/history_of_hawley.htm)


10.) Morgan, Anne. Personal Interview. 3/15/05.


