CITATIONS

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LAGRANGE COLLEGE

Strain
Ashleigh Hall
2021 graduate in Art and Design

Strain by Ashleigh Hall is featured as this year's cover art.

Artist Statement: This piece of work is meant to bring to light the way we interpret human emotions through body language. Everyone has a unique body language and in turn, interprets others differently.

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The Use of Artificial Intelligence to Recruit Employees

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Abstract

Artificial intelligence (A.I.) has begun appearing in several forms throughout the employee recruitment process. Chat bots are used to communicate with potential employees. A.I. is used to sort through résumés, which will affect how résumés are written. Companies are using technology to assess the personalities of candidates. Certain companies with more capital are able to conduct virtual interviews and have them analyzed. Using various A.I. forms, companies can improve the efficiency of the recruiting process and create a better recruiting experience for the candidate. The drawback of A.I. is that its knowledge is limited to the code in its program, and it is unable to function outside of those limitations.

The Use of Artificial Intelligence to Recruit Employees

Companies now use artificial intelligence (A.I.) to recruit employees. A.I. recruitment can involve using chat bots, conducting résumé assessments, creating personality profiles, and conducting virtual interviews. These A.I. forms increase the efficiency and effectiveness of the recruiting process. This paper will explore the various ways that companies utilize A.I. in the recruiting process, as well as the advantages and disadvantages of implementing A.I.

Using Chat Bots

Chat bots are a way for companies to simulate human interactions through online communication such as text or e-mail. This is a simple way for a company to start implementing A.I. into its recruiting process. Chat bots are one of the more cost-effective uses of A.I., because they do not require as much computing power or as many databases as the other options. Chat bots communicate with job candidates through automated messages.

McDonald's uses chat bots to inform previous candidates on their 18th birthday that they are now eligible to reapply (Wedl, n.d.). This allows McDonald's to capitalize on those missed opportunities of the past. McDonald's does not have resources to assign someone to continuously look at past applications to see when someone has turned 18. Without the use of a chat bot, those past applications would probably not be looked at again. Other companies use chat bots to inform candidates when they have moved on to the next stage of the recruiting process (Wedl, n.d.). These implementations of A.I. may not seem extraordinary, but they save the company time and money.

Conducting Résumé Assessments

Résumés used to be sent to the hiring manager to be assessed. With A.I. taking over résumé assessments, the importance of these documents has shrunk (Artificial Intelligence, n.d.). When a human looks at a résumé, that person can make connections or have an understanding of the job candidate's experience. A human recruiter can make personal connections through someone's résumé; A.I. cannot. Robot assessment of résumés makes the result strictly fact-based. A.I. assesses a résumé by searching for keywords and comparing those to the preferred knowledge or experience that the company is looking for (Wedl, n.d.). After it compares keywords, the A.I. sorts and selects candidates who meet the most requirements and would be the best fit based on the data in the résumé (Yoong, n.d.).

Creating Personality Profiles

Some companies look at candidates' social media profiles to see if their posts are appropriate for someone who works for the company. Schellmann states, "As soft skills gain importance, more employers will use AI to create personality profiles, generated from job candidates' social-media profiles, LinkedIn accounts and other text posted online ..." (2020). Instead of a person doing the research and deciding for themselves if this candidate is the right fit based on their online information, companies are able to gather that information and allow A.I. to do the rest.

The A.I. is programmed with a variety of traditional personality tests (Schellmann, 2020). Once the company inputs the candidate's online information into the system, it will produce an analysis of their personality. This allows the

company to have an understanding of what the person is like, based on the information they post online.

Conducting Virtual Interviews

A.I. is now able to conduct interviews and assess a candidate's interview performance. The company that is leading this form of A.I. is HireVue. According to research from Harvard Business School, "HireVue records job candidates' interviews and analyzes their facial movements, word choice, and speaking voice" (HireVue, 2020). The video recording of the interview is analyzed by A.I. and then compared to the performances of the company's top employees. After the two interviews are compared, the system creates a measurement for how well the candidate did in various categories (HireVue, 2020).

Advantages of Artificial Intelligence

A.I. benefits both the employer and candidate. It benefits the employer because it is a cost-effective way of conducting the recruitment process. The companies do not have to pay A.I. to work, and it can work 24/7. A.I. also gives human resource workers more time to focus on more valuable tasks. It benefits the candidate by reducing the amount of human bias during the process, offering candidates instantaneous feedback, and speeding up the recruitment process (Yoong, n.d.). The recruitment process takes 1 to 2 weeks with a human recruiter, but with an A.I. recruiter, it takes only 1 to 2 days because it works continuously and is able to instantly assess information (Wedl, n.d.).

Disadvantages of Artificial intelligence

A.I. is limited to the coding in its program, which makes it hard to compare the experiences of one candidate to another (Yoong, n.d.). There is more to a résumé than strictly facts, and sometimes a résumé needs to be looked at for more than facts. "If personality profiling becomes more prevalent, a market for algorithms that assist applicants in burnishing their social-media histories and other online accounts could spring up," according to Schellmann (2020). With social media playing such a big role in today's society, that could have effects. Another disadvantage is that human bias can get into the coding of artificial intelligence. Humans create the code, so whether they do it on purpose or not, their biases can be implemented.

Amazon secretly used A.I. to recruit employees and later found out that the system had a bias against women (Dastin, 2018). Dastin explains, "Amazon's computer models were trained to vet applicants by observing patterns in résumés submitted to the company over a 10-year period. Most came from men" (Dastin, 2018). This caused the

program to penalize female candidates, assuming that they were less qualified. HireVue had a similar problem related to human bias. After HireVue was audited, it was recommended that the company stop its A.I. virtual interviews, based on skepticism and potential human bias within the program (Kahn, n.d.).

Conclusion

A.I. can compute information instantly and more efficiently than humans can. Using A.I. reduces the amount of human bias in the recruiting process, but it can still have human bias within its code. Chat Bots are used for simple communication to mimic human communication. Keywords are important in résumés in order for A.I. to pick up the information. Interviews that are done virtually can be recorded and analyzed by artificial intelligence. Personality profiles can be made during the recruitment process, based on the information posted on a person's social media accounts.

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Financial Analysis: Marriott International

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Abstract

Marriott International, Inc. is a global hospitality company founded in 1927. From the years 2016-2019, revenue had been increasing for Marriott. The increase in Marriott's revenue during these years was due to the additions of new properties across the world, including the acquisition of Starwood Hotels & Resorts Worldwide in 2016. From 2019 to 2020, revenue decreased 49.6%. Much of the decrease in revenue is due to the effects of COVID-19. The pandemic has had an unprecedented impact on Marriott, and on the travel and hospitality industries in general. Net income for Marriott declined 121% for 2020. Temporary hotel closures, lower travel and hotel demand, and COVID-19 restrictions were factors in the decline of net income.

Marriott has also increased its debt significantly. From 2019 to 2020, issuance of long-term debt increased 159.4% and repayment of debt increased 126%. Marriott borrowed the maximum amount of $4.5 billion under its credit facility during 2020 in an effort to maintain its liquidity. Before 2020, Marriott had repurchased large amounts of Treasury stock. In 2020, Marriott repurchased only 1 million shares of its common stock. Marriott paid a $0.48-per-share dividend in 2020. Following this, Marriott made the decision to suspend dividend payments and stock repurchases until market conditions improve. Marriott's cash flows have been used to pay off debt, pay dividends, and purchase Treasury stock. The issuance of long-term debt made up 65.1% of inflows for Marriott during 2020. Payments on commercial paper and the credit facility net accounted for 47.4% of outflows, and repayment of long-term debt accounted for 39.1% of outflows.

This report will present a financial statement analysis of Marriott International for the years 2016 through 2020. The report will describe the background of the company and will analyze the income statement, balance sheet, and the statement of cash flows. Additionally, a company SWOT will be presented. The report uses data and information found in Marriott International and Hilton Worldwide annual reports, news articles, related reports, analyst opinions, company websites, and industry ratio reports and websites.

Original data that I calculated to use in the analysis can be found in Appendix A and Appendix B. The Appendices include common sizing, trend percentages, horizontal analysis for both Marriott and Hilton. Ratios for Marriott, Hilton, and the industry are also included.

The report will analyze liquidity, solvency, activity, and profitability ratios for Marriott International in comparison to Hilton Worldwide and the overall hotel (except casino hotels) and motel industry. The dollar amounts included throughout the report are in millions of U.S. dollars.

Marriott Background

Marriott International is a global hospitality company that was founded in Washington, D.C. in 1927. John Willard and Alice Marriott originally started the company as A&W Root Beer Stand and then changed it to Hot Shoppes Restaurants after food items were added to the menu ("Our Story," n.d.). In 1957, Marriott shifted into the hotel business with the first motor hotel opening in Arlington, Virginia ("Our Story," n.d.). Marriott's headquarters is located in Bethesda, Maryland (MAR 10K 2020, p. 1). Ernst & Young LLP serves as the outside auditor for the company (MAR 10K 2020, p. 40). Marriott is traded on NASDAQ under the ticker symbol "MAR" (MAR 10K 2020, p. 1). The fiscal year for Marriott International is the same as a calendar year; it ends on December 31st of each year (MAR 10K 2020, p. 1).

Marriott International owns 30 brands in its brand portfolio. As described on Marriott's website under brand architecture, brands are categorized under two main categories of Classic and Distinctive, with subcategories of Luxury, Premium, Select, and Longer Stay falling beneath them. Brands that are categorized as Classic Luxury are JW Marriott Hotels, St. Regis Hotels and Resorts, and the Ritz-Carlton. Distinctive Luxury brands include Bulgari Hotels & Resorts, the Ritz-Carlton Reserve, EDITION Hotels, the Luxury Collection, and W Hotels. Classic Premium brands include Marriott Hotels, Delta Hotels, and Sheraton. Distinctive Premium brands consist of Autograph Collection

Hotels, Gaylord Hotels, Le Meridien, Design Hotels, Tribute Portfolio, Renaissance Hotels, and Westin Hotels and Resorts.

Classic Select brands include Courtyard by Marriott, Fairfield by Marriott, Four Points by Sheraton, Protea Hotels, and Springhill Suites by Marriott. The Distinctive Select brands are AC Hotels, Aloft Hotels, and Moxy Hotels. Longer Stay includes Marriott Executive Apartments, which are Classic Premium, Residence Inn by Marriott and TownePlace Suites by Marriott, which are Classic Select, and Element by Westin, which is Distinctive Select ("Marriott International Hotel Brands by Category," n.d.).

The geographic distribution of Marriott's properties can be seen in *Figure 1*. Marriott International has 7,642 properties across the globe, with 5,606 of the total locations in the United States and Canada (MAR 10K 2020, p. 8). The remaining properties are located in Asia Pacific, Europe, the Middle East, Africa, the Caribbean, and Latin America. In 2020, Marriott opened 399 new properties (62,776 rooms) while closing 106 properties (20,416 rooms) (MAR 10K 2020, p. 28). As a portion of the new rooms, approximately 45% are located in countries outside of the United States and Canada, and 13% are conversions made from previous competitor brands (MAR 10K 2020, p. 28).
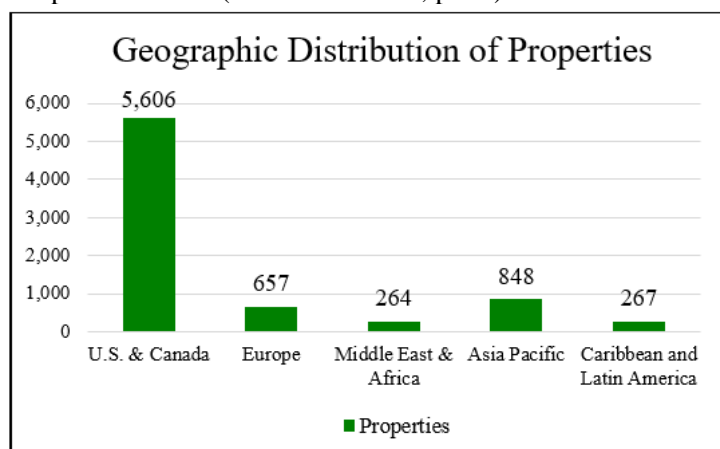
Figure 1 Geographic Distribution of Properties

The main growth strategy for Marriott involves expansion by adding and updating new properties under its brand portfolio. By acquiring Starwood Hotels & Resorts Worldwide in 2016 and releasing a three-year growth plan, including the opening of 1,700 hotels across the world in 2019, Marriott is working to increase its footprint across the world (Kim, 2019). Most recently, Marriott plans to open 100 new properties in the Asia Pacific region during 2021 and to rebrand Sheraton, its most global brand ("Marriott International Continues Asia Pacific," 2021). The larger global presence for Marriott allows for the company to reach a larger customer base and to advance its position in the market.

Marriott's other strategy focuses on creating connections with its customers through its newly updated loyalty program, Marriott Bonvoy. Marriott Bonvoy offers reward points, member rates, and other benefits within its program. Marriott's loyalty program consists of over 147 million members (AR 2020, p. iii).

Competitor

Hilton Worldwide Holdings is the company that will be used as a comparison to Marriott International. The company was founded in Cisco, Texas in 1919. Hilton is a global hospitality company that operates in the same industry as Marriott. The company is traded on the New York Stock Exchange under the ticker symbol "HLT", and its fiscal year ends on December 31st of the year, which is the same as Marriott International (HLT 10K 2020, p. 46). Compared to Marriott's 30 brands and 7,642 properties, Hilton has 18 brands and 6,478 properties (HLT 10K 2020, p. 3).

Industry Outlook

Marriott International operates in the hotel industry. The industry is suffering due to the pandemic. According to the American Hotel and Lodging Association, hotel occupancy rates for 2020 were 44% and are projected to reach 52.5% in 2021 and 61.4% in 2022. By 2022, room revenue is expected to reach $144 billion. Hotel occupancy and travel was down in 2020 and is currently still lower due to regulations and health concerns involving COVID-19. In 2021, 56% of consumers plan to travel for vacation or leisure, which is approximately the same amount as an average year. Business travel, the largest source of hotel revenue, is projected to be down 85% through April 2021. It is forecasted to start slowly increasing in May of 2021 and not reach pre-pandemic levels until 2023 or 2024. Close to 50% of customers believe that distribution of the vaccine will serve as a main factor of future travel. The widespread distribution of the COVID-19 vaccine will help to increase travel demand, due to consumers feeling more comfortable in public areas (American Hotel & Lodging Association, 2021).

Strengths

Marriott's strong brand portfolio and global presence are strengths that help to maintain its success. Each of Marriott's brands is designed to target a specific part of the market and to provide customers with an experience that fits their wants and needs. As a result, customers are very loyal to the company. This is another strength of Marriott that can be seen through the dedication of customers within the Marriott Bonvoy loyalty program. Relating to global presence, as

mentioned in the prior background section, Marriott owns 30 brands and operates 7,642 properties in 133 different countries and territories (MAR 10K 2020, p. 25). These factors combined contribute to Marriott's biggest strength of being a leading hotel chain in the market.

Weaknesses

A weakness that can be seen in Marriott is data protection. A data breach occurred in Marriott's systems in 2020 that affected over 330 million guests (Airoldi, 2020). Marriott failed to protect the personal data of its customers, and this led to damage in its customers' trust. Another weakness is negative media coverage and controversies of Marriott in recent years. Marriott has been questioned for blocking guests from using personal Wi-Fi. The company was also questioned after it was accused of leaving people stranded during Hurricane Irma (Berr, 2017). Another weakness of Marriott is the code of conduct that all of its employees are expected to follow. Employees are required to follow the code at all times, and the strict regulations may turn away potential employees.

Opportunities

An opportunity for Marriott is to expand into emerging economies. There is a demand for higher-end hotels in developing countries. Expansion into these areas could prove to be profitable and advantageous for the company. Shifting demographics is also an opportunity for Marriott. Marriott could adapt itself to be more appealing to younger generations and millennials, since more of these individuals are entering the market. By appealing to younger individuals, Marriott can grow its customer base.

Threats

Currently, the biggest threat to Marriott International is the coronavirus pandemic. As mentioned, COVID-19 has had a significant impact on the travel and hospitality industry, leading to fewer individuals traveling. COVID-19 is still affecting companies, and Marriott is looking for the best way to adapt its business with the pandemic. Another threat comes from competitor hotels in the industry. Hilton Worldwide, alongside many other chains, offers competition to Marriott. Also, online renting platforms and travel services, such as Airbnb and Travelocity.com, have gained popularity. Terrorist attacks also pose a threat, due to hotels being an easy public target.

Income Statement

The income statement for Marriott is made up of seven general accounts that include total revenue, total cost and expenses, interest expense, other, equity in (losses) earnings,

benefit (provision) for income taxes, and net income. The accounts are shown as a percentage of revenue in *Table 1*.

Marriott International	2018	2019	2020
Revenue	100%	100%	100%
Total Costs and Expenses	88.6%	91.4%	99.2%
Operating Income	11.4%	8.6%	0.8%
Interest Expense	-1.6%	-1.9%	-4.2%
Other	1.0%	0.8%	0.4%
Equity in (losses) Earnings	0.5%	0.1%	-1.3%
Benefit (provision) for Income Taxes	-2.1%	-1.6%	1.9%
Net (loss) Income	9.2%	6.1%	-2.5%

Table 1 Common Size Income Statement

Revenue

Marriott's revenue consists of fee revenue, owned, leased, and other revenue, and cost reimbursement revenue. Fee revenue is made of franchise fees, business management fees, and incentive management fees. Marriott's revenue comes from U.S. and international transactions. The largest percentage of revenue, 74.8%, came from the United States and Canada (MAR 10K 2020, p. 74). The smallest portion of revenue, 5.8%, came from operations in Asia Pacific (MAR 10K 2020, p. 74). The percentage of total revenue for each business segment is shown in *Figure 2*.
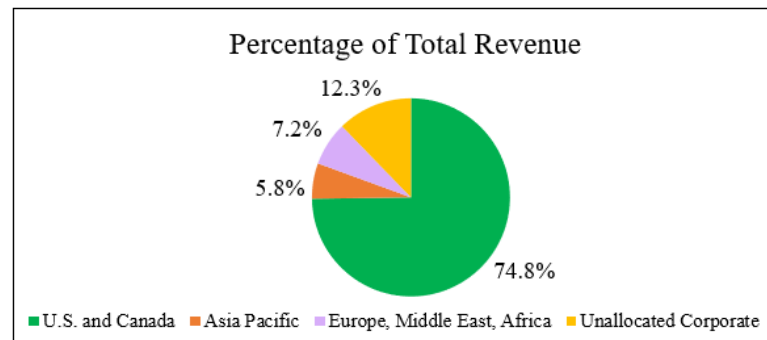
Figure 2 Percentages of Total Revenue

Marriott's total revenue from 2016 to 2020 is shown in *Figure 3*. From 2016 to 2019, Marriott's revenue increased (*Figure* 3). The majority of the increase in revenue from 2016 to 2017 was due to a 39% increase in fee revenues. There was a $4,219 million increase in cost reimbursements revenue that consisted of reimbursements related to Legacy-Starwood, activity with the loyalty program, and systemwide growth (AR 2017, p. 32). The cost reimbursements revenue offset reimbursed costs in 2020. Revenue for Marriott decreased 49.6% from 2019 to 2020. The significant decline in revenue for 2020 was a result of several factors related to COVID-19. These factors resulted in all revenue accounts having a much lower balance for 2020, compared to prior years.

Marriott temporarily closed 27% of its owned and leased hotels in 2020 due to a large drop in demand at its

hotels across all locations (MAR 10K 2020, p. 4). Efforts to contain and slow the spread of the virus led to a decrease in travel and cancellations for booked rooms at Marriott by large groups and other types of travelers. In April 2020, revenue per available room decreased worldwide by 90% year-over-year from April 2019 (MAR 10K 2020, p. 4). As a result, Marriott hotel occupancy and revenue per available room declined steeply, resulting in much lower revenue for Marriott in 2020.
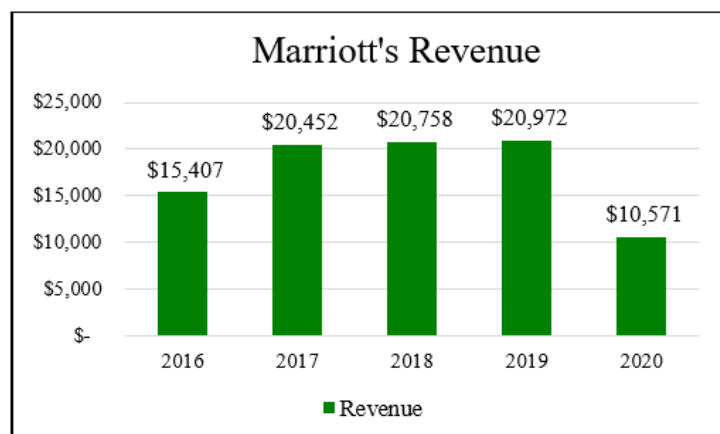
Figure 3 Revenue

Total Cost and Expenses

The total cost and expenses for Marriott are shown in *Figure 4*. Total cost and expenses for Marriott consist of owned, leased, and other-direct, depreciation, amortization, general and administrative, restructuring and merger-related charges, reimbursed expenses, and other. As shown previously in *Table 1*, the common sizing for Marriott's income statement, total cost and expenses have increased as a percentage of revenue from 91.4% in 2019 to 99.2% in 2020. The increase was caused by a larger decline in revenue rather than by the decline in total cost and expenses for 2020.
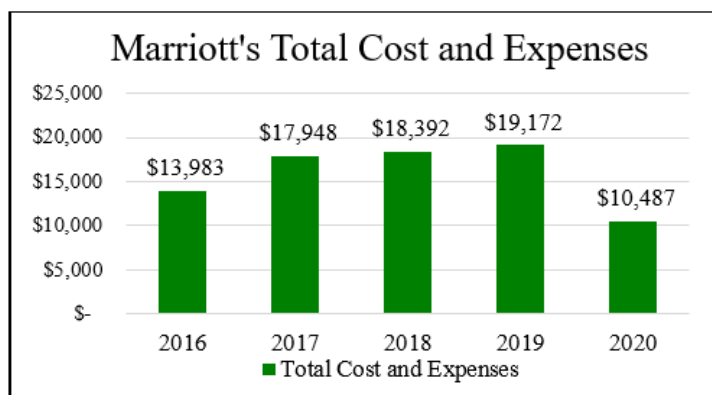
Figure 4 Total Cost and Expenses

Marriott's total cost and expenses decreased 45.3% from 2019 to 2020. Owned, leased, and other-direct, general,

administrative, and other, and reimbursed expenses were the causes of the decrease in Marriott's total cost and expenses for 2020 (MAR 10K 2020, p. 30). The 18.8% decrease in general, administrative, and other expenses from 2019 to 2020 was a result of decisions made by Marriott to reduce spending in this area in response to the pandemic (MAR 10K 2020, p. 30). Marriott also made the choice to cut spending on reimbursed expenses, which explains the 48.7 % decline in this account from $16,439 million in 2019 to $8,435 million in 2020. A portion of reimbursed expenses is made up of advertising costs, which were $276 million in 2020, compared to $851 million in 2019 (MAR 10K 2020, p. 54). Overall, reimbursed expenses in 2020 were offset by cost reimbursement revenue of $8,452 million.

Operating Income

Marriott's operating income for years 2016 through 2020 is shown in *Figure 5*. Marriott's operating income declined from 2017 to 2020. The increase in operating income from 2016 to 2017 occurred from revenue increasing at a higher rate than the total cost and expenses. The revenue increase in 2017 was mainly attributable to a 39% increase in total fee revenue along with increases in all other revenue accounts (AR 2017 p. 31). The sharp decrease of 95.3% in Marriott's operating income from 2019 to 2020 is primarily due to the negative impact of COVID-19 on the company's revenue (MAR 10K 2020, p. 29). This resulted in revenue decreasing a larger amount than the decrease in total cost and expenses in 2020.
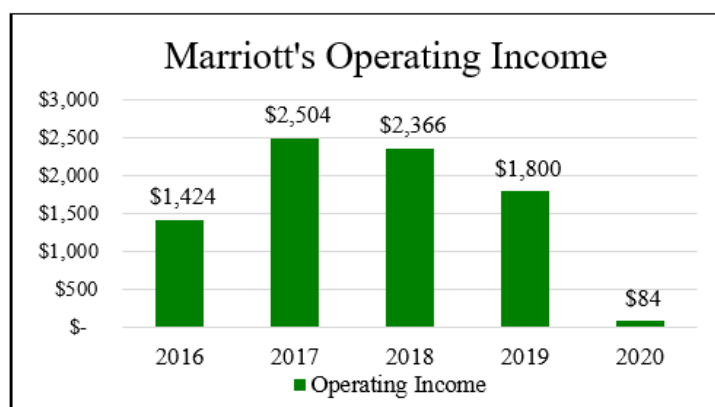
Figure 5 Operating Income

Operating Profit Margin

For Marriott's operating income, *Figure 6* provides a trend in revenue compared to operating income from 2016 to 2020. The base year for the data is 2016. As shown in *Figure 6*, operating income decreased 120%, while revenue decreased 67% from 2019 to 2020. As a result of operating income declining at a faster rate than revenue in 2020, the
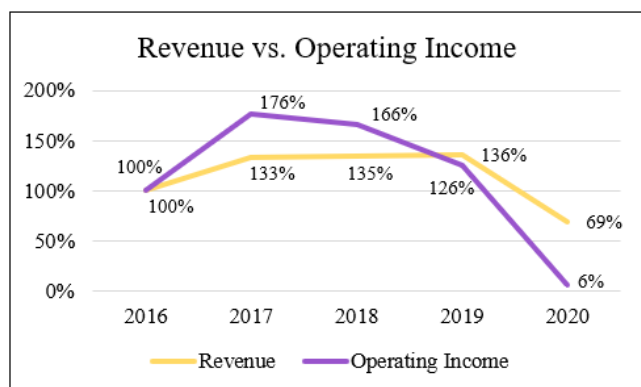
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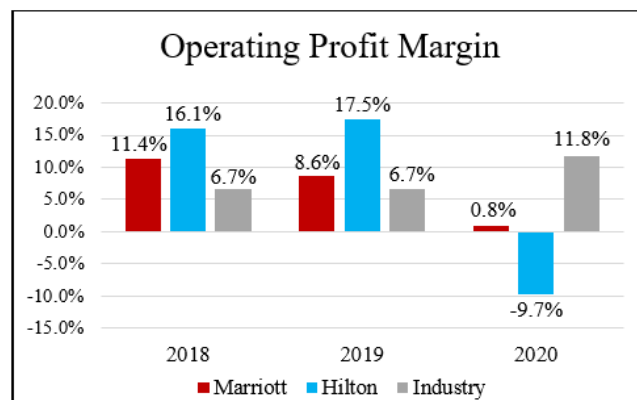
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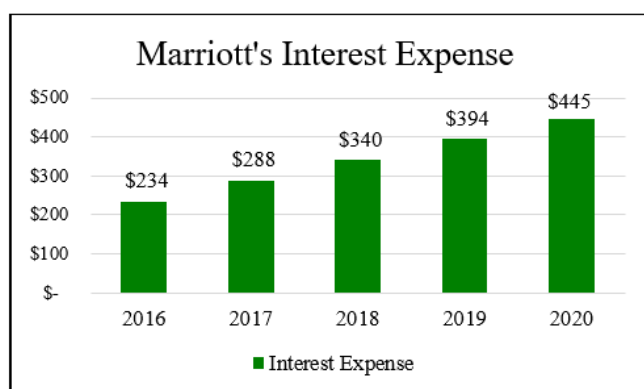
Figure 8 Interest Expense
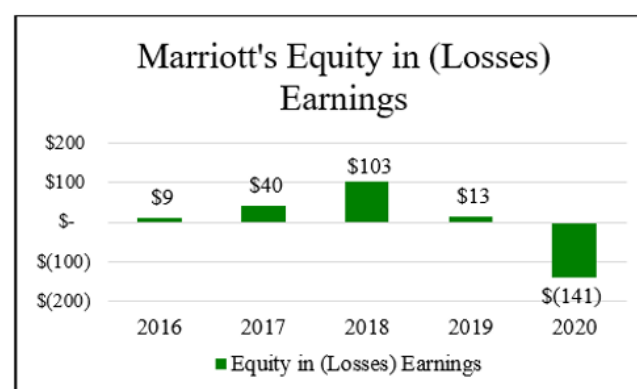
Figure 9 Equity in (Losses) Earnings

operating profit margin decreased, which can be seen in *Figure 7*.

The operating profit margin for Marriott decreased to 8.6% in year 2019 and to 0.8% in 2020 (*Figure 7*). From 2018 to 2019, operating profit decreased 40%, while revenue increased by 1%. From 2019 to 2020, operating profit decreased at a faster rate of 120%, compared to the decrease in revenue of 67%. These trends can be seen in *Figure 6*. Marriott's operating profit margin for years 2018, 2019, and 2020 is shown in *Figure 7*.

Interest Expense

The increase in Marriott's interest expense from 2016 to 2020 is shown in *Figure 8*. Interest expense for Marriott increased 12.9% from 2019 to 2020, due to higher interest as a result of senior note issuances (MAR 10K 2020, p. 31). Higher interest rates on commercial paper and on senior note issuances contributed to the increase in interest expense over the five- year period.

Equity in (Losses) Earnings

Marriott's equity in (losses) earnings is shown in *Figure 9*. Equity in (losses) earnings increased from 2016 to 2018 and then declined in years 2019 and 2020. The $63-million increase from 2017 to 2018 was primarily attributed

to Marriott's share of the gain related to its equity method investees selling off two of their properties (AR 2018, p. 32). The decline from 2018 to 2019 was related to the sale of properties. Also, lower earnings from the disposition of investments and from the AC Hotel by Marriott transaction were a factor (AR 2019, p. 33). The 1184.6% decrease in equity in (losses) earnings for Marriott from 2019 to 2020 occurred from impairment charges and the recording of losses by investees (MAR 10K 2020 p. 31). The impairment charges were to reduce the carrying value of specific investments. This was primarily a result of COVID-19.
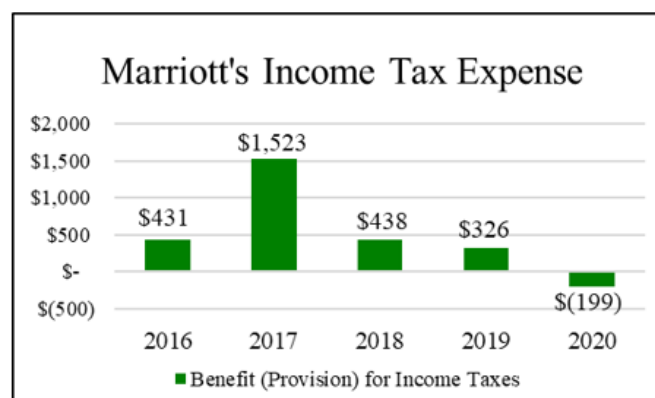
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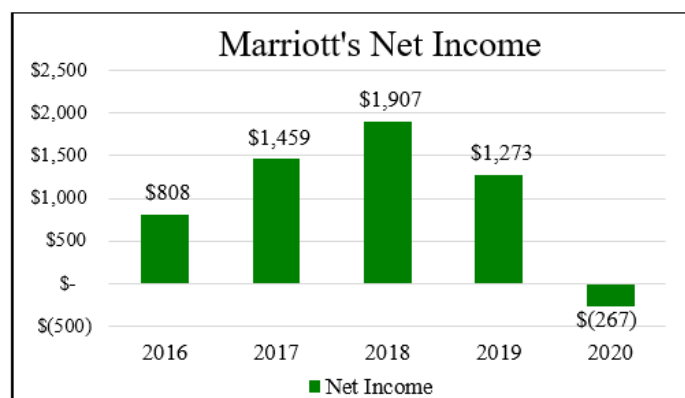
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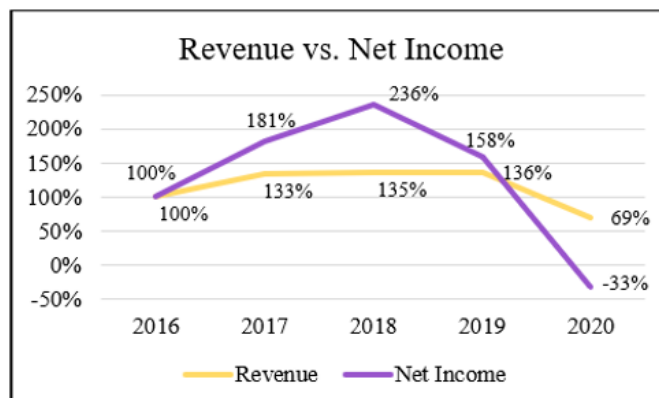
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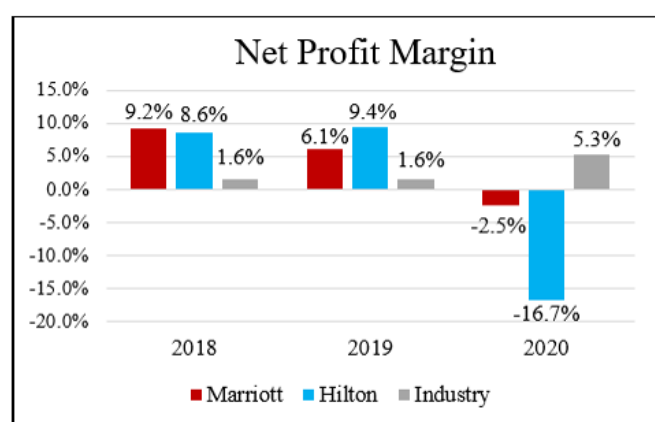
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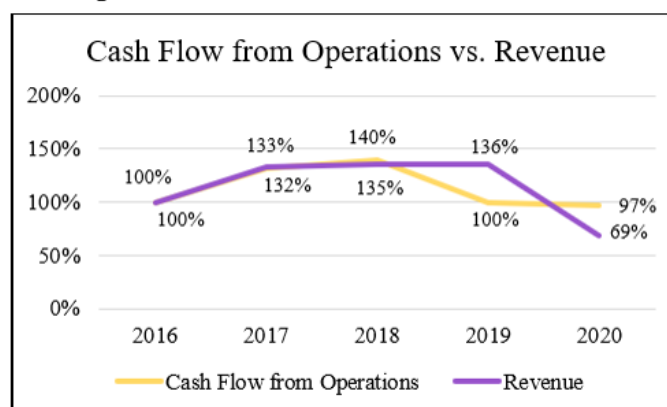
Figure 14 Cash Flow from Operations vs. Revenue Trend Lines

Benefit (Provision) for Income Taxes

From 2016 to 2017, the provision for income taxes increased 253.4% (*Figure 10*). Approximately half of the $1,092-million increase was due to the 2017 Tax Act. Additional large contributors were the inclusion of Legacy-Starwood operations for $275 million and gain on sale of Avendra at $259 million (AR 2017, p. 34). Marriott's provision for income taxes decreased 161% from 2019 to 2020. For 2020, Marriott had a tax benefit of $199 million rather than a tax expense, compared to the previous 4 years. The benefit for 2020 is due to many different factors. The main factor was the decrease in operating income that accounted for $336 million. Audit closures allowing for the release of tax reserves, tax benefits related to the Sheraton Grand Chicago, and tax benefits for impairment charges were also factors (MAR 10K 2020, p. 31).

Net Income

Marriott's net income and its changes are shown in *Figure 11*. Net income for Marriott increased from 2016 to 2017 as a result of an increase in revenue that was greater than the increase of total cost and expenses. In addition, gains and other interest income increased by $683 million in 2017.

From 2017 to 2018, the increase in net income was due to a decrease of $1,085 million in income taxes. This was mostly an effect of the 2017 Tax Act that involved a one-time tax expense in 2017 for Marriott and lowered the United States federal corporate tax rate from 35% to 21% (AR 2018, p. 69). The gain on the Avendra sale from 2017 also was a factor.

The 2018 to 2019 net income decrease resulted from an increase in total cost and expenses, specifically in depreciation, amortization, and other. This was due to impairment of certain Marriott assets. Equity in earnings also decreased. This decrease was discussed in the prior equity in (losses) earnings section. Marriott's net income decreased 121% from 2019 to 2020. The significant decrease was due to a 49.6% decrease in revenue and a decrease of 95.3% in operating income. These changes primarily resulted from the negative effects of COVID-19.

Net Profit Margin

The decrease in Marriott's net profit margin from 2018 to 2019 (*Figure 13*) was due to the decrease in net income of 78% being greater than the increase of 1% in revenue. Marriott's revenue decreased 67%, and net income decreased 191% from 2019 to 2020. Net profit margin in 2020 declined

as a result of net income decreasing at a faster rate than revenue. The trends of revenue and net income from base year 2016 can be seen in *Figure 12*. The decrease in Marriott's net profit margin from 2018 to 2020 is shown in *Figure 13*.

Cash Flow Margin

Marriott's cash flow margin decreased from 2018 to 2019 and increased from 2019 to 2020 (*Figure 15*). The decrease in the cash flow margin from 2018 to 2019 was due to cash flow from operations decreasing 40%, and revenue increasing only 1%. The 2019 to 2020 increase in Marriott's cash flow margin was caused by cash flow from operations decreasing only 3%, while revenue decreased 67%. *Figure 14* compares the trend lines percentages for cash flow from operations and revenue. *Figure 15* shows the changes in cash flow margin from 2018 to 2020.
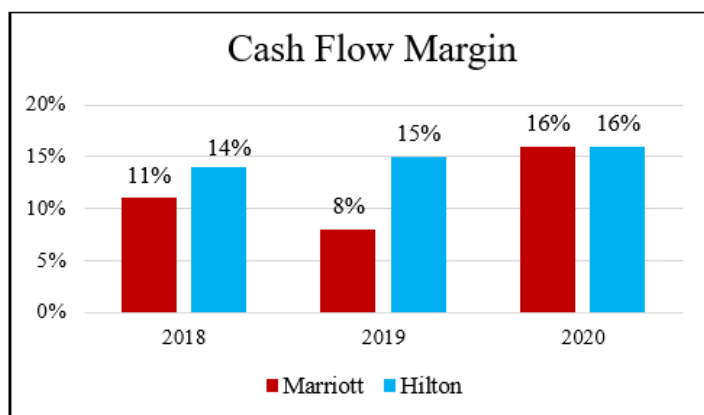
Figure 15 Cash Flow Margin
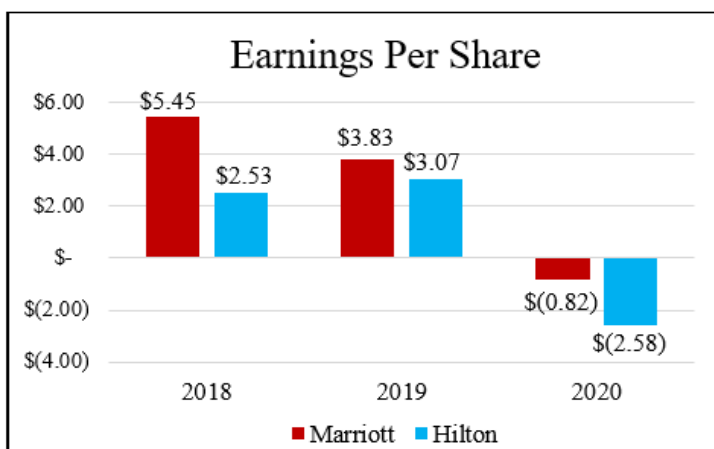
Figure 16 Earnings per Share

Earnings per Share

Marriott's earnings per share for years 2018, 2019, and 2020 are shown in *Figure 16*. From 2018 to 2019, Marriott's

earnings per share decreased from $5.45 to $3.83. The decline occurred due to net income decreasing 33.2%, while the average common shares outstanding decreased only 5%. Marriott repurchased 1 million shares of common stock during 2019. This was offset by stock-based compensation plans of 1.4 million shares (AR 2019, p. 54).

Earnings per share decreased from $3.83 in 2019 to ($0.82) in 2020. This was a result of net income decreasing 121% and the average common shares outstanding declining by 2.7%. Marriott repurchased 17.3 million shares of stock in 2020 that contributed to the reduction in common shares outstanding (MAR 10K 2020, p. 50).

Summary of Income Statement

Marriott International, along with the travel and hospitality industries as a whole, was significantly impacted by COVID-19. The negative effects can be seen in revenue, which decreased 49.6%, and in net income, which decreased 121%, from 2019 to 2020. Total costs and expenses decreased 45.3%. Operating profit margin, net profit margin, and earnings per share all declined from 2018 to 2020. Due to COVID-19, the decline was more severe from 2019 to 2020; however, Marriott was able to outperform Hilton in these areas during 2020. The cash flow margin for Marriott increased 8% in 2020. As previously discussed, temporary hotel closures, lower demand, travel restrictions, decreased occupancy, and many other factors all contributed to the decrease in the 2020 performance of Marriott in many areas.

Balance Sheet

In this section, Marriott's balance sheet—including assets, liabilities, and stockholders' equity—will be analyzed. Ratios involving the balance sheet for Marriott will be compared to Hilton and the industry. Goodwill and intangible assets, net alone make up 73.5% of total assets. The following two largest asset accounts include accounts and notes receivable, net and property and equipment, net, which make up 13.3% combined. Assets held for sale and other current assets make up the smallest amount of total assets. The

Marriott International	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020
Cash and Equivalents	3.6%	1.6%	1.3%	0.9%	3.6%
Accounts and Notes Receivable, Net	7.0%	8.3%	9.0%	9.6%	7.2%
Assets Held for Sale	2.4%	0.6%	0.0%	1.0%	0.0%
Other Current Assets	1.0%	1.0%	1.1%	1.0%	0.7%
Property and Equipment, Net	9.7%	7.5%	8.3%	7.6%	6.1%
Goodwill and Intangible Assets, net	69.9%	74.4%	73.5%	70.6%	73.5%
Operating Lease Assets	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	3.5%	3.0%
Other Noncurrent Assets	6.5%	6.6%	6.8%	5.8%	5.8%
Total Assets	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 2 Common Size Balance Sheet: Assets

common size of assets on the balance sheet, including years 2016 through 2020, for Marriott can be seen in *Table 2*.

Current Assets

As seen in *Figure 17*, the largest percentage of current assets consists of accounts and notes receivable, net making up 62.6%. Cash and equivalents made up 31%, and other made up 6.1% of total current assets. The smallest percentage of current assets consists of assets held for sale. Although the smallest percent, assets held for sale will be discussed later, due to the fluctuations in the account from 2016 through 2020.

Accounts and Notes Receivable, Net

Marriott's accounts and notes receivable, net for years 2016 through 2020 are shown in *Figure 18*. Marriott's accounts and notes receivable, net increased from 2016 to 2019. This was due to increased management and franchise agreements that led to an increase in amounts due from hotel owners. Accounts and notes receivable, net declined 26.2% from 2019 to 2020 as a result of lower fee and cost reimbursement revenues and a larger allowance for credit losses.

In 2020, Marriott adopted ASU 2016-13, which deals with financial instrument credit losses (MAR 10K 2020, p.

59). With the adoption, the allowance for credit losses increased $19 million on the December 31, 2019 balance sheet. Allowance for credit losses increased again from $82 million in 2019 to $207 million in 2020. The allowance for credit losses is an estimate of the amount of credit accounts that Marriott believes it will be unable to collect. As a result, the allowance for credit losses reduces accounts and notes receivable, net to represent the amounts that Marriott actually expects to receive.

Accounts Receivable Turnover and Average Collection Period

Marriott's decline in accounts receivable turnover is shown in *Figure 19*. The accounts receivable turnover has declined for Marriott each year since 2018. Marriott's accounts receivable turnover decreased from 9.73 times in 2018 to 8.76 times in 2019. This resulted from revenue increasing 1%, while accounts and notes receivable, net increased 12.3% from 2018 to 2019. The decrease in the 2020 accounts receivable turnover was due to revenue declining at a greater rate of 49.6% than accounts and notes receivable, net, which declined 26.2% from 2019 to 2020. For 2020, COVID-19 and its impacts were the primary factors in the decline in revenue and accounts and notes receivable, net. As
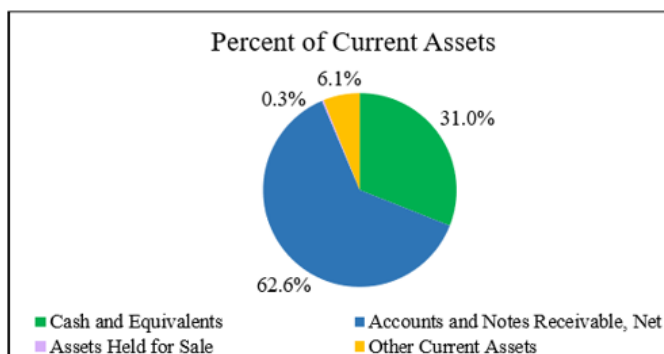
Figure 17 Percent of Current Assets
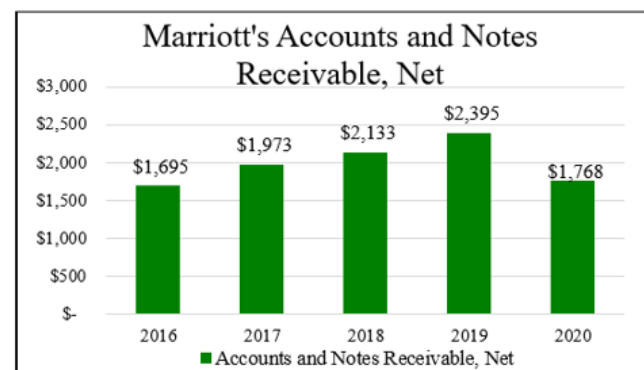
Figure 18 Accounts and Notes Receivable, Net
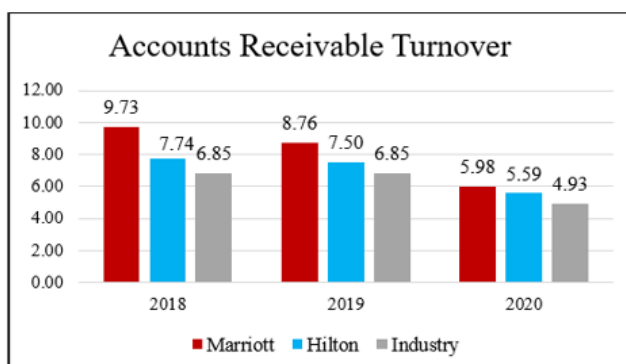
Figure 19 Accounts Receivable Turnover
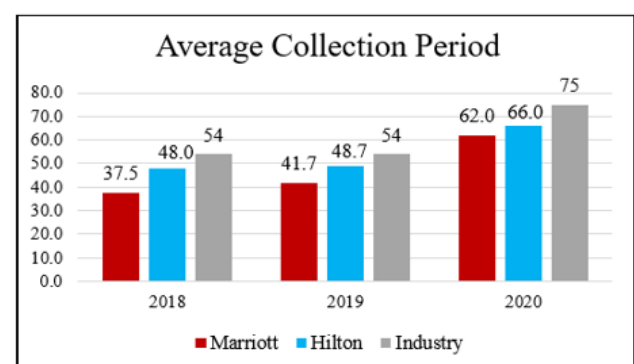
Figure 20 Average Collection Period

compared to Hilton and the industry, Marriott is more effective in collecting its receivables.

The average collection period is shown in *Figure 20*. The average collection period is the reciprocal for accounts receivable turnover. The average collection period increased from 38 days in 2018 to 42 days in 2019. It then increased to 62 days in 2020 (*Figure 20*). Over the three years, Marriott converted its receivables to cash faster than Hilton and the industry.

Assets Held for Sale

Marriott's assets held for sale have fluctuated year to year. *Figure 21* includes the changes in Marriott's assets held for sale from 2016 to 2020. In 2016, the $588 million assets held for sale included two hotels related to the Starwood merger and Miami Beach EDITION residences (AR 2017, p. 62). Assets held for sale decreased 74.7% from 2016 to 2017 as a result of the sale of the Westin Maui, the Sheraton Centre Toronto Hotel, and the Charlotte Marriott City Center. After these sales, assets held for sale consisted of two Buenos Aires properties and the remainder of the Miami Beach EDITION residences (AR 2017, p. 61). From 2017 to 2018, the 94.6% decrease was due to the sale of six properties, including two North American full-service, two Asia Pacific, and two Caribbean and Latin America properties (AR 2019, p. 64).

The $255 million assets held for sale in 2019 were related to the Sheraton Phoenix. In 2020, Marriott sold the Sheraton Phoenix (AR 2019, p. 64).

Property and Equipment, Net

Property and equipment, net made up 6.1% of total assets for Marriott in 2020. Marriott's property and equipment are lower than one would expect because Marriott owns only 28.1% of properties of its total properties. The remaining 71.9% of Marriott's total properties are franchised and licensed (MAR 10K 2020, p. 5). The allocation of Marriott's properties is shown in *Figure 22*.

The changes in Marriott's property and equipment, net are shown in *Figure 23*. Marriott's property and equipment consist of land, building and leasehold improvements, furniture and equipment, and construction in progress. Marriott's property and equipment, net decreased 23.3% from 2016 to 2017. The main causes of this were a decrease in building and leasehold improvements and an increase in accumulated depreciation. From 2017 to 2018, the 9.1% increase in property and equipment was due to increased furniture and equipment as well as building and leasehold improvements. Property and equipment decreased 2.7% from 2018 to 2019. From 2019 to 2020, it decreased 20.5%, primarily due to a 47.8% decrease in furniture and equipment
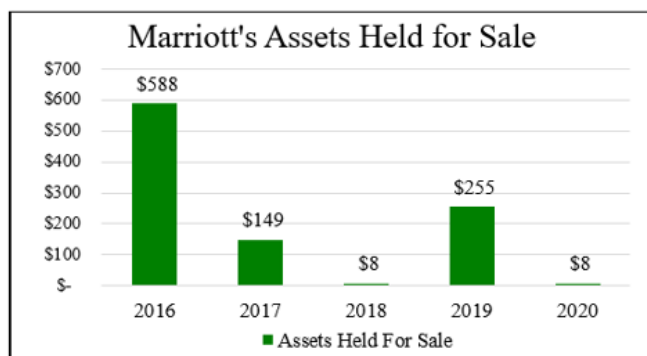
Figure 21 Assets Held for Sale
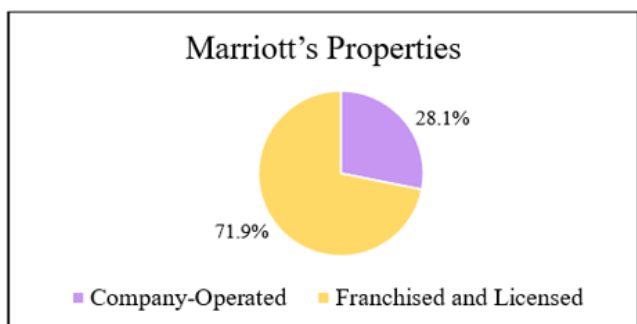
Figure 22 Marriott's Properties
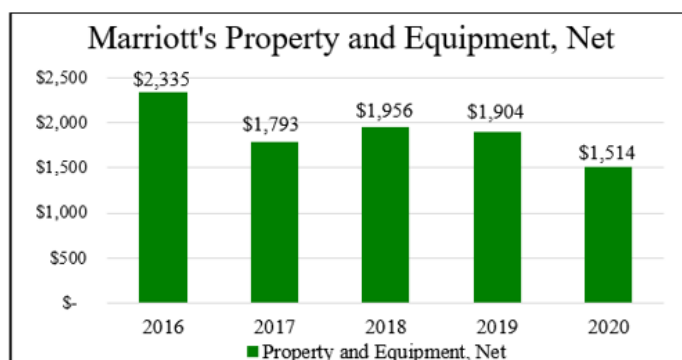
Figure 23 Property and Equipment, Net
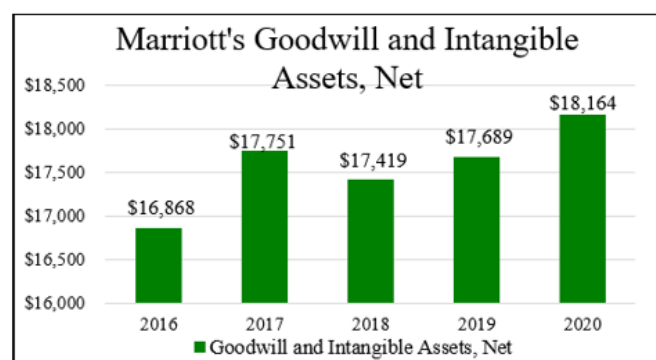
Figure 24 Goodwill and Intangible Assets, Net

and an 85.2% decrease in construction in progress, due to COVID-19 factors. COVID-19 factors included difficulty obtaining financing, shortage of workers and supplies, and government restrictions (MAR 10K 2020, p. 12).

Goodwill and Intangible Assets, Net

Marriott's goodwill and intangible assets, net are shown in *Figure 24*. Goodwill and intangible assets, net were responsible for 73.5% of Marriott's total assets in 2020 (*Table 2*). Marriott's goodwill is calculated as the amount by which the purchase price of an acquired entity is greater than the net fair value given to the acquired assets and related liabilities (MAR 10K 2020, p.58). Intangible assets, specifically those related to Marriott's brands, are important in Marriott's operations, sales, and competitiveness in its industry. Marriott prides itself on its brand portfolio and related intellectual property that allow the company to be a leader in the field.

From 2016 to 2017, goodwill increased 21.2%, due to the acquisition of Starwood Hotels & Resorts Worldwide (AR 2017, p.77). This reflected the value that Marriott expected from new growth opportunities involved with the acquisition. Foreign currency translations also contributed to the increase. Marriott's goodwill decreased 1.8% from 2017 to 2018, due to foreign currency translations. From 2018 to 2019, goodwill increased 0.1% from foreign currency translations. Goodwill increased 1.4% from 2019 to 2020, also due to foreign currency translations.

Intangible assets declined 7.8% from 2016 to 2017, primarily from a decrease in indefinite-lived intangible brand assets, as well as an increase in accumulated amortization. From 2017 to 2018, intangible assets decreased 1.9% as a result of a decrease in contracts acquired in business combinations and in indefinite-lived intangible brand assets. Accumulated amortization also increased by $175 million. Intangible assets increased 3.1% from 2018 to 2019, due to an increase in costs related to gaining contracts, acquired contracts from business combinations, and indefinite-lived intangible brand assets. From 2019 to 2020, intangible assets increased 4%, due to increases in costs related to gaining contracts, acquired contracts from business combinations, and indefinite-lived intangible brand assets, partially offset by increased accumulated amortization.

Operating Lease Assets

Marriott's operating lease assets and changes can be seen in *Figure 25*. The increase in operating lease assets from $0 in 2018 to $888 million in 2019 was a result of a new accounting standard on leases that Marriott adopted. ASU 2016-02 requires a lessee to recognize a lease liability and right-of-use asset on its balance sheet (AR 2018, p. 58). It also distinguishes leases as being operating leases or finance leases and describes how each must be measured and

recorded. The 15.3% decrease in operating lease assets from 2019 to 2020 primarily resulted from impairment charges. Marriott determined that the carrying amount of the assets may not be recoverable due to market performance and the future projection of cash flows.
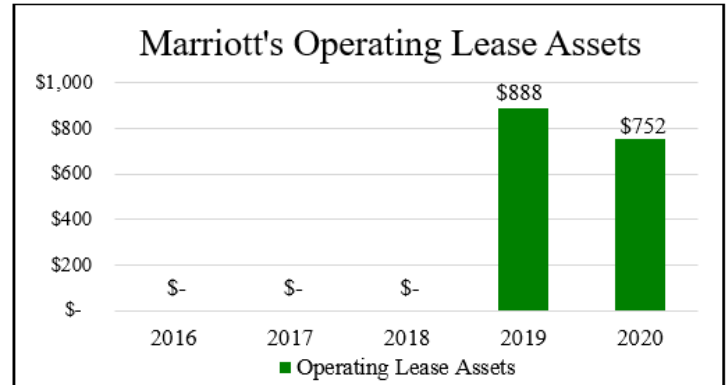
Figure 25 Operating Lease Assets

Total Asset Turnover

Marriott's total asset turnover declined from 2018 to 2020. Total asset turnover decreased 48.8% from 2019 to 2020. Total asset turnover for 2018 through 2020 is displayed in *Figure 26*. The decrease was primarily driven by a 49.6% decrease in revenue as compared to a smaller 1.4% decrease in total assets. As discussed previously, COVID-19 caused a significant decline in Marriott's revenue for 2020. Net fee revenues declined 59%, from $3,761 million in 2019 to $1,551 million in 2020. This was a product of lower base management fees and franchise fees that resulted from a decrease in revenue per available room (MAR 10K 2020, p. 29).
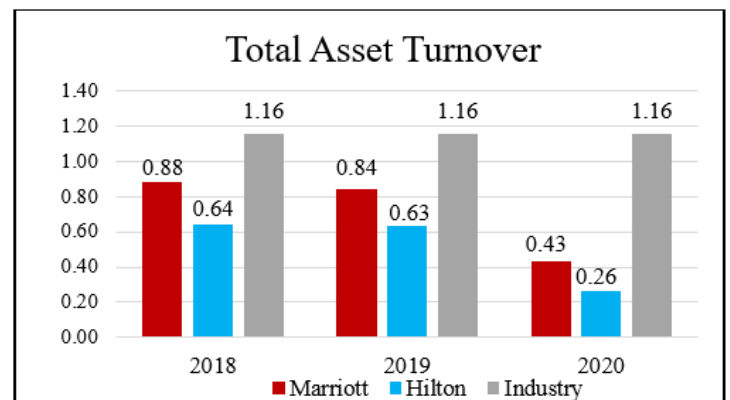
Figure 26 Total Asset Turnover

Owned, leased, and other revenue, net decreased 137%, due to lower demand and the temporary closure of 27% of Marriott's leased and owned hotels (MAR 10K 2020 p. 30). Lower loyalty program expenses and redemptions contributed to cost reimbursements, net increasing 102% from

2019 to 2020 (MAR 10K 2020, p. 30). Hilton's total asset turnover also declined for the three-year period. COVID-19 factors were also the main cause of the decline in Hilton's total asset turnover from 2019 to 2020.

The remainder of Marriott's balance sheet will be analyzed next, starting with liabilities. The common sizing for liabilities can be seen in *Table 3*. Current liabilities for Marriott will not be discussed, since each is immaterial for this analysis. For Marriott, long-term debt makes up the largest liability account as a percentage of total assets. Operating lease liabilities shifted from 0% to 3.5% as a percentage of total assets from 2018 to 2019. The increase was a result of the previously discussed accounting standard, ASU 2016-02, adopted by Marriott.

Marriott International	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020
Current Portion of Long-Term Debt	1.3%	1.7%	3.5%	3.9%	4.7%
Accounts Payable	2.8%	3.3%	3.2%	2.9%	2.1%
Accrued Payroll and Benefits	4.9%	5.1%	5.7%	5.3%	3.4%
Accrued Expenses and Other	4.6%	5.4%	4.1%	5.5%	5.9%
Other Current Liabilities	7.7%	8.9%	10.7%	9.0%	7.2%
Long-Term Debt	34.0%	32.9%	35.9%	39.8%	37.3%
Deferred Tax Liabilities	4.2%	2.5%	2.0%	1.2%	0.3%
Operating Lease Liabilities	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	3.5%	3.5%
Other Noncurrent Liabilities	7.2%	10.9%	10.0%	8.9%	9.6%
Total Liabilities	66.7%	70.7%	75.2%	80.0%	73.8%

Table 3 Common Size Balance Sheet: Liabilities

Current Ratio

Marriott's current ratio has remained mostly consistent for 2018 through 2020, increasing by only a small amount each year (*Figure 27*). For the past 3 years, Hilton's and the industry's current ratios have been higher than Marriott's current ratio. The increase in Marriott's current ratio from 2018 to 2019 was due a 15.6% increase in current assets and only a 3.7% increase in current liabilities. Current assets were higher, due to an increase in accounts receivable and assets held for sale. Current liabilities increased, mainly due to higher accrued expenses and other.

From 2019 to 2020, the current ratio increased 4.3%. This was a result of a 9.7% decrease in current assets, while current liabilities decreased 13.9%. The decrease in Marriott's current assets was mains. The current liabilities decreased from a decline in accrued payroll and benefits in addition to accounts payable.

Hilton's current ratio more than doubled from 2019 to 2020. This resulted from a 100.8% increase in current assets, mainly due to a $2,680 million increase in cash, and from a 15.3% decrease in current liabilities as a result of lower accounts payable. The current ratios for Marriott, Hilton, and the industry and their changes for 2018 through 2020 can be seen in *Figure 27*.
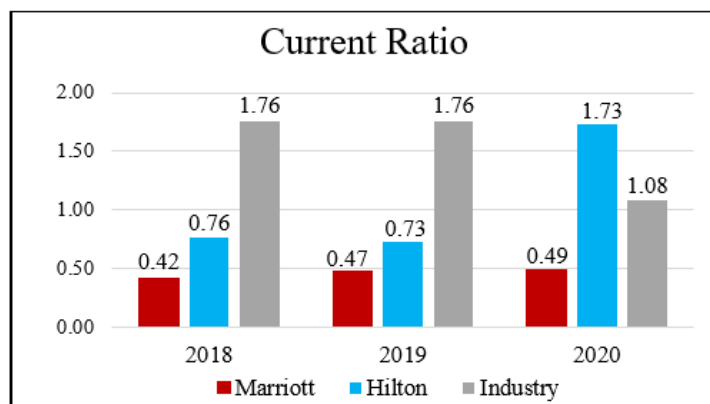
Figure 27 Current Ratio

Long-Term Debt

The different components that contribute to Marriott's long-term debt are senior notes, commercial paper, credit facility, and finance lease obligations (MAR 10K 2020, p. 69). The current portion is subtracted from these accounts to find the balance for long-term debt each year. The changes in Marriott's long-term debt are shown in *Figure 28*. The increase in long-term debt from 2018 to 2019 resulted from a 42.4% increase in commercial paper, along with the issuance of additional senior notes. Marriott's long-term debt decreased 7.6% from 2019 to 2020. This was largely a result of the $3,197-million-dollar carrying value of commercial paper in 2019, compared to Marriott not issuing commercial paper during 2020 (MAR 10K 2020, p. 69). The decrease was partially offset by issuance of additional senior notes, including Series EE, FF, and GG (MAR 10K 2020, p. 69).
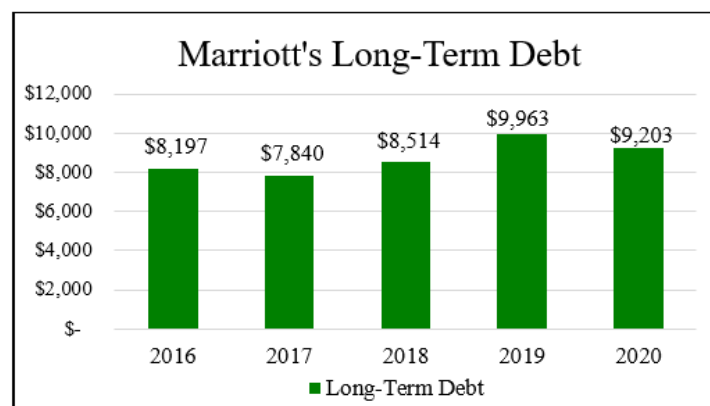
Figure 28 Long-Term Debt

From 2018 to 2019, long-term debt, net of issuance and repayments decreased 55% as a result of a 15.1% decrease in debt issuances and a 110.3% increase in debt repayments. The decrease in debt issuances was due to Marriott issuing fewer notes in 2019. Issuances of notes totaled $1,650 million in 2018, compared to $1,400 million in 2019 (AR 2019, p. 73). Debt repayments in 2019 included

senior notes, totaling $781 million (AR 2019, p. 43). The remainder of repayments was related to other types of long-term debt. Long-term debt, net of issuances and repayments increased 197.9% from 2019 to 2020. The increase in inflows was due to the $1.6 billion issuance of Series EE notes, $1 billion Series FF notes, and $1 billion GG notes (MAR 10K 2020, p. 70). Marriott redeemed the Series M note for $350 million and retired Series Q notes, Series L notes, and Series D notes for a total of $853 million. *Table 4* shows long-term debt issuance vs. repayment for years 2018 through 2020.

	2018	2019	2020
Issuance of Long-Term Debt	1,646	1,397	3,561
Repayment of Long-Term Debt	(397)	(835)	(1,887)
Total	1,249	562	1,674

Table 4 Issuance/Repayment of Long-Term Debt

Stockholders' Equity (Deficit)

The final portion of the balance sheet, stockholders' equity, will now be analyzed. Marriott has not issued any additional Class A common stock from 2016 to 2020. Additional paid-in-capital's percentage has held constant, with small fluctuations in its account due to share-based compensation plans. The common sizing of stockholders' equity can be seen in *Table 5*.

Marriott International	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020
Class A Common Stock	0.02%	0.02%	0.02%	0.02%	0.02%
Additional Paid-In-Capital	24.1%	24.2%	24.5%	23.2%	23.7%
Retained Earnings	26.9%	30.4%	37.9%	38.5%	37.3%
Treasury Stock, At Cost	-26.8%	-39.5%	-51.4%	-57.4%	-58.7%
Accumulated Other Comprehensive Loss	-2.1%	-0.1%	-1.7%	-1.4%	-0.5%
Stockholder's Equity (Deficit)	22.2%	15.0%	9.4%	2.8%	1.7%

Table 5 Common Size Balance Sheet: Stockholders' Equity

Retained Earnings

Retained earnings make up the largest percentage of total assets out of stockholders' equity (*Table 5*). Marriott's retained earnings increased from 2016 through 2019 and then decreased from 2019 to 2020. Marriott's retained earnings are shown in *Figure 29*. From 2017 to 2018, the 24% increase in retained earnings was a result of higher net income and the adoption of ASU 2016-01 and ASU 2016-16. Retained earnings increased at a slower rate of 7.4% from 2018 to 2019. Retained earnings decreased from $9,644 in 2019 to $9,206 in 2020. The 121% decrease in net income was the primary cause of the decline in retained earnings. Lower dividends paid out partially offset the decrease in retained earnings. Marriott paid dividends of $156 million in 2020, compared to $612 million in 2019.
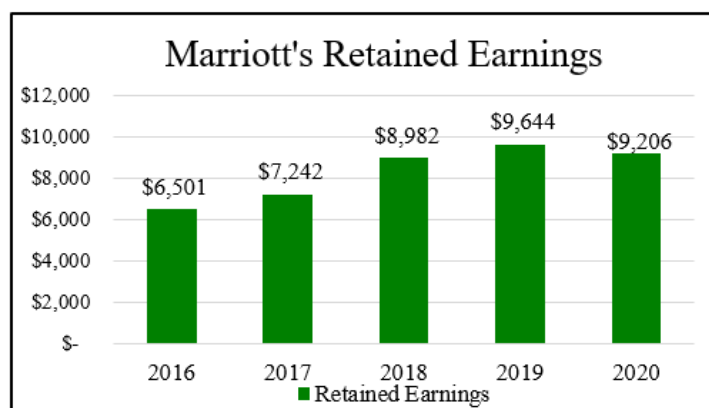
Figure 29 Retained Earnings
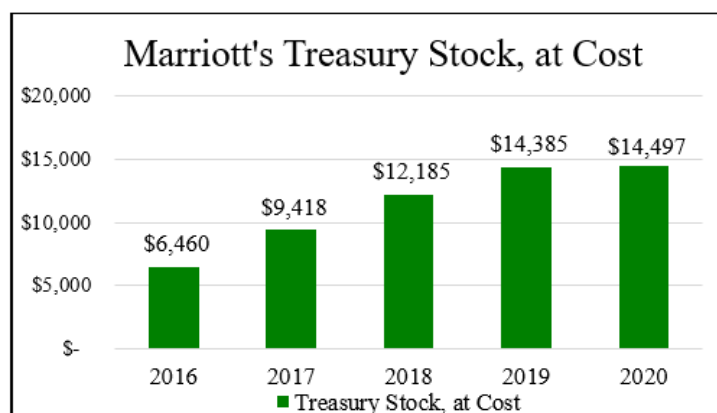
Figure 30 Treasury Stock, at Cost

Treasury Stock, at Cost

Over the five-year time frame, Marriott's Treasury stock has grown from 26.8% as a percentage of total assets in 2016 to 58.7% in 2020. Marriott purchases Treasury stock under an ongoing share repurchase program in order to return value to shareholders. Treasury stock increased 45.8% from 2016 to 2017, due to Marriott repurchasing 29.2 million shares of common stock for $3,025 million in 2017 (MAR AR 2019, p. 59). From 2017 to 2018, Treasury stock increased 29.4%, resulting from Marriott's repurchase of 21.5 million shares of common stock at a total of $2,809 million (MAR AR 2019, p. 59). The 18.1% increase of Treasury stock from 2018 to 2019 was caused by the repurchase of 17.3 million shares of common stock for $2,260 million (MAR AR 2019, p. 59). From 2019 to 2020, Treasury stock increased 7.8%, due to Marriott repurchasing 1 million shares for $150 million (MAR 10K 2020, p. 50). The increase in Treasury stock each year was partially offset by stock

issuances for share-based compensation plans. *Figure 30* shows Marriott's Treasury stock and its changes.

Statement of Cash Flows

As shown in *Table 6*, Marriott's cash flows for 2018 through 2020 have a plus (operating activities), minus (investing activities), minus (financing activities) pattern. The pattern yields a general explanation that Marriott uses cash provided by operating activities to make debt payments, to pay dividends, and to purchase fixed assets and treasury stock. Cash provided by operating activities and cash used in financing activities have decreased over the three-year time frame. Cash used in investing activities increased from 2018 to 2019 and decreased from 2019 to 2020.

	2018	2019	2020
Operating Activities	2,357	1,685	1,639
Investing Activities	(52)	(284)	35
Financing Activities	(2,374)	(1,508)	(1,033)

Table 6 Cash Flows

Inflows

The two largest account percentages of Marriott's inflows are the issuance of long-term debt and net cash provided by operating activities. Marriott's accounts and their percent of total inflows can be seen in *Table 7*. These accounts made up 95.1% of inflows in 2020. Dispositions decreased as a percentage of inflows in 2020 as a result of Marriott selling only one U.S. & Canadian property, as compared to the sale of two properties in 2019 and the sale of six properties in 2018.

	2018	2019	2020
Issuance of Long-Term Debt	36.3%	31.1%	65.1%
Net Cash Provided by Operating Activities	52.0%	37.6%	30.0%
Dispositions	10.6%	8.8%	4.8%
Other	1.2%	1.3%	0.1%
Commercial Paper/Credit Facility, Net	0.0%	21.2%	0.0%
Total Inflows	100%	100%	100%

Table 7 Inflows

Net Cash Provided by Operating Activities

Net cash provided by operating activities was the second largest cash inflow for Marriott in 2020. It has decreased over the previous three years from 52% of inflows in 2018 to 30% of inflows in 2020. From 2018 to 2019, net

cash provided by operating activities decreased 28.5%. The main contributors to the decrease were lower net income, which declined from $1,907 million in 2018 to $1,273 million in 2019, and working capital changes (AR 2019, p. 42). From 2019 to 2020, net cash provided by operating activities decreased 2.7%. This was primarily due to the net loss that was recorded in 2020 as a result of COVID-19, partially offset by lower cash used for income taxes, cash inflows from Marriott's loyalty program, and a working capital changes related cash benefit (MAR 10K 2020, p. 35).

Outflows

Marriott's accounts and their related percentages of total outflows are shown in *Table 8*. Marriott's commercial paper / credit facility net and repayment of long-term debt account for 86.5% of total outflows in 2020. Dividends paid decreased 10.1%, and purchase of Treasury stock declined 46.1% as a percentage of total outflows from 2019 to 2020. The smallest percentage of total outflows in 2020 was from capital and technology expenditures. The decrease in capital and technology expenditures from 14.2% in 2019 to 2.8% in 2020 was the result of lower spending on company-operated properties and additional systems across the world. The 2019 acquisition of Elegant also was a contributor to the decrease in capital and technology expenditures (MAR 10K 2020, p. 35).

	2018	2019	2020
Commercial Paper / Credit Facility Net	2.8%	0.0%	47.4%
Repayment of Long-Term Debt	8.6%	18.2%	39.1%
Dividends Paid	11.8%	13.3%	3.2%
Purchase of Treasury Stock	61.9%	49.2%	3.1%
Capital and Technology Expenditures	12.1%	14.2%	2.8%
Other	2.8%	5.1%	4.3%
Total Outflows	100%	100%	100%

Table 8 Outflows

Commercial Paper/ Credit Facility, Net

For 2019, commercial paper / credit facility, net outflows were $129 million. In 2019, inflows from commercial paper / credit facility, net were $951 million, mainly due to higher outstanding commercial paper borrowings (AR 2019, p. 38). Repayments on commercial paper / credit facility made up the largest outflow for Marriott in 2020, totaling to $2.29 billion in 2020. Marriott's credit facility allows the company to borrow up to $4.5 billion for corporate needs (MAR 10K 2020, p. 33). Marriott borrowed $4.5 billion and repaid $3.6 billion under the credit facility,

leaving $0.9 billion in total outstanding borrowings (MAR 10K 2020, p. 33).

Marriott's commercial paper outstanding balance was $3,197 million at year-end 2019. In 2020, Marriott did not issue any commercial paper as a result of COVID-19's impact on its credit rating (MAR 10K 2020, p. 34). This resulted in the change in commercial paper / credit facility, net between 2019 and 2020. Due to not issuing commercial paper, Marriott had to depend more heavily on credit facility borrowings and senior note issuances (MAR 10K 2020, p. 34). Marriott's inflows and outflows related to its commercial paper / credit facility, net can be seen in *Table 9*.

	2018	2019	2020
Commercial Paper / Credit Facility, Net	$(129)	$951	$(2,290)

Table 9 Commercial Paper / Credit Facility, Net

Debt Ratio

The debt ratio for Marriott increased from 75.2% in 2018 to 80% in 2019. The debt ratio for Marriott is shown in *Figure 31*. This was a result of total liabilities increasing 12.6% as total assets increased 5.7%. Total liabilities increased primarily due to increases in long-term debt, operating lease liabilities, and accrued expenses and other. Total assets increased mainly due to increased assets held for sale, intangible assets, and operating lease assets.

The decrease in debt ratio from 80% in 2019 to 73.8% from 2019 to 2020 was due to total liabilities declining 9.1% and total assets declining 1.4%. Total liabilities were lower because of decreases in accrued payroll and benefits, long-term debt, and deferred tax liabilities.
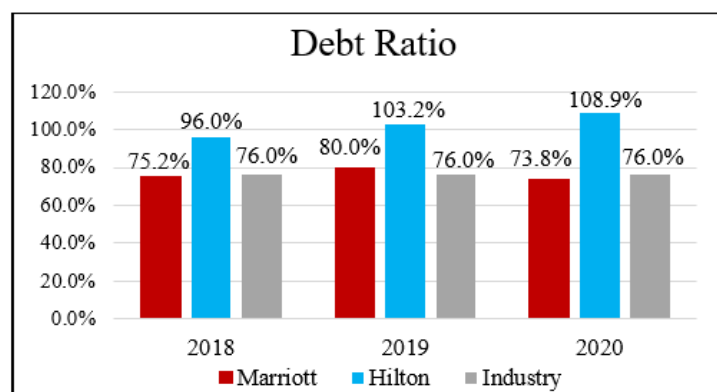
Figure 31 Debt Ratio

Times Interest Earned

Marriott's times interest earned decreased from 6.96 in 2018 to 4.57 in 2019, then to 0.97 in 2020. Times interest earned for both companies can be seen in *Figure 32*. From 2018 to 2019, the decrease in times interest earned was a

result of a 24% decrease in operating profit and a 15.9% increase in interest expense. The decrease in operating profit resulted from higher total costs and expenses, and the increase in interest expense resulted from higher interest on senior note issuances.
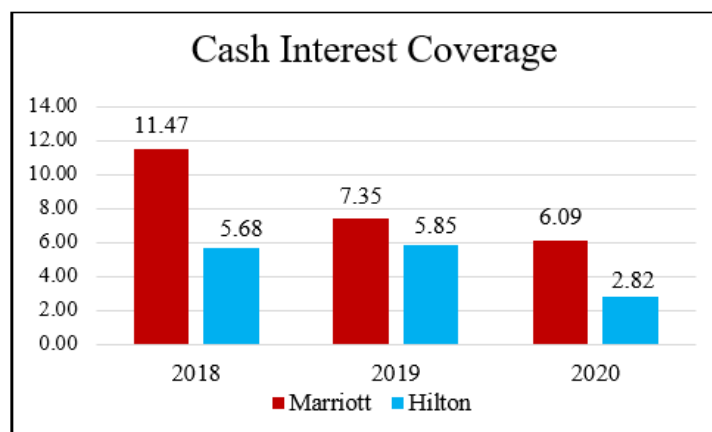
Figure 33 Cash Interest Coverage

The times interest earned decrease from 2019 to 2020 was due to a 95.3% decrease in operating profit and a 12.9% increase in interest expense. Operating income mainly declined due to COVID-19's impact on revenue. Interest expense increased due to higher interest rates on senior note issuances. Marriott's times interest earned was higher than Hilton's times interest earned ratio for all three years. This shows that Marriott, as compared to Hilton, has more ability to cover its annual interest expenses with operating income.
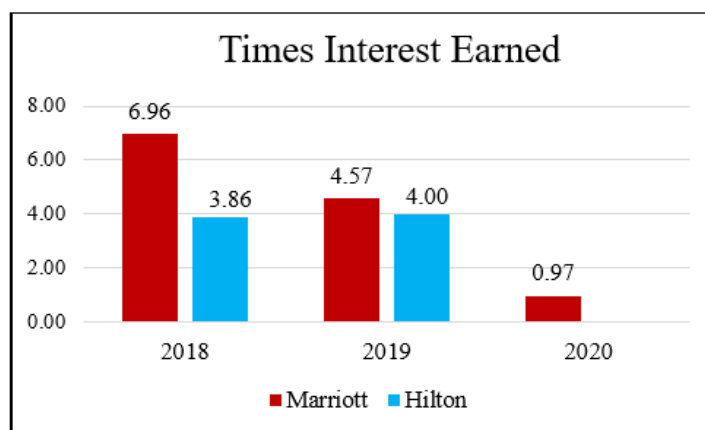
Figure 32 Times Interest Earned

Cash Interest Coverage

Cash interest coverage for Marriott decreased from 2018 to 2020 (*Figure 33*). The decrease from 11.47 in 2018 to 7.35 in 2019 was a result of cash flow from operations decreasing 28.5% and interest paid increasing 20%. Cash interest coverage decreased from 7.35 in 2019 to 6.09 in

2020, due to taxes paid decreasing 47%, while interest paid increased 8.3%. The decrease in taxes was due to lower net income for 2020. The tax benefit in 2020 also contributed to the decline in taxes paid. For all three years, cash interest coverage was higher for Marriott than for Hilton. This shows that compared to Hilton, Marriott can make more payments on its interest with its cash flow from operations before interest and taxes. The cash interest coverage for Marriott and Hilton for 2018 through 2020 is exhibited in *Figure 33*.

Dividends Paid

The payment of dividends is one of Marriott's larger cash outflows (*Table 7*). Dividends paid decreased 74.5% from $612 million in 2019 to $156 million in 2020. In 2019, Marriott paid cash dividends totaling $1.85 per share for the year. Marriott only paid a $0.48-per-share dividend in 2020 and decided to suspend further dividend payments until business conditions improved (MAR 10K 2020 p.35). Under its credit facility, Marriott is not allowed to pay out further dividends until the end of the covenant waiver period (MAR 10K 2020, p.35).

Dividend Payout

Marriott's dividend payout increased 19.7% from 2018 to 2019. Dividend payout for Marriott and Hilton is shown in *Figure 34*. The increase in dividend payout for 2019 was due to an increase of dividends paid per share from $1.56 in 2018 to $1.85 in 2019. Also, earnings per share declined 29.7%. Dividend payout for Marriott was not calculated for 2020 because the company had a net loss. Earnings per share decreased to -$0.82 in 2020. Marriott outperformed Hilton in dividend payout for 2018 and 2019. Hilton's dividend payout decreased over the time span and was not calculated for 2020, due to it also having a net loss. Like Marriott, Hilton decided to suspend further dividend payments due to the impacts of COVID-19 (HLT 10K 2020, p. 41).
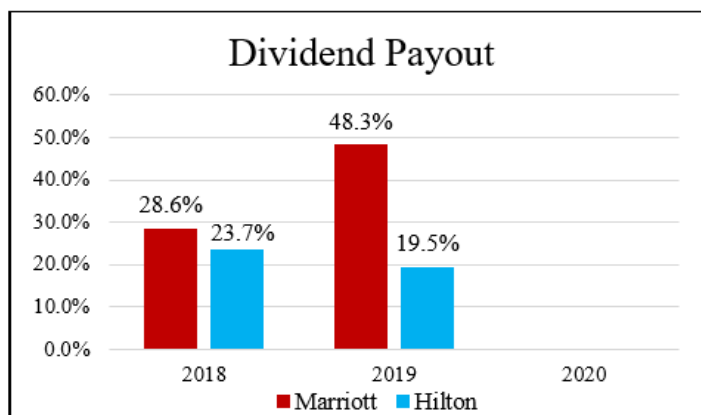
Figure 34 Dividend Payout

Dividend Yield

Dividend yield for Marriott has decreased from 2018 through 2020 (*Figure 35*). The 2018 to 2019 decline was due to an increase in market price. Marriott's dividend yield declined to .36% in 2020. This was primarily due to the decline in dividends paid per share. Hilton's dividend yield declined from 2018 to 202, due to the same factors that contributed to Marriott's decline for the three years. Marriott outperformed Hilton in all three years, as seen in *Figure 35*.
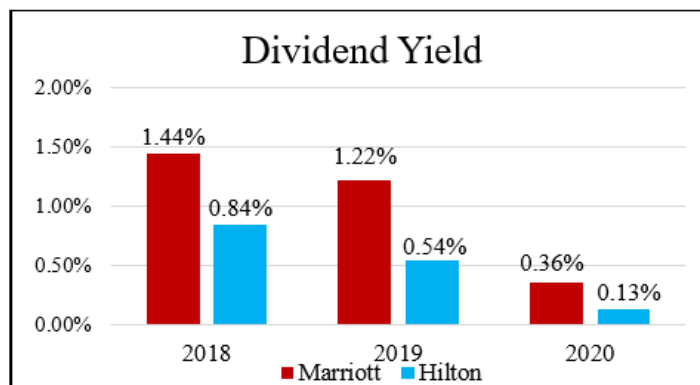
Figure 35 Dividend Yield

Cash Return on Assets

Marriott's cash return on assets decreased from 9.9% in 2018 to 6.7% in 2019, and to 6.6% in 2020 (*Figure 36*). The decrease from 2018 to 2019 was due to cash flow from operations declining 28.5% and total assets increasing 5.7%. The decline in cash flow from operations from 2018 to 2019 resulted primarily from lower net income and changes in working capital (AR 2019, p.42).

Hilton's cash return on assets decreased from 2019 to 2020 as a result of a 48.8% decrease in cash flow from operations and a 12% increase in total assets. For 2020, Marriott had more cash-generating abilities with its assets than Hilton had. The changes in Marriott's and Hilton's cash return on assets for 2018 through 2020 are shown in *Figure 36*.
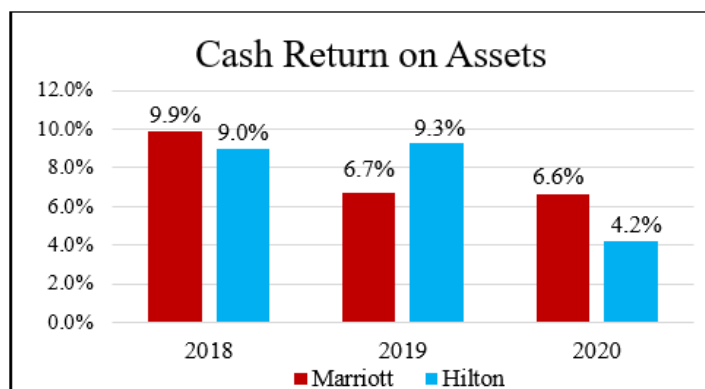
Figure 36 Cash Return on Assets

Cash Flow Liquidity

Marriott's cash flow liquidity decreased from 0.42 in 2018 to 0.29 in 2019. The cash flow liquidity for Marriott can be seen in *Figure 37*. Cash decreased 28.8%, and cash flow from operations decreased 28.5%, while current liabilities increased 3.7% from 2018 to 2019. Cash flow liquidity for Marriott then increased to 0.44 in 2020. This was caused by an increase of 289.8% in cash and a decrease of 13.9% in current liabilities from 2019 to 2020. Hilton's cash flow liquidity ratio is higher than Marriott's for 2018 through 2020. This shows that compared to Hilton, Marriott has less ability to pay off current liabilities with its most liquid assets.

Hilton's cash flow liquidity increased from 0.67 in 2019 to 1.61 in 2020 (*Figure 37*). Hilton's cash was the main driver, due to it increasing 498% from 2019 to 2020. The increase in cash was mainly due to a 108.6% increase in borrowings, 564.8% increase in accounts receivable, 419.6% decrease in repurchases of common stock, and a 518.2% decrease in accounts payable (HLT 10K 2020 p. 81).
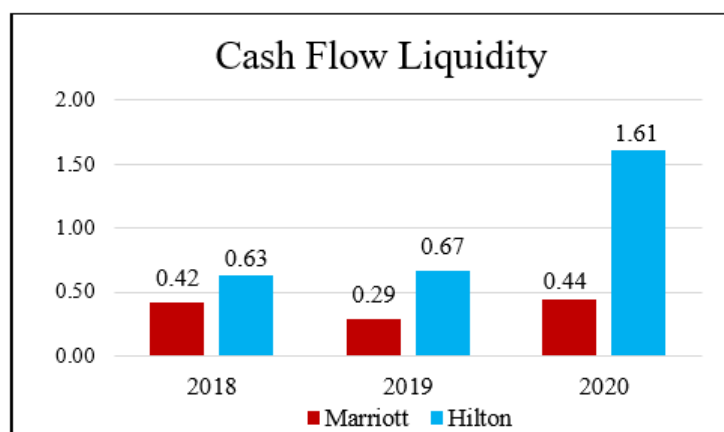
Figure 37 Cash Flow Liquidity
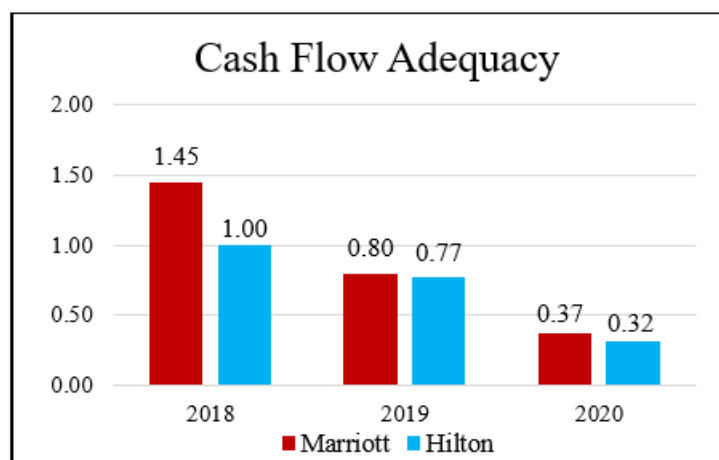
Figure 38 Cash Flow Adequacy

Cash Flow Adequacy

The cash flow adequacy ratio for Marriott decreased from 1.45 in 2018 to 0.8 in 2019, and then to 0.37 in 2020. The decreases in cash flow adequacy for Marriott are shown in *Figure 38*. From 2018 to 2019, cash flow adequacy declined due to cash flow from operations decreasing at 28.5%, while debt repayments increased at a greater rate of 58.7%. Both capital expenditures and dividends paid also increased in 2019. The decrease in cash flow from operations resulted primarily from lower net income and an increase in depreciation and other costs and expenses. Cash flow adequacy decreased from 2019 to 2020, due to debt repayments increasing 400.2%. Repayments included $1,203 million for senior notes, and the remainder was related to other debt instruments. Marriott was able to cover annual commitments greater than Hilton for all three years. This was primarily due to Hilton having lower cash flow from operations as compared to Marriott.

Stock Performance

Using *Yahoo Finance*, stock performance for Marriott will be compared to Hilton for the previous five years. Marriott is traded on NASDAQ, and Hilton is traded on the NYSE. The stock performance for both companies is displayed in *Figure 39*.

Price to Earnings

The price to earnings for Marriott increased from 19.92 in 2018 to 39.54 in 2019 (*Figure 40*). The increase resulted from Marriott's market price increasing 39.5%, from $108.56 in 2018 to $151.43 in 2019. In addition, earnings per share decreased 29.7% in the same period. Hilton's price to earnings increased 27.3% from 2018 to 2019, resulting from an increase in market price. Marriott's and Hilton's price to earnings for 2020 were not graphed, due to the calculations being negative as a result of negative net income. Marriott's market price was higher than Hilton's for all three years. The
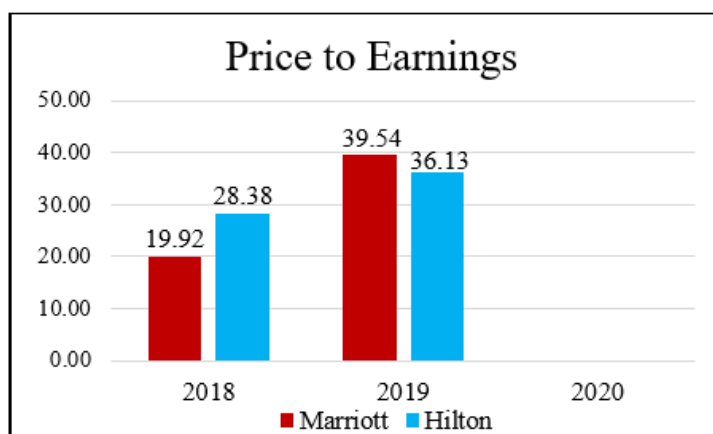
Figure 40 Price to Earnings

Figure 39 Marriott vs. Hilton Stock Performance

changes in the price to earnings ratio for Marriott and Hilton are shown in *Figure 40.*

Analyst Opinions

According to *Yahoo Finance,* the recommendation trends for Marriott International consist of 1 Underperform, 11 Holds, 8 Buys, and 5 Strong Buys. Overall, Marriott's recommendation rating for April 20201 falls between a Hold and a Buy ("Marriott International (MAR)", 2021). Analysts' average estimate for earnings per share in 2021 is $1.95 and for 2022, $4.57 (Marriott International (MAR)", 2021). The changes over time in analyst opinions for Marriott are displayed in Figure *41.*
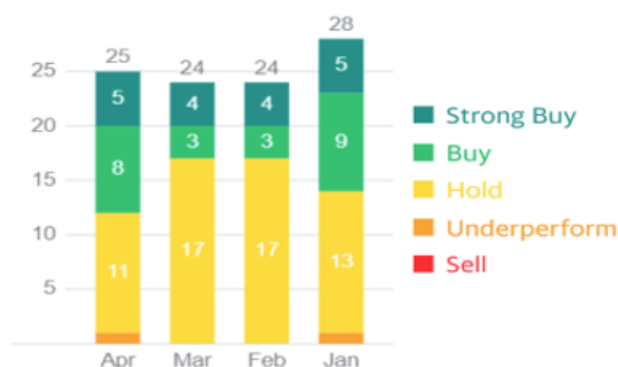
Figure 41 Analyst Opinions for Marriott

Recent Developments

On February 23, 2021, Marriott's Board of Directors announced the appointment of Anthony Capuano as the new CEO of the company and Stephanie Linnartz as the new President of the company (Kim, 2021). Capuano and Linnartz were appointed following the unexpected death of CEO and President Arne Sorenson on February 15, 2021 (Kim, 2021).

Conclusion

Marriott International was greatly impacted by the outbreak of the COVID-19 virus and is still suffering from its ongoing effects. Revenue was negatively affected by COVID-19 factors, including temporary hotel closures, lower hotel demand, and lower travel. From 2019 to 2020, revenue decreased 49.6%. As a result, Marriott recorded a net loss of $267 million for 2020, compared to net income in the previous four years. Operating profit margin and net profit margin for Marriott, as well as for Hilton, declined for 2020.

Compared to prior years, Marriott has increased its debt significantly. Under the credit facility, Marriott borrowed the maximum amount of $4.5 billion allowed for corporate needs. In 2020, the company issued $3.6 billion in senior notes, but did not issue commercial paper, as a result of downgraded credit ratings. Marriott repaid $1,887 million of long-term debt, including $1,203 for senior notes.

Net cash provided by operating activities decreased 2.7% from 2019 to 2020. Marriott uses cash to pay off debt, pay dividends, and purchase treasury stock. In 2020, Marriott decided to suspend dividend payments and stock repurchases until business conditions improved. Earnings per share declined 121.4% as a result of the net loss recorded for 2020.

Appendix available upon request by contacting the Faculty Mentor

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Advancing Conflict Transformation Concept Proposal

Kyle Hildebrand

Faculty Mentor: Linda H. McMullen, PhD; David Oki Ahearn, PhD, MDiv; Kim Barber Knoll, MFA, AEA; Bobby Jo Otto, PhD
Business and Nonprofit Studies Department/Nonprofit Leadership Program

Abstract

This concept proposal details plans for a new social enterprise for conflict transformation. The nonprofit will be called ACT: Advancing Conflict Transformation. Its vision is to create a generation of conflict transformers. This proposal describes the organization, its response to negative school environments, its curriculum methods, potential funding, and how it will be assessed. Under the direction of the executive director, two part-time employees will run after-school programs and workshops integrating traditional and theatrical techniques for conflict transformation education. Students will be able to use empathy and active listening to face conflict in a way that results in enhanced relationships. This process will also improve the Glynn County [Georgia] school system and the lives of students beyond the program.

Executive Summary

Unhealthy social environments are threatening the effective development of Glynn County school system students. ACT: Advancing Conflict Transformation seeks to solve this problem by giving students the tools to become conflict transformers. Each student requires different sets of techniques in order to take on conflict and use it to build relationships and solve problems. Empathy, active listening, and mindfulness are all important skills that ACT is uniquely able to impart to the youth in the area. Through after-school programming and community workshops, students will participate in an innovative process based on original research.

Funding for this project will come from several sources, including foundational support, grants, donors, and program fees. After starting up this year, ACT will be self-sustaining for the foreseeable future. Longevity will be assured by continuous assessment and improvement. ACT is committed to serving its community, and the community has responded with the intentions to form lasting partnerships. Glynn County believes in the vision and mission, and ACT believes in serving the youth of this community to help enhance it over the years.

ACT will be led by Kyle Hildebrand. He is a graduate of LaGrange College and holds degrees in Musical Theatre, Nonprofit Leadership, and Sociology (minor). This project stems from the intersection of these programs. It is a functional manifestation of years of study, research, and passion.

Vision and Mission

ACT: Advancing Conflict Transformation works to create a generation of conflict transformers. Our mission is to enhance Glynn County public school students' ability to transform conflict through teaching skills using innovative techniques, creating a cooperative environment, and investing time in student progress. This mission supports our vision by breaking down a lofty goal into achievable and measurable objectives. Conflict transformation differs from managing conflict in that it encourages dialogue and creates or strengthens relationships. *Managing conflict* is described by Schrock-Shenk and Ressler (1999) in *Making Peace with Conflict* as putting a lid on the problem (p. 35). True conflict transformation "seeks to connect with the hearts of the individuals involved in conflict, enabling them to look at themselves and each other in a new way" (Kraybill, 2001, p. 43). ACT focuses on instilling transformative tendencies in its beneficiaries to achieve its mission and vision in Glynn County, Georgia.

Discussion of Problem

As Wilburn and Bates point out in their article "Conflict Resolution in America's Schools," violence is a problem in American schools. Left unattended, this problem only festers and grows. Unfortunately, Glynn County K-12 students do not receive systematic training in conflict transformation. This deficiency creates an environment that does not encourage students to work cooperatively, form healthy relationships, or perform to the best of their abilities. Consequently, according to a middle school administrator in Glynn County, there is "a negative impact on individual

productivity and achievement" (Personal communication, April 3, 2021).

A quick search on poor school environments in America immediately shows just how many ways productivity and achievement are threatened. Violence extends beyond physical attacks. The number of articles on fat-shaming, racism, homophobia, hair harassment, food allergy bullying, and so many more are overwhelming. Bullying has always been pervasive in schools, but advances in technology have created new avenues for adolescents to engage with each other—and not always for the better. Essentially, the problem is a lack of a positive school environment, and "a poor school climate can act to encourage aggressive behaviors among youth…" (Siller, Edwards, and Banyard, 2021, pg. 1).

Grades and social relationships are at stake when students are exposed to a negative environment with no techniques to handle their conflicts. In order to improve this environment, some schools are implementing restorative justice programs. In Ortega, Lyubansky, Nettles, and Espelage's 2016 study on restorative justice, they found that students who participated experienced better relationships with students with whom they previously had experienced conflicts. They also found that academic performance improved for these students. Teachers commented, "Students were more focused on academics, had more confidence and were better behaved" (Ortega et al., 2016, p. 465). This corroborates previous research, which found "lower rates of all forms of interpersonal violence victimization and perpetration…" when a school had a positive environment (Siller, Edwards, & Banyard, 2021, pg. 6).

Another aspect of an unhealthy school environment is competition between students. According to Johnson and Johnson (1995), "competitors tend to avoid communicating with each other, misperceive each other's position and motivations, be suspicious of each other, deny the legitimacy of others' needs and feelings, and see the situation only from their own perspective" (p. 420). This leads to destructive rather than transformative conflict. The nature of the American school system is already extremely competitive. Top-ranked students are afforded opportunities that others are not. Certain classes are open only to those chosen as the most academically gifted. While some of this competition is healthy, it instills a competitive spirit in many students. When students adopt competitiveness as part of their identity, they are susceptible to destructive conflicts (Johnson & Johnson 1995). ACT's programs encourage cooperation and working through exercises alone and with others.

While restorative justice supports conflict transformation education as a way to improve the lives of students, it is a reactive measure. It *intervenes*, but it *does not prevent*. Prevention techniques paired with a system such as restorative justice would provide students, teachers, parents, and others with the peace of mind that schools will provide academic and social education. True conflict transformation programming would increase the potential of a nurturing environment for students' lives and minds.

Discussion of Framework and Organizational Solution

The conflict transformation program that ACT uses is a unique combination of traditional and theatrical techniques that has been shown to be effective in a workshop setting. In my previous research, I found that participants who would have simply ignored conflict before the workshop were prepared to face a conflict head on after the workshop (Hildebrand 2021). In addition, the participants had an increased ability to use empathy and active listening skills in their everyday lives, which can be used to prevent a conflict altogether. This is consistent with Bilgin's (2008) study in elementary schools, which found that students with similar training developed empathy and listening skills that their untrained peers did not. Stevahn, Johnson, Johnson, Green, and Laginski (1997) saw similar results in high school students.

The initial structure of ACT will consist of an executive director and two part-time staff members. The staff will be primarily responsible for leading workshops and lessons in schools. The executive director will do this as well, but he or she will also be a full-time employee who is responsible for day-to-day operations. Part-time staff will report directly to the executive director. In turn, the executive director will report to a board of directors. The board will assist the executive director with organizational stewardship and financial support. Figure 1 shows this structure. While this structure lends itself to a top-down system, active communication and feedback among all parts of the organization are welcomed and encouraged. ACT's focus on innovative processes extends beyond its workshops. The vision is to create a generation of conflict transformers; that vision drives ACT's operations. If a staff member has a new idea, then they have the power to present their ideas to the executive director, who will include this input in reports to the board. The figure above shows a potential fourth classification of involvement: (college) student interns.

Figure 1: Organizational Structure
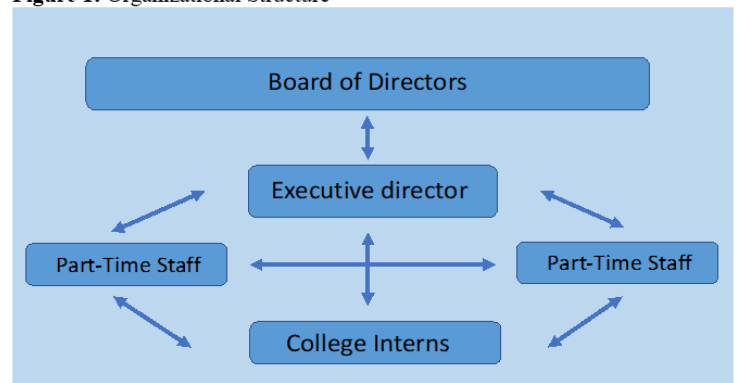
As ACT is able to scale in size, the organization wants to include even more youth in its design. College juniors and seniors will be able to earn a stipend by spending their time learning to teach ACT's curriculum in a workshop setting, gaining valuable knowledge, and contributing to our mission. In addition, the perspectives of a younger group will help ACT increase its effectiveness, due to a diversity of input.

As an organization, ACT will upset the status quo in scholastic environments. It will give students new tools for transformation. In turn, this will change how students interact at school and in their daily lives. To do this, ACT will have two main programs for younger and older youth: after-school for elementary and workshops for middle and high school. These will stem from key community partnerships. ACT will partner with the Glynn County public school system for elementary after-school programs, and local organizations that cater to youth will be the main partner for middle and high school students.

The programs for both will be similar. They will consist of traditional empathy and active listening training as well as theatrical techniques such as improvisation, A/B scenes, and Uta Hagen's score (See Appendix[i]). Each of these exercises emphasizes skills that are necessary for conflict transformation. Improvisations can be adapted for every grade level and many different situations. The principal exercise will be "Yes, and." This exercise is detailed by Ingalls (2018) as a way to teach "listening and responding" (pg. 43). One person begins a story with a sentence, and each person after adds on. This encourages listening skills, which are vital for transformation.

A/B scenes will be used for more in-depth listening skills and non-verbal empathic responses. Much of the traditional empathy training is done without a focus on body language and tone, but they are essential to how a message is received. These scenes consist of lines that do not necessarily have any meaning behind them, but once students are given a situation, the lines can be conveyed with the tone and body language that give them a purpose.

The most important part of this unique curriculum is Uta Hagen's score. The score consists of several questions that require one to consider who they are (Hagen 1973). Traditionally, this instrument is used by actors as they prepare for a role, but they may be used to increase individuals' awareness of how they perceive and respond to conflict. In a workshop setting, the questions will be used to spark discussion about self-awareness and how it relates to effective conflict transformation. In my research, this was the most effective part of the workshop (Hildebrand 2021).

One common theme found throughout all of these theatrical techniques is mindfulness. Thich Nhat Hanh, a Buddhist monk, is one of the foremost writers on the subject of mindfulness. Hanh (1975) writes, "We must be conscious of every breath, each movement, every thought and feeling, everything that has any relation to ourselves" (p. 8). This deep awareness is central to transforming conflict. Without being aware of oneself, a person cannot be completely available to another. Tekel and Erus (2020) studied mindfulness in the context of conflict. Their findings indicate that a deeper level of mindfulness led to higher levels of conflict transformation.

These three techniques are just the basis of an innovative curriculum. Staff will be trained extensively in these and other techniques. They will also be encouraged to use their own backgrounds to develop conflict transformation education exercises. As an organization, ACT responds to the problems discussed above by continuously growing and providing students with the most diverse set of tools to address conflict effectively. Students will be able to go beyond putting a lid on an issue. They will be prepared to intervene before conflicts escalate and rebuild relationships where they are damaged.

Discussion of Funding

Funding for ACT will consist of a diverse stream of revenue. It is important to rely on multiple sources of income, and ACT plans to aggressively apply for grant and foundational support, collect program fees, and charge for workshops provided to non-educational institutions. Table 1 breaks down anticipated revenue from various sources after receiving startup funds from Georgia Pacific. Donors will account for a small portion of income: 19%. The dollar amount is comparable to similar-sized arts organizations in the Glynn County area. Given the unique socio-economic makeup of the area, there is much support for fine art as well as accessible art. The median household income ranges from below $30,000 in the City of Brunswick to over $80,000 on St. Simons Island (Median household income, 2019). Census reports do not include information for Sea Island, which is a large market for donors as well as program services. These figures show opportunities for micro to large donations in an area that has historically supported such organizations as Golden Isles Arts and Humanities, Glynn Visual Arts, and many others.

Table 1: Sources of Annual Revenue for ACT	
Donors	15,000
Grants and Foundation Support	25,000
Class Fees	4,500
Workshop Fees	36,000
Total	80,500

In addition to soliciting individual donations, ACT will apply for any grant funds that align with our mission. The executive director will be responsible for writing and submitting grants, and part-time instructors will assist when necessary. All staff will be responsible for keeping records from programs that will assist in the grant writing process.

ACT anticipates at least $25,000 of grant money during the first year. The programs and workshops offered by this organization are unique and find themselves at important intersections of art, education, and underserved communities. Key groups that will be considered for funding are the Community Fund of Coastal Georgia (local), Georgia Council for the Arts (state), and the National Endowment for the Arts (federal). Each has a history of funding arts organizations, especially when they pursue educational and social missions.

Program fees will provide additional support for ACT's mission. The classroom fees will be kept as low as possible, and workshops for the public will also be offered at an affordable rate. Fees for after-school programing will account for $4,500 in revenue, assuming that ACT will reach at minimum 500 students in its first year with a year-long program fee of $15 per child. It should be noted that a child who cannot pay will not be excluded from the program, but this reasonable contribution will contribute towards an entire year of impactful programming.

Workshops will be prioritized for organizations that cater to middle and high school-aged students. At the beginning of the program, one six-hour, three two-hour, or six one-hour workshops will cost $1,500. Community organizations such as group homes, churches, and youth centers are all interested in this service. After allowing Glynn community organizations an opportunity to take advantage of the workshops, other organizations and businesses will be encouraged to take part. Local businesses and nonprofits see the benefit of having a team of conflict transformers in the workplace, and ACT anticipates providing at least 24 workshops in the first year, resulting in $36,000 in revenue. Workshop fees will provide the bulk of funding. This ensures sustainability because the organization will be actively generating revenue as it accepts donation and foundation support. Figure 2 shows sources of revenue as a percentage of total revenues.

Figure 2
Donor Categories as a Percentage of Total Revenue

- Donors
- Grants and Foundation Support
- Class Fees
- Workshop Fees
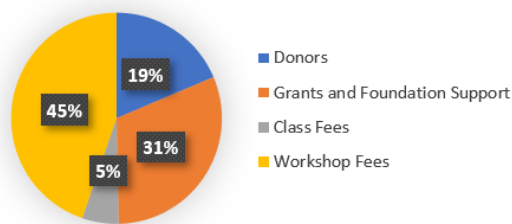
Relying on a diverse stream of revenues will help ACT remain sustainable each year. Combining contributions with an in-house revenue generator also ensures a safety net, should one stream become interrupted. Sustainability is very important for this organization, as the work must be observed longitudinally to be able to contribute to research in an under-studied field.

ACT is asking Georgia Pacific for a total of $76,039 to get the project started. This will cover several key areas: operating costs for the programs, training for staff, laptops for staff, and advertising. For general operating support, including salaries for the executive director and two part-time staff members, ACT needs $74,473. The programs will not be able to launch without an influx of cash for salaries. Laptops are necessary for the staff to stay connected and separate work from personal equipment. To pay for three laptops, ACT is requesting $750. These will last for several years and will not require additional funds after purchasing until they are replaced. Finally, advertising is necessary for any new venture to get noticed. Advertisements will be placed in prominent Glynn area publications: *The Brunswick News* and *Golden Isles Magazine.* For $1,716, ACT can place a six-month ad in the newspaper and three months in the magazine.

Assessment

To assess the effectiveness of ACT's school programs, a yearly survey will be administered to teachers, administration, after-school program leaders, parents, and students. In addition to a longitudinal study through surveys, focus groups comprised of the above will be used to gauge community feedback after the first year of programming. Mixed methods such as these will provide quantitative statistics as well as qualitative responses to fill in the story. Other measures, such as suspension rates, standardized test pass rates, and disciplinary actions, will be pulled periodically and examined by the executive director. Feedback from participants and other interested parties will be filed as it is received and used to assess how the program is performing. Assessing workshop effectiveness will be achieved by soliciting feedback from the organizations that employ ACT's service, in addition to the surveys and other methods. Interviews with students and organization officials may be performed periodically to assess program effectiveness.

Conclusion

Transforming conflict is not merely finding a way to end a conflict. It is building lasting relationships through intention. It requires effort, but it can change a community and lives forever. ACT: Advancing Conflict Transformation seeks to create a generation of conflict transformers. By offering a unique curriculum, ACT intervenes in ways others cannot. Every Glynn County student should have proper tools to transform conflict. An educational environment is a social institution that offers the perfect setting for conflict transformation education.

Short-term effects of this program will be a safer, more effective school system. Long term, students will have irreplaceable skills that they could not attain otherwise. Systemic change is possible when the community desires it. Glynn County, especially now, needs a way to embrace interpersonal conflicts in a healthy way. ACT is the solution.

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[i] This paper includes an Appendix, which can be requested by contacting the Faculty Mentor.

Theodore Roosevelt's Role in the Evolution of American Football

Trenton Cook

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There are two sides to every story, and football is no different. Like anything else in life, football has its controversies. Its supporters claim that it is a sport that teaches life lessons, discipline, and good sportsmanship, and that it builds character. Its opponents assert that it is a dangerous game with implications that can result in severe injury and even death. In the late 19th century, when intercollegiate football began, the game was played with unnecessary roughness, vigor, and aggression that led to severe injuries. Many, including Theodore Roosevelt, liked the game of football despite its flaws. The future president loved the sport and believed that the sport needed to be in America. However, as the game evolved, football became a death trap, and many pushed for the termination of the sport. Roosevelt, still believing in the virtues of the game, fought against the opponents of the sport and for the reformation of the rules of football.

Although Roosevelt loved the game, he did very little to save it. His role throughout the crisis of football was minimal. Roosevelt stood up to the opponents of football but did nothing in helping the game become safer to play. Even though some historians say that Roosevelt did play a role in saving football, Roosevelt did not help save football, due to his 1905 intervention being a failure, and due to his not having a role in the 1906 and 1910 interventions that helped reform the rules of the game.

The first game of football ever played occurred on November 6, 1869, in New Brunswick, New Jersey. The two competing teams were the College of Rutgers vs. College of New Jersey, officially renamed Princeton in 1896. The College of Rutgers won the first official football game, but the rules of the game were completely different from what we see today. This game played was under a modification of the London Football Association rules. With twenty- five men on each side, no running with the ball allowed, and the only advancement of the ball could come by the foot, head, or shoulder, these two teams played a game of soccer. These soccer rules stayed in the game for a couple of years and then transitioned to rugby rules. The rugby rules were around for only a couple of years. However, they were changed at the annual convention of the Intercollegiate Football Association (IFA) in 1880 with help from an essential figure of the game of football, Walter Camp.

Camp, also known as the father of American football, helped move the game away from its rugby-like play by proposing new sets of rules. Delegates attending the 1880 IFA convention adopted Walter Camp's eleven-player proposal.[1] He also suggested in 1880 to discard the English formation of the scrum from football. The scrum, found in rugby, happens after the player carrying the ball is downed, and the referee resumes play by tossing the ball into a tangle of interlocking players. The two teams begin to push against one another for possession of the ball. To Camp, this rule was not rational and needed to be gone.

Camp introduced many more new aspects of football that are still used today, including the position of the quarterback, the T-formation offense, linemen, fullbacks, and halfbacks. In 1882, he created the concepts of "downs," where if the offense did not advance the ball at least five yards in three plays, then it relinquished possession of the ball to the opposing side.[2] The last of his proposals came in 1885, when he convinced the committee of new scoring procedures. The general structure of the game was now in place.

Within a matter of years, however, the game turned into a "bloodbath." Coaches began to create mass play formations that increased the dangers and brutality of football. Lorin Deland introduced the "flying wedge" in 1892. This play functioned as a gridiron self-destruction weapon forged by human bodies.[3] A group of five more massive players started in motion; then a group of four lighter players started in motion, and eventually, the two groups met at midfield and converged together, forming a "giant wedge" for the ballcarrier to follow toward the goal.[4] The two groups converging explicitly aimed at one man on the opposing line and exerted all their force on him time and time again. "What a grand play!" wrote the *New York Times*; "a half-ton of bone

[1] Des Julie Jardins, *Walter Camp: Football and the Modern Man.* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), 35.
[2] Ibid, 36.
[3] John Sayle Watterson, *College Football: History, Spectacle,*

Controversy (Baltimore: JohnsHopkins University Press, 2006), 12-13.
[4] Ibid.

and muscle coming into collision with a man weighing 160 or 170 pounds." However, the *Times* warned, "A surgeon is called upon to attend the wounded player, and the game continues with renewed brutality."[5]

These mass-momentum plays were responsible for many injuries and deaths before being banned from play at the end of the 1893 football season. While these new momentum plays were a grand play to football enthusiasts, the growing critics of football used these plays as evidence to try to get the game abolished. The abolitionists would have a tough fight ahead of them.

Roosevelt was born on October 27, 1858. He was born into wealth and described as "a pale, scrawny boy with thin legs, a sunken chest, knobby knees, scant sandy hair, protruding teeth, and a speech defect."[6] He also had asthma and could not see very well until he received glasses later in his childhood. Though he suffered from this chronic respiratory disease and was not the best built young man, he did not allow these barriers to stop him from living the strenuous life that he loved to live. Roosevelt sought to personify the heroic virtues found in the soldier, the cowboy, and the prizefighter.

Roosevelt enjoyed what he called the "strenuous" life, which included activities such as boxing, weightlifting, and hunting. He enjoyed being outdoors and doing anything that would get his blood flowing. On April 10, 1899, he gave his famous *The Strenuous Life* speech to the Hamilton Club in Chicago. Roosevelt argued that through hard work, anyone could overcome their difficulties. By working hard and overcoming difficulties, anyone can be successful in America. However, most of Roosevelt's points were referring only to men, not to women. His main points argue that the strenuous life gives men more confidence, makes men better husbands and fathers, and helps overcome the fear of failure and criticism. Roosevelt stated in his speech: "A mere life of ease is not, in the end, a very satisfactory life, and, above all, it is a life which ultimately unfits those who follow it for serious work in the world."[7] Not living a satisfying life was an idea that Roosevelt never had. He was going to live the life that he wanted, no matter what the obstacle in front of him may be.

Roosevelt joined William McKinley on the Republican ticket in the presidential election of 1900. Roosevelt believed that a term as vice president would propel him to the presidency in 1904. Between 1902 and 1904, U.S. newspapers described the forty-four-year-old President of the United States as "strenuous" more than ten thousand times.[8]

He was strenuous in his speeches, his policymaking, and everything else he did throughout his life.

This is why Roosevelt loved the game of football so much. Although he never played football, he enjoyed all the masculine aspects of the game. In a period when there was less of a frontier, the nation's masculine force began to withdraw from active involvement in the world to a more "cloistered life" of ease and sloth. "Mollycoddle" is the word that President Roosevelt would use to describe this type of a man. Any male who rejected Roosevelt's "strenuous life" was, in his opinion, a milksop, a sissy, a pampered weakling, and unprepared to lead in the modern age.[9] President Roosevelt saw this coming true in his nation and did not like it. In football, he saw a game that embodied the "strenuous life" and could stop the physical and moral decline of the nation. Roosevelt insisted that as one of the few rugged activities still available to urban boys, football had to have its place, as the nation's future leadership depended on it.[10]

Roosevelt was an avid watcher of football. He attended many games throughout his life. However, Roosevelt transformed from an avid watcher to an engaged parent when both of his sons decided to try out for their respective institutions' football teams, one at the collegiate level and the other at the high school level. Roosevelt loved their decision and supported them, but as their father, he still worried about their safety.

In the fall of 1905, Theodore Roosevelt Jr., the President's firstborn son, earned a spot on the Harvard College freshman football team. His son's participation led the President to pay much closer attention to the game. On September 16, 1905, fresh from ending the Russo- Japanese war, Roosevelt received a letter. The letter was from Endicott Peabody, an old college friend and founder and headmaster of Groton School for Boys. Both Roosevelt boys, Theodore Jr. and Kermit, studied at the school. Peabody wrote: "The teaching of football at the universities is dishonest. It encourages trickery and cheating and therefore threatens to instill the wrong lessons. You and I believe in the game, and its beneficial effects upon boys and young men when it is carried on fairly."[11] Peabody concluded his letter by urging Roosevelt to spark "a complete revolution" of the game of football. After reading the letter, Roosevelt responded immediately: "I agree with you absolutely."[12]

To begin his revolution of football, Roosevelt hosted a football summit at the White House on October 9, 1905. "Today I see the football men of Harvard, Yale, and

[5] Scott A. McQuilkin and Ronald A. Smith, "The Rise and Fall of the Flying Wedge: Football'sMost Controversial Play," *Journal of Sport History* 20, no. 1 (1993): 59.
[6] Ryan A. Swanson, *The Strenuous Life: Theodore Roosevelt and the Making of the American Athlete* (New York, NY: Diversion Books, 2019), 40.
[7] Theodore Roosevelt, *Letters and Speeches* (Library of America: 154. Library of America.2004), 765.

[8] Swanson, *The Strenuous Life: Theodore Roosevelt and the Making of the American Athlete,* 35.
[9] Jardins, *Walter Camp: Football and the Modern Man,* xi.
[10] Ibid, 180.
[11] John J. Miller, *The Big Scrum: How Teddy Roosevelt Saved Football* (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 2011), 184.
[12] Ibid, 185.

Princeton," Roosevelt wrote to his youngest son, Kermit. The aim, he wrote, was "to try to get them to come to a gentleman's agreement not to have mucker play."[13] The six representatives included Walter Camp and John Owsley of Yale, Bill Reid and Edward Nichols of Harvard, and John Fine and Arthur Hildebrand of Princeton.[14]

Roosevelt began the meeting by stating: "Football is on trial. Because I believe in the game, I want to do all I can to save it. Thus, I have called you all down here to see whether you will not all agree to abide by both the letter and spirit of the rules, for that will help."[15] He then began providing examples of unsportsmanlike conduct that each team had committed. He also discussed cases of coaches urging their players to commit fouls when referees could not see them.[16] The members of Yale and Princeton denied these allegations. According to Bill Reid, head coach at Harvard, "Walter Camp made some considerable talk but was very slippery and did not allow himself to be pinned down to anything."[17] Roosevelt had to leave the meeting to take care of national business. The members from the institutions sat outside on the White House porch and waited for his return.

Upon Roosevelt's return, he issued a mandate to the meeting's attendees. He wanted the men to draw up an agreement to end mucker play and honor the rules that were already in the game. The six men left the White House that afternoon and worked on the agreement on the train ride home. Upon completion, all six men drafted a statement declaring that from now on, they would "carry out in letter and in spirit the rules of the game of football related to roughness, holding and foul play."[18] Walter Camp sent President Roosevelt the statement, anticipating his approval. Roosevelt trusted the leaders of football and happily approved the statement. In his reply to Camp, Roosevelt wrote, "I cannot tell you how pleased I am at the way you have taken hold. Now that the matter is in your hands, I am more than content to abide by whatever you do."[19] Camp released the statement to the press, and the 1905 football season continued.

This attempt failed at reforming the rules and the safety of football. Later in the season, on November 11th, Harvard traveled to Pennsylvania to play the Quakers. The Quakers tried to give their team an advantage by soaking the field with water the day before the game. The Penn players had shoes with oversized cleats that helped them gain traction in the mud. As the game went along, the Harvard players, already upset about the field conditions, became infuriated when the Penn players kept provoking them. The Harvard center, provoked by a Penn player who kept kneeing him persistently, slugged the Penn player in the face and was ejected from the game.[20] This incident was a small bump in the road compared to what was coming at the end of the 1905 season.

As was this incident, two weeks later, on November 25th, when Harvard and Yale squared off. Francis Burr, a Harvard freshman, attempted to field a punt. After calling for a fair catch, two Yale players ran into Burr illegally. Jim Quill, one of the Yale players, struck Burr in the face with his hand, breaking his nose, while the other player delivered a body blow with his feet, which knocked Burr unconscious for a moment.[21] The official, Paul Dashiell, refused to call a penalty and allowed the Yale players to remain in the game. Tensions were very high throughout the rest of the game.

On the same day, two smaller schools were playing in New York. New York University was playing Union College in Manhattan. NYU was moving the ball at will. Harold Moore, a Union College defender, tried to tackle NYU's ball carrier around the shoulders. His unprotected head was struck by the knee of a teammate, also looking to make the tackle. Moore failed to get back on his feet and got rushed to Fordham hospital. Moore died of a cerebral hemorrhage later that night.[22]

This incident showed that Roosevelt had accomplished nothing at his intervention to reform football, and the turning point of the reform of football was now beginning without him. Less than eight weeks after publishing the statement, two of three teams that signed it were involved in unnecessary mucker play. Precisely what they stated they would not do, they did, indicating that the first intervention had been a complete failure. The game of football was under fire and extreme criticism. Opponents of the sport, such as Charles Eliot, used these events as evidence in their case against the game.

Eliot, the president of Harvard, was one of the foremost leaders in the anti-football movement. From its earliest days, he had fought for the abolition of the sport. To Eliot, football "messes with your moral qualities," and the game had grave evils within it. The grave evils, Eliot stated, are "an immoderate desire to win, frequent collisions with masses which make foul play invisible, profit from violations of rules, and misleading assimilation of the game to war as

[13] Swanson, *The Strenuous Life: Theodore Roosevelt and the Making of the American Athlete,* 155.

[14] Watterson, *College Football: History, Spectacle, Controversy,* 69.

[15] Jardins, *Walter Camp: Football and the Modern Man,* 180.

[16] Bill Reid and Ronald A. Smith, *Big-Time Football at Harvard, 1905: the Diary of Coach Bill Reid* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 193-194.

[17] Ibid.

[18] Swanson, *The Strenuous Life: Theodore Roosevelt and the Making of the American Athlete,* 157.

[19] Miller, *The Big Scrum: How Teddy Roosevelt Saved Football,* 190.

[20] Watterson, *College Football: History, Spectacle, Controversy,* 70.

[21] Ibid, 71.

[22] J.S. Watterson, "The Gridiron Crisis of 1905: Was It Really a Crisis?" *Journal of Sport History* 27, no. 2 (2000): 293.

regards its strategy and its ethics."[23] These four "evils" are what drove Eliot to fight so hard to see the sport terminated.

The majority of the Harvard Corporation Board, most of the faculty, and an influential group of alumni supported Eliot in ridding Harvard of football.[24] Roosevelt fought against the opponents of the sport triumphantly and had done so since the 1890s. "What fools they are at Harvard to try to abolish football," Roosevelt wrote to his friend Owen Wister in 1895.[25]

Roosevelt could not believe that his alma mater was making such an effort. To Roosevelt, football served to revitalize an effete population physically and mentally unprepared to defend themselves or take their place on the world stage.[26] Getting rid of the game would hurt the young men of the nation and make them more feminine. President Roosevelt believed he had an obligation to defend any activity that preserved the "masculinity" of the American male, so he continued his praises of anything strenuous, especially football. "Of all games, I personally like football the best, and I would rather see my boys play it than see them play any other," Roosevelt stated in a letter to Walter Camp.[27] A meeting in December 1905 would become the second intervention of reforming the rules of football, an intervention that received no guidance from Theodore Roosevelt in any way.

On the day that Harold Moore died, Henry MacCracken, the NYU chancellor, wrote to Charles Eliot asking him to call a meeting to reform the game of football forever. Eliot refused to call the meeting. Eliot believed that just by reforming the rules, nothing would change, and the actual problem, the sport itself, needed to be abolished. After receiving Eliot's rejection, MacCracken jumped into action and called his own meeting. MacCracken sent out nineteen invitations to colleges that had played for football at least a decade, and thirteen of them responded. On December 8, 1905, thirteen colleges met at New York University to discuss the future of football.[28] The second intervention was under way.

Among the thirteen colleges that attended the meeting, none of the participants came from the three major programs that had gathered at the White House with Theodore Roosevelt in 1905. Nevertheless, the institutions that attended had their own stature. The schools included Columbia, a first-rate university, and Rutgers, which had played in the first-ever intercollegiate football game. The meeting began with a bang as Columbia proposed that "the

present game of football as played under existing rules be abolished."[29] Five of the colleges voted in favor of the proposal, while the other eight voted to reform the sport. The supporters of reforming football won by a slim margin but were happy with the outcome. Understanding that they did not have enough authority to reform the rules, the thirteen colleges wanted to meet with all of the other football-playing institutions to discuss putting new rules into the sport. The meeting adjourned shortly after their decision. The colleges agreed to meet again in late December to discuss specific reformations of the sport. However, the second meeting would be far more significant than the first.

On December 28, 1905, the second meeting convened at the Murray Mill Hotel in New York. More than sixty colleges attended the meeting. Once again, none of the colleges that had convened at the White House were at this meeting. Walter Camp, the founder of American football and the leader of the rules committee, believed in the rules already in the sport and did not want them to change. Although most of the delegates came from smaller schools, some more prominent institutions attended the second meeting looking to help save the game. Some of the more prominent institutions included the University of Texas, the University of Minnesota, and both U.S. military academies (Army and Navy).

After meeting for nine hours, the colleges attending the meeting agreed to make their own rules committee and called for its merger with Camp's committee. The new committee chose Palmer Pierce of the U.S. Military Academy as president. At the end of the meeting, led by Pierce, the conference passed a series of "West Point" resolutions calling for combining with Camp's committee. If this proved impossible, then the new committee would establish a separate set of rules that would make football a more open game and cut down on violence.[30]

Although standoffish at first, all the members of Camp's committee joined the new committee. Camp fought hard to preserve his authority in the rule-making of the sport. However, his time of being in charge of the rules had come to an end. After the groups agreed to merge, they appointed officers, with Bill Reid winding up as the secretary and Walter Camp just an ordinary member. With the two groups finally merged, the new organization called itself the Intercollegiate Athletic Association of the United States or the ICAA.

[23] Charles W. Eliot, *The Man and His Beliefs* (New York and London: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1926), 119.

[24] Frederick John, "The Time Teddy Roosevelt Went to War with Dr. Charles Eliot and Saved the Day for Football," *Yankee* 37, no. 11 (1973): 117.

[25] Owen Wister, *Roosevelt: The Story of a Friendship, 1880-1919* (New York: Macmillan,1930), 39.

[26] Theodore Roosevelt, *The Strenuous Life: Essays and Addresses*

(New York: Century, 1900), 163.

[27] Miller, *The Big Scrum: How Teddy Roosevelt Saved Football,* 150.

[28] Swanson, *The Strenuous Life: Theodore Roosevelt and the Making of the American Athlete,* 168.

[29] Ronald A. Smith, *Sports and Freedom: The Rise of Big-Time College Athletics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 200.

[30] Watterson, *College Football: History, Spectacle, Controversy,* 78.

Over several meetings in January and February of 1906, the ICAA slowly worked out the proposed changes for the sport. Finally, on March 31, 1906, the ICAA announced its changes to the sport. The new rules mandated a neutral zone between the offensive and defensive lines before the snap of the ball, six offense lineman on the line of scrimmage, ten yards for a first down (in three downs), and the introduction of the forward pass.[31] Along with these changes, the reformers also passed changes purposely for cutting down on injuries and foul play.

These changes included reducing the length of the game from seventy to sixty minutes to cut down on fatigue-related injuries. Next, an extra referee was added to bring an extra pair of eyes to the officiating. And finally, the new rules prohibited hurdling to prevent head and neck injuries when players boosted ball-carriers into the air in desperate bids to gain a couple of yards.[32] The new changes opened up the action of the game and limited the mass-momentum collisions. Of all the new rules put into play, the forward pass opened up the game more than any other. However, it came with many restrictions at first.

The forward pass opened up the sport by making the defenders have to play the run and the pass. We see this exceptionally well in the sport today. Nevertheless, when the forward pass came in 1906, the coaches did not receive it very well and rarely used it. In football today, when the offense throws an incomplete pass, the offense retains possession of the ball and moves to the next down. One of the significant reasons why the pass did not get actively used at first was because an incomplete pass turned the ball over to the other team at the spot of the pass. Furthermore, a pass play could not cross the goal line for a touchdown, and the ball had to be thrown five yards from behind the line of scrimmage, as well as thrown a minimum of five yards to the left or right of the center. These restrictions hurt the new rule drastically and made it hard to use. However, the restrictions would not stick around the sport for long.

With the new reforms in football, many coaches and teams did not know what to think of the new rules and changes. As football season neared, in September 1906, more than one hundred schools sent representatives to New York for special instruction of the new rules.[33] This conference gave the skeptics a chance to voice publicly their distrust in the new rules. When the conference adjourned, everyone had a better understanding of the new rules, and the season was ready to begin for the "new" and "safer" game.

As the 1906 season came and ended, the new rules were a success. All the reforms, especially the forward pass,

made spectator interest grow and seemed to make the public forget about severe injuries and deaths.[34] At the end of the 1906 season, the *New York Times* listed eleven football players who had died in the sport at all levels, which was down from eighteen deaths the year before. Also, the one hundred and four players who suffered severe injuries under the new rules marked a reduction of nearly thirty-five percent from the previous year.[35] It certainly looked as if football had been saved. The sport had a sense of peace through the 1906, 1907, and 1908 seasons. The deaths and injuries were down from the chaotic 1905 season, and everything seemed as if it was going to be all right.

The football intervention of 1906 was the first step in the right direction for the sport. The reformers of football were delighted as they witnessed the severe injuries and deaths decline. Although it did not solve all the problems in football, the intervention took the heat off of the game and its members. For someone who "loved the game" and wanted to see it saved, Roosevelt had no role in this intervention. The ICAA members are the ones who created the new reforms and put them in the game. For Roosevelt, as far as the 1906 intervention was concerned, the only role that he played was cheering for the reformed rules through Bill Reid and Paul Dashiell. Though Reid and Dashiell appreciated the support, Roosevelt still did not have a role during the second intervention. His cheers had nothing to do with football becoming a safer game. With his White House intervention being a failure and now lacking a crucial role in the second intervention, Roosevelt would have only one more opportunity to help save the game.

After several years of peace, football suffered another setback in the 1909 season. Early in the season, on October 19, 1909, quarterback Edwin Wilson of Navy was seriously injured in a game against Villanova. The injury left Wilson paralyzed. He died during the following off-season. Two weeks later, Harvard played Army. Harvard kept pounding the ball at Army's left tackle, Eugene Byrne, and he looked so rough that the referee urged Army's coach to send in a substitute.[36] However, Byrne stayed in the game. A few minutes later, he was knocked unconscious. Byrne died later that night. One month later, the University of Virginia halfback Archer Christian fell during a game against Georgetown and slipped into a coma. He died of a brain hemorrhage early the next morning. All three of these men's deaths made the front page of newspapers. The *New York Times* called for an immediate suspension of football "before the next boy gets killed."[37] In total, twenty-six players died in

[31] Swanson, *The Strenuous Life: Theodore Roosevelt and the Making of the American Athlete,* 169.
[32] Miller, *The Big Scrum: How Teddy Roosevelt Saved Football,* 209.
[33] Ibid, 211.
[34] Watterson, *College Football: History, Spectacle, Controversy,* 108.
[35] Ibid.
[36] Miller, *The Big Scrum: How Teddy Roosevelt Saved Football,* 215.
[37] Watterson, *College Football: History, Spectacle, Controversy,* 112.

1909, and the clamor for reform began to sound once again.[38] The criticism of football returned with a vengeance. Following the death of Arthur Christian, Charles Eliot pushed one more time to try to get football abolished. Eliot wrote to Virginia's president, Edwin Alderman, urging him to speak out against the sport. "Men are killed and wounded" in many sports, Eliot said, but football was unique because its risks were "deliberately planned and deliberately maintained."[39] Alderman received Eliot's message and had to choose either to end football at Virginia or keep the sport.

Alderman chose to keep football at Virginia. He had supported the game in its past and wanted to support it now during its new crisis. He also believed that the rule committee members, which included Virginia's Dr. William Lambeth, worked for the best interest of the colleges.[40] Alderman wanted to see the rules of football reformed, again, and the rule-makers address all the dangers of football. In December 1909, the ICAA would meet again with hopes of accomplishing exactly this. The third and final intervention was under way. And just as the second intervention of 1906, the third and final intervention of 1910 would also receive no guidance from Theodore Roosevelt.

Seventy colleges gathered at the ICAA meetings this time. Throughout the winter of 1910, the committee members argued and haggled among one another. After long, lengthy sessions in February, March, and April, the committee adopted five specific rule changes. The rule changes consisted of the flying tackle being made illegal and the prohibition of pushing or pulling of the ball carrier by teammates. The division of playing time was divided into four fifteen-minute periods instead of two thirty-minute periods; seven men (instead of six) had to be on the line of scrimmage for every play, and finally an on-side kick had to travel at least twenty yards instead of ten.[41] At a later meeting, the ICAA passed another rule permitting only a single player in the offensive backfield to go in motion before the snap of the ball. All of these reforms helped make football a safer game. However, the most critical reform was to come.

On May 13, 1910, the ICAA met once again at New York's Hotel Cumberland. At this meeting, the rules committee lifted the restrictions off of the forward pass.[42] When the forward pass came into the sport in 1906, it came with many restrictions. If the offense threw a pass and it fell incomplete, then the defending team would take over where the offense was and start their drive. The forward pass also could not be scored for a touchdown and had to be thrown five yards to the left or right of the center. These strict restrictions made the play hard to use. After some thinking and discussion, the ICAA members decided to remove the restrictions. A pass play now could be thrown to any part of the field, could be thrown as long as possible, and would count for touchdowns now. It also made defensive players slow down and see what type of play was being executed. With all the new reforms set, the 1910 season was ready to begin.

As the 1910 season went along, the fans were enjoying the "new" football. Football fan and newly elected Governor of New Jersey Woodrow Wilson commented on the new game. In a pep talk to Princeton's football team, Wilson stated,

> The new game of football seems far more enjoyable than the old. The new rules are doing much to bring football to a high level as a sport, for its brutal measures are being done away and better elements retained. The absence of grinding mass plays makes the game vastly more interesting to the spectators, and at the same time, it is rendered more desirable for the participants. The opportunity for unsportsmanlike play is greatly reduced, and hence it is now a game in which gentlemen can successfully engage.[43]

The new rules successfully had done their job.

Following the 1910 season, fatalities and serious injuries dropped dramatically from the year before. Football was in a quality place, with the modern shape of the game created. Later in 1910, the ICAA changed their name to the National Collegiate Athletic Association, what we know today as the NCAA.[44] Football would never have another attack on it as it did through the early 1900s. The sport of football was finally safe.

The 1910 intervention was the last crucial intervention to help save football. Supporters of the game fought valiantly for the sport and the rules, except for Theodore Roosevelt. His role in the 1910 intervention was non-existent. The most "powerful supporter" of football was no longer in the presidential office at the time of the intervention and had not been for quite a while. He was not even in the United States when the meetings of reforming the rules began. Shortly after William Howard Taft, the new President of the United States, was inaugurated into office, Roosevelt left the country to go hunting in Africa and remained abroad for over a year. Claiming that Roosevelt

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[38] Tony Collins, *How Football Began: A Global History of How the World's Football Codes Were Born* (London and New York: Routledge, 2019), 150.

[39] Watterson, *College Football: History, Spectacle, Controversy,* 114.

[40] Ibid, 115.

[41] John Hammond Moore, "Football's Ugly Decades, 1893-1913,"

Smithsonian Journal of History 2, no.3 (1967): 64.

[42] Ibid.

[43] Miller, *The Big Scrum: How Teddy Roosevelt Saved Football,* 217-218.

[44] Swanson, *The Strenuous Life: Theodore Roosevelt and the Making of the American Athlete,* 170.

helped save football is false because he had no role in the new reforms put into football after the 1910 intervention and had nothing to do with the quality place that football was at.

After already playing a minor role in the 1906 intervention, Roosevelt completely missed the 1910 intervention. The interventions of 1906 and 1910 pushed football in the right direction and made the game safer to play. Although the new rules put into football after the 1906 intervention worked for only three years, football saw fewer injuries and deaths on the gridiron in those three years than it had before. After the death toll rose again following the 1909 season, the members of the ICAA gathered once again and made new reforms to help make football a safer sport. The reformed rules that occurred due to these two interventions made the game safer to play and, overall, helped save football. Roosevelt's role during both of these interventions, as stated before, was non-existent.

The new rules that got put into the game after the 1906 and 1910 interventions helped widen the game and made football safer. Although some of the reforms did not work at first, in the end, the game was safer and more enjoyable. The forward pass made the defensive players have to slow down and watch where the ball was going. They could no longer just rush at the offensive players in every play. After the restrictions of the forward pass got lifted, more and more teams began to use the play more effectively. The new "neutral zone" rule made defenses line up onside and gave both the offense and defense equal opportunity each play. Moving the first-down markers from five to ten yards made the defense branch out and cover more space. It also helped stop the massive pile-ups. These reforms made football safer and are still used in the NCAA today.

Theodore Roosevelt did not help save football. The new rules put into the game that made it safer to play were put in by the members of the NCAA. Although Roosevelt did not help save football, according to historian Guy M. Lewis, "Theodore Roosevelt should be properly viewed as one of the founding fathers of the National Collegiate Athletic Association."[45] By pushing and cheering on Bill Reid throughout football's crisis, Roosevelt helped Reid decide on being the first member of Walter Camp's committee to leave and join the new committee. Eventually, all the members of Camp's committee left and joined the new committee. The new combined committee called themselves the ICAA at first, then changed their name to the NCAA in 1910.

Since its founding, the NCAA has grown into a multi-billion-dollar organization. The non-profit organization allows players, male and female, to continue to play the sport that they love at the collegiate level. With different levels of competition, such as Division I, Division II, and Division III, athletes have many different colleges to choose from

throughout the United States. Today's athletes have these opportunities in front of them because Bill Reid left Camp's committee and joined the new committee. When the rest of Camp's committee, including Camp himself, also left and joined the new committee, the NCAA was born. Roosevelt's pushing and cheering helped Reid decide on leaving Camp's committee, thus taking the right step in the creation of the NCAA.

Even though some historians say Theodore Roosevelt did play a role in saving football, Roosevelt did not help save football, due to his 1905 intervention being a failure, and due to his not having a role in the 1906 and 1910 interventions that helped reform the rules of the game. The White House summit that Roosevelt called proved to be a complete failure. The coaches' statement drafted at the end of the meeting did not get taken seriously, and two of the teams that signed it broke its rules. His role in the 1906 intervention had nothing to do with the reformed rules that were put into football after this meeting concluded. Lastly, at the last intervention of 1910, Roosevelt was not even in the United States when the intervention began and ended. The reformed rules that came out of this meeting made football safer and are still used in the game today. Roosevelt's little cheers that he gave had nothing to do with football becoming a safer game. Therefore, he did not help save football. Football was saved by the members of the newly formed group, the NCAA, working together, and finding ways to make the rules of the gridiron a safer place. The group did this successfully among themselves and had their colleagues, not Theodore Roosevelt, to thank.

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[45] Guy M. Lewis, "Theodore Roosevelt's Role in the 1905 Football Controversy," *The Research Quarterly* 40, no. 4 (1969): 724.

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"Everlasting Meddling and Muddling": Isolationism and the Harding Administration's Misguidance of the American Public

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American involvement in world affairs has been extremely important in the past seventy-five years. In fact, it is hard to imagine a world without America as one of the leading powers. Her policies affect trade, military actions, and lives across the world. One important foreign affairs conference was the Washington Naval Conference of 1921-1922. The conference in Washington, D.C. resulted in three major multilateral agreements addressing disarmament, economic policy, and political quarrels in Asia.[1] Though the officials at the conference passed these agreements with good intentions, ultimately the Harding Administration had misguided the American public. President Warren G. Harding and his allies had promised a "return to normalcy" and relative isolation compared to the previous twenty years of American foreign policy. Yet the explicit statements in speeches and writings from these leaders were broken as America adopted a stance of independent internationalism. The Washington Naval Conference represents a major break from the promised isolationist policies, and each of the three agreements made at the conference—the Four-Power Treaty, the Five-Power Treaty, and the Nine-Power Treaty—show that Harding and his allies misguided the public with regard to his administration's foreign policy.

America grew into a major international power following the World Wars, but internationalism has not always been popular. In fact, many politicians have maintained and run on platforms of isolation and nationalist views. The internationalist foreign policy America has now had not always been prevalent throughout the country's relatively short history. The United States often attempted to stay withdrawn from world affairs throughout the first 125 years of its history, but by looking at the statements from early American leaders, one can easily see that the foreign policy enacted since the country's birth has been fluid and influenced heavily by the context surrounding America and the world. It is important to keep in mind, when looking at foreign policy, that no policy or treaty is entirely focused on one nation. Every policy enacted has effects on multiple nations, raising the question of who should be involved in the making of policies. The United States has gone through periods of increased involvement in world affairs since 1776, depending on worldwide events. However, in the decades surrounding the turn of the Twentieth Century, America took on a more international role through imperialism.

Following World War One, many citizens wanted to leave world problems behind and focus solely on America. As history showed, America was not able to depart from the world stage effectively during the interwar period, but politicians found a way to entice voters to support them by using the promise of isolationism. Many historians agree with Harding's campaign slogan that his administration represented a "return to normalcy," but the Washington Naval Conference demonstrates that Harding was pushing America to a new normal of trying to achieve what is now referred to as *independent internationalism*. The Washington Naval Conference placed America in a position to sign three major treaties that supported or maintained its world-wide economic and military status, but the conference also helped push America into accepting a major international role.

It is important to detail the terms and definitions tied to *isolationism* as used in this project. The terms *isolationism, corporatism, multilateralism, unilateralism,* and *independent internationalism* are key to understanding the Harding Administration. A basic definition of *isolationism* is "a policy of national isolation by abstention from alliances and other international political and economic relations."[2] It is rare for countries to maintain a fully isolationist policy, but throughout American history, many American leaders have claimed that their policies were isolationist just by withdrawing from or avoiding military and political conflicts. The definition of *isolationism*, in terms of American foreign policy, from historian Foster Rhea Dulles is extensive and useful for reference. Dulles defines *traditional isolationism* as "the idea that the United States should avoid all foreign

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[1] "The Washington Naval Conference, 1921-1922," U.S. Department of State Archives, last modified January 20, 2009, https://2001-2009.state.gov/r/pa/ho/time/id/88313.htm.

[2] *Merriam-Webster.com Dictionary*, s.v. "isolationism," accessed March 24, 2021, https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/isolationism.

political commitments and entanglements that might involve the Republic in foreign rivalries and foreign wars. [However], promotion of foreign trade" was not ruled to be part of isolationist policies.[3] Simply put, an isolationist policy was one of "aloofness and wholly independent action" meant to serve solely the United States in the best way possible.[4]

Corporatism, another useful term, is defined by Alan Cawson as "a specific socio-political process in which organizations representing monopolistic functional interests engage in political exchange with state agencies over public policy outputs which involves those organizations in a role which combines interest representation and policy implementation through delegated self-enforcement."[5] Meanwhile, the terms *multilateralism* and *unilateralism* are opposites of each other. Charles Krauthammer describes *unilateralism* as "The essence of unilateralism is that we do not allow others, no matter how well-meaning, to deter us from pursuing the fundamental security interests of the United States and the free world."[6] To the contrary, *multilateralism*, or *internationalism*, is defined as working with other nations to achieve policies.[7]

Finally, *independent internationalism* is a mixture of both unilateral and internationalism with the hopes of maintaining independence in all foreign policy actions. Joan Hoff Wilson defines the term as an "unstable assortment of unilateral and collective [international] diplomatic actions."[8] Overall, the definitions of *isolation* and *independent internationalism* are important to understanding how the Harding Administration misguided the public with promises of isolation but maintained a different kind of foreign policy, especially through the Washington Naval Conference.

In America, isolation was not a new idea. Thomas Paine advocated for an "independent," or isolationist, foreign policy, with the desire of having a supreme commercial economy.[9] John Adams' Model Treaty of 1776 "envisioned a purely commercial treaty with the French, not a binding military alliance."[10] In fact, George Washington advocated for isolationism in his Farewell Address in 1796, stating "The great rule of conduct for us in regard to foreign nations is in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little political connection as possible."[11] He did not want America to become entangled in European affairs and alliances. Washington believed that active foreign policy and alliances would bring America into wars that the country really had no business fighting. This advice from America's first president was followed partially, but not completely, by his successors. All these expressions of isolation have the same idea in common. They wanted economic ties to world markets, but they did not want binding alliances that could draw America into wars.

America was unable to stay completely out of political and military alliances with European nations such as France, due to the Franco-American Alliance of 1778-1800, and Washington even urged America to retain its relationship with France.[12] The stronger and more self-sufficient America grew, the less dependent she became on European politics. Finally, in 1823, President James Monroe declared, "In the wars of the European powers in matters relating to themselves we have never taken part, nor does it comport with our policy to do so."[13] Therefore, America did maintain in large part a self-declared form of isolationism throughout the late 1700s until the late 1800s. This was an Americanized form of isolation. America maintained relationships with most nations, but she did not sign military treaties. Wars that did not help America or directly concern America did not draw citizens' interests.[14]

America generally stayed active around the globe, never withdrawing itself entirely from the world or its economy. It continued to develop trade with Europe, Asia, and eventually Latin America, but America did not forge any truly binding military alliances.[15] However, as the economic supremacy of America grew**,** so did the country's military.

[3] Foster Rhea Dulles, *America's Rise to World Power: 1898-1954* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1955), 1-2.
[4] Ibid., 2.
[5] Alan Cawson, *Corporatism and Political Theory* (Hoboken, NJ: Blackwell, 1986), 38.
[6] Charles Krauthammer, "Unilateral? Yes, Indeed," *The Washington Post*, 14 December 2002, A45.
[7] James A. Helis, and J. Boone Bartholomees, *U.S. Army War College Guide to National Security Policy and Strategy*. Report. Strategic Studies Institute, US Army War College, 2014. accessed March 25, 2021. http://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep12023.6, 15.
[8] Joan Hoff Wilson, *American Business and Foreign Policy: 1920-1933* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1971), xvii.
[9] Justus Doenecke, "Isolationism," in *The Oxford Companion to American Military History*, ed. John Whiteclay Chamber II (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 341.

[10] Ibid.
[11] George Washington, "Washington's Farewell Address, 1796," *Washington's Papers, Yale Law School Lillian Goldman Law Library: The Avalon Project,* accessed April 15, 2020, https://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th_century/washing.asp.
[12] Ibid.
[13] James Monroe, "Monroe Doctrine, 1823," *19th Century Documents*, *Yale Law School Lillian Goldman Law Library: The Avalon Project,* accessed April 15, 2020, https://avalon.law.yale.edu/19th_century/monroe.asp.
[14] Charles Lerche, *Foreign Policy of the American People* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1958), 126-9.
[15] "United States Treaties and International Agreements: 1776-1949," Library of Congress, last modified December 31, 2020, https://www.loc.gov/law/help/us-treaties/bevans.php.

America became stronger throughout the Nineteenth Century and developed into a continental and an imperial power by the end of the 1800s. By the end of the century, the United States possessed colonies and played an important role in the makeup of the world economy and, even more importantly, the new military order.[16] With this, ties among the world powers formed.

Whether the politicians in America realized it or not, the economic ties and naval build-up that America underwent throughout the 1800s had a long-lasting impact on the world order and eventually pushed Harding to host the Washington Naval Conference. America was directly tied to Europe economically, but when World War One began, the United States continued to provide loans and military equipment to the belligerents.[17] While America was able to maintain neutrality for most of the war, the nation was trading with and lending heavily to the Allies. However, the incumbent Democratic president, Woodrow Wilson, maintained during his re-election campaign that he would keep America out of the war. He even declared three months before the war began, "We need not, and we should not, form alliances with any nation in the world."[18] Despite the president's fervent words in 1916, Wilson brought the United States into World War One in 1917 after winning the presidential race.

Throughout twenty months in combat, America lost 100,000 soldiers. America came into the war late, but the United States forces were needed terribly and contributed greatly to the Allied victory.[19] America backed the war effort, but after the conflict ended, reality set in for many Americans. The Allies won the war, but America lost many men. The death of Americans in a European war led many to develop the belief that the country needed to become isolated politically once again.[20]

During the period following the end of World War One, Wilson advocated strongly for America's entrance into the League of Nations. During the Paris Peace Talks, the president promoted his Fourteen Points, including open diplomacy, free trade, disarmament, and the creation of the League of Nations.[21] He did not want the deaths of American men to go unrecognized, and without American involvement in the League, he knew it would have little enforcement power.[22] However, the sentiment against American involvement in foreign affairs began to take hold across the American public.

Henry Cabot Lodge, a prominent Congressional Republican, led the push for isolationism during the late 1910s and early 1920s. In a speech to the Senate, he declared, "We would not have our country's vigor exhausted, or her moral force abated, by everlasting meddling and muddling in every quarrel, great and small, which afflicts the world."[23] To continue, Senator Hiram Johnson argued against intervention as well. He declared, "nobody in Europe cares a rap about the international court,… but many expect if the United States can be lured into it, the United States is on the way not only to the League of Nations, but to full participation in European affairs."[24] These were only a few of the isolationist supporters. Many others, including Smedley Butler, Charles Coughlin, and Charles Lindbergh, all supported isolationist policies during the interwar period.[25] With the large advocacy for isolation, a decision was made for America to remain out of the League of Nations and the Treaty of Versailles. However, this did not prevent America from remaining involved economically by becoming the world's largest

[16] Doenecke, "Isolationism," 342.

[17] United States Senate, Nye Committee, *Report of the Special Committee on Investigation of the Munitions Industry*, *U.S. Congress, Senate*, 74th Cong., 2nd sess. (Washington, DC: February 24, 1936). https://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/nye.htm.

[18] Woodrow Wilson, "President Woodrow Wilson's Proclamation of Neutrality, 1914," *Documentary Histories, Naval History and Heritage Command*, accessed April 18, 2020, https://www.history.navy.mil/research/publications/documentary-histories/wwi/1914/ttl-president-woodro/_jcr_content.html.

[19] United States Senate, Senate Document No. 5, *Making the World "Safe for Democracy": Woodrow Wilson Asks for War,* U.S. Congress, Senate, 65th Cong., 1st Sess. (Washington, DC: April 2, 1917). https://www.history.navy.mil/research/publications/documentary-histories/wwi/1914/ttl-president-woodro/_jcr_content.html.

[20] Alexander DeConde, *Isolation and Security* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1957), 11.

[21] Woodrow Wilson, "President Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points, 1918," *20th Century Documents*, *Yale Law School Lillian*

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[22] "America Isolation Cowardly and Ignoble, Declares Wilson in Armistice Day Address," 1923, *The Atlanta Constitution (1881-1945)*, Nov 11, 1, https://search.proquest.com/docview/499173216?accountid=11945.

[23] Henry Cabot Lodge, "Henry Cabot Lodge Opposes US Participation in League of Nations, 1919," The American Catholic: Politics and Culture from a Catholic Perspective, accessed April 5, 2021, https://www.the-american-catholic.com/2019/08/18/85209/.

[24] "Isolation Policy Ruining Prices, Says Underwood; Hiram Johnson Raps Foreign Entanglements: Western Senator Takes Firm Stand for U. S. Isolation; Declares U. S. Should Stay Out of World Court and the League of Nations. Senator Takes Rap at Administration; Insists Nation's Foreign Policy Should Be Decided at the Polls in the 1924 Election. Hiram Johnson for U. S. Isolation," 1923, *The Atlanta Constitution (1881-1945)*, Jul 26, 1, https://search.proquest.com/docview/499144738?accountid=11945.

[25] Mark Lowenthal, "The National Security State," in *Encyclopedia of the United States in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Stanley Kutler (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1996), 597.

creditor. Then, in November of 1920, Harding won the presidential election, promising normalcy and isolationism to the American public.

Harding, one of Lodge's allies in the Republican-controlled Senate, secured victory in the 1920 election by running on the campaign slogan of a "return to normalcy." A significant portion of the American people wanted to leave Europe behind, but many did not think about the long-term repercussions of leaving the problems of Europe alone (or even how to leave Europe alone). America became a leading world power following the war. It was not a simple choice to exit the world stage. Harding's Administration was marred by a one-foot-in and one-foot-out approach to foreign affairs. Americans did not want to get involved in world problems in Europe and Asia, but at the same time, the problems present in Europe and Asia directly impacted the American economy.[26] Harding pushed his idea of isolation out to the American people in speeches.[27] His statements echoed the isolationist policies that early American leaders had advocated for; however, the world scene was much different in 1920 than it was during the nation's first seventy-five years of existence. America was now a world leader, and with that position, the country had to hold the world together or else face a collapse of her economy and influence. Harding implemented a policy that alternated between traditional isolation and intervention.

Debates over American foreign policy during the interwar period started as soon as the United States began to reach agreements with other countries. Several historians take the side that America entered a more traditional isolationist period, while others propose the idea that American politicians did not return to an isolationist foreign policy. More modern historians developed terms that encompass this mixture of policy during the Harding Administration. While America did not go back to 1890s imperialism, America also did not return to 1870s isolationist policies.[28] One of the key books that focuses on foreign policy in the interwar period is Albert Weinberg's 1936 monograph, *Manifest Destiny: A Study of Nationalist Expansion in American History*. Weinberg was the first scholarly author to mention isolationism in a historical context. He relates isolationism to expansionism. In a way, he argues that they were connected

throughout much of American history because isolationists wanted to remain out of world affairs, while expansionists wanted to expand westward. However, the split between the two positions came in the late 1800s, when American expansionists advocated for annexing and expanding outside the continental US.[29] Then, following World War One, Weinberg argues that America's "return to the 'normalcy' of isolationism did not bring with it a renewal of the expansionism which had been a concomitant of isolation in the past," which supports the idea that America did in fact leave world affairs. [30] However, he continues, "America's political interests did lead to… marked international activity. The Four-Power Treaty of the Washington Naval Conference… actually involved [the country] in an agreement to consult with others in the event of aggression in the Pacific."[31] Thus, Weinberg takes a stance that America did withdraw from 1890s foreign policy, but not from world affairs.

In 1936, Benjamin Williams wrote *American Diplomacy: Policies and Practice*. In this book, Williams argues that America did not sustain true isolationist policies following Harding's election. He maintains that America changed from "isolation to cooperation" with the League of Nations in about six months following the inauguration of Harding.[32] In April of 1921, Harding maintained that America would not take part in the League, and many Americans were looking forward to the fall of the League.[33] However, as the League gained members, American interests began to be involved in meetings where they did not have representation, so "about six months after Harding's inauguration, formal notes were sent from Washington acknowledging receipt of communications from the Secretariat."[34] Thus, six months into "normalcy," America was not isolationist any longer. Even further, Williams argues that the Washington Naval Conference was a landmark of American international cooperation.[35] The conference dealt largely with disarmament and stopping a naval arms race, but it also managed political issues between Japan and China. Thus, Williams takes a stance that isolation was a very short-lived policy of the Harding Administration.

Another influential author in the historiographical debate of America isolation is Walter Lippmann. In 1943, he

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[26] United States Senate, *Report of the Special Committee on Investigation of the Munitions Industry*.

[27] Warren G. Harding, *Address on Foreign Policy and the International Court of Justice Intended for Delivery in San Francisco, California 1923,* Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project,* https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/node/329292.

[28] George Quester, *American Foreign Policy: The Lost Consensus* (New York: Praeger Special Studies, 1982), 137.

[29] Albert Weinberg, *Manifest Destiny: A Study of Nationalist Expansionism in American History* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1935), 454.

[30] Ibid., 473.

[31] Ibid., 474.

[32] Benjamin Williams, *American Diplomacy* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1936), 265.

[33] Ibid.

[34] Ibid., 266

[35] Ibid., 340.

wrote *U.S. Foreign Policy: Shield of the Republic*. In this book, he argues that during the interwar period, America lacked a clear and consistent foreign policy, and this pushed America into a deadly World War Two. In turn, he does not believe that America had an isolationist policy in place. He maintains, "Larger consequences flowed from our national failure to develop a foreign policy…. American foreign relations were conducted for twenty years without any indication that the nation had any conception of its commitments. In 1922, we reduced our naval strength to a ratio which gave Japan naval superiority in the Western Pacific."[36] He argues that the Washington Naval Conference was extremely ignorant for America. The conference diminished American naval power while increasing American commitments to China.[37] Further, the conference ended the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, which left Japan alone regarding alliances and led to the Japanese-German Alliance.[38] Lippmann sees American foreign policy or lack thereof as harmful and deadly. He does not believe that isolation was achieved during the Harding Administration.

Following these authors, a slight break from the previous arguments came to the forefront. In 1955, Dulles wrote *America's Rise to World Power: 1898-1954*. In this monograph, Dulles argues on the topic of interwar foreign policy that "American foreign policy during the 1920's represented a retreat to traditional isolationism."[39] Dulles goes on to declare that America did not completely withdraw from the world but refused to make any new political commitments.[40] However, the author then mentions the Washington Naval Conference as one of the first major moves in postwar American foreign policy. The conference dealt with political questions in Asia and disarmament.[41] Dulles directly contradicts the argument that America did not want to make new political commitments because the conference did that very thing between China and America. Thus, Dulles believes in American isolation, but after looking into the true actions of America, determines that isolation was not achieved.

Building on Dulles's ideas, Charles Lerche wrote *Foreign Policy of the American People* in 1958. In this book, Lerche argues, "The 1920s saw a renaissance of isolationism,… which was struggled for over the ratification of the Treaty of Versailles and American entry into the League of Nations."[42] However, he also ends up contradicting himself when he mentions American cooperation with the League and the Washington Naval Conference. America hid its involvement with the League, and the conference resulted in a naval treaty and political treaty.[43] Lerche maintains that America saw a new period of isolation, but in fact, American people saw an unsuccessful and dangerous desire to withdraw from the world.

Following Lerche's argument, Wallace Irwin's *America in the World: A Guide to U.S. Foreign Policy* was written in 1983. In the book, Irwin argues that "Most Americans were fed up with the world and its problems. Feeling secure once again behind their two great oceans and enjoying a new wave of prosperity, [Americans] chose isolation."[44] Irwin takes the view that American foreign policy shifted back to isolationism, but he recognizes the highly flammable situation that America forced the world into throughout the 1920s. He further states, "Had American leaders and their constituents been willing to face political facts, they might have given more attention to U.S. military power."[45] However, America focused optimistically on disarmament at the Washington Naval Conference. Japan kept the covenant only when it was convenient for them.[46] Thus, Irwin takes a more "middle of the road" approach. He recognized the idea that Americans wanted isolation, but he also demonstrates the fact that the American government remained involved in world affairs in the 1920s.

The aforementioned authors show the movement of the debate on isolationism, but with time, historians could see that Harding represented a more mixed foreign policy. Harding wanted to have one foot in and one foot out of foreign affairs, and historians developed a term to explain this policy. Modern scholars have developed several significant foreign affairs theories or ideas, including corporatism, unilateralism, and independent internationalism. Each of these ideas pertains to a different period in American foreign policy. *Corporatism* is defined by Cawson as "a specific socio-political process in which organizations representing monopolistic functional interests engage in political exchange with state agencies over public policy outputs which involves those organizations in a role which combines interest representation and policy implementation through delegated self-enforcement."[47] In other words, corporatism is a system in which different private entities work with the government to achieve policies. Overall, Harding's Administration does

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[36] Walter Lippmann, *U.S. Foreign Policy: Shield of the Republic* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1943), 40.
[37] Ibid.
[38] Ibid., 55.
[39] Dulles, *America's Rise to World Power*, 144.
[40] Ibid.
[41] Ibid., 149.
[42] Lerche, *Foreign Policy of the American People*, 154.

[43] Ibid., 157.
[44] Wallace Irwin, *America in the World: A Guide to U.S. Foreign Policy* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1983), 41.
[45] Ibid., 43.
[46] Ibid.
[47] Alan Cawson, *Corporatism and Political Theory* (Hoboken, NJ: Blackwell, 1986), 38.

not fall into this category of foreign policy, and many American historians have argued that America did not see widespread corporatism in the early twentieth century.[48]

Another term that modern historians use to describe foreign policy is *unilateralism*. The common debate of looking into the degree to which America should be involved in world affairs surfaces again in unilateral versus multilateral policy. Unilateralism is more of a self-centered way of forming policy. In contrast, *multilateralism*, or *internationalism*, is defined as working with other nations to achieve policies.[49] With respect to the Harding Administration, unilateral policy was much more predominant in Latin American economic and political issues, but America did work with other nations to develop policies such as the three major treaties of the Washington Naval Conference.

This mixture of self-centered and cooperative policies leads to the term *independent internationalism*. While the term was not used in the 1920s, the Harding administration, and many of the American politicians claiming to be isolationist, could fall under this definition. Joan Hoff Wilson defines the term as an "unstable assortment of unilateral and collective diplomatic actions."[50] Overall, historians have come to mark Harding's as the first administration to fall under this definition. The administration continued mixing diplomatic action in which America was present in world's affairs, but also, America did not want to enter treaties or alliances such as the League of Nations. The theme of Harding's Administration was to "heal and restore" America by protecting her economic interests across the world and keeping America out of wars.[51] To do this, Harding's Administration walked the fine line of independent internationalism.

The Washington Naval Conference was a keystone of this type of policy. The conference produced several key treaties that served to protect American interests around the world but also served to keep America out of wars—for the moment. The conference represented a combination of American self-centered policy-making and multilateral policy-making. The issue with adopting this policy of independent internationalism is that it directly contradicted some of the promises that Harding and his administration had made to the American public. They had promised to keep America out of worldwide issues, but the Washington Naval Conference did not live up to these assertions. The conference

put America at the forefront of disarmament issues worldwide and political battles in Asia. Rather than confirm the Harding Administration's promised isolation, the conference displayed the idea of Harding using independent internationalism to promote American interests throughout the world.

Before discussing the conference and the abandonment of the promised isolation, it is important to detail several of the key figures associated with Harding who promised the American public isolation while also taking leading positions in the Washington Naval Conference. The main figures that need to be discussed briefly are Harding himself, Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, and Secretary of State Charles Evans Hughes. Each of these leaders had a major role in the conference, but each of them also explicitly promised American independence from foreign issues.

To begin this discussion, Harding received the nomination for the Republican ticket in June of 1920. In his acceptance speech, he pushed across many ideas of withdrawing from the world stage so far as military and political quarrels were concerned. He maintained, "The Republicans of the Senate halted the barter of independent American eminence and influence…. Our Party means to hold the heritage of American nationality unimpaired and unsurrendered."[52] He was not willing to sacrifice American independence and heritage for the problems present across the world, especially in Europe. Even further, he declares, "We hold to our rights, and mean to… sustain the rights of this nation and our citizens alike, everywhere under the shining sun."[53] Harding is clearly pushing the idea that America is planning on taking a major step back from world affairs. However, he realized and even asserted that he would be willing to help achieve long-term peace if possible. This idea of helping achieve peace came with this promise: "No surrender of rights to a world council or its military alliance, no assumed mandatory, however appealing, ever shall summon the sons of this Republic to war. Their supreme sacrifice shall only be asked for America and its call of honor."[54] It is clear that Harding, though he was willing to work with other nations for America's economic benefit through long-term peace, was pushing a narrative of isolation and independence from European and Asian affairs in the aftermath of World War One.

In addition to Harding's nomination speech, his tone on foreign relations turned even more isolationist as the 1920 general election drew closer. Through several speeches and

[48] Larry G. Gerber, "Corporatism and State Theory: A Review Essay for Historians," *Social Science History* 19, no. 3 (1995), accessed March 25, 2021. doi:10.2307/1171489, 314-15.

[49] Helis and Bartholomees, *U.S. Army War College Guide to National Security Policy and Strategy*, 15.

[50] Wilson, *American Business and Foreign Policy: 1920-1933,* xvii.

[51] Warren G. Harding, *Address Accepting the Republican Presidential Nomination*, Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project*, https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/node/276596.

[52] Ibid.

[53] Ibid.

[54] Ibid.

writings, Harding was able to signal that his administration intended to avoid "any political commitments or multilateral guarantees."[55] Harding saw the 1920 election as a mandate from the American people to maintain independence from the world. Finally, in his inaugural address, he drove the point of isolation once more. In his speech, Harding stressed, "America, our America, the America built on the foundation laid by the inspired fathers, can be a party to no permanent military alliance. It can enter into no political commitments, nor assume any economic obligations which will subject our decisions to any other than our own authority."[56] If one is looking only at the words of Harding's speeches, especially his later speeches, it is apparent that America should be entering into a period of inactivity on the world stage. However, Harding did not maintain this tone when the opportunity appeared to host a naval disarmament conference. Harding allowed the conference to occur. He most likely had good intentions for hosting the conference; however, the conference steered American toward the path of independent internationalism rather than toward isolationism.

A major ally to the Harding Administration was Henry Cabot Lodge. He was yet another leader who promised American independence from foreign affairs, and as a senior member of the Senate, he held a position of influence on foreign affairs for the Harding Administration. Therefore, his promises of "freedom" from world problems were breached with the Washington Naval Conference.[57] Many of his speeches relay his tone toward foreign affairs, and two of his major speeches tell of his isolationist attitude. In 1919, slightly before Harding became a candidate for the Presidency, Lodge gave a speech on the League of Nations. Quite vehemently, he asserted his disdain for internationalism and the League of Nations:

> But I am certain that we can do it best by not putting ourselves in leading strings or subjecting our policies and our sovereignty to other nations. The independence of the United States is not only more precious to ourselves, but to the world, than any single possession…. But it is well to remember that we are dealing with nations, every one of which has a direct individual interest to serve, and there is grave danger in an unshared idealism…. But an

American I was born; an American I've remained all my life. I can never be anything else but an American, and I must think of the United States first…. For if the United States fails, the best hopes of mankind fail with it. I have never had but one allegiance; I cannot divide it now. I have loved but one flag and I cannot share that devotion and give affection to the mongrel banner invented for a league. Internationalism, illustrated by the Bolshevik and by the men to whom all countries are alike, provided they can make money out of them, is to me repulsive. National I must remain and in that way I, like all other Americans, can render the amplest service to the world. The United States is the world's best hope, but if you fetter her in the interest through quarrels of other nations, if you tangle her in the intrigues of Europe, you will destroy her powerful good, and endanger her very existence…. Beware how you trifle with your marvelous inheritance — this great land of ordered liberty. For if we stumble and fall, freedom and civilization everywhere will go down in ruin.[58]

It is quite clear that Lodge did not want to enter any binding alliance, and he appeared to be taking on a strong stance of isolationism. However, once Harding was in office, the administration left this isolationist stance in order to pursue a path of independent internationalism.

Even further, Lodge gave the keynote address at the 1920 Republican Convention. In this speech, he maintained, "As we studied [the League of Nations,] …we found that it dragged us not only into every dispute and every war in Europe and in the rest of the world, but that our soldiers and sailors might be forced to give their lives in quarrels not their own at the bidding of foreign governments."[59] He was completely against the League because he felt that it represented a binding military alliance. This was the view of many Americans, and the 1920 election showed politicians that a majority of voters did not want to be involved in European and Asian affairs. Even further, in this same speech, Lodge declared, "We must all fight side by side to keep safe and untouched the sovereignty, the independence, the welfare of the United States."[60] Lodge, much like Harding, covered

[55] Arnold Offner, *The Origins of the Second World War: American Foreign Policy and World Politics, 1917-1941* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1975), 52.
[56] Warren G. Harding, "Inaugural Address, 1920," *Inaugural Addresses of the Presidents of the United States, Bartleby*, March 28, 2021, www.bartleby.com/124/.
[57] "Full Text of Senator Lodge's Speech Sounding Republican Convention Keynote," 1920, *The New York Times*, June 9, 4,

https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1920/06/09/118326607.html?pageNumber=4.
[58] Henry Cabot Lodge, "League of Nations Speech, 1919," State Historical Society of Iowa, March 20, 2021, https://iowaculture.gov/sites/default/files/history-education-pss-war-cabot-transcription.pdf.
[59] "Full Text of Senator Lodge's Speech Sounding Republican Convention Keynote," *The New York Times*, 4.
[60] Ibid.

his tracks by stating that America would not be isolated from human suffering. He was sure to say that America would help suffering foreign powers "in our own way, freely and without constraint from abroad. With no outside help since the Revolution, we have come to where we are today. We shall march on and not neglect our duty to the world."[61] He was a staunch supporter of isolation and national sovereignty from the rest of the world in nearly every aspect of the word, except when it came to helping human lives and economic transactions. By pushing a narrative of isolation and contributing to a policy of independent internationalism with the Washington Naval Conference, he played a key role in the misguidance of the American public during the Harding Administration.

Another major figure tied to the Harding Administration was Secretary of State Charles Evans Hughes. In 1919 and 1920, Hughes took the position that American should join the League of Nations on amended terms. However, when he took control of the State Department, he changed his views on foreign policy.[62] This change suggests the influence Harding had on him. Harding wanted to push an agenda of isolation and normalcy, and he needed his Secretary of State to agree with him. In 1921, Hughes "turned his back on the League and its related activities."[63] Thus, he effectively told the public that he did not support internationalism and that American foreign policy would be that of Harding's promised 'normalcy.' However, this isolationist policy did not stand up against the Washington Naval Conference. Hughes was the Secretary of State, so he was the one who issued the invitations to the conference in the first place.[64] He was an integral part of America's hosting and thus becoming a central figure in disarmament, economic, and political issues discussed in the conference. Thus, each of these major figures of the Harding Administration all promised the American people a new policy of 'normalcy' and relative isolation from world issues. However, the occurrence of the Washington Naval Conference quickly wiped this promise aside. The conference may have had good intentions, but it altered American foreign policy to take on multilateral agreements and enter what historians called the first independent internationalist administration.

After assuming the presidency, Harding allowed the conference to come to Washington to discuss several pressing issues across the world. The Washington Naval Conference of 1921-1922 was a key moment in America's assuming a leading position in a major worldwide debate of disarmament.

Harding did maintain a desire to assure long-term peace, and he felt that disarmament would positively contribute to this goal. Consequently, he allowed the conference to call nine world powers to Washington to discuss several issues including disarmament, economics in Asia, and political disputes in Asia. The conference in general constituted a major step away from Harding's promised isolationist policies, but the treaties signed at the conference each help illuminate the actual policy that the Harding Administration enacted. As a result of the conference, three major agreements were signed: the Four-Power Treaty, the Five-Power Treaty, and the Nine-Power Treaty. Each of these agreements shows independent internationalist concepts as opposed to isolationist policies, and by looking back at each of these agreements, historians can see the lack of promised isolationist policies.

The first of the major treaties to be signed at the conference was the Four-Power Treaty. This multilateral agreement had two major clauses that entangled the signers into joint conferences and possibly joint action against foreign aggressors:

> The High Contracting Parties agree as between themselves to respect their rights in relation to their insular possessions and insular dominions in the region of the Pacific Ocean. If there should develop…a controversy arising out of any Pacific question and involving their said rights which is not satisfactorily settled by diplomacy and is likely to affect the harmonious accord now happily subsisting between them, they shall invite the other High Contracting Parties to a joint conference to which the whole subject will be referred for consideration and adjustment. If the said rights are threatened by the aggressive action of any other Power, the High Contracting Parties shall communicate with one another fully and frankly in order to arrive at an understanding as to the most efficient measures to be taken, jointly or separately, to meet the exigencies of the particular situation.[65]

The first clause does provide a way for America to retain independence in the Pacific because it protects the rights of American property in the Pacific. However, in order to protect business interests, America had to be willing to engage in foreign commitments and relationships, so the

[61] Ibid.
[62] Offner, *The Origins of the Second World War*, 52.
[63] Ibid.
[64] "The Washington Naval Conference, 1921-1922," U.S. Department of State Archives.

[65] *Insular Possession and Dominions in the Pacific (Four-Power Treaty),* 43 Stat. 1646, Treaty Series 669 (Washington, DC: December 13, 1921), https://www.loc.gov/law/help/us-treaties/bevans/m-ust000002-0332.pdf.

independence of action could easily be stripped away if violations to the treaty occurred. Harding had the desire to protect American business ventures worldwide, and this treaty worked toward that goal.[66]

The first clause is where the independence idea ends. The rest of the treaty entangles America and the other signees into mutual agreements. In the Four-Power Treaty, the United States, France, Britain, and Japan agreed to "consult with each other in the event of a future crisis in East Asia before acting. This treaty replaced the Anglo-Japanese Treaty of 1902, which had been a source of some concern for the United States."[67] Following World War One, Japan became a threat to American possessions in the Pacific, but because of the 1902 agreement between Britain and Japan, if the United States and Japan entered a conflict, then Britain might be obligated to join Japan against the United States. By ending that treaty and creating a Four-Power agreement, the countries involved ensured that none would be obligated to engage in a conflict, but a mechanism would exist for discussions if a conflict emerged.[68] This seems like a good plan, but the mechanism for discussion led America to sign more multilateral agreements to relieve disputes.

In actuality, the Four-Power Treaty reduced American power in the Pacific, but it "enlarged her commitments" in the case of arising problems in Asia.[69] If controversy developed in the Pacific and could not be settled diplomatically, then the powers in the treaty were invited to a conference to settle the dispute. This placed the United States into a situation in which international problems needed to be dealt through the creation of additional multilateral agreements. Furthermore, if any of the powers of this treaty were threatened or attacked, then each of the powers would communicate and possibly take joint action. Joint action did not always mean military action, but it placed the signees in a weak alliance system that could pull America into a war that did not have a direct American cause or effect. Therefore, the treaty did help to protect existing American possessions in the Pacific, but the agreement also placed America in a position of high commitments in the case of engagements in Asia. This treaty exemplifies all the points of an independent internationalist administration. The agreement did protect American independence with respect to existing possessions, but it also linked America to the other signees in the case of a conflict. The agreement maintained American-focused ideas and multilateral ideas, which is the basis of independent internationalism.

In addition to the Four-Power Treaty, five of the conference attendees also signed the Five-Power Treaty. This was the main treaty that the naval conference used to focus on disarmament. Overall, the attendees intended for the treaty to halt the naval race among the United States, Great Britain, and Japan. The Five-Power Treaty proclaimed, "The Contracting Powers agree to limit their respective naval armament as provided in the present Treaty."[70] From there, the document went on to list the limits and regulations for naval ships. Two of the most important stipulations of the agreement were the agreed-upon ship ratio and the loophole that led to another naval arms race. The conference adopted the 5:5:3 limits, which meant Japan could have three ships to every five American and British ships. The key reason why the United States and Britain required higher tonnage allowances was because both nations maintained two-ocean navies.[71] It is also important to note that the agreement applied only to ships of tonnage greater than 10,000 tons. Thus, this opened a loophole that Britain and Japan exploited. Due to the tonnage limits, the cruiser class ships were not regulated or restricted, so following the conference, a new naval race began.[72] This new race eventually led to another naval conference.

Another article of this multilateral agreement recognized the status quo of America, British, and Japanese bases in the Pacific. However, the agreement limited expansion of fortification in the Pacific, which endangered American possessions in much of the Pacific.[73] The treaty seemed to protect American-held territory in the Pacific, but it did not provide for an enforcement program. America was determined to remain out of a war if possible, so the agreement did not hold weight if nations were not willing to police Japan and Great Britain.[74] Japan followed the treaties only if they were "convenient for them," which was quite obvious as time moved forward. Japan did not follow the terms laid out in the Five-Power Treaty, eventually violating

[66] Harding, *Address Accepting the Republican Presidential Nomination*.
[67] "The Washington Naval Conference, 1921-1922," U.S. Department of State Archives.
[68] "The Washington Naval Conference, 1921-1922," U.S. Department of State Archives.
[69] Lippmann, *U.S. Foreign Policy*, 41.
[70] *Limitation of Naval Armament (Five-Power Treaty),* 43 Stat. 1655, Treaty Series 671 (Washington, DC: February 6, 1922), https://www.loc.gov/law/help/us-treaties/bevans/m-ust000002-0351.pdf.

[71] "The Washington Naval Conference, 1921-1922," U.S. Department of State Archives.
[72] Brian McKercher, "Wealth, Power, and the New International Order: Britain and the American Challenge in the 1920s," *Diplomatic History* 12, no. 4 (1988): http://www.jstor.org/stable/24911782, 425.
[73] "The Washington Naval Conference, 1921-1922," U.S. Department of State Archives.
[74] Dulles, *America's Rise to World Power*, 153.

it as they expanded into American-held possessions.[75] Even further, the treaty did not protect the US Navy, but instead, it gave Great Britain a superior navy to the overall American Navy and Japan a superior navy in the Western Pacific.[76] It essentially hurt America's ability to protect and preserve her businesses and possessions in the Pacific if Japan did not hold up its part of the agreement.[77] Many leaders in the Harding Administration championed this treaty, but it did not truly help America in the long or short term, and it represented a major multilateral agreement that eventually led to problems in the Pacific.

The Five-Power Treaty represented a break from the promised isolationist policy almost entirely. America pledged to halt expansion in the Pacific and limited the growth of its navy, but the treaty did little to protect US interests. The treaty put many American possessions within the gun sights of Japan with no protection other than Japan's signature.[78] One part of traditional American isolation (at least as embodied by the Monroe Doctrine) was the fact that economic interests would be protected, but this treaty made that extremely difficult. Also, the lack of enforcement power made the agreement much less effective. The treaty represented internationalism since it was a multilateral agreement, and it did officially bind the signees to the treaty, even if it was not followed or enforced. Thus, the Five-Power Treaty was another example of the Harding Administration's enacting independent internationalism as a policy. The treaty enacted multilateralism, but it did not necessarily bind America to police the agreement; therefore, the nation would not be drawn into a war simply because the treaty was broken. This fact hurt the pact and essentially made the Pacific a free-for-all for Japan because America relinquished a great deal of Pacific power. The Four-Power Treaty was meant to protect the possessions that America had in the Pacific, but without a policing power, neither treaty was strongly enforceable. The Five-Power Treaty was yet another example of the Harding Administration's pushing for independent internationalism over the promised isolationist policies.

The last major agreement signed at the Washington Naval Conference was the Nine-Power Treaty. This treaty internationalized America's "Open-Door" policy in China. The pact was meant to stabilize political and economic tensions in China, but with time, this agreement became unenforceable like the other two because of its lack of

policing to ensure that all powers abided by the terms. The contract declared:

> The Contracting Powers, other than China, agree: To respect the sovereignty, the independence, and the territorial and administrative integrity of China; To provide the fullest and most unembarrassed opportunity to China to develop and maintain for herself an effective and stable government; To use their influence for the purpose of effectually establishing and maintaining the principle of equal opportunity for the commerce and industry of all nations throughout the territory of China; To refrain from taking advantage of conditions in China in order to seek special rights or privileges which would abridge the rights of subjects or citizens of friendly States, and from countenancing action inimical to the security of such States.[79]

The agreement promised that all the signatories would "respect the territorial integrity of China… and affirmed the importance of equal opportunity for all nations doing business with China."[80] Also, the treaty maintained that China would not discriminate against any country seeking business ventures in the nation. However, the enforcement policy for this treaty was much like that for the Four-Power Treaty, in which the powers would call a meeting in the case of a violation of its terms.[81] Thus, the treaty lacked a strong method to ensure all powers followed the agreement because the threat of a meeting was not a strong enough punishment to strong Japan's territorial expansion.

While the internationalization of the Open-Door Policy seemed like a beneficial development for America, it could be helpful only if the powers of the treaty showed integrity. However, Japan was quick to exploit terminology in the agreement. Japan used the term "security" in the agreement to give themselves the reservation, or freedom of action, to expand into China throughout the interwar period. In other words, Japan "was determined to obtain, in a multilateral treaty, a recognition of their interests in China and to reserve her freedom of action in Manchuria."[82] This reservation presented itself in explicitly in Manchuria. If Japan wanted an area, then they declared the land integral to their national security in order to bypass the agreement.

[75] Sadao Asada, "Japan's "Special Interests" and the Washington Conference," *The American Historical Review* 67, no. 1 (1961): doi:10.2307/1846262, 64.

[76] Dulles, *America's Rise to World Power*, 139.

[77] Lippmann, *U.S. Foreign Policy*, 40.

[78] Ibid., 41.

[79] *Principles and Polices Concerning China (Nine-Power Treaty),* 44 Stat. 2113, Treaty Series 723 (Washington, DC: February 6,

1922), https://www.loc.gov/law/help/us-treaties/bevans/m-ust000002-0375.pdf.

[80] "The Washington Naval Conference, 1921-1922," U.S. Department of State Archives.

[81] "The Washington Naval Conference, 1921-1922," U.S. Department of State Archives.

[82] Asada, "Japan's "Special Interests" and the Washington Conference," 62.

Japan's policy was contradicted between their outward subscription to the Nine-Power Treaty and their inner reservation of action in Manchuria. Japan's special interests of expansion took hold over the next decade, and "the Japanese faithfully observed the Nine-Power Treaty only as long as they did not feel it necessary to resort to that 'reservation.' After 1931, Nipponese legalists attempted to rationalize an aggressive policy by invoking the right to 'security,' while ignoring all the other features of the Nine-Power Treaty which proved inconvenient to them."[83] Thus, the signees of the treaty did not formulate an enforcement strategy, and Japan was able to bypass many of the limitations of the treaty when they felt the need.

Many American and world leaders went into the deliberations of this treaty with good intentions to stop any future conflicts regarding economic and political tensions in China. However, from the American perspective, the path was once again a policy of independent internationalism rather than strict isolationism. The policy did attempt to protect America's economic interests in China through the Open-Door policy. However, this was done with a multilateral agreement that grouped nine powers together in a treaty that could meet as a group only to address issues that arose whenever a country violated the terms of the agreement. The Nine-Powers Treaty did maintain America's independence of action in the case of one of the powers not upholding the treaty, but this made the policy unenforceable. Thus, the Nine-Power Treaty was another example of the Harding Administration's seeking independent internationalism and not isolationism.

All in all, the Washington Naval Conference was a prime example of the Harding Administration's implementing an independent internationalist policy as opposed to the promised isolationist policy. Not only was this a direct lie to the American voters, but a major issue also arose when America attempted to enforce this foreign policy strategy. Each of these treaties lacked enforcement power because America desired to maintain independence of action in the case that any terms were broken. This did keep America out of conflicts in Asia for a short time, but her possessions and rights were slowly taken over by Japan. By taking a mixed approach toward foreign policy, America increased her overseas commitments but reduced her overseas power and authority. The long-term significance of implementing independent internationalism was not necessarily the treaties signed at the conference, but rather the implications that the conference had for the future. It placed America in the position to take a more direct approach towards internationalism. America was already in a position of power, but internationalism put America in the position of supreme

power. Over the course of the 1920s and 1930s, America maintained an independent internationalist policy, but with time, the lack of enforcement powers of treaties forced America and other nations to take stands against foreign powers. Within twenty years of the Harding Administration's acceptance of independent internationalism, America was no longer independent from action. America went on the path of internationalism and has not truly been able to withdraw from the problems of the world since the end of the Second World War. Harding's Administration misguided the public with promises of isolation, but the independent internationalism that they implemented eventually led America to adopt a much more international and multilateral approach to foreign affairs.

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[83] Ibid., 70.

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Pakistani-conomy: Did the Eisenhower Doctrine Truly Help?

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In the decades following the end of World War II, what began as a half-century of "hot" wars became one of "Cold War." As the United States and the Soviet Union vied for power and influence, the conflict quickly became ideological: America and her allies frantically sought to stop the spread of communism originating out of the Soviet Union. Although the two superpowers never directly fought one another, the attempts to contain communism led to proxy wars and conflicts around the globe, including Asia, Latin America, and the Middle East. One key conflict was the Suez Crisis. When Egyptian President Gamel Abdel Nasser attempted to nationalize the Suez Canal and construct the Aswan Dam, the British and French forces occupying the area objected, despite the Americans' conditional support.[1] This short-lived conflict, lasting from October 1956 through March 1957, ended in defeat for the British and the French, forcing them to eventually withdraw.

American policy makers and leaders had long known that the Middle East and South Asia stood as strategic center-points. If the Soviets gained control over this territory, then they could easily expand their power and reach across southern Europe, Southeast Asia, and Africa. Fearing the inevitability of the situation, U.S. President Dwight D. Eisenhower knew that the American government and military needed to protect the region, contain communist expansion, and preserve American interests. These wishes soon appeared before the U.S. Congress, in what is known as the Eisenhower Doctrine.

The doctrine enacted four major powers for the President:

- to authorize the United States to cooperate with and assist any nation or group of nations in the general area of the Middle East in the development of economic strength dedicated to the maintenance of national independence…

- to undertake in the same region programs of military assistance and cooperation with any nation or group of nations which desires such aid…
- to include the employment of the Armed Forces of the United States… against overt armed aggression from any nation controlled by international communism…
- to employ, for economic and defensive military purposes, sums available under the Mutual Security Act of 1954, as amended, without regard to existing limitations.[2]

This marked an important moment in the development of U.S. Cold War doctrine as it committed the U.S. to pursue policies and initiatives (economic, diplomatic, and military) designed to create a line of defense against communist expansion across western and southern Asia.

One of the critical points in the South Asian line was Pakistan. Independent since 1948, Pakistan built (despite her on going religious and military conflicts with India) a close alliance with the United States and enjoyed an extended period of economic success that lasted throughout the 1960s. The fundamental question is, To what degree did the Eisenhower Doctrine impact Pakistan's success during this period? While at first glance one might conclude that the doctrine drove Pakistani success, the evidence shows this was not the case. Instead, prior constant American aid, adoption of western idealism through multiple political pacts, and financial reforms by Ayub Khan led to this brief period of prosperity.

From 1947 until the signing of the Mutual Defense Agreement in 1954, Pakistan attempted to grow a self-sustaining economy based mostly on textiles and agriculture. Through the 1950s, agriculture saw booming increases upwards of 20% per annum.[3] In addition, GDP (Growth Domestic Product), the most common way to determine

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[1] Sherman Adams, *Firsthand Report: The Story of the Eisenhower Administration* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1961), 247.
[2] Dwight D. Eisenhower, "Situation in the Middle East – Address of the President of the United States." 103, *Congressional Record – Senate.* pg 224-227. 1957.

[3] Parvez Hasan, et al. "Learning from the Past: A Fifty-year Perspective on Pakistan's Development [with Comments]." *The Pakistan Development Review* 36, no. 4, (December 1997). 373.

economic success, scored higher in Pakistan than in most other developing countries, being 3.1% in the 1950s and increasing to 6.7% in the 1960s. These increases appear to show success in self-development for Pakistan.

However, many of the weaknesses rose from their weak or non-existent foreign trade and export policies. In 1947, Pakistan originally traded agricultural products with Britain and India. However, this quickly shifted when they broke off trade with India. In response to the jarring exit of a main trade partner, Pakistani officials placed more focus on imported domestic manufacturing without balancing the value of exported agricultural goods[4]. This focus resulted negatively, and without the necessary balance of international and domestic economy, trade policies became very restrictive. As a result, domestic agriculture, the main source of income, weakened.

Because of this stagnation, Pakistan fell into its first economic crisis. In order to remain viable, Pakistan became heavily reliant on foreign aid, primarily from the United States. The year 1954 served as the original turning point for Pakistan. The Mutual Security Act of 1954 sought to provide American aid in order to keep peace and security among foreign nations through economic and military assistance. In 1954 alone, American aid to Pakistan amounted to $12 million (2.2 billion rupees).[5]

The Eisenhower administration recognized the need to rebuild the agricultural foundation of Pakistan and ease tensions between it and India. In addition to direct aid, the U.S. implemented a program of cultural and technological exchanges between the countries and the United States. One example of this type of exchange was the International Farm Youth Program. Rooted in the 4-H Association, the first exchange occurred in 1948 between the U.S. and 7 European countries. This program was one of several "people to people" diplomatic initiatives that became fundamental components of United States foreign policy during the Cold War. In October, 1954 President Eisenhower focused significant energy on U.S. South Asian affairs, which included a number of meetings, receptions, and luncheons with diplomats from Turkey, Iran, India, and Pakistan. This effort culminated on 30 October 1954, when the President, at the request of the Departments of Agriculture and State, met with the exchange participants, ambassadors, and other officials from Pakistan and India.[6]

Though important, both countries realized that this simply was not going to be enough. With India continuing to threaten Pakistan's economy and refusing to work with the American policy of containment, the two countries entered into an even deeper alliance, the Mutual Defense Assistance Agreement, built on the effects of the Mutual Security Act. This agreement paved the way for the sustaining of the Pakistan state. As the name suggests, the Agreement worked in a format that benefitted both countries in preserving the independence of Pakistan with their assistance in maintaining peace in Southern Asia. Articles I and VII of the Agreement read:

> The Government of the United States will make available to the Government of Pakistan such equipment, services, materials, or other assistance as the Government of the United States may authorize in accordance with such terms and conditions as may be agreed… The Government of Pakistan will… take appropriate steps to insure the effective utilization of the economic and military assistance provided by the United States.[7]

With this act, Pakistan now found the security that it needed against major enemies such as India, while also finding economic assistance to fortify her independence.

American foreign aid poured into Pakistan, and she benefitted in very strong ways. The total amount of funding in 1955 totaled more than $65 million—almost five times the aid from 1954.[8] This amount steadily grew over the next ten years, peaking at $315 million in 1964. This amount was a full ten percent of U.S. foreign aid that year, showing the key importance of Pakistan's location for containing communism. By that time, Pakistani agriculture, while not at the high point where it once was, regrew to producing 4.9% per annum.[9] While still not completely self-sufficient, the amount of aid that these acts provided economically and militarily assisted Pakistan in its quest for full independence.

However, America was not the only country that assisted Pakistan. Over the course of the period in question, Pakistan enjoyed additional support from three international groups: the Baghdad Pact, SEATO, and the Aid-to-Pakistan Coalition.

With the success of NATO in Europe, the Americans sought to continue this trend in South Asia. This led to the

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[4] Stephen R. Lewis, Jr., "Effects of Trade Policies on Domestic Relative Prices: Pakistan, 1951-1964." *The American Economic Review* 58, no. 1 (March 1968). 5.
[5] Mohammed Ayoob, "U.S. Economic Assistance to Pakistan: 1954-1965: A Case Study in the Politics of Foreign Aid." *India Quarterly* 23, no. 2 (April-June 1967). 141.
[6] "The President's Appointments, October 1954. Dwight D Eisenhower Presidential Library, Museum, and Boyhood Home.

URL:
https://www.eisenhowerlibrary.gov/sites/default/files/research/online-documents/presidential-appointment-books/1954/october-1954.pdf Last revised 19 July 2019.
[7] Muhammad Zafrulla Khan and John K. Emmerson, "United States-Pakistan Mutual Defense Assistance Agreement (May 19, 1954)." *Middle East Journal* 8, no. 3 (1954): 338-40.
[8] Ayoob, "U.S. Economic Assistance," 141.
[9] Hasan, "Learning from the Past," 374.

birth of SEATO (Southeast Asia Treaty Organization). Beginning in September 1954, SEATO aimed to form a collective of eight countries, including Pakistan, to create and defend peace in the region and boost the economic standing of all nations involved.[10] Primarily, the U.S. benefited from this treaty through the use of military aid. To the Americans, being able to employ troops in Pakistan increased the effectiveness of western containment doctrine. Pakistan mainly wished for military aid to defend against India, who maintained neutrality in its superpower relations, and to resolve the ongoing situation in Kashmir.

This issue caused Pakistan to act warily in its engagement with SEATO. First, citizens of Pakistan as early as 1955 believed that American aid was "too slow and… unromantic."[11] Though the aid passed $300 million across the Asian members of SEATO, America gave a portion of this funding to India. Firoz Khan Noon, the Prime Minister of Pakistan, stated, "People. . .are bewildered when they find that some of the so-called neutralists are recipients of large-scale aid not only from the Communist countries, but also from Western countries whose policies they are constantly attacking."[12] This uncertainty and restrictions on use of aid caused the Pakistani populace to question just how helpful American aid truly was.

Thus, Pakistan began to accept aid and join pacts with other nations besides the U.S. The Baghdad Pact consisted of 5 countries: Iran, Iraq, Pakistan, Turkey, and the United Kingdom. As was the case with many foreign policy initiatives in this time, the main goal of the pact was to form a stronghold within the region to prevent the spread of communism. The five joined together basing upon the Turkey-Iraqi pact of the same year. The pact served as a miniature version of what the Americans hoped would develop into a Middle East Defense Organization (MEDO). MEDO, they hoped, would "create a regional bulwark against any Soviet penetration."[13]

Though the economic benefits were not as present with this pact, the pact serves as an example of the pro-Western policies that Pakistan developed. At their roots, the founders of Pakistan aimed to be the center of the Islamic world and to champion pan-Islamic views.[14] The ongoing conflict with India threatened Pakistan's Arabic Muslim outreach and connection with Indian Muslims. By developing a conjoined Islamic state, Pakistan hoped to use Islamic influence on foreign relations to develop nationalism. However, by 1955, with the development of the Baghdad

Pact, Pakistan's views of foreign relations shifted to a heavily Westernized mindset. When Egyptian President Nasser nationalized the Suez Canal, Pakistani media praised the event through its Islamic lens.[15] The moral dilemma for Pakistan, then, arose from the opposition to the event from their ally, the British. In an attempt to gain the Americans as an official ally within the Baghdad Pact, Pakistan shifted its intentions towards the shared interest of keeping Nasser and communism in check. This moral dilemma forced Pakistan to adapt to the changing world, and with the refusal to join SCUA (Suez Canal Users' Association), Pakistan pledged their allegiance to the Baghdad Pact and Western visions of security in the Middle East.

Unfortunately, the Baghdad Pact was short-lived. After the British engaged Nasser with a bombing run, the Suez Crisis began. With the fighting now in full effect, Nasser's closing of the canal routes directly affected Pakistan's economy. As much as 56% of the county's exports and 49% of its imports traveled through the canal.[16] The closure resulted in an over-30% price increase on Western-imported items in Pakistani markets. This first crisis affecting the pact proved to be its last. The British suffered heavy losses in the skirmishes, and without enough troops, Nasser forced them to retreat. Without their European ally, the political interests and strength of the remaining Islamic countries failed to support each other, and the pact soon dissolved.

While the Baghdad Pact supported Pakistan from a political-defense standpoint, there was another group that directly supported Pakistan's economy. In 1961, multiple countries, including the United States, Canada, France, Germany, Japan, Italy, Belgium, and the Netherlands, united to form the Aid-to-Pakistan Consortium. This consortium increased the amount of aid to Pakistan exponentially. In Pakistan's Second Five-Year Plan, spanning from 1961 to 1965, almost $2 billion, excluding military aid funds, flowed into the country.[17]

However, during this time, American aid slowed from its previous amounts. While the U.S. gave over $3 billion from 1954 to 1961, financial support declined by nearly a third over the next five years. This occurred for two main reasons. First, due to the extended support from other countries, the United States no longer saw a need to maintain those levels of aid, and second, Pakistan's growing friendship

[10] Mussarat Jabeen and Muhammad Saleem Mazhar, "Security Game: SEATO and CENTO as Instrument of Economic and Military Assistance to Encircle Pakistan," *Pakistan Economic and Social Review* 49, no. 1 (2011): 109-32.
[11] Ayoob, "U.S. Economic Assistance." 132-133.
[12] Ibid. 134.
[13] Ara Sanjian, "The Formulation of the Baghdad Pact" *Middle Eastern Studies* 33, no. 2 (April 1997): 226.

[14] Solail H. Hasmi. "Zero plus Zero plus Zero: Pakistan, the Baghdad Pact, and the Suez Crisis." *The International History Review* Vol. 33, No. 3 (September 2011): 529.
[15] Ibid. 529.
[16] Ibid. 539.
[17] Ayoob, "U.S. Economic Assistance." 143.

with Red China worried the Americans.[18] Jealous of the support that India received, Pakistan refused to surrender their political freedom to mingle with other nations, regardless of political affiliation.

Obviously, much of America's economic aid to Pakistan was used as political leverage against communism. As Pakistan's relationship with China grew, the Americans grew livid and postponed the 1965 meeting of the consortium. Pakistan, supposedly shaken from the withdrawal of support, stood their ground. President Ayub Khan reported, "Pakistan is seeking friends, not masters."[19] Pakistan's entire motive for its actions to this point was establishing themselves as an independent center of the Islamic world. Though they had relied on foreign (predominately American) aid for over a decade, they would not sacrifice their independence for aid. America thus delayed the meeting indefinitely, and in 1966, the consortium's aid fizzled.

Though foreign aid played a major role in the economic development of Pakistan, the Pakistani government pursued many domestic improvements as well. These reforms came mainly with the presidential rule of Ayub Khan in 1958. Though the first constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan (the replacement of the Dominion of Pakistan) came into effect in 1956, Khan did not rule until 1958 after a bloodless coup d'état granted him power.[20] Ayub's almost 11-year reign proved to be one of the most prosperous periods for Pakistan's economy, due to his reforming policies concerning taxation, agriculture, and industry.

Ayub Kahn held Pakistan's industrial side of the economy as an item of highest importance. Though the beginnings of Pakistani industrialization in the nineteenth century began as a chaotic adventure, a few key foreign investors remained in the nation.[21] Ayub used these investors to establish industrial projects in the first and second five-year plans. This board controlled 10% of the nation's GDP in the first five-year plan and proved essential throughout the economic system reforming process. In fact, Ayub's success can be attributed to his apparent silence towards the public and his private trust of his ministers of finance, commerce, and industry.

The construction of new industrial outlets primarily took place toward the end of Ayub Khan's presidency during the third five-year plan. In relation to the agricultural industry, seventeen new jute and cotton plants opened up opportunities to increase production quantity and quality. Both of these crops were essential to making textiles, the key

Pakistani exported good. From 1968 to 1969, the production of jute increased by 15 to 18%, and the overall production of textiles rose almost 15%.[22]

Industry also assisted Pakistan's agriculture sector through effects of the Green Revolution. This revolution introduced and increased the use of fertilizers, tractors, and high-yield varieties of seed. Using the 1965 agricultural census as a baseline, one sees that each farm on average produced 363.3 gross rupees per acre on a farm. By the end of the third five-year plan in 1970, each acre reaped 714 gross rupees per acre, 96% higher productivity than in 1965.[23] Larger farms saw a smaller overall percentage increase (61% increase from 1965-1970), but due to the larger acreage, saw the same improvements.

One reason for the disparity in farm sizes were Ayub's land redistribution policies. In response to the Green Revolution, over 147 million acres of farmlands were redistributed between richer, large farms and lower-class small and medium farms. Some may be inclined to argue that this fed into a larger issue of larger farms underappreciating or destroying smaller farms. However, between 1960 and 1972, the average large farm shrank from approximately 112 acres to approximately 100 acres. Likewise, small farms grew on average from 4.14 acres to 5.82 acres.[24] Moreover, some 23% of this land went to "onetime tenant farmers" to further their lives and the overall economic situation.[25]

The final key part of Pakistani agricultural success came in the form of increased investment in public and private water resources. One of Ayub's most ambitious and successful projects was the construction of the Tarbela dam. This new dam, along with its sister, the Mangla dam completed the year before, created new waterways and reservoirs for Pakistani farmers. It concluded the Indus River program, which allowed both Pakistan and India to use that area of water to help their respective countries.[26] This helped increase the generation and flow of electricity, fresh water, and supplies to West Pakistan. Through these new water sources, Pakistan improved her agricultural status and eased tensions between Pakistan and India after the Indo-Pakistani War in 1965. All of these improvements to the industrial and agricultural sectors increased economic standing throughout Ayub Khan's presidency.

These initiatives differed in a significant way from those of the previous decade, however. It was not American aid driving this growth. Chinese and Soviet funding backed much of the nation's industrial/infrastructure expansion. This

[18] George J. Lerski, "The Pakistan-American Alliance: A Reevaluation of the Past Decade." *Asian Survey* 8, no. 5. (May 1968). 410.

[19] Ayoob, "U.S. Economic Assistance," 139.

[20] W. M. Dobell, "Ayub Khan as President of Pakistan." *Pacific Affairs* 42, no. 3 (Autumn 1969): 294.

[21] Ibid. 297.

[22] Wayne Wilcox, "Pakistan: A Decade of Ayub." *Asian Survey* 9, no. 2 (February 1969): 90.

[23] M. Ghaffar Chaudhry, "Green Revolution and Redistribution of Rural Incomes: Pakistan's Experience," *The Pakistan Development Review* 21, no. 3 (Autumn 1982): 179.

[24] Chaudhry, "Green Revolution," 181.

[25] "Ayub's Acid Test," *TIME Magazine* 77, no. 16 (April 1961): 36.

[26] Wilcox, "Decade of Ayub," 90.

alternate foreign aid offered Pakistan the opportunity to diversify its economy. This support resulted in the construction of a machine and metals complex, a steel mill, and a Russian-powered atomic power station.[27]

By the time Ayub Khan abdicated in 1967, Pakistan's economy lived in a much-improved state. Although future presidents failed to maintain what Ayub had started, this decade of improvement reaped major benefits for Pakistan. Overall, Pakistan's national income increased by 4%, and her grain output increased by 19%.[28] Though slightly lower than at the midpoint of the presidency, Pakistan's savings rates rose more than they had in the country's history. Investments made up 14.6% of the nation's GDP, foreign savings 4.5%, and national savings accounts 10.1%.[29]

All of this information demonstrates that American foreign aid certainly played a part in Pakistan's ultimate achievement of full independence, both political and economic. Even just a few years after the beginning of the Dominion of Pakistan, internal and external crises created a reliance upon foreign aid. The millions of dollars that the Americans sent to Pakistan certainly helped improve the economy, but ultimately, it was not the endgame. American aid primarily served a defensive military purpose in order to place troops and build bases in South Asia to fight against communism. Pakistan, the geographic center of this area, served as a political high ground for the Western ideals. This American involvement affected Pakistan and convinced them to adopt more Westernized policies. As the years passed, Pakistan became more frustrated with the Americans, due to the restrictions against using the aid to settle their disputes with India, who received more American aid than even Pakistan.

The Eisenhower Doctrine typified these feelings towards aid to Pakistan. However, by the time of its full implementation, in a world in which proxy wars and crises required the U.S. to provide aid to a number of nations simultaneously, its long-term impact on Pakistan was limited. This becomes more apparent when Ayub Khan assumed rule of Pakistan and began his domestic reforms. Though the doctrine had good intentions, it simply came too little and too late in history to have any major effects on Pakistan's economy. Reviewing its four main clauses, the executive power that it granted Eisenhower in the region failed to match the needs of Pakistan beyond some minor financial aid. Pakistan never entered into any direct military conflicts with Soviet Russia; thus, using the military "against overt armed aggression from any nation controlled by international communism" never occurred.[30] The most applicable part of the doctrine's guidelines was the assistance to maintain the independence of neutral and allied nations. However, even that fell short to Pakistan's initial nationalized Islam. When

Pakistan began to receive and accept aid from other nations in the early 1960s—from the coalition and even from the Soviets—American aid wavered. Overall, the goals of the Americans through the Eisenhower Doctrine failed to meet the long-term needs of Pakistan's economy. It focused too heavily on *military* aid, which Pakistan could not make use of in the ways that they needed to. Instead, American aid before the doctrine proved more useful to the survival of Pakistan, and, in the time of the doctrine, other forms of foreign and domestic economic improvements remedied (or at least halted) what the World Bank called one of the greatest economic successes in the world at that time.

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Transformative Justice and Racial Reconciliation

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In 1940, *the New York Times* reported a story about the lynching of a 16-year-old African American boy who was accused of attacking a white woman in LaGrange, Georgia. The lynching victim was named Austin Callaway. He was taken to the police department after the accusation was made, only to be carried away later by six white men. The men took Callaway six miles outside of town and shot him multiple times, leaving him for dead. Callaway was found alive but later succumbed to his injuries in the hospital (Perry, 2019). Several decades later, *the New York Times* again reported a story about the small town of LaGrange, Georgia, and the same lynching but this time in a different light. The newspaper reported that the current chief of police, Louis Dekmar, was apologizing on behalf of the department not only to the NAACP president in Troup County, Ernest Ward, but also to the family and community for the department's failure to prevent this horrendous crime (WESA, 2017). This was the first known lynching apology offered by a white police chief on behalf of an entire police department in America. The story made national news on networks such as ABC, CNN, NPR, and it sparked many conversations about lynching apologies. Sadly, most lynching victims' stories have yet to be told or apologized for. One of the big questions that has been asked, especially this year, with the protests for Black Lives Matter, concerns whether or not apologies for lynchings and other racial atrocities are effective. In my research, I will analyze how and if these apologies and discussions can help our communities, making them a better place for current and future residents.

A Brief History of African American Racial Injustice in America

While the history of racial injustices done to African Americans in America has a time span of about 400 years, this paper could not encompass all of those stories. This paper will instead focus on the timeline from post-Civil War America to present times.

Post-Civil War

Before the Civil War ended in 1865, President Abraham Lincoln, a Republican, had already started creating a reconciliation plan for the Southern states. In his plan, he wanted to grant amnesty to all ex-Confederates who were of the lower ranks, while still punishing the higher officials and officers. He believed that if he did this, then he could create loyalists in the South who would work with him on Reconstruction (DeBerry & Miller, 2019). The Republican Congress was very unhappy with this plan, as they believed that it was too mild; in retaliation, they created the Wade-Davis Manifesto, which blocked Lincoln from planning Reconstruction and gave the power to Congress (DeBerry & Miller, 2019). Unfortunately, Lincoln was assassinated before the end of the war, meaning that his Vice President, Andrew Johnson, a Democrat from Tennessee, was now in office. President Johnson was a staunch Unionist, but he did not share the same sentiments that Lincoln did. He believed that the South should be punished, but he granted them way more leniency than Lincoln had planned to. Johnson conceived of fourteen categories in which a person could not be given a pardon, but many of these guidelines were lenient. He also required that all states abolish slavery before reentering the Union. Before Congress could reconvene in 1865, Johnson had instituted his plan, and all but one Southern state had ratified their constitution. Johnson declared that Reconstruction was over (DeBerry & Miller, 2019). Republicans proposed the 14th Amendment in 1866, which gave freed slaves citizenship and protection under the law, but it failed at first. As white supremacy upheld its status in the White House, it was also allowed to continue in Southern states.

Taking a look back at the states, many Southern plantation owners were angered by the fact that they now had to treat what was previously their property as actual human beings. A man who had previously been a slave was murdered simply for asserting that he was free after the Civil War (Equal Justice Initiative, 2015, 9). The leniency of Johnson's early Reconstruction plans was also taking a toll on the states. Originally, the plan for Reconstruction was also supposed to help freedmen get on their feet and begin a normal life, but unfortunately for some, that never happened. A lot of the land that was supposed to be given to freed slaves was given back to white landowners by 1866 (Shally-Jensen, 2014, 122-130). African Americans without jobs or homes fell prey to the new Black Codes that were being instituted in the South. These laws were created to exploit the terms of the 13th Amendment, which abolished slavery unless it was

punishment for a crime. Odd laws began appearing, such as an Apprentice Law created in Mississippi, which allowed Black children to be taken from their parents if it was believed that they were not being taken well care of (Shally-Jensen, 2014, 125). The children were then given to "suitable families" (typically white families) to serve as apprentices, which meant more free labor. Vagrancy laws began popping up across Southern states, and it became illegal to be homeless. If you broke the law, then you were hauled off to jail to be an indentured slave until your debt was paid off (Shally-Jensen, 2014). While these discriminatory laws continued to gain traction, Congress sat on Capitol Hill, not making any effort towards a fix.

Two race massacres occurred in 1866 that did finally push Congress into action. The first was the Memphis Massacre, which spanned from May 1 to May 3 of 1866 (Donald, 2018). On May 1st, African American Union soldiers were standing outside of the Memphis courthouse for an unknown reason. Some people had reported that they were being rowdy and unruly, so the police arrived. Harsh words were exchanged, and a ruckus began; some soldiers fired shots into the air, and it was said that the white police believed themselves to be the target, so they fired into the crowd. Ultimately, one police officer and one firefighter died in the shootout. The police retreated and returned with reinforcements, and an all-out shooting began. After a ceasefire, the soldiers returned to their fort, but the police came back and wreaked havoc on the Black community in that area for two more days. They looted, burned, and slaughtered everything that was in their way until they felt it was sufficiently over. While only one officer died in the shootout, many more people died in the massacre that followed (Donald, 2018).

The next well-known bloody massacre that occurred during the summer of 1866 took place in New Orleans, Louisiana. The Constitutional Convention of 1866 had just convened, which meant that slavery was finally made illegal in the Louisiana Constitution (Scott, 2020). Black Convention supporters, mostly Union soldiers, began a parade of celebration. They waved the American flag in joyful celebration as they walked through the streets of the city (Scott, 2020). A single shot rang out during the celebration, and then many more followed. Pistols were going off left and right, Many Black citizens ran to the Mechanics Hall down the road to take cover, only to be murdered by a white mob as well as by the police themselves, who set the building ablaze (Scott, 2020). Martial law was quickly instituted by Federal troops, and when they began counting the dead, they found that 30 to 50 Black Americans had been killed and 150 injured (Scott, 2020).

These two events led Congress to jump into action with the Militarization Act of 1867. All Southern states were occupied by Federal troops under martial law (Shally-Jensen, 2014). Along with that law came the Reconstruction Act of 1867. This act not only allowed African American men to vote but also disenfranchised former Confederates (Equal Justice Initiative, 2015, 11). This disenfranchisement allowed the voting demographic of the South to change, and with that came a greater shift towards equality. There were some 2,000 Black men who held office during the glorious time of Reconstruction (Shally-Jensen, 2014).

After a surge of Black elections and representatives in the early years of Reconstruction, a "wave of counter-revolutionary terror" began to grow within white communities that would continue for years to come (Equal Justice Initiative, 2015, 13). A politically and racially motivated massacre occurred in Colfax, Louisiana, a sugar and cotton planation during slavery that soon became a bustling town during Reconstruction (Equal Justice Initiative, 2015, 14). The town had just finished an election cycle in which it was widely believed that the Democratic Party leaders had won fraudulently. The African American community decided to protest peacefully outside the courthouse. White citizens surround the protests and engaged in small fights with the protestors. On Easter Sunday, though, it was reported that 300 whites had attacked the courthouse, assaulting protestors (Equal Justice Initiative, 2015, 14). The casualties were three white people and fifty African Americans. Today the town has two signs pertaining to this part of its history. One sign commemorates the three white men who lost their lives "fighting for white supremacy" (Equal Justice Initiative, 2015, 14). The other sign talks a little about the event, but the last line reads "This event on April 13, 1873 marked the end of carpetbag misrule in the South" (Equal Justice Initiative, 2015, 14).

The Ku Klux Klan was a white supremacy group created by ex-Confederate soldiers in 1865 in Knoxville, Tennessee. They created a storm of white resistance to Reconstruction and terrorized African American communities in the South. This group acted as a military force for elections. The Democratic Governor of New York in 1868, Horatio Seymour, campaigned on the idea that he was a white man's candidate and said that "black people are in form, color, and character unlike the whites and [...] are, in their present condition, an ignorant and degrading race" (Equal Justice Initiative, 2015, 15). As time went on, the idea of Reconstruction began to falter as the strong willpower of white supremacy grew. The courts overturned case after case, stripping the protections that African Americans needed in the Deep South. One of the biggest court cases that the Supreme Court dealt with was in *United States v. Cruikshank,* in which they ruled that the 14th Amendment protects citizens from actions against the state, not from individuals (Equal Justice Initiative, 2015, 19). This ruling meant that African Americans were protected from racially-motivated attacks only if they came from the state, not from private actors. This ruling basically made Reconstruction legislation useless. Then, in the election of 1876, with a deadlock between

Rutherford B. Hayes (R) and Samuel J. Tilden (D), Hayes was promised the presidency if he would end Reconstruction (Equal Justice Initiative, 2015, 22). With the election of Hayes, Federal officers were removed from the South, and the reign of white terror began.

Jim Crow

As Reconstruction ended, the era of Jim Crow began. Jim Crow was an upholding of racially-segregated laws that kept African Americans in awful conditions and separate from white citizens, and there is a significant historical connection to the name. The name "Jim Crow" comes from a white performer by the name of Thomas Dartmouth Rice (Richardson, 2018). Mr. Rice, who performed in blackface and named his character Jim Crow, first performed this act in 1832. The popularity of this minstrel show, a show performed by white men in blackface in mockery of Black Americans, slowly gained cultural significance. What started as a theatrical mocking of Black Americans used to create a comical relief for the white majority became the name of the laws that upheld white supremacy and suppressed Black Americans for 88 years.

The laws of segregation ranged from the almost insignificant, such as addressing white people in a certain manner, to bigger laws, such as the outlawing of interracial marriage and segregation of public education. If an African American person broke a law or was seen as being disrespectful to the white population, then it could lead to a deadly response, not just from the police department, but also from the white citizens themselves. Lynching, while used back in post-Civil War times, grew more prominent during the Jim Crow era as a way to enforce white rule and uphold white supremacy in America. Black men were lynched for actions that their white counterparts would not have been held accountable for; this is seen in the story of a Black man in Luverne, Alabama, by the name of Jessie Thornton. He was lynched strictly because he did not call the police officer Doris Rhodes by the title "Mr. Doris Rhodes" (Ekanem, 2013). Another form of excuse for lynching was based on the fear of interracial sex and the fear of rape. For example, Emmett Till, a fourteen-year-old African American boy visiting family in Mississippi in 1955, was lynched for nothing more than a white woman's lie about a flirtation (Library of Congress, n.d.).

Lynchings were also seen as public events for white citizens. They would be advertised in newspapers just as a sporting event would be today, and families would gather at a designated spot to watch the execution (PBS, n.d.). Families would even bring home souvenirs from the dead bodies as a reminder of that day. In 1904, a public lynching occurred in Doddsville, Mississippi, where a Black sharecropper named Luther Halbort was accused of killing a white landowner by the name of James Eastland. Halbort and his wife, who remained unnamed, fled into the Mississippi swamps.

Eastland's brother, Woods Eastland, gathered 50 men to pursue the Halborts, and within three days they were caught. The two were tied to a tree on the lawn of a Black church. Their hands were displayed while spectators removed their fingers as keepsakes before the couple was burned alive on pyres (Harris, 2015, 12-13). Lynching these two victims in front of a Black church was intentional. Another disgusting report occurred in Newnan, Georgia, in 1899, where a Black man named Sam Hose was lynched, and pieces of Hose's heart, liver, and bones were sold to the crowd later as souvenirs (Equal Justice Initiative, 2015, 35). These public lynchings, and even private ones, were used as a demonstration to the rest of the African American community as a way to say "keep in line, or this could happen to you next."

These atrocities may have happened 122 years ago, but the cultural significance that they most likely left on the Black communities should not be ignored. I interviewed Dekmar, the chief of the LaGrange Police Department, about his decision to apologize for the Austin Callaway lynching on the behalf of the police department. He mentioned that even though the lynching occurred 78 years ago, it still affected the way the African American community in LaGrange viewed their police department in current times. These individual traumas created by these acts do not just disappear as time goes on but rather become internalized in both the Black and white communities.

The racial terror did not stop with individuals; it would go on to spread through entire communities. In 1927, in Little Rock, Arkansas, a Black man by the name of John Carter was lynched for the accusation of having struck two white women. He was forced to jump with a noose around his neck from an automobile and then shot 200 times (Equal Justice Initiative, 2015, 39). His dead body was then paraded through the streets of Little Rock's Black neighborhoods in a twenty-car procession. After their inhumane parade, the white mob then destroyed the Black churches in the neighborhood and created a bonfire for Carter's body on the trolley tracks, using the church pews for fuel (Equal Justice Initiative, 2015, 39). These gross displays of violence continued for many years and in more states beyond what is considered the Deep South. The American West faced these same issues. In May 1921, in Tulsa, Oklahoma, a Black man by the name of Dick Rowland was in an elevator with a white woman named Sarah Page (Tulsa Historical Society and Museum, n.d.). The details are skewed to this day, but it was believed that he offended the woman or attacked her in some way, so he was arrested. While Rowland was at the courthouse, a newspaper article spurred outrage, and both white and Black groups formed at the courthouse where Rowland was imprisoned. A skirmish occurred with shots fired, so the Black group retreated to the Greenwood District, with the white mob following. The Greenwood District at that time was a grand spot for African American wealth, considered a sort of Black Wall Street. It

had thriving Black businesses and was one of the foundations for the beginning of a Black middle class (Tulsa Historical Society and Museum, n.d.). Within 24 hours, the Greenwood District was burned, bombed, and destroyed, with many lives lost. This massive invasion of white people into Black communities, ruining their sense of safety in what should be their safest areas, continued throughout the Jim Crow era, with little to no punishment. How is a community expected to heal when they have received nothing to help in the healing process?

The complete injustices that have been committed by the white community against the Black community span around 400 years and further. These injustices still affect the African American community today, and they continue to fracture relationships between white and Black Americans. Transformative justice is not a complete fix, as such is quite frankly impossible, but it could start the healing process so that open discussion can occur and thus begin truly addressing not only America's racist past but also its horrific past of white ancestry and how they continue to impact America and its citizens centuries later.

What Is Transformative Justice?

Transformative justice is a fairly new concept within social science fields. After the creation of the Restorative Justice Movement in the 1970's, it slowly began to grow, and so did its criticisms. *Restorative Justice* is defined as "a theory of justice that emphasizes repairing the harm caused by criminal behavior" (Centre for Justice and Reconciliation, n.d.). The basic concept is that the victim and the offender meet for reconciliation through mediation. Many activists and scholars argued that it did not encompass truly addressing the problem but rather focused only on the actions of the offender and how they could heal that relationship with the victim. It failed to address underlying root causes for violent or unlawful actions. A Canadian Quaker by the name of Ruth Morris began to recognize the moral failings of restorative justice and began to piece together the theory of transformative justice. Morris gathered a lot of her information from the "Alternative to Violence Project," a Quaker-run organization that started in New York City in Green Haven Prison. She formed a lot of her theory about transformative justice from the movement known as *Transforming Power,* which focused on working within yourself and your own issues to heal and then bring light to others. With these concepts in mind, the theory of transformative justice was born.

Transformative justice has four core philosophies, but the last three are the ones that this paper will center on. The three core values explored are crime, identity, and transformation. *Crime* is a form of community-based conflict where society and government might also be perpetrators; transformative justice brings issues of *identity* back into the realm of justice by addressing socio-political injustices

towards marginalized groups; this theory believes in the value of mediation, negotiation, and community circles to *transform* conflict (Nocella, 2011).

The Barnard Center for Research on Women (BCRW) has many resources on a more basic understanding of how transformative justice can be defined and identified. A woman by the name of Adrienne Maree Brown describes transformative justice as a way to get "all the way down to the root system of the harm" and then figuring out what needs to be done once at that root to transform it so that the harm is no longer there. She also points out that this is not something that the state can do, as this is deeper work, something that is based solely in the communities we have. Another representative of the BCRW by the name of Stas Schmidt states that we must "address harm but also understand why that harm happened and address the underlying dynamics that created conditions for it to happen in the first place… addressing the conditions of the community that allowed for that to be normal" (Kaba et al., 2020). So essentially, transformative justice is all about getting to the root of issues in a community so that current and future instances of harm can be resolved. This idea of transformative justice could be used as a way to heal racial tensions within our communities by opening up honest discussions of harm and the history of it. One major critique of the idea of transformative justice is that it is a fairly new social theory and therefore does not have a lot of quantitative research to support it. There have been historical events, however, that fell under the umbrella of transformative justice before it was identified as such. Analyzing the racial reconciliation actions of South Africa post-apartheid and Germany post-World War II can help us learn more about how to do so in the States.

Examples of Racial Justice Enacted
Germany Post-WWII: A Country Confronts Its Past—Again

Adolf Hitler rose to power in 1933 and not long after, his Nazi regime began upholding the new racist laws towards German citizens of Jewish heritage. During Hitler's reign, he oversaw the mistreatment and murder of over 6 million Jews in his concentration camps. World War II began in September 1939 after Hitler's invasion of Poland, and the war went on for six years. When the Second World War ended in 1945, Germany was divided in half; East Germany was controlled by the Soviet Union, and West Germany was controlled by the other three Allies: the United States of America, Great Britain, and France. The Allies met at Potsdam to discuss the idea of "Denazification," which was intended to punish the Third Reich while also transitioning Germany into a normal life that would no longer threaten world peace (McClintock, 2005). In the meeting, they devised guidelines that would be followed in the Denazification process. The guidelines were as follows:

- The acceptance that Germany as a whole, not just the elite citizens, were guilty for the crimes of the Third Reich.
- The recognition that certain characteristics of German historic culture, such as anti-liberalism and militarism, had contributed to the rise of the Third Reich.
- A plan to make Germany more democratic, finally solving the issue that Germany continued to have with leadership (McClintock, 2005).

The first step to achieving this goal was a survey named the *Fragebogen*. Citizens filled out this survey with information about their ranks within the Third Reich and were sorted into categories depending on the results. These categories determined their punishments and how long they participated in Denazification. While these programs were somewhat beneficial, they also had a lot of opposition because many Germans had been forced into supporting the Third Reich.

Another issue that Germany faced after the war was large concentration camps that were built in different areas of Germany. During the Denazification process, some camps were used to hold Nazi prisoners and some parts converted into makeshift courtrooms. These camps were also an important part of educating citizens about what had occurred within the walls of these facilities. It was an important part of Step One of Denazification, which was recognizing that they had also been participants in these horrendous acts. One of the camps used during this time was the Dachau camp, located in Bavaria; it was one of the first concentration camps built in 1933 (Marcuse, 2000). The Dachau concentration camp was used from 1933 until the American liberation in 1945. It was used as Nazi propaganda to "show" citizens that the camps were not bad. The citizens had been told and shown by German officials that these camps were for education and housing. The Dachau camp had also been used for Nazi guard training in preparation for them to then move on to their assigned camp (Marcuse, 2000). After American liberation, a United States Army general by the name of Henning Linden toured the camp and found horrendous evidence of the disgusting treatment of the German captives. After seeing it for himself, he ordered those nearby citizens to tour the facility in hopes of showing them what had really occurred during the Nazi regime. Linden was quoted as saying,

> The outstanding picture I got from my inspection of this camp was the barbaric, infamous systematic effort of the camp routine to degrade the human to a point where he bordered on the animal. I would strongly recommend that all German citizens within marching distance of this concentration camp be forced to walk through [it], to the end that the German people could know and realize what form of government and

philosophy they have been supporting during the Nazi regime. (Marcuse, 2000)

The citizens were taken through the camps, but it seemed that some people still could not see past the propaganda, even after the fact. One citizen was taken through the camp during this time and after seeing it all still maintained the idea that it was a "clean" camp and the horrific conditions were just a brief phase that had occurred (Marcuse, 2000). For several months during the trials that occurred there, the Dachau camp was used as a sort of museum displaying the horrors of the Nazi regime. Victims of the camp were encouraged to create memorials and documentary exhibitions. As a way to combat the old propaganda, the U.S. military sent out pamphlets to citizens to showcase the horrific things that had occurred in the camp. After the trials finished and the U.S wrapped up the Denazification process in 1947, they handed the building over to the Bavarian government. The Dachau camp is only one example of the many camps used to showcase German brutality; some camps were later transformed into penitentiaries. The idea of Denazification slowly fell away from the German ideals, and they tried to ignore the past. After the Berlin Wall fell, it ignited the discussion again about Denazification, and whether or not it was needed again.

After the Berlin Wall fell in 1989, the struggles of unifying both sides began. One of the biggest turning points in this time was that professionals who had been alive during the time of Nazi Germany were now retiring. The younger generation began to move into the fields of science, history, law, and education and began conducting new research into Germany's atrocious past (Evans, 2018). These revelations led to the monuments that we see today, such as memorials for the victims of the Holocaust and monuments that are kept in Germany as a reminder. These monuments were created to remind older Germans, to inform younger Germans, and to better prevent such atrocities in the future.

Apartheid and Post-Apartheid: Owning Up to the Truth

Before analyzing the process of post-apartheid and its contribution to transformative justice, the history of apartheid itself must be recognized. In 1692, the Dutch government founded Cape Town in South Africa. As time went on, more white settlers began to colonize parts of South Africa, and in 1910, the Union of South Africa was founded, which later became the National Party. A counter-party was also created in 1912 to combat white supremacy; this party was known as the African National Congress (ANC). The growth of large cities in South Africa attracted many Black African workers in the 1930's and 40's. The National Party opposed Black Africans moving to the large cities, as they believed that it threatened their ability to rule, so when they came to power in 1948, they began to institute and uphold white supremacist laws. Some of these laws included creating specific towns for

different races, as in 1951 when the Bantu Authorities Act was passed (Lucas, 2020). This act meant that the Black towns were the only places where Black Africans could reside. Their laws also mimicked segregation laws that America upheld during the same period, such as Black Africans not being allowed in first class railroad cars and the outlaw of interracial marriage or fornication. The ANC began fighting against these laws by organizing protests and committing acts of civil disobedience.

One law that sparked protest and that was the origin behind the Sharpeville protest, which later became a massacre, was the Pass Book Law of 1952. This law restricted the gathering of Black Africans to groups of fewer than 10 persons and required every South African over the age of 16 to carry a pass book at all times (Adesina, 2021). This pass book held information about the person, such as their name and fingerprints, as well as information on whether they were allowed to be in non-Black cities. This law rightfully created outrage, and many anti-apartheid groups as well as the ANC organized a protest. A group of five thousand people gathered in Sharpeville on March 21, 1960, in front of the police station and other government buildings, with the intent to be arrested for not carrying their required passes. In response, the police became annoyed by the protests and fired shots into the crowd, creating a panic. Even when the crowd began to flee, the police continued to shoot. When the dust cleared, 69 people were found dead. This massacre sparked so much outrage and protests that the Pass Law was suspended, and on March 30, 1960, a state of emergency was declared. The government also passed the Indemnity Act in 1961, which cleared all government officials of any wrongdoing or liability (Adesina, 2021). The ANC and others continued to fight against the injustices created by white supremacy, but the Soweto Massacre in 1976 is what really began the true call for change in the apartheid laws in South Africa.

In the summer of 1976, Black South African high school students gathered in various places with the intent to march to Orlando West Secondary school to pledge solidarity against Bantu education (Baines, 2006). Education in Black townships during this time was sorely lacking when it came to actually educating students. Their education supplies were almost non-existent, and their students outnumbered their staff, not to mention the fact that some of their staff didn't even have teaching certificates (Baines, 2006). This was all a by-product of the Bantu Education Law of 1953, which transferred all Black education to the Bantu Education Department, headed by a white supremacist by the name of Hendrick Verwoerd ("The Soweto Uprising: A Soul-Cry of Rage," 1976). The catalyst that made the protest a reality was that the Afrikaans language was to become the main language by which education was taught. This angered many students because there were many active languages in each region of South Africa. On June 16, 1976, the Soweto Student Representative Council organized a peaceful march that

quickly turned violent due to police escalation. The police blocked students from reaching their desired meeting place, and when the students refused to obey orders, law enforcement officers shot tear gas into the crowds and used dogs to maintain order. When those efforts failed, the police decided to shoot into the crowd of students ("The Soweto Uprising: A Soul-Cry of Rage," 1976). After the first shots were fired, chaos erupted. In retaliation, some protestors began lighting buildings and cars on fire, while others either were attacked by or were attacking police officers. The city was sealed off by officials, and helicopters dropped tear gas on the small African town. This one riot soon spread to other townships nearby as news spread. Once it all ceased, the damages were unimaginable: 700 dead and 5,000 injured (Baines, 2006). This incident, like the one in Sharpeville, was only one of the many fights for justice that occurred before apartheid ended in 1990.

After the fall of apartheid in South Africa, the work to create a new government began. One of the biggest issues that the new government faced was the question of dealing with the human rights violations that had occurred during apartheid. While some South Africans wished to ignore the past, pushing it aside for political alliance and stability, others supported the idea of bringing the sins to light as a way to share the stories of victims and create a healing process (Deegan, 2001, 137).

Many debates were held over how to handle the reconciliation of South Africa, but the idea that was finally agreed upon was the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), which was officially created in 1993 (Deegan, 2001,138). The TRC would provide public acknowledgement of and reparations to the victims of gross abuses. The TRC would investigate and share crimes only between the years of 1960-1994 (Deegan, 2001, 138-139). This was not to say that crimes that happened before 1960 were unimportant or that justice was unattainable; many places have recognized crimes earlier than 1960, but now the hyper-focus was on crimes committed where the victims or witnesses were still living. The TRC also granted amnesty to perpetrators, with a set of conditions, but many people feared that amnesty would not bring about the justice that was deserved. Desmond Tutu, the Chairman of the TRC, even questioned if there could be justice if amnesty were allowed, but the TRC maintained that this was not punitive justice but rather a restorative one (Deegan, 2001, 138).

After much debate over the thought of amnesty and how it should be handled, a set of conditions was created. These set conditions for amnesty were as follows:
- Any action in which amnesty was sought had to have occurred between 1960-1994.
- The action had to be politically motivated not for personal gain.
- The applicant had to disclose the whole story, and

- the rule of proportionality had to be observed (Deegan, 2001, 139).

The commission created committees within itself to handle different aspects of this step toward transformative justice. The Human Rights Violation Committee was tasked with investigating the crimes of human rights. They were to record all allegations made by victims and the victim's family and determine whether the violations occurred from deliberative state planning or any other organization (Deegan, 2001, 140). These cases were then chosen by this committee and presented to the public under certain considerations. In one eyewitness account that was shared in front of the TRC by a participant of the Sharpeville massacre, a man by the name of Fredrick Batkani, said that

> At Sunday night we gathered at the football ground. All men were there. Women were not allowed. It was the middle of the night around midnight, when the police came. They said: "What are you doing here?" The leaders of Pan-Africanist Congress answered: "We're here to talk about the bad rules of the passes." That wasn't the right answer, because moments later the officers started to hit us with whips. We ran away, some of us badly hurt. There were also shots. I don't know if they were aimed at people or not. It was dark, I couldn't see. (Lodge, 2011, 2)

This eyewitness account captures only a fraction of the injustices that occurred during apartheid rule. Another account shared to the TRC came in the form of Edith Mjobo. Three of her sons were outspoken activists, and the government had a habit of detaining and torturing families as a means to get information. Mjobo shared at her testimony that "As they were looking for my sons, they used to arrest my husband. And they used to cover his face with plastic bags and torture his genitals. He became sick because of this. He suffered a lot until his death" (Deegan, 2001, 142).

The TRC worked for two and a half years compiling information just like this and working with victims as well as perpetrators to share the truth about apartheid. The 3,500-page report was released after fighting with the ANC, the ruling party at the time, about the contents.

While the TRC did not fully heal the communities in South Africa, it did open many people's eyes to atrocities that had occurred. No longer could citizens say, "My people would not do that" (Deegan, 2001, 157).

Analytical Method

This paper, while full of historical significance, still begs the question "Do transformative justice and racial reconciliation work? Thus, the question has to be tested. To create a test, one must have a theory, hypothesis, and different variables. A *theory*, which is the first step to testable research, is defined as "a set of empirical generalizations about a topic" (Monroe, 2000). A theory is the broad generalization that forms the general idea for research. The next step would be narrowing your theory down to a *hypothesis,* and that is defined as "an empirical statement derived from a theory." Within the hypothesis, there are *variables*, which are defined as "the objects by which the hypothesis describes (Monroe, 2000). There are two variables in a hypothesis: the dependent variable and the independent variable. The *independent variables* are those presumed in the theory underlying the hypothesis to be the "cause," and the *dependent variable* is considered the "effects or consequences" (Monroe, 2000).

The theory for this paper is questioning whether or not transformative justice helps heal community ties. The hypothesis is this: Do active discussions on race and lynching apologies help heal racial ties within the community? My dependent variable consists of racial attitudes and relationships within the community of LaGrange, Georgia. My independent variable is going to be the presence of racial trust-building initiatives and lynching apologies in communities like LaGrange.

While there is not a lot of qualitative data available on the subject, because of how new the topic is, the case in LaGrange, Georgia can give us a glimpse into how these programs and ideas can work, as well as how they have inspired other cities to follow.

LaGrange, Georgia
Racial Trust-Building Initiative

The beginnings of what would become the Racial Trust-Building Initiative in LaGrange, Georgia, began in 2014. Former President of LaGrange College Dan McAlexander informed me that the project idea started in the office of LaGrange Mayor Jim Thornton with two other mayors from the surrounding cities, Police Chief Louis Dekmar, the County Commission Chair (at the time Ricky Wolfe), the local state representative (at the time Carl Von Epps), and the Troup County Sheriff. In this closed-door meeting, Wolfe made the point that every breakfast meeting that occurred with the Mayor about issues in the town always circled back to race. With that conclusion in mind, Wolfe and Von Epps volunteered to co-run an organization now known as the Racial Trust-Building Initiative (RTBI). The two pitched the idea to local funders and stakeholders in 2015, and it was met with some criticism, but also with some interest. The two were in contact with Hope in the Cities, a race and reconciliation group run out of Richmond, Virginia. They traveled to Richmond to conduct research on how exactly the program could be run. Wolfe and Von Epps also worked with Southern Truth and Reconciliation (STAR), a group located in Atlanta, Georgia, which does consulting and networking for groups just like the Racial Trust-Building Initiative.

After a lot of collaboration, research, and planning, STAR hosted the very first of many trust-building activities at LaGrange College on March 7, 2015, the 50th anniversary of Bloody Sunday. The Racial Trust-Building Initiative has Level 1 and Level 2 training that is taught by STAR and Hope in the Cities. After the citizens of LaGrange go through their initial training, they can then meet to discuss more in-depth ideas and discussions around race. While McAlexander was not able to attend the first session, due to family issues, he did attend later on. He said that the things shared within this group were "powerful, powerful stuff [that was] helping people have honest, frank, and civil conversations, especially on whites." He backed this up by sharing the story of Nathan Green, whose sister cried after being able to step into the Callaway Auditorium, which had been a community center at the time and was not desegregated until 1992. It had been private property until that year, and it was vaguely understood that the owner, Fuller E. Callaway, a staunch segregationist, wished to keep it segregated until it was sold to Milliken and Company, who donated the building to the college, who then desegregated it.

Another well-known community member, Ernest Ward, the previous president of the NAACP, shared that this organization was one of great importance to him and to the healing of the community. The group has sponsored many activities around the issue of race, whether it be reflection activities such as creating a timeline and seeing how the past looked like to other citizens or meeting for breakfast to discuss the idea of implicit bias of all people. They are continually active in their efforts. As of now, McAlexander said that there have been 350 citizens, both Black and White, who have participated in these trainings and discussions. This creation of this group in 2015 began the building blocks for the lynching apology for Austin Callaway that occurred in 2018.

The Apology

Dekmar, the man who initiated the apology, attended the first Racial Trust-Building Initiative in 2015, but before then it seemed that he was already contemplating the issue. He first became aware of the lynching long before the creation of RTBI, which seems to be back in 2011. Dekmar noted that two older Black women were discussing the police department, and it was made evident that even after 70 years, the lynching still affected the way that the older Black citizens of LaGrange viewed the department. He recognized this issue but did not know how to approach it effectively until years later. He wanted not only the police department but also the community as a whole to work together on this issue. Several years later, in 2016, he approached Ward with the idea for an apology.

Ward at the time was the NAACP President, and when he was approached with this idea, he wanted to make it very clear that it had to be an action-based apology rather

than a baseless one. He compared an apology to an engagement: "I said an apology without some concrete action would be like an engagement without a marriage; it wouldn't mean nothing." Ward exclaimed that he had to be very careful accepting an apology as the President of NAACP because the whole creation of the NAACP was to fight against lynchings. After a lengthy discussion over the idea, the two worked together along with other members in the community to come up with a plan.

The apology took place in Warren Temple United Methodist Church, a historic church in LaGrange. This was the same church from 1940 whose pastor, when he heard of the lynching, wrote to Thurgood Marshall for justice. CNN reported that 200 people, all of mixed colors, crammed into the church, with police in uniform seated among the citizens. Mayor Thornton gave his speech first, saying, "Some would like to see us bury the past and move on. Until we have a full and complete acknowledgement of the past, we can never heal" (Grinberg, 2017). Many other important people gave an apology for their department's failings at that time. For example, local judge Jeannette Little quoted the Bible: "Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall set you free" (Grinberg, 2017). The apology was just the beginning, though, as Ward said that there needed to be action, too.

The Actions After

When asked if he believed that the apology was effective in building trust between the community and the police department, Dekmar said, "The acknowledgement and the apology are the first step. It isn't the concessionary step; it's the first step." True to his promise to Ward about action following the apology, he began to go through the policies and procedures that were used in the department. He acknowledged that through an administrative lens, the policies might seem as though they are distributed justly and fairly, but through a historical lens, you could see how it affected marginalized communities. So with that in mind, the LaGrange Police Department began fixing the system from the inside.

One of the first projects instituted was the Record Restriction Act, which restricts arrest records of people who were not charged with a crime. This act is instrumental in job growth within marginalized communities. If someone is looking for a decent-paying professional job but they have an arrest record, then they are less likely to get a call back or even a recognition. Most marginalized communities have a high rate of arrests, and the restriction of police records can even the playing field for many people to attain jobs. Another program that was implemented was the switch from arresting people for certain misdemeanors to instead writing citations when it's applicable. Dekmar explained that if you arrest someone for having an open container of alcohol in public, they will sit in jail until they can be seen by a judge, who will then most likely release them on a promise to appear. He

explained that this can affect marginalized and lower income citizens exceptionally because if you arrest them on a Friday and they have a job on a Saturday, then they have just lost that job. He said, "Now you've just introduced chaos into a situation where you know two days later, the judge is going to punish them, release them on their promise to appearance, so they have sat in jail essentially for no good reason." This is a good program that allows citizens a chance to make up for the misdemeanor without, as Dekmar said, throwing chaos into an environment for nothing.

Another program that has been implemented is the addition of a case worker position to the force. This person, connected with 700 agencies, can now help people outside of just having an officer there. This case worker can point the person in the direction of help so that they can get what they need. The last program that really benefits the community is the Car Care Program. This program was created with the help of local car part stores. If a citizen is pulled over for a broken headlight or any minor vehicle infraction, then an officer, instead of writing a ticket, gives the person a 10% off coupon to an auto parts store so that they can fix the problem. This means that someone who might pay $200 for a ticket is now able to save money while getting the infraction fixed. This is a great program because at the end of the day, if someone with little money has to choose between groceries or their tail-light, they will choose the groceries.

While all of these programs are great at building a sort of trust, Dekmar points out that "trust does not give you a pass, but what it does give you is time." He pointed to the riots within the larger cities and how all of that strife stems from the continued distrust within the community. He explained that in white communities, if the police mess up, it is seen as nothing more than a screw-up, but in Black communities, it's "another screw-up on a page in a chapter in a book in a library full of bad outcomes. It's not looked at in isolation; it's looked at with the historical experience they have had in some quarters with the police, if that makes sense." This idea rings true in the events that have occurred just last year; first the murder of Ahmaud Aubrey, then George Floyd, followed by Breanna Taylor, and so on. It's nothing new for the Black community or other minority groups, but trust-building is something that the white community should start considering.

Conclusion

While these programs continue to be used in the small town of LaGrange, they should also be considered in towns around the US. There may be no qualitative proof that these programs help communities in their growth, but there is quantitative proof that it can help to educate the citizens. The Racial Trust-Building Initiative has over 350 members and plans to grow its numbers by working with LaGrange College to educate its students. They are working to help implement a program just like it in Smyrna, Georgia, and have already

done so in Harris County, Georgia. These programs cannot promise change, but they can promise open discussions and education for both races so that we can begin to hopefully create a better future for the next generation.

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COVID-19 Pandemic Politics, Economics, & Policies on Death Rates in 2020

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Abstract

As COVID-19 swept through the United States, the pandemic affected some states more harshly than others. We seek to understand why, looking at a series of policies undertaken, economic factors, and political elements to see these account for differences in death rates among the states and D.C., using both bivariate and multivariate tests.

Theory and Hypothesis

In our research, we are analyzing the impact of the first independent variable (politics), which includes 1) state support for President Donald J. Trump in the 2016 election, and 2) the governor of the State: Republican or Democratic Party. The second independent variable (economics) includes (1) economic freedom: state taxes, spending and labor regulations. The third independent variable includes the policies designed to stop the spread of COVID-19. These involve travel restrictions, economic restrictions, and personal restrictions. Our dependent variables are the COVID-19 spread and the positivity rate (for October 2020), as well as the coronavirus death rate (November 2020).

Univariate Statistics for Death Rates

The mean is 3.73 deaths per 100,000 people. The median category (50th percentile) is 2.81 deaths per 100,000 people. The standard deviation is 2.93 per 100,000 people. The upper limit is 6.66 per 100k people. The lower limit is 0.8 per 100k people. States with an above-average death rate were Illinois, Iowa, Montana, North Dakota (14.76), South Carolina (12.3), Wisconsin, and Wyoming. Alaska, Hawaii, New Hampshire, Vermont, and Maine (0.83) are all close to a below-average death rate.

Bivariate Statistics

Our evidence shows that states with tougher travel restrictions are more likely to have lower COVID-19 death rates (11 states with strong restrictions were below the median death rate) than expected (7.84). At the same time, states that have looser travel restrictions are also more likely to have higher death rates (21 states were higher than the media death rate) than expected (17.84). The Pearson Chi-Square Statistic is 3.63. This is just barely statistically significant at the 0.10 level.

Our evidence shows that states that reversed or paused their reopening are more likely to have lower COVID-19 death rates (6 states) than expected (4.41). At the same time, states that reopened or were reopening are also more likely to have higher death rates (23 states) than expected (21.41). The Pearson Chi-Square Statistic is 1.36. It is not statistically significant at the 0.10 level

Multivariate Statistics

Our binary logistic regression equation shows that Trump's share of the vote is positively related to a state's COVID-19 death rate (whether it is above-average in death rates or not). That means that the more Trump voters a state has, the more likely a state is to have a higher death rate. The relationship is only moderately statistically significant at the .10 level. COVID-19 positivity rates are also positively associated with a state's death rate. These are statistically significant at the .05 level.

The other independent variables— travel restrictions, openness, economic freedom and which party controls the state governor's office— are not statistically significant at the 0.10 level. Our theoretical model can predict more than 80% of all cases. The Cox & Snell R-Square is 0.41, meaning that our model can explain 40%+ of the variance in our cases, and the model predicts 80 percent of the cases.

Key Findings

We found that states that voted for Trump have the strongest relationship with a state's death rate from COVID-19. The results are significant in a variety of models. Also, a state's economic restrictions and travel restrictions are more likely to be linked to lower death rates, though not in multivariate models. A state's openness does not always consistently lead to higher death rates.

Additionally, states with Republican governors are generally likely to have higher death rates, though this is not consistently so. A state's COVID-19 positivity rate is linked to a state's COVID-19 death rates. A state's economic freedom is not associated with a state's COVID-19 death rate.

This research should not be taken to be anti-GOP. We did find that a state's governor (Democratic or GOP) did not lead to higher death rates, nor did a state's prior pro-business climate (economic freedom) affect the death rate. But states with higher numbers of Trump supporters were linked to higher death rates. Our research shows that it may be more about people's attitudes than party or policy. We need more information on mask mandates and more recent economic restrictions to test whether these protections work better than earlier restrictions.

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[i] This project was accepted and presented at the Council for Undergraduate Research 2021 "Posters on the Hill". The original project was in poster form and presented here in abbreviated form. If you would like to view the original poster with figures and data, please contact the Faculty Mentor, Dr. John Tures.

What Drives Policy on Morality: Consensus of the Governed or Governing Consent?

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The ideal of our republic involves laws being passed through our elected representatives, with these officials generally adhering to their respected constituents, with a majority of the representatives passing laws that are reflective of the majority of each of their constituents. This, however, is not readily assumed of our current electoral system. Regardless of the reasons for this, the matter that lies at the heart of this paper is whether the people, through representatives, are able to produce what they want of their government, or if the government decides what the public will accept.

In early 2010, when dealing with Israel and Palestine, a newly elected Barack Obama thought upon how a President John McCain or Hillary Clinton might have differed with the situation, given the impact that various leaders can have, and or make, based upon the personal makeup of past experiences alone. He goes further, questioning "whether those of us who rise to power are mere conduits for the deep, relentless currents of the times or whether we're at least partly the authors of what's to come" (Obama, 2020). This sentiment is a microcosm of the larger role that the people attempt to have expressed at large versus enacted policy, through a government body, shaping the principles of a society. This dynamic is formed through various outlets; for the public, the main way this is achieved is through political participation versus the different branches of government (Executive, Legislative, or Judicial) prescribing acceptable norms themselves. While there is a direct link between the two, people electing representatives, there is only so much that even a congressional majority can do, and a more observable disparity would be what the public favors and what is ultimately implemented by their representatives.

Public Opinion or Policy's Role in America

In this context, *public opinion* "represents the various attitudes or views large communities of people hold about politics and the actions of government. It thus inherently establishes the range of views, most likely expressed when a population is polled or surveyed" (Shaw et al, 2019). The best representation of this relationship would be issues at the national level, specifically examining gay marriage and abortion. Both of these issues spanned decades, with participation from all of the aforementioned groups—the public, state and national legislatures, presidents, and the courts—all of these with various, sometimes opposing, policies enacted that may or may not have been reflective of the society at the time, or whether the policies were attempted bellwethers for what was and is acceptable. For this paper, *public morality* is synonymous with *majority support*. The metric to determine this will be polls. Obviously, polls are not indicative of immediate change or necessary implementation, but they do serve as good indicators of the general trend of the public, one way or the other.

Why Would Law Influence Morality

The law is often interchangeable with morality, due to moral teachings of everyday life. Shavell (2002) compares this to a child growing through various institutions of school, family, church, and friends. The child learns which acts he should or should not do, based on his own internal emotional response and external societal response to his decisions. Morality in this sense would elicit a sense of honor, with concurring approval of his different groups, while immorality would elicit a sense of guilt, with simultaneous disapproval from those groups (Shavell, 2002). For this context, *laws* are rules that we must perform or else receive punishment along with it. Civil offenses and lesser misdemeanors, such as speeding and loitering, can result in monetary loss, but violent and criminal acts, such as theft and murder, typically lead to harsher sentences, typically jail or prison. The idea behind this is based on proportional punishment (Shavell 2002). These can vary state to state but generally resemble one another in sentencing. While my definition of *morality* is comparable to *majority approval*, the underlying basis for this is compatible with Shavell's (2002) definition. When broadened to functioning adults, both the factors of other people's responses to our actions and conditioned rationale for what is and is not acceptable can determine public morality (approval) for certain issues. This could indicate why the public thinks the way it does when it comes to issues such as abortion and gay marriage. This approach favors the government's ability to enact morality. If there are more

institutions that are highly regarded, such as the courts, legislatures, presidents, or other prominent outlets with a near consensus one way or the other, then the public may be more receptive to its interpretation.

Why Public Opinion Would Influence Morality

While there will almost never be a consensus on a single issue, a collective body of people can be a powerful correlation with what is deemed right. Most obvious is the fact that America operates within a constitutional republic. In America, citizens elect mayors, congressmen, and senators all directly to represent them at the state or national level, and fundamentally the representatives would listen to the majority of their constituents in order to try and get them to vote for them again. This is *electoral accountability*, where elected officials in an attempt to be re-elected stay within the confines of the voters' opinions (Shapiro, 2011). Then from there, those representatives would enact policies that the majority of their people would want, and failure to do so would lead to another candidate replacing them. This is further bolstered by regions, either sections of the country or even by state. This idea strengthens the democratic theory, where politicians would be foolish to listen to a small few special interest groups for the sake of their much larger constituency. According to Burstein, broadly, *democratic theory* is the extent to which citizens can control their governments, the extent of public opinion effectively leading to intended policies, and the responsiveness of the government to that. He further observes that the areas where this is best seen include the economy, civil rights, and war. Politicians attempt to best help their constituents economically in order to improve their chances of re-election. With respect to the latter two, the public sphere was able to aid these movements with a potential change in policy, with more equitable employment opportunities, and with decreasing military budgets during the 1960's and 1970's (Burstein, 1998).

History of Opinion and Policy

At the core of this theory, there is a paradoxical truth. While gauging public opinion to assess morality (approval), one cannot expect, nor does this country operate on, direct democracy. This system would be the purest form of public political participation, the people having all the power; yet this would be extremely unstable and precarious, depending on the particular issue. Statistics aside, the logistics of such a system would probably be less well-received by the public than our own electoral representative system right now. Rather, this measurement would be an indicator of what the public would want implemented and the outcome of that or if the government would be able to influence morality with policies that the public would not favor right away. Examples of this can be as recent as 2010, regarding healthcare and money in politics. In 2010, the Supreme Court ruled in *Citizens United v. FEC* that the 1st Amendment applied to

money and removed previous caps on money used in politics. While expanding the electorate is a well-intended idea, the Court's expansion to include money was not well received by the public at large (Ott, 2012). This is an example of how enacted policy was implemented but failed to sway the public. This relationship between the public and implemented policy goes back hundreds of years, with more notable examples coming from just this last century, such as the Civil Rights movement, women's movement, and gay rights.

Historically, while outside this topic's purview, this can be better exemplified with other major rulings of the Supreme Court. In response to the Civil Rights movement of the 1950's and 1960's, the Supreme Court established *Brown v. Board of Education* in 1954, outlawing public segregation, and then further expanded that in *Loving v. Virginia* in 1967, legalizing interracial marriages, both with unanimous rulings (Willig 2018). Both of these decisions came after highly public movements resulting in codified legislation in the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and then the Voting Rights Act of 1965. These rulings were implemented despite states implementing these barriers during times when they probably had either a majority or a plurality of support. This can be somewhat similarly observed with gay marriage, but less so with abortion.

Expressing Public Opinion

There are many channels by which the public may try to bring about change. More civic forms of this are voting and interacting with public officials, to a more social route of protesting, to a more violent route of rioting, all of which are various forums that the public has and can take. Regarding the first option of voting, that is wholly shaped by political participation. There are numerous reasons why people might not vote, though the more historical reason was due to exclusion. Obvious examples of this are the Civil Rights movement and the women's rights movement. Going back to a notion led by our Founding Fathers of "No Taxation without Representation," the inclusion and expansion of our republic is not new, with the most civic way of determining one's own life through voting. This is what our Founding Fathers and those after them wanted: to try and repeal what they deemed immoral through political participation. While the reasoning is not comparable, the conclusion is still the same; the Founding Fathers were not demanding to have the tax repealed, but rather to have the right to decide themselves; similarly, the inclusion of women didn't relinquish political control to them, just as the re-emergence of African Americans in voting didn't give them final say in politics. All of these were led by social movements, a quite literal mass of peoples who believed certain established norms immoral, both through their application and reasoning, who were able to achieve the change they sought to choose participation in the civic way of voting, which was previously being denied to them. Of course, these movements did not necessarily house a

majority of the public during their respective decades, with a good segment of the population either indifferent or actively hostile to them. Over time, however, these movements grew more palatable to more segments of the public, resulting in codified protections and legislation that they sought.

Gay Marriage and Public Perception

The catalyst to this political issue belonged in the Supreme Court. In 1986 in *Bowers v. Hardwick*, a conservative Supreme Court upheld Georgia's sodomy law outlawing private homosexual relationships. However, for the first time in American history, an ideologically identical Supreme Court then struck down the State of Colorado's attempt to bar protections to LGBTQ relationships with *Romer v. Evans* in 1996 (Weiss, 2015). This sudden shift in the Supreme Court stance is peculiar, as 10 years in the lifespan of the United States of America is not a considerable amount of time, yet an ideologically identical Supreme Court would come to a different conclusion than the *Hardwick* case. There was by no means a plurality, let alone majority consensus, about gay marriage when the Supreme Court ruled this way. The reasoning of this, while unknown, is perhaps an example of the Court attempting to shift the public's acceptance of gay marriage. Later that year, the House and Senate overwhelmingly passed DOMA (Defense of Marriage Act), with 342 to 67 and 85 to 14 votes, respectively, in the House and Senate, which federally recognized only heterosexual marriage and did not recognize same-sex marriages across state lines. Both of these realities happened at the same time. Public opinion on gay marriage during this time was not naturally supportive, both with gay marriage being illegal in a majority of American states and housing a rather small public minority. Why then was this occurring?

Abortion and Public Opinion

Abortion traveled along quite a bit different path than gay marriage. Prior to *Roe v. Wade*, there was a social push to ensure the safety of abortions in the more liberal era of the 1960's. However, despite this push, there wasn't really a guarantee, as it was being struck down in the courts. Going back to this time period, polling on this particular issue could vary widely, although it probably didn't have majority support, more so had a high to mid plurality support. Then, in 1973, the Supreme Court ruled in *Roe v. Wade* that women had a constitutional right to an abortion (Vincent, 2014). Perhaps the reasoning behind this was that the Supreme Court was acknowledging the second wave of feminism that was present at the time. Proponents of abortion considered this an ending point, but there was also a good segment of the population who saw it as a starting point. Unlike gay marriage, the Supreme Court first supported this practice and has backtracked ever since. This was a result, as other cases have triggered, of backlash. The aforementioned *Bowers v. Hardwick* case energized gay rights activists, and likewise

this ruling energized pro-life advocates. In 1976, the United States Congress overrode a veto, by then President Gerald Ford, to block federal funding of abortions, with rare exceptions known as the Hyde Amendment. The Supreme Court then held up the constitutionality of the Hyde Amendment 4 years later in *Harris v. McRae* (1980), concluding that Medicaid could not cover abortions. To this day, the Hyde Amendment persists, potentially giving insight to the way Congressional representatives still feel on the issue of federal funding for abortions. Furthermore, in 1992 the Supreme Court ruled that states had the right to implement certain restrictions that did not produce "undue burdens" for women seeking abortions (*Facts on File* 2021). While perhaps well-intentioned, the practicality of this has led to states implementing wide-ranging restrictions for women. Another example was in *Stenberg v. Carhart* (2000), where the Supreme Court allowed partial-birth/late-term abortions, an extremely controversial practice at the time. Support for partial-birth abortions then, and even now, is solidly opposed to the practice. Was public support for partial-birth abortions the reason for the Supreme Court's ruling for it, or did the Supreme Court's ruling in *Stenberg* create more opposition to this? Overall, this case had a minimal effect on abortion, as partial-birth abortions, numerically, were already in the extreme minority. However, abortion has continuously lost support in the Supreme Court. While *Roe v. Wade's* (1973) majority compromised seven Justices, *Stenberg's* majority comprised the barest majority possible of 5 Justices. This waning support has dire implications for abortion in America if the trend continues that abortion holds generally stagnant. Abortion has always led to mixed reactions from the public. While there might not have been (or yet be) a majority of the public in favor of abolishing it, a good segment of the population is uncomfortable with it, which has led to these opposing rulings and laws.

Impact of Public Opinion on Policy

There is ranging data on the effect of public opinion, with the summation of it concluding that it generally plays a role, the extent of which dependent on the issue(s) (Shapiro, 2011; Burstein, 2003). This effect of public opinion can work both ways, though, limiting or expanding elected officials' options. This is readily observed with either the referendum usage or state legislatures in the US. Regarding gay marriage, at similar times, states across America were either legalizing or outlawing gay rights. In 1992, Colorado added an amendment to their state constitution prohibiting protections for lesbians, gays, and bisexuals by a margin of 53% to 47% (Weiss, 2015). In 2008, California banned gay marriages with Prop 8, with 52% support. In 2009, the legislatures of Vermont, New Hampshire, and D.C. legalized gay marriage, with Maryland doing the same through referendum, with 52% support (Weiss, 2015). All of these initiatives occurred before

gay marriage reached majority support among the public, with a majority of America more opposed to it.

Historically, the issue of gay marriage has not been a popular one. While there has been a slow increase over several decades, why is that the case? Part of this reasoning was due to the optics of the issue. In the late 20th century, the general attitude towards homosexuals was similar to that of perverts and pedophiles, as a danger to children and traditional marriages, explaining the majority of actions taken to restrict their rights. According to the Brennan Center for Justice (Weiss-Wolf and Plant-Chirlin 2015), over the years, due to simple affiliation and teaching, the support for gay marriage grew. More and more people knew same-sex couples and were less likely to want to strip them of their rights, and continued exposure of same-sex couples in the media and on television helped shift the narrative of gay couples reasoning to marry. In his interview with *Meet the Press* in 2012, then-Vice President Joe Biden somewhat accurately pointed out that the TV show *Will & Grace* was just as effective at moving public opinion as a Supreme Court ruling or a national law. The public perception of gay marriage moved to center around love, similar to straight couples, compared to the traditional thought of wanting to obtain only certain economic or civil rights (Weiss, 2015).

Abortion, on the other hand, has always been a more politically precarious issue. The Supreme Court, while more immediately "favoring" abortion compared to gay marriage, has since been much more proactive towards gay marriage than towards abortion. In general, the Supreme Court has left the issue up to the states, allowing varying restrictions to be imposed, yet it has intervened numerous times on behalf of the LGBTQ community. Katha Pollitt (2015), a contributor at *The Nation*, argues this through multiple lenses, with the first being sex. Gay marriage is usually portrayed to the public by men, with same-sex women being underrepresented in this issue. Meanwhile, abortion is focused solely on women, where men aren't at play, according to her article. Furthermore, LGBTQ people exist in every class and can be more readily "seen" compared to the women who end up getting abortions, who are typically depicted as lower class. Also, marriage is easier to rally behind compared to a practice that some consider immoral and some consider stemming from promiscuity (sex). Pollitt argues further that economics might be at play as well. To rule definitively for abortion, as with gay marriage, would mean to federally fund them (Pollitt, 2015).

Theoretical Rationale

The basis of this theory is to determine which "body" (public or government) within the United States acts more as the instrument either to establish new or to alter old policies. If the former, then one must gauge the responsiveness of the government to adhere to them. If the latter, then one must see which particular entity plays the strongest role. The relevance

of this is mainly to measure the authenticity of our democracy. In any democracy, there is an expectation that the public would have, at least, some involvement in the process of government policy. This is both an expected norm and premise of the *democratic theory*. The core of the democratic theory revolves around the public, specifically, "this is the factor of interest and participation; the electorate is required to possess a certain degree of involvement in the process of political decision, to take an appropriate share of responsibility" (Berelson, 1952). The two main theories stemming from this would be either that public opinion leads to a change in public policy or that public policy leads to a change in public opinion. A derivative hypothesis of the first theory would be that the public opinion on either gay marriage or abortion would lead to an intended policy change. The other hypothesis would be that public policy on either gay marriage or abortion would shape the public opinion around it. My own view is that the public opinion on gay marriage and abortion would forge favorably expected policies. In an examination of the public shaping morality (policy), the relationship would be an amended or new policy to reflect the public's view on a stance. For the other theory, policy determining morality, the relationship would be a government agent implementing policy that either has low support or goes against public sentiment.

According to Monroe, a *theory* is "a set of empirical generalizations about a topic," with the *hypothesis* of any theory being an "empirical statement derived from a theory." Moreover, essentially, the independent variable can generally be considered the cause, while the dependent variable is roughly the effect (Monroe, 2000). The first theory's independent variable would be either no change or an increase in public opinion. The dependent variable would be whether or not that corresponded either with no new policies or with new policies. This could operate in either way, really, though I will adhere to the setup established above. A positive relationship for the first hypothesis would be that the public had a majority opinion (50% or more) on the issue, and then

TABLE 1:	
Analytical Method	
Theory 1: Public opinion influences public policy	
Independent Variable:	Dependent Variable:
Public Opinion Change (Y or N)	Policy Change (Y or N)
Hypothesis: Public opinion in surveys on an issue leads to changes in court rulings on an issue	
Independent Variable:	Dependent Variable:
Public Opinion Change on Surveys (Y or N)	Change in Court Rulings (Y or N)
Theory 2: Public Policy influences	
Independent Variable:	Dependent Variable:
Policy Change (Y or N)	Public Opinion Change (Y or N)
Independent Variable:	Dependent Variable:
Change in Court Rulings (Y or N)	Public Opinion Change on Surveys (Y or N)
Issue 1: Gay Marriage	
Issue 2: Abortion	

there was a change in, or new, policy. The second positive relationship could be that the government's policy effectively established principled norms that a majority of society would later adhere to.

An obvious juxtaposition that continues to arise is that generally, the national, state, and local governments (legislative branch) continue to strip away certain rights from certain groups, with the Supreme Court (judicial branch) combatting most of those efforts. The legislative body that more directly represents the American people passed sweeping barriers for LGBTQ people, while the more indirect body of the Supreme Court aided in their equality. Whether at the state or national levels, it was the judiciary that could mobilize the public in one way or the other. For instance, DOMA (Defense of Marriage Act) was passed in response to Hawaii's Supreme Court and Federal Circuit Court ruling that a ban on gay marriages was unconstitutional. That led the Congress of the United States to enact legislation to counter that potential mobilization. Then in 2003, Massachusetts's Supreme Court ruled that gay couples had the right to a marriage, not just a civil union. This saw ripple effects on both sides. Cities and states would begin to follow in Massachusetts's steps, starting off precariously slow, while Conservatives came out in droves the following year (an election year), as part of a campaign advocating for a constitutional amendment to ban same-sex marriage (Weiss, 2015).

While there is this oscillation between the legislature and judicial branches of government, the more important aspect—whether or not either one of these is actually influencing the other—gets lost. I will be testing the case of *Windsor v. United States*, a Supreme Court case that outlawed DOMA, citing a 5th Amendment violation, to see which influences the other. I am choosing this case over the more famous case of *Obergefell v. Hodges*, as it predates *Windsor* by only two years, and any change in public or policy would be predicated on *Windsor's* ruling. While *Obergefell's* ruling shouldn't be downplayed, there was little expectation that the exact same justices would come to a different conclusion for a more rigorous question in *Obergefell*, as in both cases Justice Kennedy was the deciding vote.

The polls that I used were from the Pew Research Center, and I selected polls both 4 years prior to and after *Windsor v. United States,* ranging from 2009 to 2017, with Group A being before *Windsor* (in the picture above), and Group B being after *Windsor* (in picture above). These polls asked the exact same question in both set of polls; the first set ranged from 2008 to 2013, and the second set were from 2012 to 2019. The question that the polls were asking was "Do you strongly favor, favor, oppose, or strongly oppose allowing gays and lesbians to marry legally?" (Pollingreport.com). These polls had 1,503 adults participate nationwide.

Table 2. Participants in favor of gay marriage			
Data Summary	**Before** *Windsor*	**After** *Windsor*	**Total**
Cases	11	06	17
Mean	45	55.1667	48.5882

Mean a – Mean b	**t-ratio**	**df**	*p* **one-tailed**	*p* **two-tailed**
-10.1667	-4.23	15	0.0004	0.0007

Results

Table 2 reports the findings of a difference of means test, or a t-test. Going over the data, starting off with the mean both before and after *Windsor,* quite a change occurred. The mean before *Windsor* was 45, meaning that public support for gay marriage was at an average of 45% nationally. The mean after *Windsor* was at 55.17, meaning that public support for gay marriage was at an average of 55.17% nationally. This is a stark change in public support before and after, favoring gay marriage. Nationally, there was a 10-percentage point increase, meaning that a somewhat comfortable majority of the public approved. The significance of this is that it was this policy, a Supreme Court case (*Windsor v. United States*), that produced this change in public opinion. The confidence in the t-ratio of -4.23 is represented by the "p" (probability) value 1 tailed test. The number in question is .0003635, and to find its confidence, you would simply subtract that from 1 (numerical value). From this, it can be determined that there is a 99.97% confidence in rejecting the null hypothesis, making it more likely that this policy ruling led to the shift in public opinion towards gay marriage. This t-ratio is strongly significant that this policy led to a change in the public's acceptance of gay marriage. With this, we can reject the null hypothesis, as it is above 95%, to determine the strength, but not the uniformity, of the policy (from the court ruling) shifting public opinion.

The same parameters were used in table 3 (same polls and time span), however through a different lens. The metrics here are either polls below 50% support for gay marriage or polls above 50% support for gay marriage and then the results are put into columns to see how often they happen. Ten times before *Windsor* was ruled, public support for gay marriage was below 50%, and only once after it was ruled. On the other hand, only once was public support for gay marriage above 50% before *Windsor* was decided, and 6 times after *Windsor* it was above 50%. The numbers in bold are the observed numbers reported in the polls, and the numbers below them are what you would expect those numbers to be. For below 50% and before *Windsor,* 10 times public support was below

Table 3: Chi-Square test for those who favored gay marriage				
		Dependent Variable		
		Before Policy Change	After Policy Change	Row Total
Independent Variable	Opinion: Below 50%	**10**	**1**	11
		7.12	3.88	
	Opinion: Above 50%	**1**	**5**	6
		3.88	2.12	
	Column Total	11	6	17
	Pearson Chi-Square Statistic	**9.37**	2x2 Table Number To Beat For Significance: **3.841**	
	Is Chi-Square Statistic Significant?	**Yes**		

50%, more than what was expected before the policy change. What this means is that the public was more frequent in their lack of support for gay marriage than what was expected before the policy change. For cases above 50% and before *Windsor*, only once did the public favor it, again also less than what was expected. However, after *Windsor* was decided, only once was public support for it below 50%, and 6 times out of the 7 it was above 50%. Aiding the conclusion of this is the above 50% cases after *Windsor* was decided, as the public favored it more frequently than what was expected. At the same time, the public's lack of support occurred less often, only once, than what was expected. The chi-square value was 9.37, while the critical value was only 3.841. Simply put, if the chi-squared value is greater than the critical value, the relationship is significant, and the further away it is from the critical value, the more significant it is. This also refutes my own theory and hypothesis about public opinion pressuring public policy. This test, along with the difference of means test, on the issue of gay marriage means that policy is extremely likely to influence public opinion.

When examining abortion through the late-term abortion *Stenberg* case, the same way as *Windsor* was utilized (comparing the same number of years before and after, three in this case), though with only one set of polls, as it included more than enough data. In table 4 the "A" column is the polls before *Stenberg*, and "B" column is the polls after *Stenberg*. These polls contained 900 people and were conducted by Fox News. The question they asked was "On the issue of abortion, would you say you are more pro-life or more pro-choice?", with an option of both/mix in its reporting (PollingReport).

Using a difference of means test, the noticeable observation here is the stagnant average mean before and after *Stenberg*. The mean actually fell, although not by much, meaning that there were fewer people who were pro-life as a result of the *Stenberg* case. The t-ratio of 1.48 does not meet the 95% threshold standard required to be significant. So the null hypothesis is kept, though this does not mean the opposite of a rejected null hypothesis. Simply, it means that there is not enough here to conclude a strong correlation between the public changing policy and the shift that is seen from the public, as the *Stenberg* case did not move public opinion (specifically, changing the number of pro-life supporters). On the issue of abortion, there is no correlation between policy affecting the public's opinion on abortion. The chi-square test could not be done, as two of the columns were barely different from 0.

Table 4. Pro-life supporters

Data Summary	Before *Stenberg*	After *Stenberg*	Total
Cases	04	05	09
Mean	43.5	41.2	42.222

Mean a – Mean b	t-ratio	df	*p* one-tailed	*p* two-tailed
2.3	1.48	07	0.0912	0.1824

Future Implications

There are two potential lessons from these results. For gay marriage, policy (in the form of the higher court case *Windsor v. United States*) was able to significantly shift public opinion in its favor, whereas the pro-life policy for abortion (the Supreme Court case *Stenberg v. Carhart*) did not move public opinion at all and saw a slight decrease afterwards in pro-lifers. What this means is that while a current conservative majority may exist on the Supreme Court, they are potentially less likely to move against the issue of gay marriage; however, with stagnant opposition and support for abortion, the Supreme Court potentially may continue its practice of keeping the issue of abortion afloat, with some restrictions.

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America's Election System and the Fall of Duverger's Law

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Abstract

The purpose of this study is to determine if America has outgrown its current system of elections and what kind of reform it needs. This research is being conducted in order to determine whether the Electoral College is still a viable means of electing leaders or no longer represents the wants and needs of the American people. This is done by comparing the United States' system to other global systems using Duverger's Law to determine which system functions best for the American government and its citizens. The results of my research show flaws in one of the most important theories of political science.

Introduction

The past elections in America have been some of the most contentious elections in U.S. election history, in addition to Bush vs. Gore in 2000 (Pruitt, 2017). These elections have been increasingly polarized, leaving moderate voters the choice between candidates who do not align to their political values. As a result, many undecided, moderate, and even partisan voters are longing for a viable third option. To be exact, in February of 2020, 62% of Americans believed that a third party is needed in America; this is an increase from 57% in September of 2021 (Jones, 2021). This is the highest support for a viable third party in history, with the second highest being 61% in 2017 (Jones, 2021). The percentage of each party that favored a third-party option in January 2021 is shown in Figure 1. However, the current election system, which utilizes the Electoral College and the simple majority system, makes a third-party win very difficult. Before running for running for the Democratic nomination in 2020, former New York City Mayor Mike Bloomberg almost ran as a 3rd party candidate in 2016. However, he stated, "The data was very clear and very consistent. Given the strong pull of partisanship and the realities of the Electoral College system, there is no way an independent can win. That is truer today than ever before" (Feist, 2019). What he means by this is that higher levels of polarization and partisanship in today's elections mean that a 3rd-party candidate can almost never win. So in order to allow for viable 3rd-party candidates, reformation or abolition of the Electoral College is needed. While the past two elections have made voters more desirous of a 3rd party, is this simply because of the nature of the past two elections, or is it rather a symptom of an outdated election system?

Theory and Hypothesis

My goal is to determine if the United States has outgrown its current election system and to compare it to international systems in order to determine the best solution. To properly test this hypothesis, the test will be split into two separate parts. The first part is a hypothesis based on Duverger's Law and tests what effect the political system has on the participation in elections. In accordance with Duverger's Law, Hypothesis One states that the more a country favors a simple-majority system, the fewer major political parties it is likely to have. So the test should result in higher voter turnout in countries that have proportional representation. The test for this hypothesis will help to either support or undermine Duverger's Law, by comparing single-member districts (SMD) versus proportional representation (PR) and their voter turnout in each country. According to Duverger's Law, all proportional representation systems should stimulate voter turnout, and single-member districts should suppress it. The independent variable in this test is the type of electoral system, while the dependent variable is the voter turnout. For reference, the United States currently uses a
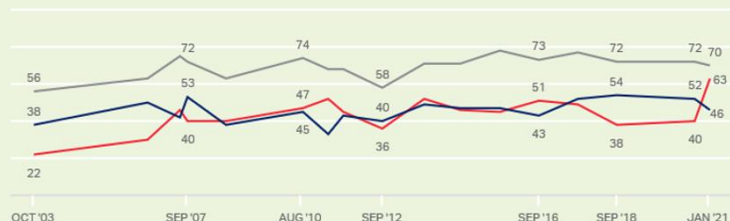

Figure 1: Percentage of each party that favored a third-party option in January 2021

single-member district system, also known as single-member plurality elections. To provide a solution to Hypothesis One, the results will be compared to the popularity of the election system in the United States to see if they coincide with voter turnout in America. However, this test could also speak to the popularity and trust in each system on a global level.

Review of Literature
Duverger's Law

Maurice Duverger is one of the most esteemed and well-known political scientists to this date; he wore many hats during his career. Duverger founded one of the first political science programs in the world at the University of Bordeaux. During this time, he also served as a jurist, which is someone who specializes in or writes law. He is most recognized for his work on Duverger's Law, which has people who either support its results or completely disagree with the results. Since 1951, when Duverger's Law was published, it has served as the cornerstone to defining political systems and their respective parties. This law has been a source of contention between those who believe it to be valid and those who believe it to be false. The law states that "the simple-majority, single-ballot system favours the two-party system," as well as "both the simple-majority system with second ballot and proportional representation favour multi-partism" (Duverger, 1951). Since the law was first formulated, it has been contested and reviewed by political scientists around the globe. Many of them have concluded that the law is actually two statements, with the first half, regarding simple majority, being a law, while the second half, regarding simple majority with second-party and proportional representations, is falsifiable. While the first is referred to as "Duverger's Law," the second is commonly referred to as "Duverger's Hypothesis." Both of these will play a key role in testing the American election system in comparison to the other global systems.

In their book *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Politics, 3rd ed*., McLean and McMillan state the following in regard to Duverger's Law: "The law is driven by the idea that in the long run, rational politicians and voters will realize that it is hopeless to have more than two parties competing at national level." In other words, two-party systems can last only so long. This begs the question of how long is too long? Additionally, America's system may have shown that a two-party system can last only so long before it begins to malfunction, or it may have demonstrated that a two-party system can have longevity.

Proportional Representation vs. Single-Member District

There are two types of voter representation utilized by democracies throughout the world, which are *proportional representation* and *single-member districts*. Figure 2 shows the countries around the world and the number of representatives they have. The most common system used is
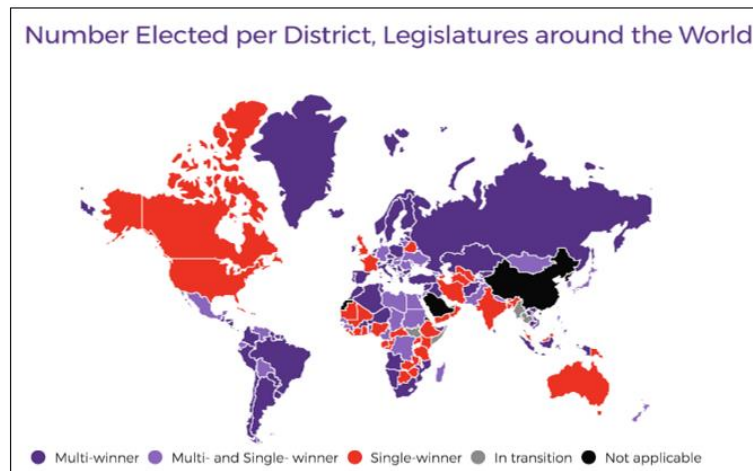
Figure 2: Number of representatives elected per district in each country. Source: U Vote BC

the single-member district, which is used by many countries around the globe, including the United States. These are also known as winner-take-all systems and first-past-the-post systems. As described in the Theory and Hypothesis, a single-member district is "an area…divided into a number of geographically-defined voting districts, each represented by a single elected official" (Fairvote.org). Some examples of single-member district systems are the United States and France. This is the type of system that Duverger stated would lead to a two-party system. While this is the most common system, it is not without flaws. One of the main issues is that "Voters can only vote for their district's representative, with the highest vote-getter winning election, even if he or she has received less than half of the vote" (Fairvote.org). This is the problem that the American Electoral College system has encountered in some of the past presidential elections. In 2016, Donald Trump won the Electoral College vote, while Hillary Clinton won the popular vote; in 2000, Al Gore won the popular vote, but George W. Bush won the Electoral College vote. In addition to these issues, single-member districts are also prone to the manipulation of land space, also known as *gerrymandering* in the U.S. This process is done by redrawing districts "to protect incumbents or weaken political enemies" (Fairvote.org). This is a major issue in the United States and results in under-representation of minorities.

The other main type of democratic electoral system is proportional representation. There are several types of proportional representation systems, but they are all founded on the principle that "all voters deserve representation and that all political groups in society deserve to be represented in our legislatures in proportion to their strength in the electorate" (Fairvote.org). Some examples of countries that use proportional representation are Germany and Italy (Palese, 2018). One of the distinguishing characteristics in a proportional representation system is that all of the districts are often multi-member districts. The number of representatives from each district is dependent upon the

population of the district. Another characteristic is that the seats are divided up among the representatives, based on the percentage of the vote that the candidate/ party received in the election. These two characteristics make up the basis on which a proportional representation system functions. Proportional representation includes many advantages, such as proportional representation; however, it does have some disadvantages. Some of the main concerns about this system are that it "can potentially provide a route for extremists to force their way into the political mainstream" and that "The adoption of PR list systems weakens the link between the elected representative and his or her constituency" (UK Engage, 2013).

How the Electoral College Functions

The Electoral College was born out of compromise and uncertainty in democratically elected leaders. At the time its conception, the United States was the only country in the world to democratically elect its leaders and was building a system from scratch with no point of reference. The Electoral College was created as a part of the Great Compromise in 1787 (Ginsberg *et al.*, 2021). The Electoral College was initially created because the framers of the Constitution believed that the majority of 18th-century voters lacked the resources to know adequate information about the candidates who were running, specifically in rural areas of the country (Ginsberg *et al.,* 2021). In order to combat this, they created a system in which the voters cast their votes to elect electors, who would then cast votes for the president based on what the voters chose. This was instituted to prevent an uneducated group of citizens from having too much sway over the nation's leadership (Ginsberg *et al.,* 2021). The number of electors that each state got was divided up by population; however, the Southern states, who had a low voting population compared to the North, were appeased by the Three-Fifths Compromise, which gave the South more voting power by exploiting their slave populations, counting each slave as only 3/5 of a person, but not giving African-Americans the vote (Roos, 2019).

In modern elections, electors are still decided based on population. Each state is guaranteed at least 3 electors, 2 for each of its Senators and 1 for their House Representative (Ginsberg *et al.*, 2021). The states are then given more electors based on the number of Representatives that they have in the House (Ginsberg *et al.*, 2021). This aspect guarantees that small states have a say in the national election, but it has become controversial in the past years because this means that each person's vote has different value. On average, 1 electoral vote represents the votes of 565,166 people (Fairvote.org). This makes individual votes in small states worth more than votes in large states. "Wyoming's three electoral votes corresponds to 177,556 people. In other words, these people have 3.18 times as much clout in the Electoral College as an average American, or

318%" (Fairvote.org). The percentage of individuals who would prefer a popular vote over the current electoral system is depicted in Figure 3. The imbalance in power of votes is another driving force behind the desire for a new election system such as a popular-vote presidential election and more parties to break up this power.
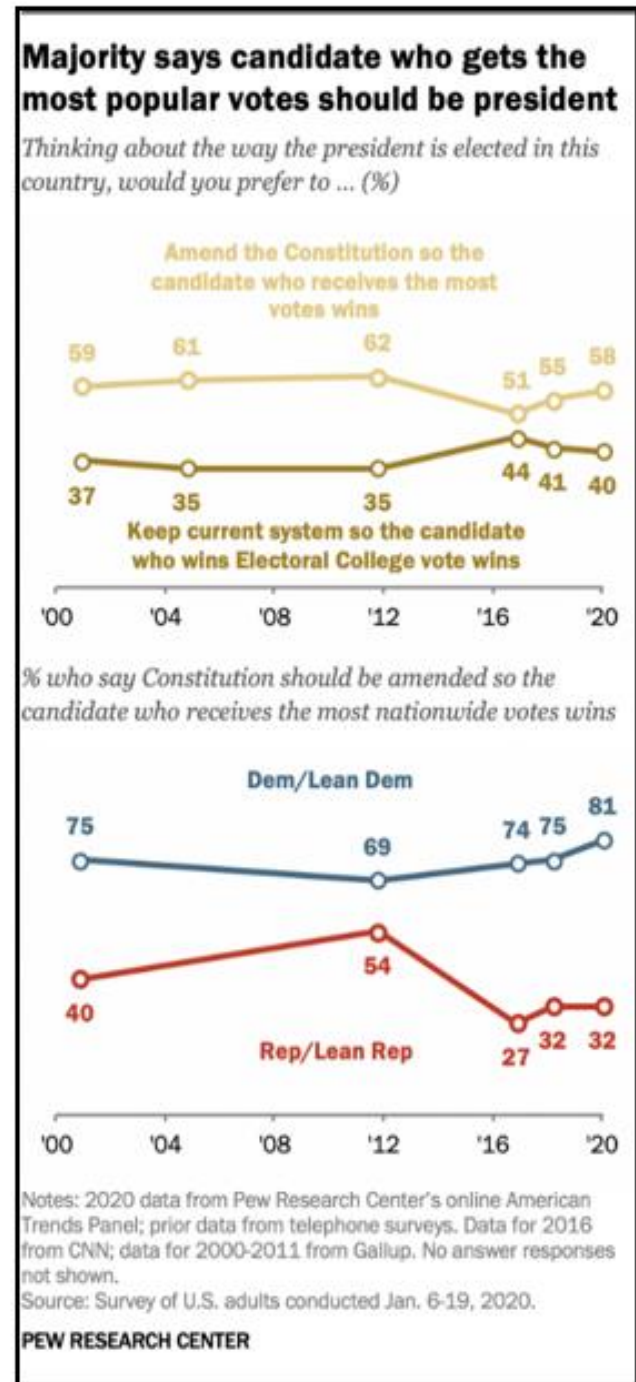
Figure 3. Percentage of individuals who would prefer a popular vote over the current electoral system
Source: Pew Research Center

Polarization

America has had a two-party dominated system for more than 200 years, and while it does not always function perfectly, it is transformative that it has lasted as long as it has. However, U.S. elections have become more and more polarized and contentious over the past 20 to 30 years. According to the Pew Research Center, "Political polarization—the vast and growing gap between liberals and conservatives, Republicans and Democrats—is a defining feature of American politics today." Kenneth Benoit (2006), Professor of Computational Social Science at the London School of Economics and Political Science, refers to Duverger's perspective on polarization in his scholarly journal, *Duverger's Law and the Study of Electoral Systems.* In regard to Duverger's stance on polarization, he states:

> *Polarization* occurs in the simple-majority, single-member district system as the rules produce disproportional outcomes by rewarding larger parties seat shares greater than their vote shares, and conversely punishing smaller parties with seat shares less than their vote shares. *Depolarization* is the opposite process, where under PR electoral rules, voters sincerely favoring small parties are able to support those parties, knowing that even small parties may win seats, and consequently small parties are encouraged to form. (Benoit, 2006)

According to the Pew Research Center, the degree of polarization continues to grow. "The share of Americans with ideologically consistent values has increased over this time, and these political values also have become more strongly associated with partisanship" (Pew Research Center, 2017). This spread between parties is depicted in Figures 4 and 5, which depict how far each party has spread from each other between 1994 and 2017. Partisanship is similar to polarization in this respect. This polarization leaves moderates being forced to decide between two parties that support issues far from their core beliefs, highlighting the need for a viable third party. However, is this a viable concept to be introduced into the United States?
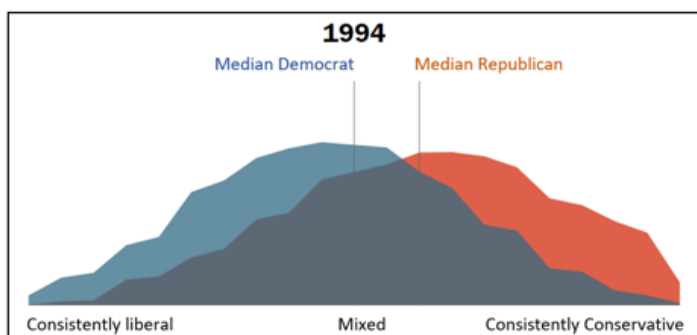
POLITICAL PARTIES LIST

- 1. Democratic Party (1828 modern, 1792 historic)
- 2. Republican Party (1854)
- 3. Constitution Party (1992)
- 4. Green Party (1996)
- 5. Libertarian Party (1971)
- 6. America's Independent Party (2008)
- 7. Moderate Party (2006)
- 8. Reform Party of the United States of America (1995)
- 9. Socialist Party of the United States of America (1973)
- 10. Party for Socialism and Liberation (2004)

Figure 6: U.S. political party list and their founding dates. Source: Lily Warren "Political Philosophy Political Campaign"

Third Parties

The presence of third parties in U.S. elections is not new. Small parties such as the Libertarian and Green Parties have been participating in elections for a while. Figure 6 shows a list of the United States' political parties, including the two major parties, the Democratic Party and the Republican Party. However, none of the third parties have a viable shot, other than to possibly steal some votes from the two major parties. This has contributed to the election victories for major parties. For example, in the contentious election of 2000, Ralph Nader ran as the Green Party candidate. The election came down to the state of Florida to decide who would be President between the two major candidates, George Bush, and Al Gore. The votes that Ralph Nader garnered in the state would have most likely gone to Gore if Nader had not run. If these votes had gone to Gore, it is likely that he could have become President in 2000. The influence of third parties is undeniable; however, their influence could be much greater, pending election reform in the United States. In theory, this could create more cooperation between parties and allow for more compromise on divisive issues. But is the U.S. ready for a viable third party? The possibility of a viable third party being allowed to enter into the U.S. elections system starts with a choice

Figure 4: Spread between U.S. political parties, 1994 Source: Pew Research Center
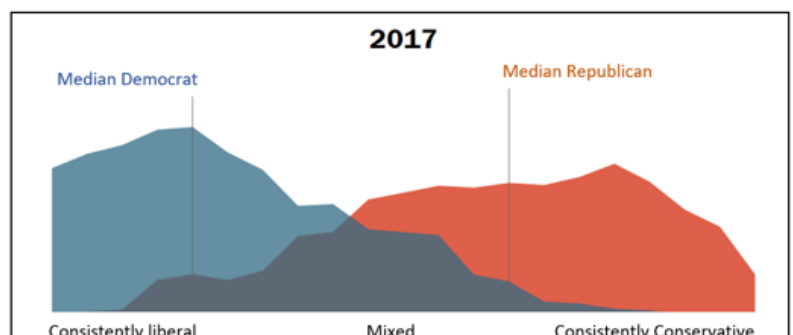
Figure 5: Spread between U.S. political parties, 2017 Source: Pew Research Center

between the use of single-member districts and proportional representation.

Test

In order to properly test Duverger's Law, I worked with Dr. John A. Tures to compile data and run an accurate test. This was done by gathering data on election systems from all 193 countries around the world. To do this, I first found information on what type of elections system each country has. Autocratic/Other countries were assigned a 0; Single-Member Districts or Plurality/Majority countries were assigned a 1; countries with a mixed system were assigned a 2; and countries that utilized proportional representation were assigned a 3. Countries with a 0 were omitted from the test, due to their lack of a democratically elected system. Some examples of countries that were left out of the test are Afghanistan and Venezuela. The data that is utilized in the test is from International IDEA Institute (2020). The independent variable in this test was what kind of system the country had. For this section, the numbers were assigned as follows; 0 = Single-Member District or Plurality/Majority, 1 = Party List/Proportional Representation. The dependent variable in this test was voter turnout divided into two sections: above-average voter turnout or below-average voter turnout. Above-average voter turnout was assigned a 1, while below-average voter turnout was assigned a 0. Each outcome of the test was also assigned a number. A "1" indicates a single-member district electoral system with a below-average voting turnout. A "2" indicates a proportional representation electoral system and a below-average voting turnout. A "3" indicates a single-member district electoral system with an above-average voting turnout. A "4" indicates a proportional representation electoral system with an above-average voter turnout. In order to display the results of this data, I used a 2x2 table to show the relationship among all variables. This data was then used to conduct a chi-square test to determine if it was significant at the .05 level.

Results

The results of the test are below including the 2x2 table and the chi-square results. In the data table, *SMD* represents single-member districts and *PR* represents

Table 1: 2x2 Data Test Results

		DV	
		0 = Below Average Voting Turnout	1 = Above Average Voting Turnout
	0 = SMD	24	40
IV	1 = PR	38	39

Table 2: Chi-Square Test Results

The chi-square statistic is 1.9923. The p-value is .1581. The result is not significant at p < .05.

	Below average voting turnout	Above Average Voting Turnout	Row Totals
SMD	24 (28.14)	40 (35.86)	64
PR	38 (33.86)	39 (43.14)	77
Column Totals	62	79	141

proportional representation. As indicated in Table 2, the chi-square statistic is 1.9923. The p-value is .1581. A *p-value* is "the probability of obtaining results at least as extreme as the observed results of a statistical hypothesis test, assuming that the null hypothesis is correct" (Beers, 2021). As an outcome, the result is not significant at the .05 level or is not significant at p < .05. According to the chi-square test, this means that there is not a significant relationship between what type of electoral system a country has and the voter turnout in that country.

While the result of the chi-square test is not significant, the findings of this overall test are. Based on the data in Table 2, the expected averages, numbers in parentheses, were not equal. For example, there was expected to be 43.14 cases of proportional representation systems with above-average voting turnout, but there were only 39 cases. On the contrary, there was expected to be only 35.86 cases of single-member districts systems with above-average voter turnout, but after the test, there was 40 cases. Overall, proportional representation electoral systems were expected to have a higher voter turnout; however, single-member district electoral systems had the highest voter turnout and had fewer cases of below-average voter turnout than proportional representation. This is important because it calls into question whether Duverger's Law should be classified as a law or not. As previously thought, proportional representation systems should have the higher voter turnout; however, as the data has shown, it does not carry the higher voter turnout. This law worked for some of the countries tested, such as the United States, which was given a "1." This means the U.S. has a single-member district electoral system with a below-average voter turnout. However, countries such as Canada, which uses a single-member district electoral system, had an above-average voter turnout. As stated earlier, based on Duverger's Law, all proportional representation systems should stimulate turnout, and single-member districts should suppress it. These test results show the opposite. While the results were not significant, the fact that the results significantly support a statement that is considered to be a scientific law is cause for attention.

Conclusion

The results of this test point to major flaws within Duverger's Law and beliefs in how our global election system works. The major flaw is that Duverger's Law cannot accurately describe how the current election systems work. Duverger may have been right when he created his law in 1951; however, the world's election systems are constantly changing, with information and the ability to vote becoming easier for individuals across the globe. As a result of the test on Duverger's Law, the assumption can be made that it is not a sound basis for determining a nation's election system. Single-member district and proportional electoral systems

have differing voter turnout from country to country and are not dependent on the type of electoral system.

So what does this mean for America's election system? With the growing unpopularity of its current system and a below-average voter turnout, the United States has reached a crossroads where sooner or later it will have to reform its election system. This is because of increased polarization between the major parties, dissatisfaction in the outcomes of several contentious elections, and the value of individual votes varying state by state. Duverger's Law does not provide an outright blueprint for the U.S. to follow in order to fix its current system. However, the United States has created an election system with no blueprint before: The Electoral College. The country can do it again, using this information about how well each system works for other nations. The creation of an election system, or amendment of the current election system, will require the commitment of undoing an election system that has been used for over two centuries. However, the controversy surrounding the more recent presidential races should serve as motivation to explore a resolution to the unrest surrounding America's elections.

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Factors that Influence Detention Officers' Perceptions of the Jail Population

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Introduction

There is a stereotype associated with correctional officers that describes them as hostile and aggressive towards inmates. This stereotype comes from videos and articles that show the abuse perpetrated against the prison population by correctional officers. We hear of sexual misconduct allegations or the use of violent, physical force against inmates to restrain them. For example, recent articles reported that a correctional officer in Elayn Hunt Correctional Center was charged with simple battery (Padilla 2020), and a San Joaquin County correctional officer was charged with rape and sexual misconduct against an inmate (Thomas 2020). However, the ones we hear about are the outliers. These cases catch the media or the public's attention, and then the case grows. In contrast, most correctional officers are not violent. According to Simmons (2017), correctional officers are supposed to treat situations involving inmates in a professional manner, in a way that shows concern for those involved, including the inmates. The literature gives us insight about a variety of factors that could influence correctional officers' perceptions and attitudes. In this literature review, I will discuss these factors, which include occupational health, length of work experience within the prison system, bases of social power, their commitment to the Bureau of Prisons (BOP), and finally demographic factors. This study will add to the existing literature because it examines the relationship between correctional officers and inmates on a local level.

Literature Review
Occupational Health

The prison system is a violent place, and witnessing violence between inmates can affect a correctional officer's personal sense of security in a negative way (Isenhardt and Hostettler 2020). Research has shown that correctional employees who have experienced violence in the workplace have increased levels of exhaustion and disengagement and a decreased sense of security, which in turn leads to burnout (Isenheardt and Hostettler 2020). If one is constantly in a negative mental and physical state, due to exhaustion and job stress, then it is unlikely that they will do their job with the same enthusiasm as someone who is healthy and happy at their job. One study found that work stress operated as a "mediating pathway" between correctional officers and their attitudes toward prisoners (Shannon and Page 2014: 630). Shannon and Page (2014) found that correctional officers who reported lower stress were more likely to have less harsh attitudes toward inmates. Thus, attitudes towards inmates were significantly associated with the conditions in the workplace (Shannon and Page 2014). The stress of watching violence occur within the workplace and even being a victim of workplace violence could cause stress to rise for anyone, not just a correctional officer.

In Clemente, Reig-Botella, and Coloma's (2015) study of occupational health, length of employment was a significant factor that affected correctional officers' perceptions of inmates. They found that correctional officers suffered greater deterioration in "psychosocial health" with an increased tenure (Clemente, Reig-Botella, and Coloma 2015: 258). While length of work experience impacts an individual's psychosocial health, it also influences how they may view and treat inmates.

Length of Work Experience

Working in an environment with a high level of violence for a long period of time can cause changes in how one perceives people and situations. The longer one works as a correctional officer, the more one learns and experiences. One study showed that those with beginner-level work experience scored lower on *burnout syndrome*, which the authors described as "emotional exhaustion, de-personalization/cynicism, and a feeling of reduced personal accomplishment," compared to those who had been a correctional officer for 20-plus years (Clemente et al. 2015: 251). If one has been a correctional officer for 20-plus years, then it is likely that their commitment to their job could positively impact how they treat inmates. However, in contrast, that length of time could negatively impact their perception of inmates if they had bad experiences. Clemente et al. (2015) also found how length of work experience could impact role ambiguity, where not knowing one's responsibilities could lead to stress, tension, as well as

dissatisfaction on the job (Sociological Dictionary n.d.). The authors found that those with beginner-level experience scored much higher in role ambiguity than did those with 6 to15 and 15 plus-years of experience (Clemente et al. 2015: 251). As the literature shows, individuals with less work experience may experience more stress, which would in turn negatively impacts how correctional officers perceive and treat inmates.

Bases of Social Power

According to Fredik and Smith (2015), there are five different bases of social power: reward, referent, legitimate, coercive, and expert. Reward power occurs when a correctional officer is able to offer something to an inmate to get something in return; referent power is based on a correctional officer's neutral, unbiased treatment of an inmate; legitimate power is based on the inmate's perception that the correctional officer has the ability to hand out punishments; coercive power is based on a correctional officer's ability to hand out punishment or threats to the inmate; finally, expert power is based on a correctional officer's "special knowledge" of an inmate's needs or wants (Fredik and Smith 2015: 500). Fredik and Smith's (2015) study showed that there were definite "power differentials" between correctional officers and inmates, specifically that there was a frequent need to exert authority over offenders in order to control behavior (Fredik and Smith 2015: 511). The dominant bases of power were referent and legitimate, meaning that to ensure inmate compliance, the participants rated fair treatment and "legitimacy to be effective" higher than any other base of power (Fredik and Smith 2015: 512). This shows that if other bases of power are used, such as coercive or expert, then the correctional officers likely do not view the inmate in a positive light, and if they use referent and legitimate power, then it is likely that they respect the inmates more. Because correctional officers are responsible for maintaining order and inmate behavior, it could be argued that the fair and respectful treatment of inmates is a key piece of their job (Fredik and Smith 2015).

Commitment to the Bureau of Prisons (BOP)

The Federal Bureau of Prisons was created to provide humane care for federal inmates, to keep the field of corrections professional, and to ensure consistency among federal prisons (Federal Bureau of Prisons 2015). Research has examined whether the relationship between a correctional officer's commitment to their job and their perceptions of "inmate dangerousness, rapport with inmates, inmate reentry orientation, and respect towards inmates" exists on a federal level (Deffendol 2018: 3). In Deffendol's study of job commitment (2018), correctional officers with a low commitment level had lower scores with dangerousness, rapport, and respect towards inmates, compared to a correctional officer with a medium- to higher-level

commitment (Deffendol 2018). Supported by previous research, correctional officers who demonstrate rapport and respect with inmates had a higher level of commitment to the job than did those who did not (Deffendol 2018). The same study showed that the organizational commitment was impacted by organizational structure and job stress (Deffendol 2018). If the job causes a correctional officer high stress, then their commitment to the job decreases, which could negatively impact their perceptions of inmates. In terms of inmate perception, if a correctional officer is committed to their job and enjoys doing it, then their perceptions of the prison population would be more positive than if they did not care about their job as much.

Demographic Factors

Research conducted on correctional officer-inmate relationships have included demographic factors, including but not limited to job training, gender, educational level, salary, and age. With gender, research is limited and possibly biased, since the corrections field is a male-dominated career. One study found that because of higher perceptions of vulnerability, women had a lower sense of security (Isenhardt and Hostettler 2020). On the other hand, Rhineberger-Dunn, Mack, and Baker (2016) showed that gender was not a significant indicator of emotional exhaustion among corrections officers. Rhineberger et al. argued that gender may not have been a significant indicator of emotional exhaustion because correctional officers move around different units and do not stick with one case file for a long period of time, similar to probation officers. According to Isenhardt and Hostettler (2020), inmate age influences the level of violence and risk of victimization among correctional officers. With correctional officers, their age may allude to the same thing. For example, if the corrections officer is older, then he or she may be more prone to injury than if she or he were younger. In terms of inmate perception, however, if the corrections officer is older, then he or she may be more inclined to have a negative view of the prison population, because rehabilitation was not a big trend 40 to 50 years ago.

Salary and income are other demographic variables examined that were included in the research. Research shows that what an officer thought of their salary was important in predicting emotional exhaustion as well as job training and educational level (Rhineberger-Dunn et al. 2016: 220-21). In relation to education, the quality of a correctional officer's education was more important than the level of education when determining emotional exhaustion and depersonalization (Rhineberger-Dunn et al. 2016).

As shown throughout the literature, there are a number of factors that influence corrections officers' perceptions of inmates, such as occupational health, length of work experience, bases of social power, their commitment to the BOP, and demographic factors. For my research, I interviewed corrections officers of the Troup County Jail to

further determine whether or not the factors cited in the literature impact jail inmates.

Methodology and Purpose

The purpose of my study was to determine what factors influence the interactions between jail inmates and detention officers. Most of the research concerning officer and inmate interaction is specific to correctional officers and prisoners; thus, the main goal of my study was to add to the limited literature on jail inmates and detention officers. Through in-person interviews and a demographic questionnaire, I was able to investigate this question[i]. While my initial research strategy consisted of a comparative analysis between two local jails, to total 20 interviews, only one jail responded, even after multiple attempts. To gather my data, I conducted 10 in-person interviews with detention officers (following their prescribed COVID protocol). I used an interview guide and tape-recorded their responses. The tape recordings were for my own usage so that I could analyze the answers after the interviews. The recordings were deleted at the conclusion of the project. After my interviews were completed, I analyzed the data using a thematic analysis, where I coded for different themes that emerged from the data.

Results

Of the 10 officers interviewed, as shown in Table 1, 50% were male and 50% were female. Regarding the racial breakdown of detention officers, 50% were black and 40% were white. The majority made between $30,001 and $40,999, 50% had a bachelor's degree, and 80% had at least eleven years of experience. Due to my limited sample size, I made no statistical analyses concerning the impact of my demographics.

When asked about their perception of inmates, overall, the officers' perceptions were positive. The majority (90%) of officers described inmates as "curious," "wanted to learn," "needed guidance," "repeat offenders," and "local." The officers were also critical of the correctional system, citing how an increase of programs, specifically educational programs, would reduce recidivism. They were also concerned about a shortage of officers, as well as increased job training.

Occupational health, length of work experience, and bases of social power were important variables in my analysis. Due to the volatility and dangerous nature of the job, the occupational health of detention officers is a concern. To maintain a safe working environment, respect was a key theme that emerged. Most officers (90%) said that in order to gain respect from inmates, they must respect inmates, too. Respect is instrumental, as it prevents violent interactions from occurring, which relates to the occupational health of detention officers**.**

Of the officers interviewed, 80% had worked in the field for over 10 years. This is important, as length of work experience impacts how officers view inmates and how they handle situations. While I cannot make statistical comparisons between groups, those with more experience were better equipped at handling confrontations if they arose. A mutual respect was key in avoiding or mitigating confrontations. The officers with less experience (less than 5 years) did not have much experience with handling inmate confrontations, at least on a personal level.

As shown in the literature, the type of power that an officer uses relates to their relationship with an inmate. Reward power was used by 40% of the officers interviewed. In these cases, the officers would reward good behavior; if the inmates respected the officers and each other, then the inmates would receive what they wanted**.** For example, one officer oversaw inmate release forms, and around Christmas, if some of those inmates were on good behavior and respected officers, then they were put on a list of inmates who may be

Table One: Demographic Variables

GENDER	SALARY	LEVEL OF EDUCATION	LENGTH OF WORK EXPERIENCE	RACE
MALE: 5 (50%)	<$30,000: 0 (0%)	Some high school: 0 (0%)	0-5 years: 2 (20%)	White: 4 (40%)
FEMALE: 5 (50%)	$30,001-$40,999: 7 (70%)	High School Diploma: 1 (10%)	6-10 years: 0 (0%)	Black: 5 (50%)
	$41,000-$50,999: 2 (20%)	Some College: 2 (20%)	11-19 years: 5 (50%)	Hispanic: 0 (0%)
	$51,000-$60,999: 0 (0%)	Associate's Degree: 2 (20%)	20+ years: 3 (30%)	Asian: 0 (0%)
	>$70,000: 0 (0%)	Bachelor's Degree: 5 (50%)		Multiracial: 0 (0%)
		Master's Degree: 0 (0%)		Other (not specified): 1 (10%)
		Doctorate: 0 (0%)		

released early. The most common type of power used was referent (cited by 90% of officers). To create an environment of respect, the officers explained that you must treat every inmate the same. If you do not, then inmates will not respect you and will become more hostile towards you, which puts your occupational health in danger.

Conclusion and Application

As highlighted in my results, respect was the main theme that emerged from my analysis. Of the ten detention officers interviewed, all of them used the phrase "you have to give respect to get respect," or something similar. By showing respect to inmates, my sample discussed how they decreased the likelihood of dangerous situations occurring, which is similar to the findings reported in the literature on occupational health. Mutual respect should be a dominant concern in jails throughout the country.

My study also shows that not all detention officers are as violent and aggressive as the media depicts them. Of the officers interviewed, only 20% discussed common violent interactions. The officers mentioned that being able to understand why the inmates are acting out is key to being able to stop violence before it happens. Mitigating violence, or avoiding it altogether, was a common goal among officers.

In terms of the importance of this study and its application to society, this research shows a need for the implementation of more jail programs. Educational programming and increased training for officers were key discussion points of the officers interviewed. Correctional reform is a key element in reducing recidivism rates. As cited by Ellison et al.'s meta-analysis (2017), educational programming can reduce recidivism, specifically because it leads to employment opportunities. If jails can implement programs like this, then offenders will be more likely to find and keep a stable job, keeping them out of jail.

In addition to educational programs, on-the-job training and the hiring of more correctional officers were also concerns. If these problems were addressed and the programs were implemented, then jails would become safer and healthier environments for the officers as well as for the inmates.

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[i] A copy of the survey used in the study can be requested by contacting the Faculty Mentor.

"A Direct Consequence of a Political Purpose": The Nature of Language and Audience in Slave Narratives

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On a cold day in December 1791, a group of men ratified a document that has simultaneously been the source of pride and shame for an entire people. While we often see the entire creation of the Bill of Rights as an extensive, dramatic affair in our short history, it is no understatement to say that much of American history has revolved around our attempts to truly actualize what that document entails. Our history can be summed up by our collective attempts to embrace the concepts of liberty and equality for all, regardless of race, of gender, of religion. These fundamental principles and morals that America has strived towards are derived from the likes of Locke, Voltaire, Hamilton, and various other Enlightenment figures. Americans thus can be characterized as endeavoring to find an answer to the question of how to embrace these concepts in a substantive, meaningful way.

The 19th century, however, showcases America's failure in actualizing these goals in its most raw, brutal form: slavery. At the same time, the 1800s delivered unto the American people one of the most characteristically American genres of literature, borne out of necessity: the slave narrative. While these texts were obviously not a new or specifically American phenomena, the 19th century saw an explosion of published narratives of escaped slaves, writing in hopes of ending the systematic oppression and enslavement of millions of African Americans throughout the United States, predominantly in the South. These narratives, filled with the language of liberty and equality, of the Enlightenment, and of the American spirit as characterized by documents such as the Bill of Rights, are the most American form of literature.

As one reads through these narratives, it becomes obvious that there are elements that each author uses to convey his or her rhetoric in a specific, meaningful way that sways the audience to their side. The key to understanding the complexity of slave narratives, then, is through the analysis of the two most important considerations of the author: language and audience. As all literature is written with an intended audience in mind, slave narratives emphasize this because they both record and persuade; it is the goal of the author to not only appeal to the audience, but also then persuade that same audience of the inherent evil nature of the system of slavery. Stephen T. Butterfield put this perfectly in his own work: "The tendency toward description, detail, and concrete language in the slave narrative is chiefly a function of the author's political role. He is called upon, as part of his activity in the anti-slavery movement, to supply first-hand information about slavery from the victim's point of view" (72). Through the lens provided by Butterfield, I endeavor to examine various slave narratives, ranging from the late 18th century to the late 19th century, through their use of language and implicit audience considerations as a means to understanding how each author successfully (or unsuccessfully) played to his or her audience in his or her specific time period and region. Under examination will be narratives by Olaudah Equiano, Frederick Douglass, Harriet Jacobs, and Solomon Northup.

Slave narratives, by their very nature, seek to make an argument for a fundamental, and what many would consider a uniquely American, right to liberty. Considering this, the political nature of many slave narratives is intertwined with how each author uses language as a means of capturing an audience and, on the opposite side of the coin, how each author considers the opinions and dispositions of the intended audience, using that as a baseline for determining what kind of language needs to be employed for the fullest effect. These considerations include audience demographic, popular literary genres and styles, and era-specific rhetoric in relation to freedom, such as Enlightenment-era or Romantic-era specific rhetoric, and help to shape each author's language in each narrative. Where Equiano places heavy emphasis upon the importance of liberty and equality, Douglass shapes his narrative through Romantic-era, humanist language.

The first text to examine is the earliest in the group, that being Olaudah Equiano's *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa, the African, Written by Himself*. While not an American text nor written in the context of American slavery, Equiano's narrative is significant for this examination because the same language beats that are seen in American slave narratives are present here. Furthermore, Equiano's narrative also showcases throughout a continuous, careful consideration for his intended audience. Thus, his work stands as a precursor text

and useful basis for the American slave narratives that will be examined.

Equiano's narrative stands as a unique example in that its format varies from other slave narratives. Katalin Orban puts it best in her work, "Dominant and Submerged Discourses in 'The Life of Olaudah Equiano' (or Gustavus Vassa?)," when she says, "His narrative has the general framework of a conversion narrative, but he does not choose to present his past before the moment of conversion as completely insignificant, as often is the case in conversion narratives." Questions about the genuineness of Equiano's conversion have been brought up by scholars in the past because of this very fact. However, for the purposes of this examination, the position that will be taken is this: while there is certainly credence to the argument that his conversion is not whole-hearted, questioning his genuineness undermines Equiano's authority as an author and devalues his anti-slavery rhetoric, fueled in part by Christianity.

Throughout the text, many of Equiano's critical responses to the horrific conditions of slavery that he witnesses are placed in the context of Christianity. As Orban sums up, "Equiano argues against slavery, especially the bad (in his terms, the cruel and incorrect) treatment of slaves, with the rhetoric of Christianity." The chief examples of this language are in Chapter Five, during his time in the West Indies. Equiano witnesses aboard his master's ship various atrocities committed towards slaves while en route and states, "I have known our mates to commit these acts most shamefully, to the disgrace, not of Christians only, but of men. I have even known them gratify their brutal passions with females not ten years old" (59). In instances such as these, Equiano is utilizing both language and audience very directly: the innate structure of his narrative is styled as a conversion narrative, but simultaneously as a sort of "travel" journal, or an "adventure" journal. Thus, his emphasis upon the atrocities that Christian men were committing aboard strikes at the heart of the 18th-century English audience whom he is targeting. His placement of these individuals as villainous characters corrupting both the adventure and the religion shows his ability to make this topic hit home for the reader.

This section of the text also showcases Equiano's ability to take internal dialogue and transform it into questions directed towards the audience. This serves again to showcase his complex usage of language. He says, after quoting a section on the unjust punishment of slaves from the Assembly of Barbados, "Is not this one of the many acts of the islands which call loudly for redress? And do not the assembly which enacted it deserve the appellation of savages and brutes rather than of Christians and men? It is an act at once unmerciful, unjust, and unwise; which for cruelty would disgrace an assembly of those who are called barbarians and for its injustice and *insanity* would shock the morality and common sense of a Samaide or a Hottentot" (Equiano 63). He

directs questions to the audience while keeping them contained in what are, according to him, his innermost thoughts, his internal dialogue. This language is a replication of the same language that he uses when describing his religious conversion later on in the narrative: "After this I was resolved to win Heaven if possible; and if I perished I thought it should be at the feet of Jesus, in praying to him for salvation. (117). Equiano expertly mimics the language of a conversion narrative consistently in the work in order to send his message to his audience. Equiano uses his audience's expectations that he will, over the course of his narrative, convert to Christianity through opening himself up to God in order to equate becoming a true Christian with resisting the institution of slavery. Furthermore, he couches his anti-slavery rhetoric in both this human, Christian language and in Enlightenment-era concepts of freedom and equality in an effort to successfully draw upon two separate audiences' innate desires. He knows what kind of language they are receptive to, and he shapes his language to send his anti-slavery message subtly and effectively to a wide, receptive audience.

The next work under examination can be considered as the ultimate example of what a slave narrative is and how it achieves its goals through the use of language and audience consideration. Published in 1845, Frederick Douglass's *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass* garnered immense popularity and has stood the test of time by being one of the most common pieces of American literature taught consistently throughout the country. By all measures, Douglass's *Narrative* is one of the best examples of both effective language and deliberate consideration for the audience. Part of the fundamental nature of slave narratives, as Butterfield points out, is that they are a political device, and this fact is most obvious in Douglass's work.

The structure of Douglass's *Narrative* plays a large part in its attempts to entice his intended audience, that being 19th-century white, male Americans in the Northern United States. Douglass couches his *Narrative* in the terms of a hero's journey. Coined by Joseph Campbell as the "monomyth," it is a common storytelling template used throughout history, revolving around a central character or "hero" who leaves his home and embarks upon some great journey, resulting in climactic action that leads to the hero returning home changed or transformed. In Douglass's case, he evolves over time from the silent sufferer to a proactive protagonist, taking many action beats from popular epics such as *The Iliad, The Odyssey, Beowulf,* and *Gilgamesh*; Douglass crafts his own narrative to portray his own evolution, something designed intentionally to attract his audience. Lisa Yun Lee describes this use of language throughout Douglass's work as a transformation from a silent observer to a proactive protagonist. As she says,

The form of the *Narrative* underscores the subject of slavery by mirroring the powerlessness of Douglass. For example, as the story progresses, Douglass gains in stature and power, moving from slave to leader. Meanwhile, in the rhetorical sense, Douglass as first-person narrator progresses from being narrator in a passive silent stance to narrator in an active speaking stance. Thus, as a silent narrator, Douglass reenacts the silencing of himself as a slave. (Lee 52)

Douglass's narrative thus is characterized as one of struggle, burden, but eventual success, which serves to resonate with Northern American men as symbolic of the ability to overcome one's conditions, a uniquely American trait.

Douglass's silence in the first half of the *Narrative* serves purposely to draw in the audience. He utilizes the injustices being wrought against him as his own series of inciting incidents, building himself up as the epic hero. This undoubtedly is done to serve as his own inciting incident to begin his journey, drawing in his intended audience. This is best illustrated throughout the early chapters of the book, as he is raised in the hellscape of slavery. In Chapter One, as he recalls the first time that he saw horrific punishment of a slave, specifically his Aunt Hester, he says, "It was the blood-stained gate, the entrance to the hell of slavery, through which I was about to pass. It was a most terrible spectacle. I wish I could commit to paper the feelings with which I beheld it" (Douglass 14). Douglass utilizes his own silence as a way of setting himself up as a pseudo-passenger early on in his narrative with a specific purpose. He places himself in a position akin to that of his audience, and through his language, allows the audience to feel his emotions alongside him. He characterizes himself in the beginning of his journey as a sort of observer, able only to look on at the horrors of slavery as they unfold before him. This not only draws in the attention of his target audience more effectively but also allows him to impact the audience halfway into the novel when he shifts from a silent, passive narrator to a proactive, participating protagonist, throwing himself into opposition against the system of slavery.

The transformation from the silent, passive observer Douglass to the proactive, heroic Douglass is best illustrated in Chapter Ten, during Douglass's ultimate showdown against the repulsive Mr. Covey. Mr. Covey, through Douglass's characterization of his language and actions earlier on, comes to serve in the story as the personification of the evils of the system of slavery, and thus, he becomes the representation of the evil that Douglass is fighting against in his hero's journey. As Mr. Covey attempts to punish Douglass for a prior transgression, Douglass steadies himself, saying, "I resolved to fight; and, suiting my action to the resolution, I seized Covey hard by the throat; and as I did so, I rose…. He trembled like a leaf…. I held him uneasy, causing the blood to run where I touched him with the ends of my fingers." (44) Douglass places himself within the context of his narrative in the role of the protagonist, and, as the injustices mount against him, directly caused by the institution of slavery, he is inevitably spurred into action. Like a 19th-century Achilles, Odysseus, Beowulf, or King Gilgamesh, Douglass uses language to convey to the audience the idea that it is his responsibility, as both a protagonist and human being suffering injustice, to rebel against the system that is oppressing him. Thus, Douglass showcases his ability to craft the language of his narrative in a precise and particular way, so as to manipulate the audience and sway them to his cause. His language, as Butterfield states, is political in nature; however, his mastery of this language allows him to subtly deliver his message while also enthralling the audience.

Looking back at Butterfield's idea of political purpose, it is very easy to identify, towards the end of his narrative, some sections in which Douglass is purposely overt with his political messaging for the purpose of helping others. This is best seen in Chapter Eleven, when he discusses the reasons for his escaping slavery and turns the topic towards the Underground Railroad. He says, "I have never approved of the very public manner in which some of our western friends have conducted what they call the Underground Railroad, but which I think, by their open declarations, has been made most emphatically the upper-ground railroad…. I, however, can see very little good resulting from such a course, either to themselves or the slaves escaping" (Douglass 58). This serves as a pivotal moment in Douglass's *Narrative*: throughout the work, he has gone through great pains to specifically wield language in the text in a way that appeals to his target audience of post-Enlightenment, Romantic-era, educated, white Northern men; to mimic certain works and play to the right emotions, such as Romantic morals of right and wrong combined with Enlightenment-era ideas of liberty and equality; and because of these great lengths he goes to, this instance serves as his payoff. Crafting his narrative in the way that he has, using language and consideration to become close with his audience, allows him to deliver his messages about slavery and current anti-slavery efforts at the end of the narrative. Thus, Douglass's *Narrative* showcases the essence of the most effective use of language and audience consideration.

The gendered equivalent to Douglass's work, matching both his caliber of language manipulation and his audience consideration, is Harriet Jacobs's *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl*. Written under the pseudonym of Linda Brent, Jacobs's own narrative serves as the foremost example of a woman's slave narrative, and its design reflects that. Whereas Douglass spends his time and effort emulating epic stories as a way of attracting his audience, Jacobs takes this same approach but with a different audience. She shapes her narrative to appeal to her own target audience, that being white women, specifically from the northern United States.

Her audience would have been educated in the same environment as the men whom Douglass targets with his narrative; however, the key difference is the relationship between passivity and religious revivalism popular among Northern women during the time period.

Jacobs's narrative is not only by definition a slave narrative, but also very carefully borrows cues and language from captivity narratives, as a means of putting into an unspoken context the nature by which African American women viewed their own enslavement. By doing this, Jacobs couches her narrative not only in language that is familiar to her audience, but also in language and a style that were popular during her time. Like Mary Rowlandson's *A Narrative of the Captivity and Restoration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson*, Jacobs characterizes her own enslavement as an unjust captivity, which by its innate quality draws her audience onto her side. Loredanna Bercuci, in her article "Female and Unfree in America: Captivity and Slave Narratives," characterizes the nature of this best: "The memoir is focused not so much on the events that occur during Linda's captivity, but is a sort of psychodrama in which the narrator comments on her status as a slave, on the conditions and morality of slavery, and especially on the particular fate that female slaves had" (26). Whereas Douglass evolves over time from a silent observer to a man who takes physical action, Jacobs's narrative deals almost exclusively in passive resistance to her oppressors, to the system of slavery. She uses her relationship with God as her key tool of internal resistance. As Bercuci says, "the narrator draws on Christian values to persuade her readers that slavery is a moral wrong and, as such, its existence in Christian life is absurd" (26). It is these Christian values that Jacobs utilizes in her language as her primary mode of resistance against slavery, which by its passive nature appeals to her desired audience. While Equiano's language is inspired by Enlightenment ideals and Douglass's is an essential representation of the passion of Romantic-era literature, Jacobs's language is characterized by a passivity derived from faith in God.

One of the best examples of this is seen in Chapter Twelve. While discussing her attempts to educate in secret other slaves, she uses the Christian nature of her own mission as a way to appeal to her audience in an incredibly powerful scene:

> I am glad that missionaries go out to the dark corners of the earth; but I ask them not to overlook the dark corners at home. Talk to American slaveholders as you talk to savages in Africa. Tell *them* it was wrong to traffic in men. Tell them it is sinful to sell their own children, and atrocious to violate their own daughters. Tell them that all men are brethren, and that man has no right to shut out the light of knowledge from his brother. (Jacobs 81)

Jacobs's methods of direct resistance to both slavery and her own oppression are incredibly limited; rather, throughout the text, they are supplemented by passages like this. Jacobs showcases in sections like this her complete and total mastery over language and audience in one fell swoop. She does this through her appeal to Christian goodness in her audience: she goes out of her way to openly state her appreciation for the efforts of those spreading the word of God, but, in the same statement, lays out in the open the contradiction of preaching abroad what has failed at home. She places the system of slavery in direct opposition with the institution of Christianity, an appeal to the religious nature of her audience. But she also takes great care to not place the blame for the system of slavery upon her audience; rather, she places the chance to redeem, the chance to save millions, upon her audience. This creates a positive dynamic between her and her intended audience, further reinforcing the subtle political nature of her language.

Jacobs's passive resistance to slavery is found not only within her Christian language, but also in her refuge from Dr. Flint's tyranny in hiding. Within her description of these circumstances is once again the political language of anti-slavery rhetoric, well-placed to appeal to her intended audience: "With all my detestation of Dr. Flint, I could hardly wish him a worse punishment, either in this world or that which is to come, than to suffer what I suffered in one single summer. Yet the laws allowed *him* to be out in the free air, while I, guiltless of crime, was pent up here" (Jacobs 135). It is in these moments within her narrative that Jacobs captures the essence of popular captivity narratives and blends them into her story about the horrors that slavery brings down upon people. Forced captive in a small, cramped attic because of the inability of Southern whites to accept her as a true, free person, she uses this horror to her advantage in swaying her Northern audience into understanding the true debasing nature of slavery, of how the system destroys the humanity of an innocent woman.

Though seen only a handful of times throughout the story, Jacobs does break the mold of passive rebellion in her narrative as a means of connecting with her female audience. This is primarily seen in her attempts to deny Dr. Flint any sexual satisfaction from using her by having children with another man in her town. Melissa Daniels-Rauterkus says this in her own work, which serves as a perfect analysis of this situation: "In *Incidents*, Jacobs illustrates the necessity of such strategies, even as they stand outside of the normative conventions of sexual propriety during the nineteenth century. With limited options, Jacobs decides that it is better to give her body to a man who does not own her, rather than one whose bill of sale authorizes her sexual degradation" (498). Jacobs knows the serious grievances that her audience would have with her having a sexual relationship outside of wedlock, but she continues onward, utilizing her expert control over language to place into understandable terms the

reasoning for her actions. She says in Chapter Ten, "But, O, ye happy women, whose purity has been sheltered from childhood, who have been free to choose the objects of your affection, whose homes are protected by law…. If slavery had been abolished, I, also, could have married the man of my choice" (Jacobs 58). She expertly shifts the blame for her situation onto the institution of slavery. Knowing her audience and the language which they speak, Jacobs crafts her response to what she knew would be an outcry towards her actions that puts her actions into simple terms: her sexual relation was her only way to exercise any dominion over herself, a luxury that white, Northern women truly can't comprehend being deprived of. By playing on the morals of her audience, Jacobs turns what would have been seen during the period as an incredible taboo into something wholly symbolic of the destructive nature of the system of slavery. Furthermore, by emphasizing the loss of her purity as a result of the system of slavery, Jacobs indirectly emphasizes society's unequal judgement of sexual impropriety for men and women, which no doubt resonated with her female audience. It is these subtle and overt usages of language and audience consideration that make her narrative so effective.

A significant piece to each of the previous three slave narratives has been a close consideration of the audience, specifically what literary styles and beats attracted their period-specific readers. However, Solomon Northup's *Twelve Years a Slave* veers from that path considerably and thus serves as an excellent comparative example of expert language, but no real consideration of audience presupposition. This does not mean that Northup's language throughout the text is not political in nature—far from it, in fact: the harrowing nature of his recollection of his time as a slave, in every gruesome detail, serves as an obvious political statement against the institution of slavery. However, as Sam Worley points out in his own work, "Unlike the Douglass' paradigm which is developed primarily through temporal figures, the providential mode chiefly utilizes spatial figures. *Twelve Years a Slave* conforms to neither of these models, and its reputation has suffered accordingly" (243). In other words, whereas Douglass's narrative is developed through humanistic characters involved in the deconstruction of slavery through a Romantic lens, Northup's narrative is not concerned with moral or religious quandaries on slavery, which coincides with its historic success as a slave narrative. *Twelve Years a Slave*'s popularity has risen greatly in the late 20th and early 21st centuries, but upon its initial publication in 1853, Northup's narrative fell into obscurity, primarily due to audience consideration, or a lack thereof.

There are innate differences that make Northup's work stand out in comparison to other narratives, chiefly the overall lack of moral lesson brought to the audience in the form of religious appeals. Northup does indeed make appeals to God throughout his work, but rather than appeals for change, they are questions about why he has been thrust into

enslavement, about the justness of his situation. Rather, the bulk of Northup's narrative reads as a story of his own enslavement, and purely that. He places emphasis on exact detail, saying so himself in the opening chapter of his narrative: "My object is to give a candid and truthful statement of facts: to repeat the story of my life, without exaggeration, leaving it for others to determine whether even the pages of fiction present a picture of more cruel wrong or a severer bondage" (Northup 11). Northup's political language is completely and objectively on display from beginning to end; he makes no attempt to blend his message into a narrative styled to appeal to a 19th-century audience. His narrative is concerned only with presenting the facts of his own enslavement, which, according to him, is enough on its own to persuade any reader of the horrors of slavery. This makes his narrative stand out so significantly when compared to the previous three narratives. Equiano is concerned with understanding the religious implications of slavery in the Enlightenment Era; Douglass sets out to examine slavery through the humanistic lens of the Romantic Era; and Jacobs attacks slavery through the degradation that the system causes to women while maintaining her own passivity and faith in God. Conversely, Northup is concerned with none of these things. His objective is almost like that of a modern-day field reporter in a warzone, recounting the horrors he has seen to his audience. This helps modern readers to understand exactly why Northup's narrative fell into obscurity during his own time while, comparatively, in recent years it has skyrocketed in popularity, even receiving its own film adaptation. What Northup writes in his narrative and the way he writes it, simply put, was a realistic, accurate rendition that audiences in his time were simply not equipped to properly understand and appreciate in the way that modern audiences are.

This objective-style of language that Northup employs is seen throughout his narrative. Rather than fill sections with philosophical musings on the nature of slavery, Northup utilizes his first-hand experiences as ammunition for tearing down slavery. His experiences and physical rebellion serve as his primary means of convincing the audience. A prime example of this is seen in Chapter Eight, after an altercation over nails results in an attempt by Mr. Tibeats to punish Northup for the failure of an overseer. As Tibeats walks off to grab a whip, Northup has a section of internal dialogue, intended for the audience: "I felt, moreover, that I had been faithful—that I was guilty of no wrong whatever, and deserved commendation rather than punishment. My fear changed to anger, and before he reached me I had made up my mind fully not to be whipped, let the result be life or death." (61-62) Northup makes no appeals to God, nor does he ask any questions regarding the Christian morality in Tibeats's blatantly unjust punishment for a crime that Northup did not commit. Rather, Northup's internal self speaks inward, objectively stating that he will not stand for such conditions, that he will not be punished for doing the

right thing. To Northup, what has transpired is not a matter of religious questioning; he knows that he has done the right and honorable thing, and he will defend his stance to the death if he must, but he will not be whipped. Such a moral stance based entirely upon his own opinion, his own internal interpretation, would not have been necessarily popular with a white, Northern audience, and it stands far away when compared to other similar instances, such as Douglass's own fight with an overseer in his *Narrative*. Furthermore, while Douglass intentionally frames Mr. Covey as the embodiment of the evils of slavery that he is battling against in his own hero's journey, Northup does no such thing for Mr. Tibeats. Rather, Northup characterizes Mr. Tibeats consistently through his actions, rather than directly calling him evil. When spending the night in the great house with Chapin, in a bid to avoid confrontation with the enraged Tibeats, Chapin says to Northup, "I believe, Platt, that scoundrel is skulking about the premises somewhere. If the dog barks again, and I am sleeping, wake me" (Northup 70). Northup does not directly degrade or insult those who are oppressing him, nor does he ponder the morality of their actions. Rather, he uses both their actions and the words of others around them to characterize each person. For Tibeats, he uses the words of Chapin and Ford to characterize him as cruel, unjust, and a coward. This is incredibly significant, as not only is it a giant departure from the nature of how authors such as Equiano, Douglass, and Jacobs characterize the nature of the people around them in their respective narratives, but it also serves as something that would have alienated any 19th-century audience member from his work: there is no degree of separation present when he describes the whites who are oppressing him under slavery; he does not place them in a separate category from whites who are reading his narrative. Instead, his language is shaped in a way to convey that any man can be evil under a system such as slavery.

Much of Northup's descriptions of the horrendous conditions and abuses that enslaved African Americans were put through, unlike many other narratives, are not placed alongside religious rhetoric condemning the corrupt nature of slavery in his own narrative. Rather, he allows the horror to speak for itself. This is best illustrated by his last description of his fellow slave and friend, Eliza, in Chapter Eleven. He says,

> Her face had become ghastly haggard, and the once straight and active form was bowed down, as if bearing the weight of a hundred years. Crouching on her cabin floor, and clad in the coarse garments of a slave, old Elisha Berry would not have recognized the mother of his child. I never saw her afterwards. Having become useless to the cotton-field, she was bartered for a trifle, to some man residing in the vicinity of Peter Compton's. Grief had gnawed remorselessly at her heart, until her strength was

gone; and for that, her last master, it is said, lashed and abused her most unmercifully. But he could not whip back the departed vigor of her youth, nor straighten up that bended body to its full height, such as it was when her children were around her, and the light of freedom was shining on her path. (Northup 89)

This paragraph serves as the ultimate example of Northup's approach to storytelling that makes his own narrative completely diverge from the rest of the genre. Northup states early on that his concern is with telling the truth of his experience as a slave, devoid of a religious purpose or overtone, stating that the horrors themselves should be enough to dismantle any argument in support of maintaining slavery. This paragraph showcases how Northup employs language in a way that, despite not being popular in his own era, has brought his narrative into newfound popularity in the current political climate. Northup lets the nature of the truth speak for itself, rather than dissect the tragedy of Eliza through a religious lens. Her suffering and the complete destruction of her sense of freedom constitute the argument against slavery. Northup does not need the Bible's morals to argue that what is done to Eliza is wrong, nor does he plead with God to end suffering like this across the South. Rather, he indirectly forces the reality of Eliza's situation onto the reader; they are the ones with power in this world, here and now, and to Northup, it is their responsibility to take action.

Going back to Stephen Butterfield's concept of political purpose within the language of slave narrative, a portion of his work becomes incredibly apparent in this passage by Northup: "the slave narrator's rendering of concrete experience leads naturally to the use of understatement. The facts which he gives are so overwhelming in their barbarity and so convincing as a case against slavery that his political conclusion is an anti-climax. Anything he can say is bound to understate the point" (73). This is the essence of Northup's slave narrative, the essence of its language and structure. Tossing to the side religious rhetoric, all Northup does is tell the truth, and the power that his truthful, accurate recounting of events has upon the audience makes it so that he doesn't need to add anything, religious or otherwise, to his recounting; the events speak for themselves. This is what made Northup's narrative fall into obscurity in his time and skyrocket in popularity in ours. The people of 19th-century America needed some kind of religious message to help them comprehend the horrors of slavery; the people of America today see Northup's lack of a religious message and instead holistically fact-driven narrative as worthy of praise on its own.

Slave narratives, as examined here, can be characterized as a genre that seems derived from a simple premise on the surface, but is in fact both incredibly complex and difficult to fully appreciate. However, Butterfield's work

helps the modern reader to contextualize and understand the difference in language and audience among the plethora of American slave narratives. The innately political nature of language in slave narratives, subtly woven into each respective text through the use of religion, appeals to morality, and specific tailoring to the desires of each intended audience, helps showcase the true genius of the authors of American slave narratives throughout the 19th century. More than that, however, it helps to serve as a template for the examination of slave narratives that have become popular only very recently, such as Northup's *Twelve Years a Slave*, allowing modern readers to understand why narratives such as this one went underground in their own time, only to have a resurgence now.

Still, one might question the importance of examining narratives, over a hundred years old, that pertain to a long-since-abolished system in the United States. Some may even argue that it is counter-productive to modern America to dredge up the sins of the past, so to speak. However, the resurgence in popularity of narratives such as Solomon Northup's *Twelve Years a Slave* serves as the prime example of the necessity of reexamination of American slave narratives as a whole. Despite the system of slavery having been abolished now for over a hundred years, these narratives still present questions about the fundamental nature of American society, religion in America, the nature of man in relation to liberty and equality, and, most importantly, what it truly means to be an American. These are questions that nearly every American today still struggles to answer on both a personal and group level, but these narratives can shed a new light on these fundamental questions for modern readers.

The nature of slave narratives is incredibly important to examine simply by virtue of our collective history as Americans. They represent the ultimate form of American literature, arguments made for the recognition of one's humanity, of one's right to be free, to be seen as a person and not property. Understanding how each of these authors employed language and took into consideration their intended audience, or instead ignored popular tropes of the time,

allows us to see how these narratives served as effective political tools in the deconstruction of the system of slavery in the United States. More important than that, however, these narratives serve as a keystone in the quest to speak truth to power, a fundamental American societal goal.

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Grief, Exploitation, Blame: An Echo of Rhetoric in the Influenza and Coronavirus Pandemics

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I stand frozen. I am surrounded by bare-faced people. I feel the cotton fabric covering the bottom half of my face tighten as I struggle to breathe. I notice the droplets of sweat forming on my brow. I clench my fists as I fight through the racing thoughts inside of my brain. I guess this is it: my turn to catch the virus, my turn to spread it to the people closest to me, my turn to lose. This is the anxiety of today. This is the anxiety of yesterday. This is the anxiety of a worldwide pandemic.

Historical Context of Pandemics

The Influenza pandemic of 1918 and the Coronavirus pandemic of 2020 both caused this kind of fear and anxiety in people around the world. In 1918, this fear lived in the knowledge that a deadly presence infected the very air that people breathed. The fear was so great that even after the pandemic ended, the memory of it generated a constant lingering anxiety throughout communities around the world (Outka 18). The 1918 virus, while causing the normal symptoms that came along with the flu, such as fever, headache, and cough, also produced more alarming symptoms. The virus would create a deadly form of pneumonia within the lungs, and many doctors reported that patients suffered from bleeding of the nose, mouth, or ears (Outka 16). The cough that the flu would produce would become so severe that it could cause ripping of the muscles and rib cartilage. A patient's entire body would begin to give off a horrible odor and ache to the point where it would feel as if their bones were breaking (Outka 17). The virus could also cause short- and long-term mental instability, due to the high fevers created in a victim's body to fight off the virus. The fevers could produce delirium and disorientation (Outka 17). In the final stages, victims of Influenza often suffered from "heliotrope cyanosis," a condition causing the lungs to become so full of fluid that a person's body would turn purple or blue. This led to Influenza's infamous name, "the purple death" (Outka 17).

The Influenza virus was like nothing that anyone had ever seen before; as Elizabeth Outka discusses in *Viral Modernism*, "In France, the flu 'swept through the lines so suddenly and with such ferocity that it startled even doctors who'd served in Gallipoli and Salonika and [had] witnessed [hospital] wards overflowing with amoebic dysentery and malaria cases'" (14). Outka says, "By September, the flu was racing through towns and cities across the globe. One doctor lamented that watching the men 'dropping out like flies' was worse than 'any sight they ever had in France after a battle'" (Outka 14). The only information medical professionals had about Influenza was that it could be transmitted through germs in the air and contact with others, so they urged patients to stay at home. In many areas throughout the United States, masks were widely distributed and used (Outka 18). Influenza bled into every corner of America, and Americans, including medical professionals, were not prepared for the destruction and death that it would cause (Crosby 64).

Outka discusses the gravity of the pandemic of 1918, stating, "Globally, the pandemic killed between 50 and 100 million people, and the United States suffered more deaths in the pandemic than in World War I, World War II, and the conflicts in Korea, Vietnam, Afghanistan, and Iraq—combined" (Outka 10). This anxiety is echoed in the pandemic of today. The Coronavirus first surfaced in a Chinese seafood and poultry market in December 2019 and quickly spread to nearly every country, completely shutting the world down by March of 2020 (Taylor). The illness spread quickly through China, and by the end of December 2019, the Chinese government confirmed that health authorities were treating dozens of cases of illness that researchers identified as a new virus (Taylor). This new virus spread across the world rapidly. By 21 January 2020, the first case of Coronavirus was confirmed in the United States, and by February, the World Health Organization proposed an official name for the disease that the virus causes: Covid-19 (Taylor). The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention advised that there be no gatherings of more than ten people in the United States over the next eight weeks. There could be no more weddings, festivals, parades, concerts, sporting events, or conferences (Taylor). Schools began to close, unemployment spiked, grocery stores were being wiped out of all essential products; the world was now officially in chaos (Taylor).

This massive shutdown that occurred across the world was due to the fact that this virus, just like Influenza, could be spread to hundreds of people at an exponential rate. Symptoms from the virus may appear two to fourteen days after exposure, but an individual could be asymptomatic, meaning that they would not be aware that they were carrying a deadly virus inside of them that could possibly be infecting other people ("Symptoms of Coronavirus"). When symptoms did arise, an individual would experience a loss of taste or smell and fatigue at the start but slowly would begin to develop a fever and have difficulty breathing due to a persistent pain or pressure in the chest. Later, a cough and sore throat would arise, along with body aches, headaches, and congestion. The worst of it was the constant nausea, vomiting, and diarrhea. Many people also experienced either insomnia or an inability to wake from their sleep. Near the end, when the virus had almost taken every bit of life out of the person, their skin, lips, and nail beds would begin to turn a pale gray or a blue color ("Symptoms of Coronavirus"). Similar to the Influenza era, human beings were not prepared for the pandemic of 2020 or the massive death toll that would come along with it. The Coronavirus has killed 3,128,353 people across the world, 587,498 in the United States alone, and, in 2021, this number continues to rise ("Coronavirus").

That amount of loss, this amount of fear and anxiety, creates this collective grief that affects all of us. David Davis discusses this in his article "The Forgotten Apocalypse: Katherine Anne Porter's *Pale Horse, Pale Rider*, Traumatic Memory, and the Influenza Pandemic of 1918." He says, "Most trauma theorists locate trauma's impact in the individual memory, where the unsettling experience disrupts the victim's identity, but when a disruptive event affects a large population simultaneously, a collective trauma occurs" (Davis). Whether it is the loss of regular hair salon visits or social interactions or family reunions—or the worst of them all—the loss of human life, we are all grieving for whatever we have lost in this pandemic. The people in 1918 felt that same loss and grief as Influenza took millions of lives.

Are the rhetorical reactions to the loss of life in the Influenza pandemic of 1918 and the Coronavirus pandemic of 2020 similar? Is there some sort of constant collective response to massive tragedy and trauma that a pandemic causes? The rhetorical reactions to the Influenza pandemic of 1918 and the Coronavirus pandemic of 2020 are strikingly similar. Whether it is the exploitation of people, the blame placed on the Chinese, the spark of anger and protest against racially disproportionate death, or the final coping and acceptance of loss seen in literature, these pandemics created analogous human experiences and rhetorical reactions one entire century apart.

Exploitation in Pandemics

Because of the collective grief and fear that was instilled in people across the United States by these pandemics, many organizations, companies, and politicians were able to exploit that grief and fear for their own advantage. They would use rhetoric to exploit people's money and influence their opinions. There was a constant bombardment of anti-science rhetoric in newspapers, advertisements, and presidential administrations throughout the Influenza and Coronavirus pandemics. During each pandemic, scientists informed the public of the precautions that they needed to take in order to remain safe from the virus. Scientists explained treatment options for people diagnosed with the virus. Most importantly, they did their best to keep the citizens of the United States safe. However, there were (and will always be) people who defy science in pursuit of their own agenda. Whether it is 1918 or 2022, whether it is the Influenza or Coronavirus pandemic, there were (and will always be) government leaders or chief executives of large companies who see people only as something to manipulate for their own political or financial benefit, and, unfortunately, there were (and will always be) people who fall for their persuasive speeches and manipulative games.

In the midst of the Influenza pandemic, there were many examples of this kind of exploitation. Many different groups preached nonscientific procedures and methods, claiming that they could stop Influenza. Due to the encouragement that soldiers received from the military to smoke cigarettes during World War I, once the pandemic was in full swing, cigarettes were promoted as a "prophylactic" against Influenza (Spinney 236). Another form of contest against conventional science and medicine were Christian Scientists. These "scientists" refused any form of medical interventions for Influenza. They claimed that prayer was the only healing that people needed to survive the virus (Spinney 236). They called it "faith-healing." This rhetorical phrase spread across the country, rapidly causing a large group of Americans to reject conventional medicine as a treatment for Influenza (Spinney 236).

While this language of "prophylactic" that was encouraged by the military and "faith-healing" that was distributed by Christian Scientists was detrimental to the prevention of illness and death in the United States throughout the Pandemic of 1918, it was not even the most persistent source of exploitation seen during Influenza. The most persistent was actually a small group of chiropractors. There were multiple chiropractors throughout the pandemic who took out whole sections of newspapers in order to advertise their "guard against Influenza" (*Denison Review*). These chiropractors greatly downplayed the seriousness of the pandemic by using language such as "A Few Funny 'Flu' Frivolities" (*Audubon County Journal*). One chiropractor named J. W. Hall made this statement:

I have been asked "Don't you believe in the Flu?"
Of course I do. I believe in all things good or bad,

right or wrong. I believe in the fact that every fall
we will have an "epidemic" of something. I believe
next fall we'll have another epidemic. I believe
there hasn't been a fall in Exira, when 1 per cent of
the population haven't had a cold or have the
Grippe for a few days. (*Audubon County Journal*)

These chiropractors, while downplaying the intensity of the
pandemic, also used rhetoric to profit from people's fear of
Influenza. J. W. Hall took out an entire page in the *Audubon
County Journal* for his advertisement, which read, "We know
that there is a cause for disease. We find out where it is. We
give nature a chance by removing that cause. WE ADJUST
IT!" Hall goes on to explain how chiropractic adjustments
would stop Influenza with "100 percent degree of efficiency"
(*Audubon County Journal*). Other chiropractors pointed out
that "No curative agent has so successfully handled Spanish
Influenza as the Chiropractors" and how "Chiropractic
adjustments is the safest guard against the dreaded disease"
(*Denison Review*). This kind of rhetoric that Hall and other
chiropractors circulated through advertisements in a multitude
of newspapers may have brought in more business for their
practices, but it also spread the idea that Influenza was just
another small cold that was nothing to worry about. They
spread the idea that simple chiropractic adjustments were all
the preventative measures that one needed against the virus.
This language was extremely dangerous and probably had a
detrimental effect on the death toll in the United States.

This rhetoric is very similar to that of 2020 during the
Coronavirus pandemic. Throughout the pandemic, people
pushed the harmful rhetoric that the pandemic was a hoax or
not dangerous, while also making claims about miraculous
cures or treatments for the Coronavirus that expert scientists
had to debunk. A perfect example of this is former President
Donald Trump and a man named Mike Lindell. Lindell is the
chief executive of MyPillow, a million-dollar bedding
company (Karni). In a *New York Times* article, Heather
Murphy discusses how former President Trump welcomed
Lindell into the White House for a meeting to propose a
treatment for the Coronavirus called Oleandrin. Lindell,
someone who holds a financial stake in and is a board
member for the company that makes this compound, along
with being an enthusiastic donor for the Trump
administration, expressed that the president was thrilled about
the drug when he heard about it (Murphy). Lindell explained
that "This thing works—it's the miracle of all time"
(Murphy). However, Murphy says that "the unsubstantiated
claims alarmed scientists. No studies have shown that
Oleandrin is safe or effective as a coronavirus treatment," and
"Ingesting even a tiny bit of the toxic shrub the compound
comes from could kill you" (Murphy). Therefore, both
President Trump and Lindell used their influence and rhetoric
to push their own agendas that, while generating them more
money, could cause more sickness and death.

Throughout the Influenza and the Coronavirus
pandemics, the exploitative rhetoric causing millions of
people to deny basic scientific and medical facts was
prevalent. Whether it was the idea of cigarettes as
"prophylactics," prayer as "faith-healing," chiropractic
adjustments as a preventive measure for Influenza, or a man
who sells pillows for a living making claims about a "miracle
drug" for the Coronavirus, each pandemic aroused the same
anti-science rhetoric that spread across the United States,
resulting in more illness and fatalities.

Blame in Pandemics

Because of the tragedies resulting from a seemingly
invisible and unstoppable virus, people wanted answers.
People wanted to pinpoint who was responsible for the
millions of deaths worldwide. This prompted people from
both 1918 and 2020 to search for someone or someplace to
blame for the deaths and debilitation of the world. In 1918,
during this search for the origin of the Influenza virus, a
theory came about that China was to blame. Laura Spinney
addresses this in *Pale Rider: The Spanish Flu of 1918 and
How It Changed the World* when she says, "The quick
pointing of fingers to the east was probably influenced—
albeit often unconsciously—by contemporary western
attitudes towards the people of East Asia, known collectively
as the myth of the 'Yellow Peril'" (Spinney 153). Because of
this rhetoric, this naming of an entire group of people as the
"yellow peril," Western civilization began to blame all of East
Asia for many kinds of ludicrous crimes and phenomena,
such as falling birth rates in Europe, rise in criminal activity,
and the kidnapping of women, so it was not a far leap to
blame the whole of East Asia for the worldwide pandemic.

Subsequently, this kind of rhetoric had significant
consequences for the citizens of and immigrants to the United
States. Due to the rhetoric that resulted from the Chinese
Blame Theory and other factors of the Influenza pandemic,
the United States began making decisions regarding the halt
of all immigration into the country. According to *The Liberal
Democrat*, the Johnson Immigration Bill would suspend
immigration into the United States for an entire year, but the
New-York Tribune caught the underlying story with the
headline "Senate to Act Slowly on Immigration Bill." The
report on the Johnson Bill describes how, while the bill was
passed in the House of Representatives, there was some
division within the Senate committee over the action of the
bill. The *Tribune* quotes, "While some members of the
committee would like to have quick action taken to report out
an anti-immigration measure, others are insistent that it would
be well to find out whether reports that a great flood of
European immigration of an undesirable sort is imminent are
exaggerated" (*New-York Tribune*). The Senate committee had
to make a decision, not only concerning the Johnson Bill, but
also between numerous immigration bills that had come
across the floor. These included "the Sterling bill for an

overhauling of the existing law, putting the administration of immigration restriction in the hands of a board; the Dillingham bill for admission on a basis of percentage of resident nationality and the Overman bill for shutting aliens out for five years" (*New-York Tribune*). This multitude of immigration bills and the potential hold on immigration in the United States came from the innate discrimination found in the rhetoric that came out of the Chinese Blame Theory. It came from a fear and detesting of the East and all immigrants in general.

This kind of "Asian blame" seems to be a repeating factor in pandemics. The United States' own former president blamed Chinese people for the spread of the Coronavirus. President Trump made it a point to use discriminatory language when referring to the Coronavirus, outwardly using the terms "Chinese Virus," "Wuhan Virus," and "Kung Flu" (Rogers). In one of the first news briefings with the Coronavirus task force on 18 March 2020, President Trump can be heard saying, "I would like to begin by announcing some important developments in our war against the Chinese virus." President Trump's language here, saying *war* against the *Chinese* virus, implies violence. Whether he meant to imply such a thing or not, his language had an effect on millions of people across the country and the world. Many Asian Americans, along with Chinese officials, were angered by the former President's language. They claimed that "labeling the virus that way will only ratchet up tensions between the two countries, while resulting in the kind of xenophobia that American leaders should discourage" (Rogers). The foreshadowing in this scenario cannot get any more devastating because, unfortunately, these Americans and officials were correct.

Due to the rhetoric that former President Trump propagated throughout the pandemic of 2020, hate crimes against Asian Americans rose greatly. Rogers asserts, "Asian Americans reported incidents of racial slurs and physical abuse because of the erroneous perception that China is the cause of the virus" (Rogers). In New York City, there have been an unfathomable number of incidents of violence against Asian Americans. Alexandra E. Petri and Daniel E. Slotnik acknowledge these stories in their article called "Fear and Rage Grip Asian Americans in New York amid a Wave of Attacks":

> Crisanna Tang was riding the subway to work one July morning when a maskless man spat on her and yelled that Chinese people had caused the virus. None of the other passengers intervened, Ms. Tang said. (Petri and Slotnik)

> Mimi Lau said strangers shouted racist slurs and threatened her physical safety twice last year, once on the D train and once outside the mochi shop she owns in Manhattan's East Village. (Petri and Slotnik)

> "I've never cried like that before," Ms. Cheng said, describing her reaction to security footage that showed her mother being shoved to the ground last week on a crowded street in Flushing, Queens. "To see my mother get thrown like that, she looks like a feather. She looks like a rag doll." The attack on Ms. Cheng's mother, which was highlighted by celebrities and gained widespread attention on social media, was one of four against Asian-American women in New York City that day. (Petri and Slotnik)

> Concerns intensified after a man of Asian descent was stabbed Thursday night near Chinatown. (Petri and Slotnik)

In Atlanta, Georgia, on 16 March 2021, a white man walked into three different massage establishments and murdered eight people, six of whom were of Asian descent (Derrick). Many of the Asian Americans who were victims of attacks in 2020 said that the scars were lasting. All of this hatred, stemming from a simple phrase, the "Chinese Virus," left scars and incited violence upon Asian Americans.

The language and rhetoric that leaders and civilizations use influence people's views and beliefs about certain situations, and it most definitely influenced people's opinions on who was to blame for Influenza and the Coronavirus. The phrase "yellow peril" that circulated through the whole of western civilization influenced the United States government to create the Johnson Bill. The phrase "Chinese Virus" that was propagated by the former President of the United States influenced and encouraged violence against Asian Americans.

Riots and Protest in Pandemics

While language and rhetoric can affect law-making and racial violence, it can also incite anger and empower protest. This is seen during both Influenza and COVID-19. Throughout these two pandemics, people of color, specifically the Black community, experienced a disproportionate amount of death from the virus compared to the White community in America. James Feigenbaum explains that "From 1906 to 1920, African Americans in cities experienced a rate of death from infectious disease that was greater than what urban whites experienced during the 1918 flu pandemic" (Feigenbaum). Southern cities had a higher death and infectious mortality rate than any other region in the United States. This was all due to the fact that Southern cities were populated by a greater proportion of Black residents, who were more at risk of death from infectious disease (Feigenbaum).

During 2020, Brad Boserup conducted a study based on the "Disproportionate Impact of COVID-19 Pandemic on Racial and Ethnic Minorities." His study concluded that the

COVID-19 pandemic impacted all ethnic and racial minority groups disproportionately (Boserup). The minority groups include African Americans, Hispanics, Asians, American Indians and Alaska Natives, and Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders. All of these groups experienced higher infection rates than Whites in states across the country (Boserup). This is most likely due to the study's findings that there were "relatively low hospitalization rates among some racial and ethnic minority groups," which may imply significant disparities in access to care (Boserup). All of this, along with the daily racism and violence that the Black communities had to endure during the Influenza pandemic and continued to endure during the Coronavirus pandemic, sparked outrage and protest across the United States.

In the midst of the Influenza pandemic, in the Red Summer of 1919, race riots broke out across the United States. There were riots in Longview, Texas; Omaha, Nebraska; and Washington D.C., but on 27 July 1919, the gruesome race riot in Chicago, Illinois gave the summer of 1919 its "red" name. That day many Chicagoans visited Lake Michigan to cool off from the heat of the summer. According to Julius Jones from the Chicago History Museum, a 17-year-old African American boy named Eugene Williams was among the many Chicagoans. Jones explains that Williams and his friends "inadvertently drifted across an invisible line that divided the waters by race, [when] a group of Whites, insulted by such an act, began throwing stones at them, one of which struck Williams, causing him to drown." The murder of Eugene Williams is what set off the Chicago riots, and in turn, the Red Summer of 1919 (Jones).

The streets of Chicago were in chaos. There were bodies lying in alleyways, on sidewalks. Hundreds of people were injured from the attacks. "The violence that started at the beach spread through Chicago's Black Belt on the South Side, especially in residential areas surrounding the Union Stock Yard" (Jones). Many people, White and Black, rushed to join the riots. When finding out that most of the wounded black men and women from the Chicago attacks were being taken to Provident Hospital, an institution for people of color, a mob of White people attacked the building, causing major damage (*Metropolis Weekly Gazette*). The riots were out of control to the point where the Illinois National Guard was brought in to bring the violence to a halt (Jones). Jones also states, "After seven days of shootings, arson, and beatings, the Race Riot resulted in the deaths of 15 whites and 23 blacks with an additional 537 injured (195 white, 342 black)" (Jones).

These riots, as bloody and violent as they were, occurred because of the impact that language and rhetoric had on a large group of people. It was the discriminatory language that many Whites used to refer to Black men and women that filled the Black communities with anger, but it was mostly the empowering language that came out of many of those same Black communities that started the riots and the fight for

justice during the peak of the Influenza pandemic. One Black man, interviewed for the *Cayton's Weekly*, said, "We are tired of bein' picked on and bein' beat up. We have been through war and given everything, given our lives, and now we are going to stop bein' beat up." Another man, a teacher, said, "These riots are only some of many which will probably occur in many places. The accumulated sentiment against injustice to colored people is such that they will not be abused any longer" (*Cayton's Weekly*). These are the same sentiments and language against injustice that created the Black Lives Matter movement in 2015 and maintained it for years to come.

The same rhetoric and language occurred again in the midst of the Coronavirus Pandemic when George Floyd, an African American man, was murdered by police officers over an alleged counterfeit twenty-dollar bill (Arango). On 25 May 2020, police officers approached Floyd and, while Floyd was obviously distressed and panicked, proceeded to try and force him into the back seat of a police vehicle. The officers are then seen throwing Floyd face down onto the ground, as Officer Derek Chauvin proceeded to forcefully place his knee on the back of Floyd's neck for eight minutes and forty-six seconds until Floyd was left lying on the ground with no pulse (Arango). This blatant racism and contempt for African American lives in the United States sparked the Black Lives Matter protests of 2020.

The phrase "Black Lives Matter" means something to people across the country. Maneesh Arora discusses this in the *Washington Post* article "How the Coronavirus Pandemic Helped the Floyd Protests Become the Biggest in U.S. History." Arora explains that, during the pandemic, the protests appeared to be happening more frequently, and more protesters attended Black Lives Matter protests than before (Arora). Political scientist Jamila Michener found that "those who have seen financial losses from pandemic public health measures are more likely to protest" (qtd. in Arora). Due to the financial injustices done to people by the pandemic and the ample amount of time the pandemic presented many with, people outside of the Black community opened their eyes to the reality of injustice that Black individuals face in the United States on a daily basis. They began to understand the rhetoric and language of the Black Lives Matter movement and what it means to people more than they did before the Coronavirus appeared.

Therefore, because of the disproportionate death rates among people of color from the Coronavirus, because of the murder of George Floyd, because of the endless time that people had on their hands due to the pandemic, in 2020, the phrase Black Lives Matter motivated 15 million to 26 million Americans to take to the streets to protest police violence (Arora). The significance of the phrase "Black Lives Matter" was demonstrated again on 20 April 2021 when a jury pronounced the policeman who had murdered George Floyd, "Mr. Chauvin[,] guilty on all three charges: second-degree

murder, third-degree murder and second-degree manslaughter" (Eligon). "People gathered at the intersection where Mr. Floyd was killed, now known as George Floyd Square, and the word 'Guilty' rippled throughout the crowd after the verdict was announced, prompting cheers and sobs. The crowd began to chant, 'Black lives matter'" (Eligon). This rhetoric inspired and continues to inspire cheers, sobs, and activism. The words "Black Lives Matter" gave Floyd and his family justice.

The language and sentiments against injustice after the murder of Eugene Williams in 1919 and George Floyd in 2020 sparked a cry of outrage throughout the United States of America. In 1919, race riots erupted across the country, creating the Red Summer of 1919, and in 2020, there were Black Lives Matter protests in almost every major city across the United States. These sentiments matter. This rhetoric matters, especially in a global pandemic where people are dying daily from a seemingly unstoppable virus.

Grief Literature in Pandemics

The grief and pain that come along with mass death during a pandemic are substantial, and the memory of the emotional and physical trauma that we have all experienced lives on inside of us long after the pandemic's end. That memory also lives inside of the literature and art that people create during or after an unprecedented time such as a pandemic. Outka discusses this in *Viral Modernism* when she says, "Despite the pandemic's seeming disappearance, its traces are everywhere in the literature and the culture" (11). This is true not only of the Influenza pandemic but also of the Coronavirus pandemic that is still taking place. The literature produced within or after these pandemics brings us into the fear and pain of the world controlled by a virus.

In 1918, during the Influenza Pandemic, Katherine Anne Porter and William Butler Yeats wrote about their experience with the deadly virus. The pandemic affected the lives of these two artists greatly. Therefore, Porter, an author of many short stories, and Yeats, a distinguished Irish poet, used literature to cope with the trauma and loss that they felt from Influenza. They needed their own gifts of writing and poetry to help them release the emotions and pain that was wrapped up inside of them. It was, in a way, a type of therapy.

Porter experienced the peril of Influenza firsthand when she was infected in 1918 and barely survived. It was just two years after she had beaten tuberculosis that she was victimized by the Influenza epidemic that was sweeping through the United States (Howard). She was hospitalized for nine days with a temperature of 105 degrees. She was facing the possibility, and most thought probability, of death (Howard). However, an experimental drug called strychnine was given to her and ended up saving her life. This near-death experience was the inspiration that Porter needed to immortalize her experience with Influenza and write her short

novel *Pale Horse, Pale Rider* (Howard). William Howard describes how Porter "Herself regarded the incident as an important dividing line in her life, after which she devoted herself more purposefully to her writing career" (Howard).

Pale Horse, Pale Rider exemplifies the pain and loss felt by millions of people in the United States and across the world during the pandemic of 1918. The short novel tells the story of a young woman named Miranda who, while fighting to survive Influenza, experiences a horrific nightmare where she is being chased by Death, the pale rider. Miranda survives the virus, but right before she wakes from her coma, her nightmare turns into a simple dream that takes her to this serene, beach-like landscape where, to her amazement, she is surrounded by all of the human beings she has ever known. She is at peace, but her mind cannot stop and begins to distrust the scene that she is seeing (Porter 254-255). She begins to feel as though she has forgotten something when "A thought struggled at the back of her mind, came clearly as a voice in her ear. Where are the dead? We have forgotten the dead, oh, the dead, where are they? At once as if a curtain had fallen, the bright landscape faded, she was alone in a strange stony place of bitter cold, picking her way along a steep path of slippery snow, calling out, Oh, I must go back" (Porter 254-255)! Miranda struggles to wake from her dream and acclimate to her new hospital environment. She struggles to leave all of the people that she had ever known behind in her dream. She struggles to find her place in reality when all she truly longs for is her dream.

Shortly after Miranda wakes from her coma, a celebration erupts throughout the hospitals with shouting and singing. Mrs. Tanner, her nurse, comes in and says, "Hear that? They're celebrating. It's the Armistice. The war is over, my dear" (Porter 256). Voices began to sing "My country, 'tis of thee …," and Miranda finishes the line with "Sweet land … oh, terrible land of this bitter world where the sound of rejoicing was a clamor of pain where ragged tuneless old women, sitting up waiting for their evening bowl of cocoa, were singing, 'Sweet land of Liberty--'" (Porter 256). This is an intense way of describing a moment of celebration, an end to a war. However, the reasoning behind this response might be found in the next paragraphs. Miranda goes on to question the line "Oh, say can you see," while Mrs. Tanner tells her again that the war is over. Miranda's only response is "Please open the window, please, I smell death in here" (Porter 256). This language here, the way that Miranda describes the celebration of the end of the war, the concept of Miranda being able to smell death in a room, is all intentional. Porter is illustrating that while World War I is over, the war on an unstoppable virus has yet to be stopped. She is emphasizing that there is still death occurring all around them, so why celebrate? While reading these sections of *Pale Horse, Pale Rider*, the reader can feel the grief, anger, and trauma that inspired Porter to write the short novel. The after-life experience, the pain of loss, and the survivor's guilt that

Porter most likely experienced in her own bout with Influenza are evident in the literature that she created.

Yeats's poetic words and the language that he uses express the pain and trauma that he, along with Porter, experienced. Yeats had just witnessed the mass amount of death that resulted from World War I when millions more people began to die from the Influenza pandemic. As with Porter, the virus took on a very personal role in his life when it infected his pregnant wife, Georgie Hyde-Lees (Simon). Influenza almost took both her life and their child's life. While the two did survive, the trauma that Yeats experienced from witnessing the imminent death of his wife and unborn child must have been considerable (Simon). In the midst of this pain and trauma, Yeats wrote the poem "The Second Coming."

This poem exemplifies the apocalyptic experience that people in the United States and across the world witnessed in World War I and the Influenza pandemic. In the poem, Yeats describes the second coming of Christ, saying, "Surely some revelation is at hand; / Surely the Second Coming is at hand" (lines 9-10). Yeats watched as the world and his world, almost crumbled before him. The trauma from that is evident in this poem, specifically in the first stanza:

> Turning and turning in the widening gyre
> The falcon cannot hear the falconer;
> Things fall apart; the centre cannot hold;
> Mere anarchy is loosed upon the world,
> The blood-dimmed tide is loosed, and everywhere
> The ceremony of innocence is drowned;
> The best lack all conviction, while the worst
> Are full of passionate intensity. (lines 1-8)

There is a sense of grief in the language here: "Things fall apart; the centre cannot hold" and "The ceremony of innocence is drowned." This language resonates with the pure chaos experienced by millions during Influenza. It expresses the magnitude of loss that left its mark on the world, that left its mark on Yeats and inspired this poem filled with pain and chaos. While the beginning of this stanza hits on the pain that Yeats was feeling, the last lines of the stanza pinpoint the anger that often comes with grief. Yeats writes "The best lack all conviction, while the worst / Are full of passionate intensity" (lines 7-8). This is a powerful comment on the different types of human response to massive loss of life, whether that be from war or a pandemic, that actually harkens back to the exploitative rhetoric that was rampant during the pandemic of 1918. Yeats is attacking a conundrum that is seen during this time when the best people have grown apathetic, but the worst people remain eager and impassioned. The whole of this stanza really exemplifies the collective grief that was created by the Influenza pandemic.

Similar to Influenza, the Coronavirus pandemic has brought mass death and along with that, trauma and pain from the loss of society and life. Robin Wright discusses this fact through some of their own experiences in their article, "How Loneliness from Coronavirus Isolation Takes Its Own Toll." They describe how they "Live alone and have no family, and usually don't think much about it. But, as the new pathogen forces us to socially distance, [they] have begun to feel lonely. [They] miss the ability to see, converse with, hug, or spend time with friends. Life seems shallower, more like survival than living" (Wright). This idea that people are just surviving rather than actually living compares greatly with the apocalyptic ideas in Yeats's "Second Coming," and is how many people felt as the Influenza and Coronavirus pandemics raged on.

People feel lost without human connection and physical interaction. This kind of isolation and anxiety felt in a pandemic is known to take a physical toll on the human brain and body. While, in 1918, people were not really aware of the issues of mental health, in 2020, there are hundreds of studies and research on mental health. According to Julianne Holt-Lunstad, a neuroscientist and psychologist at Brigham Young University, loneliness can increase the rate of early death, and social isolation and living alone can lead to an increased rate of mortality (qtd. in Wright). This kind of worldwide crisis can also produce specific circumstances that could significantly increase the risk of depression or post-traumatic stress disorder (Wright).

As we look at the contemporary literature that has already come out of the pandemic of 2020, there is a huge emphasis on the depression and traumatic experiences that have been brought on by the Coronavirus. There is a strong sense of pain and loss in the contemporary literature of today, just as there was in the words of Porter and Yeats. Alice Quinn, a well-known editor, wanted to memorialize the experiences and emotions of the Coronavirus, so she brought many American poets together and asked them for any poetry that they had written during the first part of the pandemic. She collected this pandemic poetry and called it *Together in a Sudden Strangeness: America's Poets Respond to the Pandemic*. Two poems from this collection of work, "Come Back, Come Back" by Jesse Ball and "May Day" by Nicholas Christopher, reveal the pain and trauma that sprung up inside of many people from the events of the 2020 pandemic.

In "Come Back, Come Back," Ball's words recount the massive amount of loss that came out and continues to come out of the Coronavirus pandemic:

> Oh there was no wind. These were the days
> When babies were born
> in graves, old men buried in hospital beds
> Still the song came in, came in
> Where my ears weren't.
> *O you who will never leave us, all you,*
> *Come back, Come back.* (Ball 6-7)

Ball's descriptions here of babies being born in graves and old men being buried in hospital beds paints a pretty gruesome but real picture of the pandemic of 2020. He acknowledges the many losses that have occurred throughout the world: the loss of children, siblings, parents, grandparents, friends. Ball deciding to end the poem with the words "Oh you will never leave us, all you, / Come back, Come back" was very heartfelt and intentional (Ball 6-7). He acknowledges the massive loss of life that everyone has experienced because of the Coronavirus and then ends his poem with a plea. The speaker begs all of the dead to please come back. It is a tragic and totally emotional ending that leaves readers either contemplating their own personal grief from the pandemic or at least sympathizing with the speaker's pain.

This kind of understanding of loss carries over into Christopher's poem "May Day." The first stanza begins by describing a "demented song" that a woman is wailing on a dark street corner. The speaker explains that the day that the woman is wailing this song is the day that "one hundred forty-four people in this city die of the same disease" (Christopher 26). It is interesting how Christopher describes this woman and the reason for her song in lines 9-18:

She is unseen invisible out of sight
maybe no more out of her mind
than anyone else
except that she has taken herself

to a dark corner crying out
not for help
not for the sick and suffering
not for those who embrace or reject death

not for the healers
but for no one:" (Christopher 26)

In these lines, Christopher speaks to the nothingness and numbness that many people have felt throughout the pandemic of 2020. The fact that this woman on a dark street corner is crying out for nothing and no one speaks to the depression that Robin Wright is discussing in "How Loneliness from Coronavirus Isolation Takes Its Own Toll." Christopher is using his poetry to illustrate the feelings of isolation and loneliness that persist within a pandemic.

Outka said it best in *Viral Modernism*: "These realms of experience—the sensory, the atmospheric, and the affective—are often precisely the realms left out of written histories but infused into memories, poems, and novels" (11). The pain and trauma of loss, the isolation and loneliness, and the blatant numbness that came from these two pandemics was infused into these works of literature. Porter's *Pale Horse, Pale Rider* and Yeats's "The Second Coming" express the emotions and reality of the Influenza pandemic, while

Ball's "Come Back, Come Back" and Christopher's "May Day" express the invisible pain and depression of the Coronavirus. One must remember that the inspiration for this novel and these poems came at a cost of trauma and depression. These writers and poets needed creativity, imagination, and the art of literature to get through the pain, loss, and depression caused by Influenza and the Coronavirus. These short novels and poems that we have analyzed are almost a snapshot, a memory, memorializing the trauma of the Influenza and Coronavirus pandemics.

Technological Differences in Pandemics

There are many parallels between these two pandemics, from the rhetoric that came out of exploitation, blaming, and protest to the memorialization of trauma and pain within literature. However, there is one significant difference between the Influenza pandemic and the Coronavirus pandemic, and that is technology. In the past one hundred years, technology has advanced greatly. Technological advances in medicine shrank the death toll between the pandemics by millions, and technological advances in communication, with the invention of the internet and social media, have completely altered the way human beings discuss pandemics. What would have been a popular, light-hearted Influenza cartoon in a newspaper now would be a viral meme making fun of the inconveniences of wearing a mask during the Coronavirus. It would have taken a couple days to a week for the news of the Red Summer riots of 1919 to be spread throughout the United States; when George Floyd was murdered, the entire world knew the next morning. As shown, the internet does provide society with great communication abilities, but with that also comes the ability to more efficiently spread false and possibly dangerous rhetoric to millions of people. What potentially dangerous rhetoric, during Influenza, would have taken weeks to spread, now, during the Coronavirus, takes only one minute to go viral. This difference has most likely caused rhetoric in 2020 to have more influence over individual, collective, and governmental decisions and opinions than in 1918.

Conclusion

Whether it is the exploitation of people, the blame placed on the Chinese, the spark of anger and protest against racial disproportionate death, or the final coping and acceptance of loss seen in literature, these pandemics created analogous human experiences and rhetorical reactions. Whether you are in 1918 or 2020, the human experiences and reaction to a global pandemic remain the same. Language still matters. Rhetoric still matters. It affects the way people view the critical nature of a pandemic. It affects the amount of people standing and fighting against injustice. It affects the amount of loss that we endure as a country. It affects the way that we write and create. The year in which a pandemic

arrives does not matter. The human reaction is still the same, and that matters.

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Absurdism: The Catalyst of Self-Dissolution in Samuel Beckett and T. S. Eliot

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Anxiety, angst, inaction, indecision, and disorientation are all symptoms of absurdism in the works of Samuel Beckett and T. S. Eliot. This absurdism pervades a variety of these authors' poems and plays. Time, space, reality, perception, social interaction, identity, and existence are twisted by Beckett and Eliot to stimulate the effects of absurdism on their characters. Beckett showcases these absurdist themes prominently in his plays *Waiting for Godot* and *Endgame*. Eliot illustrates the notions of absurdism most notably in his poems "The Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock" and "Preludes." Beckett's and Eliot's emphasis on absurdism serves to exemplify an overarching theme—the dissolution of the self.

Self-dissolution acts as a prevalent malady in the Modernist and Postmodernist ages. The authors' diagnosis of the malady is similar, but their respective remedies show a stark divide. Eliot and Beckett both utilize absurdism as a tool to depict the self as a fragmented and disillusioned being; however, their understandings of absurdism and the human condition are different. Eliot indicates that the human self is hopeless, fragmented, and invalid without God. Only with the power of God can the self begin to resemble a whole functioning unit. Adversely, Beckett embraces the meaningless and incomplete nature of the human condition. Beckett offers no solution to this meaninglessness and mourns the loss of God. In fact, the condition of hopelessness is exactly what Beckett wishes to exemplify. Fundamentally, each writer enacts absurdism to display the cracked human but pursues this self-dissolution to different ends.

Absurdism is generally described as the idea that human existence is meaningless and that the universe is a chaotic plain of destruction that erases anything of intrinsic value. A number of philosophers have put forth their own interpretations of absurdism. One of these touchstone statements is made by Thomas Nagel in his essential work "The Absurd," where he interprets absurdism in life as "a conspicuous discrepancy between pretension or aspiration and reality" (718). This "discrepancy" between "pretension or aspiration" (718) in the lives of Beckett's and Eliot's characters is intentionally integrated into their poems and plays in order to make a statement about the modern condition of the self. This condition is the erosion of meaning, purpose, and wholeness.

Absurdism acts as the catalyst for the dissolution of the self in each of these authors' works. Eliot and Beckett agree that the loss of self is an important issue of the Modern age, but their responses and ideas about this issue give some introspection into the Modern-Postmodern divide in literature. Defining this divide is essential in understanding each author's position in literary culture. Terry Wright defines *Modernism* in his article "Religion and Literature from the Modern to the Postmodern: Scott, Steiner, and Detweiler" by explaining, "the Modern, as I understand it, saw the twentieth century as asking a new set of questions about existence which required a new set of answers. The Modern also saw the need for a new canon, which could provide the focus for a fuller understanding of this new human condition" (4). These new sets of questions were born from a series of cataclysmic events that affected Western culture. Charles Darwin published *On the Origin of Species* in 1859, and it challenged the human-centered Christian faith that had dominated Western society for almost two thousand years. Faltering faith in the Church as an institute of knowledge and understanding inevitably led to a crisis of faith in Europe and estrangement from God. The World Wars also rocked the world with the degradation of human life, the industrialization of death, and the massive destruction they both caused. Modern and Postmodern writers and artists are reacting to these unsettling revelations about Western society. The institutions of old began to fade, and the Modernist and Postmodernist moved to replace these systems with their own visions or takes on the condition of Western society, especially in relation to the self.

The Modernist motto seemed to be "make it new," and this renewed sense of creation furthered the Modernist obsession with artistic novelty. But for Eliot, "make it new" was a multi-layered endeavor. Eliot moved to create a high Modernism in which complex poetry could address the complex nature of an industrialized Western society. Eliot began experimenting with rhyme scheme, syntax, structure, and literary style. Stream-of-consciousness verse, repetition, fragmented lines, and imagism were ways that he pioneered a new style of poetry; however, this stylistic experimentation

did not diminish Eliot's reverence for the Western tradition. Eliot's Modernist work includes massive amounts of Western literary allusions and Biblical imagery. He combined this with his studies on Eastern philosophy, such as the Upanishads, to create a substantive inventory of literature. With these advances in style and content, Eliot articulates a new form of Modernist poetry that attempts to direct Western society towards Christian faith and a revitalized understanding of the Western literary tradition. He saw this revitalized faith as an answer to the progressive dissolution of the self and the darkness and meaninglessness that encompassed the twentieth century.

Eliot suggests that the salvation of Western society is found in a close relationship with God. Naturally, a rejection of this solution leads to the degradation of the self. Eliot places absurdist aspects to display the consequences of such a rejection. In his eyes, Western society had already stepped away from this relationship. Isolation, the encroachment of time, and self-doubt are all addressed in a variety of industrial, religious, social, artistic, and poetic images that eventually culminate into a narrative that stresses the inherent meaning for humanity found in God. This quiet spiritual quest that Eliot embarks on in poems such as "Preludes" signifies his Modernist identity. Only in later poems such as "Ash Wednesday" and "Journey of the Magi" does Eliot's religious conviction shine openly as the solution to the ills of Western culture. But this attempt by Eliot to find a solution, to create a narrative, to journey towards some revitalized form of intrinsic meaning solidifies him as a true Modernist.

Adversely, Postmodern literature and thought represent a blatant rejection of all narratives, progress, and meaning that Modernism searches for. Intense skepticism and pessimism are found in the literature of Postmodernism. Universal morality, cultural values, and religious faith are often regarded as facets of political or cultural systems that will eventually fail. To authors like Beckett, anything metaphysical was to be disregarded, and depictions of suffering, meaninglessness, and confusion were essential in expressing the true dismal and futile state of the human condition. Beckett's Postmodernist thought also had a deep and unconventional relationship with human-applied meaning. This is a tenet of Postmodern literature. To Beckett, any philosophical path that suggested meaning was absurd. Unlike Eliot, Beckett accepts the existential crisis of Western society, and he essentially mourns this existentialism. Beckett's method of illustrating this meaninglessness is generally correlated with the "Theatre of the Absurd." In his plays, Beckett works with minimal props, few actors, and illogical dialogue to display the trivial nature of the human condition. His Postmodern goal is to utilize manic characters such as Clov, Hamm, Vladimir, and Estragon to reflect the meaninglessness of human lives and how humanity paradoxically applies meaning to meaninglessness. Alan Scott elaborates on this idea in his article "A Desperate Comedy:

Hope and Alienation in Samuel Beckett's *Waiting for Godot*," by stating, "The educative force of Beckett's creative, imagined, torturous and nightmarish depiction of the cosmos forces us to recognize that our own reality might too be a representation and not an objective truth, that our own reality is as fictitious as the play on the stage, that we ourselves may well be strangers in a world of others' devising" (452). Beckett's Postmodern reflection of humanity, a ridden race of strife, is the vessel in which his plays radiate absurdism to display the dissolution of the self. To clearly view Eliot's Modernist absurdism and Beckett's Postmodern absurdism, it must be approached keeping the philosophical contexts and influences of each author in mind, so that this absurdism can be seen as a true tool of self-dissolution.

Theology is an essential piece of Eliot and Beckett's approach to absurdism. It is important to situate their respective religious beliefs (or lack thereof) before venturing further. These fields of study are vital when considering how absurdism is enacted to display the opaque nature of the self. Religion constitutes, to varying degrees, the ways in which each author addresses the decaying individual. The Modern and Postmodern world presents a void of meaning to humanity. Eliot and Beckett demonstrate their philosophical and theological outlook through the skewed and maladroit nature of their fictional characters.

The religious impact on Eliot's absurdism is a working contrast with Beckett's dismally existentialist absurdism. While they both display a decaying self, Eliot's religious sensibilities and his eventual conversion to Anglo-Catholicism almost covertly put forth a murmur of hope. In certain places throughout Eliot's absurdist writings, the language suggests that there can be a fulfillment of the self. Eliot asserts that fulfillment can be found only through a close relationship with God. Glimpses of salvation can be seen in numerous poems that Eliot writes. A reference to this Christian-inspired hope is seen in "The Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock." From the opening lines of the poem, Prufrock sets up an intended journey. This journey is a pilgrimage with intended fruition or action at the end. This language can be further explained when Barry Spurr writes in his article "Anglo-Catholicism and the 'Religious Turn' in Eliot's poetry" that "Eliot's principal metaphor is of a journey of self-discovery, in the context, here, of a search (futile, as it turns out) for human love" (139). Of course, this ultimately ends in failure, as Prufrock resigns back into his dilapidated outlook of the world. The intended journey has no satisfaction and no fruition. A depressing return to the cyclical confusion of the world is what comes from Prufrock on the brink of action. The mere reference to a goal, structure, fruition, or meaning is in stark contrast with Beckett's Postmodern absurdism.

Another poem that alludes to a deeper sense of meaning in Eliot is "Preludes." Eliot illustrates multiple instances of rising potential that culminate into nothing. One

of these preludes details, "You dozed, and watched the night revealing / The thousand sordid images / Of which your soul was constituted; They flickered against the ceiling" (lines 26-29), but it resolves with inaction as, "Sitting along the bed's edge, where / You curled the papers from your hair, / Or clasped the yellow soles of feet / In the palms of both soiled hands" (lines 35-38). The inability to take action in the world depicted in "Preludes" is certainly infested with absurdism. In contrast to this meaningless inaction, the narrator explains briefly that he feels the presence of something greater than himself. This is seen when Eliot writes, "I am moved by fancies that are curled / Around these images, and cling: / The notion of some infinitely gentle / Infinitely suffering thing" (lines 48-51). This quick indication of attainable meaning is soon blotted out by the sneering statement, "Wipe your hand across your mouth, and laugh; / The worlds revolve like ancient women / Gathering fuel in vacant lots" (lines 52-54). This leaves no fulfillment or purpose to the sordid images of contemporary and urban life.

Meaning is present within the absurdist environment of Eliot's Modernist poetry. It gives way to undercurrents of meaning, fulfillment, wholeness, and a complete self that Beckett does not give. Christianity is the crux upon which Eliot's potential redemption is set upon. Eliot contends that as Western civilization moves farther from Christianity, it becomes more isolated from the inherent meaning given by God. As a consequence of this, self-dissolution occurs at a rapid pace.

Beckett indicates, throughout his plays, the belief systems that help craft his implementation of absurdism and his view of the self. An overarching theme in Beckett's absurdist plays is the presence of meaninglessness. Humanity is meaningless to Beckett. The absence and silence of God only widen the vacuum of despair. Life is absurd to Beckett. As a result of this belief, Beckett attempts to avoid any indication of "metaphysical" in his works. This ontological, philosophical, and theological mindset can be seen throughout his works.
Endgame by Beckett is a poignant expression of these views. Characters such as Clov and Hamm are subject to suffering and dreariness. Hamm and Clov often accept, but constantly agonize over, the absence of purpose in their existence. Hamm contemplates the bleakness of his reality when he states, "Moments for nothing, now as always, time was never and time is over, reckoning closed and story ended" (83). Hamm indicates Beckett's philosophy of ultimate meaninglessness. The fundamental suffering of Clov also describes Beckett's avoidance of any salvation, only the continuation of pain and suffering. An example of this is seen when Clov states, "Oh, I am willing to believe that they suffer as much as creatures can suffer. But does that mean their suffering equals mine? No doubt" (2). As the play continues, none of the characters offer any solution to this suffering or indicate that it has an end. There is no proposed purpose to it,

but only the hazy awareness that they are going through it. Clov and Hamm personify Beckett's pessimistic outlook on existence.

The silence of God is a prevalent theme in Beckett's play *Waiting for Godot*. This silence is an important aspect of Beckett's approach to religion. Christianity's beliefs dictate an inherent meaning to existence that Beckett wishes to cast off. He enacts the silence of God and the mortal struggles of Vladimir and Estragon to illustrate this. Silence and suffering are all that these two characters get. That is all. Beckett offers no more of a solution to this silence than God in his muteness. Beckett intends to avoid any notion of an inherent meaning to life. This lack of meaning is seen when an appointment was made involving Vladimir and Estragon. They are awaiting this being called "Godot," so that they can be given instruction, fulfillment, meaning, and direction. This event never takes place, and so Vladimir and Estragon are stranded in the void of a meaningless existence. Spyridoula Athanasopoulou-Kypriou elaborates in his article "Samuel Beckett beyond the Problem of God" that "Following his general opposition to secular and religious metaphysical systems, that argue for universal principles and order, of a disintegrating world that has lost its certainties, traditional values and revelations of divine purpose" (40), Beckett contends that human structures ultimately fail, and life is constantly trying to dismantle these systems. This outlook on existence denies any optimism in the absence of God. This is unlike many nihilistic philosophers and authors.

Beckett's pessimism towards the void of God is one of bleakness, and Beckett actively takes this view a step farther than nihilistic philosophers such as Friedrich Nietzsche. *Endgame* displays the desperation of human existence and the painful reality of meaninglessness. It exudes a bleakness that goes beyond the optimism and salvation in one's self that Nietzsche puts forth. Thomas Dilworth and Christopher Langlois support this notion in their article "The Nietzschean Madman in Beckett's *Endgame*" by stating, "In Beckett, all that is left to Godless humanity is absurdity and despair, which Hamm fearfully, habitually (and, for the audience, unsuccessfully) attempts to keep at bay through generating dialogue, enacting familiar routines, asking 'the same questions' and giving 'the same answers' (5), and retelling and extending a little his narrative (50–54)" (169). Nietzsche contends that fulfillment can be found in striving for the desires of the self, or becoming the best-self, an "*Übermensch*." But for Beckett, the idea of the self seems to be the dilemma. Clov, Hamm, Estragon, and Vladimir are their own worst enemies. Their mismanaged actions, thoughtlessness, contradictory behavior, physical and mental pain all are products of themselves. Salvation in the self is not a solution for Beckett. He offers no salvation, and the idea of salvation is absurd by nature. The world is essentially empty.

Beckett strides right into the depths of theological emptiness. Yet the impact of religious imagery in Beckett's

work should not be underestimated. He often evokes religious rhetoric and alludes to religious imagery to accentuate the absurdist and existential points that he is trying to make. Beckett himself is well acquainted with Christianity. He uses biblical allusions and imagery to frame the absurdism of Christian meaning, motifs, and themes. An example of this can be seen when Hersh Ziefman writes in his article "Religious Imagery in the Plays of Samuel Beckett" that "the casual relationship between divine cruelty and human suffering is perhaps the most effectively dramatized in Beckett's portrayal of many of his characters as emblematic Biblical sufferers" (86). This religious characterization allows Beckett to highlight the absurdities of religious meaning in the disarray of reality. An example of this characterization is found in his play *Endgame*.

With Beckett's and Eliot's influences and parameters defined, seeing the aspects of how each author implements absurdism to display the fractured nature of the human individual is necessary in understanding how they wish to emphasize their motives. Again, Eliot emphasizes the characteristics of the failed self to show how far Western society has strayed from God. Beckett invokes these absurdist aspects to dissolve any meaning in existence and to highlight the void of value in human existence. These intentions are perpetrated through a variety of aspects and depictions that explore the dissolution of the self. Much of the absurdism that is found in each of their work festers in the individual characters and then manifests itself into their respective surroundings. This absurdism initially constitutes itself in the characters' perceptions and identities.

The absurdist notion of identity acts a schema for further expeditions into the decrepit nature of the self. For Eliot and Beckett, identity does not work as a unifying theme to the characters in their works. Identity is only a figment that complicates the consistency and wholeness of the characters as individuals. Labels, generalizations, and self-reference allow absurdism to wreak havoc on the idea of a completed being. Beckett implements this convolution to accentuate the compromised lines under which humans refer to themselves. There is a fundamental confusion of identity between Vladimir and Estragon. An example of this is played out when Beckett writes:

> VLADIMIR. Approach, my child.
>
> BOY. Mister Albert…?
>
> VLADIMIR. Yes. (40).

This conversation only clouds the lines of their identity. "Didi" and "Gogo" is how they refer to each other, but the play calls them "Vladimir" and "Estragon." The boys from each act address Vladimir as "Mister Albert." These accruing titles make identification and distinction much harder. The teetering identities sometimes blur the humanity of the

characters. It also complicates the anchor in which the play's audience or reader can relate to the characters themselves. Saeid Rahimipoor comments on this in his article "Self Estrangement in Samuel Beckett's Existentialism and Theatre" when he writes,

> One point which strikes readers' mind with regard to the ambiguity of self in Beckett's works is the fact that Beckett's characters, especially in his novels, do not seem human, and even though they are endowed with a name and human physical form, their identities do not remain stable long. For example, in *Waiting for Godot*, he introduces the hazardous zones in the life of the individual, perilous, precarious, mysterious and fertile, when, for a moment in the individual's life, the suffering of being replaces the boredom of living. (1670)

These twisting existential woes between the characters' respective identities bring about confusion and absurdity. The sheer number of titles for one character points to the absurd and convoluted nature of one's identity. Estragon never actually calls Vladimir "Mister Albert," and Vladimir does not recognize or mention his other aliases unless it is pointed out by an outside character. This leads back to the absurdist conflict of mind and body, with Didi and Gogo being one person and representing an inner struggle of a human or humanity as a whole. It also emphasizes the bubble that Estragon and Vladimir live in. Other titles, distinctions, or characterizations are brought by outside forces, and if they were not, Vladimir and Estragon would ramble in their own secluded world. This apparent identity-fluidity defines absurdism's grasp upon the characterization of Vladimir and Estragon. In some ways, the number of identities that are present in the play renders these distinctions inconsequential or useless. This displays a piece of Beckett's Postmodern philosophy that negates the distinctions, structures, or meanings that humans give to one another.

Eliot creates the identity of Prufrock as one of shattered pieces. These pieces only refract imitations of humanity, and they give light into how Prufrock actually identifies himself as an animal. In the poem, he envisions himself sitting among these women, or beings, as it seems, to have a conversation. But in an instant, his illogical perception conjures an emphasis on his volatile identity and his perceived inferiority. The language that Prufrock conveys in describing himself is animalistic. He describes this imaginative vision when he states, "The eyes that fix you in a formulated phrase, / And when I am formulated, sprawling on a pin, When I am pinned and wriggling on the wall, / Then how should I begin…?" (lines 56-59). He describes himself as a fly on the wall: wriggling from the grip of these women's eyes. He says later, "I should have been a pair of ragged claws, / Scuttling across the floors of silent seas" (lines 4-75).

None of these descriptions form a human individual. He relates his identity to creatures of helplessness. In many ways, he seems to be at odds with these other beings. His identity is tattered in this jungle of social apprehension. This idea is supported when Dominic Griffiths writes in his article "Daring to Disturb the Universe: Heidegger's Authenticity and 'The Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock,'" "The journey brings Prufrock to no certainty or answers, but instead culminates in Prufrockian angst, which is something constant throughout the poem. In Heideggerian terms, Prufrock is in constant tension between the 'they,' his own inauthenticity and the realisation of the possibility of his gaining his authentic self; as the poem will show, this is something he unfortunately never manages" (9). Confidence in himself is almost non-existent. Prufrock claims that he has "seen the moment of my greatness flicker" (line 84) and that he is an "attendant lord" who will "start a scene or two, / Advise the prince; no doubt, an easy tool, / Deferential" (lines 112-115). The way that he illustrates himself as a mere animal or servant that is bound to the wills of other people or emotions, such as anxiety and hesitation, is striking.

Identity not only serves as a component of Prufrock's intrapersonal views but also demonstrates his absurdist identification of others as well. Prufrock's view of the women that he observes is also quite warped. It looks as though he does not view them as complete human beings. His perspective shows the women in the room as indistinctive beings or even objects. He goes on to say, "For I have known them all already, known them all" (line 49). To Prufrock, these women are all the same: if he has seen one, then he has seen them all. Relating the identities of these women to everyone he has ever known demonstrates the absurdist identifiers that he possesses. He sees these women as fragmented beings, and he focuses on certain body parts and accents to express his exasperation. "I have known the eye already, known them all" (line 55) is a description of how he emphasizes a specific aspect of these women. Later, he mentions their "arms" and their "hair" (lines 63, 64) as separate forms. The formation of an individual is not seen in this poem. It would be impossible for Prufrock to identify one because his sense of self is eroded and convoluted. Prufrock obsesses over these extremities, but he cannot put these pieces together to create a completed self.

The boundaries of identity are manipulated by Beckett and Eliot to allow hesitation, confusion, complication, and illusion to reign over these character's minds and actions. It also accentuates the minimal resistance that Prufrock, Vladimir, and Estragon put up to orient their own existence. These absurdist notions illustrate the human self's inability to properly regulate itself, especially when outside influences intervene in their identity's mirages. Eliot's and Beckett's characters cannot master themselves, so how could they have any hope to sort out the world around them? Eliot and Beckett both insert absurdist qualities into external

forces that exemplifies meaninglessness, suffering, absurdity, and confusion.

One of these external forces that are pushing against these characters is the environment and its relation to reality. The environment and reality's relationship has an important role to play in explicating the broken perspectives of Eliot's and Beckett's characters. The dilapidated psyche has been brought under stress and anxiety from the pressing confines of reality, exploring the broken nature of the self. Confusion and isolation rule the absurdist setting. These forces ultimately culminate into nothing, just as these characters do. So this only exacerbates the already warped perception of these characters.

In Beckett's *Waiting for Godot*, Vladimir and Estragon fall into a cyclical and fretful perception that is defined by hesitation and confusion. The setting ascribes an absurdist potency to the viewpoints of Vladimir and Estragon. They both find themselves on a country road and near a tree. They wait for an arranged meeting with a mysterious character named Godot. Each of them claims that they must stay and wait for him, but Vladimir and Estragon express doubts and anxieties about the agreed time and place. They are not even sure this is where they are supposed to meet Godot, yet they continue to bide their time in hopes of meeting him. An example of this compromised perception is seen when Beckett writes Estragon questioning, "You're sure it was here?," and later Vladimir replying, "What are you insinuating? That we've come to the wrong place?" (6). They descend into a conversation that questions the very nature of their situation, as their perception is so clouded that they don't even know what they did the day before. They question the time that they have spent there themselves. The dwindling conversation is never resolved, and they continue with their futile affairs. Another example of their frayed perception is found in the simple stage directions that are found at the beginning of Act II when Beckett writes, "*The Tree had four or five leaves*" (47). A direction and depiction this simple shows the changing of seasons and the undetermined amount of time that has passed since Act I. What can be another example of the paradox of time is found in an earlier stage direction of Act II when it is directed "*Next day. Same time. Same place*" (47). The tree, which is a part of a simple setting, radiates confusion.

Beckett creates the tree as a reference point to which the audience attaches itself. The tree, in some ways, represents stability in this otherwise chaotic environment. Attaching to this tree, the audience is then more likely to notice the absurd changes in time and place, but also Vladimir and Estragon's indifference to reality itself. The reference point of perception that is the tree is also absurd. Structure or reliance in Beckett's setting can only be inferred or assumed. In the tree's lack of detail, the focal point of stability in this setting is just as opaque as the rest. Arthur Broomfield comments on this in his book *The Empty Too: Language and*

Philosophy in the Works of Samuel Beckett: "The assumed reality of the commonly perceived world is reduced to indefinable perceptions. The tree may be a willow, a bush or a shrub (6), and Saturday may be Sunday or Monday or Friday (7). The view we get of the physical world is that it is indeterminate, and important only insofar as Vladimir and Estragon cannot escape from it" (25). This indeterminate world is chaotic, and concrete meaning is evasive. Any hint of meaning is contrasted with the absurd nature of existence, and even when a sense of conscious meaning is perceived, it is hindered by the unconscious. Broomfield again elaborates on this by stating, "Beckett's created dimension in *Waiting for Godot* is the place where the real becomes aware of its reality, and this reality is contrasted to the ultimate void over which non-being, the perceived world, is suspended" (33). Beckett constructs an absurd setting to exemplify the tattered perceptions of Vladimir and Estragon. The forces of the non-existent, such as reality and setting, actively work against any semblance of meaning or purpose in the existent. With Vladimir and Estragon in a constant state of confusion and hesitation, their perceptions continuously corrode the idea of a whole self. This corrosion is only furthered by the contradictory elements of the setting and reality.

Another example of Beckett utilizing reality and environment to exasperate meaning and perception is seen in his play *Endgame*. The main characters, Clov and Hamm, seem to be stuck in a house of minimal decoration or design. Even further, the presence of the kitchen in *Endgame* is an area where Clov reeks of meaninglessness and absurdism. When Clov is not doing meaningless and contradictory tasks for Hamm, he says, "I'll go now to my kitchen, ten feet by ten feet by ten feet, and wait for him to whistle me" (1). His explains his existence as one where he will "lean on the table, and look at the wall, and wait for him to whistle me" (1). Clov exists in a state of presumptive inaction. He essentially cannot operate without Hamm barking orders at him, yet he longs to be in the kitchen, where he waits for Hamm to order him around. This idea is explained when Beckett writes:

> CLOV. I'll leave you, I have things to do.
>
> HAMM. In your kitchen?
>
> CLOV. Yes.
>
> HAMM. What, I'd like to know.
>
> CLOV. I look at the wall. (11)

Clov later states, "I see my light dying" (11) as he looks upon the walls of his square kitchen. This inaction stimulates images of bleakness, the mundane, futility, and exhaustion.

Beyond the limits of the kitchen and the main room, there seems to be an apocalyptic hellscape. This notion is supported when Hamm quips, "Outside of here it's death" (8). A void surrounds Hamm and Clov, and each character seems to be innately aware of this, but they do not process the isolation of their condition as a whole perception would. This is touched on when Beckett writes:

> HAMM. Why do you stay with me?
>
> CLOV. Why do you keep me?
>
> HAMM. There is no one else.
>
> CLOV. There is nowhere else. (6)

The despair in their conversation is evident. But it seems that there is no contemplation about their surroundings, only stale silence. The isolated nature of Hamm's and Clov's surroundings propagates their absurdist action and diction. The endless cyclical routine that Hamm and Clov are victims of is emphasized by the dilapidated environment around them. The environment and their stark reality disintegrate notions of free will, pleasure, purpose and freedom in this mundane and limited existence.

Similarly, perceptions of Eliot's characters are constantly being shaken and suffocated by the meaningless reality and setting that is encroaching on them. An oppressive and closed environment contains the speaker of the poem. The reality that is presented in "Preludes" is an unfulfilled environment that is interjected with depictions of the dirtiness of urban life. Eliot contextualizes this world by explaining that, "The winter evening settles down / With smell of steaks in passageways" (lines 1-2) and "The burnt-out ends of smoky days" (line 4). These statements evoke an aurora or scent of disgust that is contemporary in form. Between these images, the convention of time interrupts, "Six o'clock" (line 3) as if to remind someone or something of its presence. The day slowly dwindles down into nothing.

Again in the second stanza, the world is introduced by sordid images of urban life. "The morning comes to consciousness, / Of faint stale smells of beer / From the sawdust-trampled street / With all its muddy feet that press / To early coffee-stands" (lines 14-18) opens the setting with a strange limitation. Images that the narrator describes are menial and secondary. They are illustrations with no brevity. "To early coffee-stands" (line 18) and "faint stale smells of beer" (line 14) indicate some sort of motion or action, but it never goes beyond just that. Shallow depictions plague any sense of direction for the speaker, and the speaker's presence in this world describes his or her sense of self or place: shallow. The speaker's assumptions and interpretations of the world shine a light on the fragmented character. The focus on the subliminal aspects of a human environment acts as a vehicle of the absurd. These little details, movements, and moments are piling up into nothing. The conventions of daily life are trapping the speaker and the reader in its snare of poised inaction. Fruition is hindered by the surrounding world.

In his principal work "Memory and Desire in Eliot's 'Preludes,'" Marion Montgomery elaborates, "But in the 'Preludes,' there is only 'The notion of some infinitely gentle, / Infinitely suffering thing.' That thing seems at best the awareness of its own locked world, in which the poem is suspended" (64). Awareness of potential action, meaning, or truth does not guarantee that it will actually occur, and Eliot is sure to convey that through his poetic environment. Eliot does not resolve the tension that builds up across the culminating images. Fulfillment is stifled by the limited scope of Eliot's world.

The perceptions of Beckett's and Eliot's characters are being muddled by the setting and environment around them. They are trapped inside various environments that keep their perceptions from making a journey towards clarity. Each character's observations, actions, or aspirations are halted and destroyed by the world that encroaches and dissuades any perception of substantiality. The environmental barrier between perceived potential and actuality is an aspect of absurdism that furthers the self-dissolution in each authors' works. An element of this environment and its relation to reality is time. Time, or lack thereof, has a distinct and defined role to play in the absurdism of Beckett and Eliot.

The inconclusive nature of time is an aspect of absurdism that expands the dissolution of the self. In Beckett's existential play *Waiting for Godot* and Eliot's Modernist poem "The Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock," time is an absurd concept. Continuity and consistency in relation to sequences of events is at best unreliable. The inability to perceive time shines light into the character's cracked being, perception, and existential desperation.

In "The Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock," time for Prufrock is less of a mode of orientation, but more of a crutch to keep his indecision suspended. An example of this is when Eliot writes, "Time for you and time for me, / And time yet for a hundred indecisions, / And for a hundred visions and revisions, / Before the taking of a toast and tea" (lines 31-34). He comforts his indecisions by insisting that there is time to act when his actions are never truly completed. Again and again, Prufrock attempts to talk to the women whom he senses in a distant room, but he stumbles out. While he is doing this, time never seems to change, and if it does, then it is a glimpse into the future or a dream of some sort. This is seen when Eliot writes, "I grow old… I grow old…" (line 120). These varying proportions of time and unclear direction collide with hesitation and extreme indecision to create an unreliable narrator. This unreliable narrator struggles to perceive the twisting volume of time and concrete relation.

Even further, abstract notions of events cloud how Prufrock actually perceives time. Eliot writes, "I have known them all already, known them all— / Have known the evenings, mornings, afternoons, / I have measured out my life with coffee spoons" (lines 49-51). When one looks at the poem to follow a logical pattern, many lines appear to follow a sensical pathway, but in just an instant, logical approaches to time are pushed aside. This is further dissected when Christina Wu, in her journal article "Exploring Poetry with Cognitive Neuroscience: T.S. Eliot's 'The Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock'," writes, "When reading the first few lines of 'Prufrock', one might assume that 'The evening is spread out against the sky' (l. 2) follows a similar logic, that the abstract domain of time acquires its structure through the concrete domain of space. However, this logic fails to explain the rest of the phrase: 'like a patient etherised upon the table' (l. 3)" (para. 18). The interjecting imagery pollutes any sense of reliable continuity in the text.

This meaningless and confusing passage of time is not limited to just the landmark poem "The Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock" but is further demonstrated in other works such as "Preludes." This signifies not only a continuous presence of absurdist tools but also the theme of self-dissolution. "Preludes" explores the parameters of time and continuity in relation to the viewpoint of a detached speaker. The poem initially evokes a plethora of orienting images, such as, "The winter evening settles down / with smell of steaks in passageways / Six o'clock. / The burnt-out ends of smoky days" (lines 1-4). Each part of this statement shows that the speaker is partially conscious of a procession of events. The detached speaker utilizes time as a false signifier of hope. Phrases such as "the morning comes to consciousness (line 14) bring forth feelings of renewal and a start of something worthwhile. Time stamps such as "at four and five and six o'clock" (line 42) radiate a procession of awakening that gives the reader a sensibility of progress; however, this is a sojourn that the reader and the narrator must deal with, as continuity and consolidation are wiped away by "ancient women / gathering fuel in vacant lots" (lines 53-54). Time invites a deceiving sense of a coming satisfaction. It sets the reader up to wait for a hope that never comes. Eliot utilizes this anticipation of action, fruition, purpose, and hope to explore the false sense of meaning that the decaying self has. This is a strategy that Beckett enacts meticulously in his play *Waiting for Godot*.

In *Waiting for Godot*, Beckett manipulates time to exemplify absurdism that shatters the self. An example of the indefinite nature of time is found in the simple stage directions that are found at the beginning of Act II when Beckett writes, "*The Tree had four or five leaves*" (47). A direction and depiction this simple shows the changing of seasons and the undetermined amount of time that has passed since Act I. What can be another example of the paradox of time is found in an earlier stage direction of Act II when it is directed "*Next day. Same time. Same place*" (47). The tree, which is a part of a simple setting, radiates confusion. Beckett offers no background into how long Vladimir and Estragon have been at this particular place, and it could be inferred that Vladimir and Estragon have always been there. A moment that could signify their permanent residence near the tree is

found at the end of the play after they both agree on leaving. Their action is halted before it even begins by the direction "*They do not move*" (85) that falls heavy on the vagueness of time in this play.

Vagueness of time and place exemplifies the absurdity of the principal characters Vladimir and Estragon's existence and their perception. Just as in Eliot, time is supposed to be a sense of hope for Vladimir and Estragon. They account their time spent waiting for Godot as a reason for his arrival to be at hand, but this perceived notion of progress is deceiving. Vladimir and Estragon soon find, as they probably already had before, that time and continuity are not something that their perceptions can rely on. Yet absurdly they continue to reference it as if the significance of it will change. An example of this confusion is seen when Beckett writes:

> ESTRAGON. We came here yesterday.
>
> VLADIMIR. Ah no, there you're mistaken.
>
> ESTRAGON. What did we do yesterday?
>
> VLADIMIR. What did we do yesterday?
>
> ESTRAGON. Yes. (7)

This only intensifies the absurdity of the confidence that they have in Godot, seeing that Godot's appearance is completely based on time, and time is a warped mirage in the play. Time's confusion manifests itself in other ways as well. As seen earlier, time's passing manifests itself in the physical description of the setting, but not in the notes of stage directions. If anything, the stage directions would leave the audience even more stranded from an understanding of time than they already are. Time is an obstacle that Vladimir and Estragon perceive not just between themselves, but also in their interactions with other characters. Specifically, their conversations with the character(s) called "Boy" shed light on the distorted and absurd nature of time in the play. In Act I, the Boy appears to deliver a message to Vladimir. By the second scene, the Boy appears again, letting Vladimir and Estragon know that Godot will not make it that evening. Vladimir is evidently confused and asks:

> VLADIMIR. Do you not recognize me?
>
> BOY. No sir.
>
> VLADIMIR. This is your first time.
>
> BOY. Yes sir.
>
> [Silence] (81)

This distortion of time is prevalent throughout the play, and it gives evidence to imply that the play's time is mainly based on the absurdity of Vladimir and Estragon's skewed view of sequence and place. The presence of the Boy may also represent a foundation that Vladimir tries to tether himself to. He thinks he has seen this boy before, because of the Boy in Act I, but his attempt to contextualize himself is answered with a simple "No sir" (81). The inconclusive progression of time is an absurdist aspect that each of the authors utilizes to convey the distant nature of their characters from the world around them. This distance or rift only stimulates and encourages the unreliable concept of time in relation to these fragmented characters.

Time is a false hope in the poems and plays of Eliot and Beckett. It only twists the perceptions of the characters that it influences. In some cases, it even leads the audience or readers astray from what is concrete in the work. Time's warping effects on the conventions of narration and the self are startling. It is one of the most definitive and influencing aspects of absurdism that motivates and displays the dissolution of the self.

The various aspects of perception, identity, environment, and time all function at once to produce an absurdism that is a defining factor of Eliot's and Beckett's literary work. This absurdism actively illustrates and displays a prevalent malady of the twentieth century—the dissolution of the self. Beckett's Postmodern response to this malady, plays such as *Waiting for Godot* and *Endgame,* implements the same absurdist elements as Eliot's Modern response in his poems "The Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock" and "Preludes;" however, the absurdism that they each invoke offers different outcomes or solutions to the dissolution of the self. Eliot's absurdism attempts to display the dissolution of the self as a consequence of Western society's estrangement from God, while Beckett's absurdism moves to display the meaninglessness of human-applied meaning and the human condition. Fundamentally, Eliot and Beckett utilize absurdism as a catalyst that can explore the human self and elaborate on their own complex philosophies on the condition of the human individual in the twentieth century.

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Depression in Literature: Weapons against Oppression

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Introduction

In 1973, Victoria Lucas wrote,

I saw my life branching out before me like [a] green fig tree…. From the tip of the branch, like a fat purple fig, a wonderful future beckoned and winked. One fig was a husband and a happy home and children, and another fig was a famous poet and another fig was a brilliant professor…; beyond and above these figs were many more figs I couldn't quite make out. I saw myself sitting in the crotch of this fig tree, starving to death, just because I couldn't make up my mind on which of the figs I would choose. (TBJ, 90-91)

It was unknown at the time that this visual of a fig tree would begin an entire literary genre dedicated to women's mental illness and shine a light on the patriarchal oppression that infected society. The metaphor of the figs gave readers and women in society a visual to describe the feelings of loss, agony, confusion, and grief for the lives they may never have. It offered a way for women to better express their confusion and agony at having to choose the different lifestyles presented to them, knowing they could not choose more than one. This type of confusion and worry led many women at the time to develop mental illnesses, suffering under the weight of the expectations and rules placed on their shoulders.

Victoria Lucas, better known as Sylvia Plath, published *The Bell Jar* with her famous passage and unknowingly began a movement. Over the next thirty years, women began coming forward and telling their own stories. They wrote about mental illness, the societal expectations that drove them to their downward mental spiral, and the impact of the men they had encountered. Following thirty years later and writing about experiences that happened in 1967, Susanna Kaysen published *Girl, Interrupted.* Kaysen's book was later made into a movie of the same name, rocketing it into the popular culture of the 1990's. The genre that Plath began lasts today, seen prominently in the young adult genre. Young women are still coming forward to write about their experiences. They are using their voices and their trauma and their mental struggles to write against the society that shaped a system not intended for females.

Both *The Bell Jar* and *Girl, Interrupted* approach the topic of mental health courageously, and both intend to show that women were not as fragile as society wanted to make them. Both books make the point that mental illness did not stem wholly from chemical imbalances or simple insanity; instead, mental illness was a way for women to rebel against the societal expectations placed on them in a world dominated by male thinking. Whether it be by being institutionalized or by making their voices heard, Kaysen and Plath embody the ideas of making the fight against society your own, tailored to your experiences and strength.

History of Mental Health in a Society That Condemned Nonconformity

For much of history, women were not diagnosed as depressed, anxious, or suffering from a chemical imbalance within the brain; instead, they were described as "hysteric." Often, hysteria was believed to have two kinds of causes: an issue regarding the misplacement of the uterus, or demonic possession and interaction with the Devil. Both ideas were developed by male physicians through the ages, without considering any input from the women whom they treated or, more accurately, whom they tortured with malpractice. Hysteria laid the foundation for how society could control and categorize the women who did not conform to the traditional idea of femininity.

However, hysteria must be given a certain amount of respect, as it is identified as the first mental disorder attributable to women. It helped to eventually launch a lengthy trend of research into what causes hysteria and eventually led to actual mental health descriptions and diagnoses for both genders.

The first description of hysteria is found in the Kahun Papyrus, written in 1900 B.C. by ancient Egyptians. The Papyrus claimed that the cause of hysteria was spontaneous uterine movement within the body. The Eber Papyrus, following in 1600 B.C., expanded on the treatment of uterine placement. Often considered the oldest medical document referring to depressive syndromes, the Eber proposed that fumigation, or the specific placement of perfumes or acrid

substances at the genitals or nose, could be used to return the uterus to its ideal position.

This idea was expanded upon by Plato, who argued "that the uterus is sad and unfortunate when it does not join with the male and does not give rise to a new birth" (Tasca et al., 110). Hippocrates, the first person to actually use the term *hysteria*, helped to build on the idea that it was caused by movement of the uterus. He even explained that "especially in virgins, widows, single, or sterile women, this 'bad' uterus—since it is not satisfied—not only produces toxic fumes but also takes to wandering around the body, causing various kinds of disorders such as anxiety, sense of suffocation, tremors, and sometimes even convulsions" (Tasca et al., 111). The general idea was that, since the uterus was not getting to do what men thought it should, it was wreaking havoc on the body and altering the female mind. The cause of hysteria was not simply the uterus. It was that the men in society found a way to blame the woman's own body for not partaking in the role that women were expected to take.

The idea and use of fumigation lasted well into the Enlightenment period. Hypnosis and smelling salts were the common treatment for hysteric women. If a woman fainted, it was believed that the smelling salts would urge the uterus to its natural placement, bringing the woman back to her senses.

While the idea of fumigation lasted for nearly two millennia, the Greek physician Soranus wrote against fumigation as a treatment for hysteria in the second century A.D. Soranus, considered the father of gynecology and obstetrics, wrote that it was not the lack of birth or sex that made a woman hysterical, but rather that madness was the result of too much. He believed abstinence and perpetual virginity was the ideal feminine state. Soranus also proposed that "the hysterical body should be treated with care: hot baths, massages, [and] exercise are the best prevention of such women's diseases" (Tasca et al., 111). By advocating for the modern version of self-care and promoting the idea of abstinence instead of procreation, Soranus was speaking against his predecessors' ideas. Yet he was still focused on the sexual aspect of hysteria, still ignorant to the idea that it may be mental and not physiological.

As time moved on and civilization entered into the Middle Ages, political events led to a great change in how hysteria was viewed. No longer were doctors blaming the uterine movement; instead, as Christianity took hold as the major religion, it was believed that hysteria was the work of demonic interactions. The misogynistic view of pseudoscience blaming hysteria on the woman's own traitorous body turned to the ideal of simple evil. Women who were hysteric and not aligning with societal expectations must be involved in dark arts or magic, considering that the woman's role in Christianity was to be seen, not heard, and to obey their husbands diligently and unflinchingly.

In the thirteenth century, St. Thomas Aquinas stated his belief that women were a "failed man" and that a woman's inferiority is a punishment from the original sin, Eve eating the forbidden fruit and causing humans to be cast out of the Garden of Eden. If a woman was already being punished for her sinful nature, then it was not a far leap to the assumption that women would also be in cahoots with the Devil himself. Tasca aptly sums up this idea: "From the thirteenth century onwards,… many manifestations of mental illness were seen as obscene bonds between women and the devil. 'Hysterical' women are subjected to exorcism…. If in early Christianity, exorcism was considered a cure but not a punishment, in the late Middle Ages it becomes a punishment and hysteria is confused with sorcery" (112). The Devil became the scapegoat for any unidentifiable cause of disease, and his demons specifically interfered with those who were more susceptible to depression or hysteria. Not coincidentally, it was women who were more prone to these diseases. This trend of thinking led to the witch hunts and continued persecution of women. Those women who did not comply or fit into the typical feminine role were considered witches or Satanic. If a woman did not marry in her life or was unable to have children, then it was due to some sort of interaction with a demon.

The exact rules of which interactions with demons led to which specific result in a female were unclear, but the logic and rules did not matter. What was important was how men were able to make the connection between the women who did not conform to expectations and a reason to punish and ostracize them from society. Claiming that it was for the greater good and to uphold the righteousness of the community, the male leaders would publicly humiliate and murder women who may have stepped outside of their perceived "natural roles" of life, casting out the believed demons or stripping away the demons' power by killing the conduit, or the woman supposedly possessed. The demonological pathology was a way for society to punish those women who did not agree to the expectations given to them. And as the young girls who interacted with the supposed witches watched the hangings, beatings, and humiliation, the punishments served a secondary purpose: how to make sure that the next generation of women would be more willing to adopt those societal rules and stay in their place.

It is not until the Enlightenment that sorcery is viewed as ridiculous and the inherent misogyny in society is questioned. Physicians acknowledge that hysteria was one of the most complicated diseases, and they slowly begin to move away from hysteria's association with the uterus, transferring their focus to causes in the brain. French physician Phillipe Pinel began to advocate for kinder treatment of those in asylums and freed the patients in a Paris sanitorium from their chains, teaching that "kindness and sensitivity towards the patient[s] are essential for good care" (Tasca et al., 114). The French father of neurology, Jean Martin Charcot, began to push for the systematic study of mental health, being one of

the first people to associate hysteria and other conditions with the neurological system instead of the uterus.

When Sigmund Freud entered the psychological community in the late nineteenth century, he once again returned the psychological view of hysteria back to a sex-linked idea. Even though the demonological approach to hysteria had made a significant end to the link between hysteria and the uterine placement, it was still widely believed that a woman's mental health could be connected with her sexual life. Freud insisted that "hysteria is a disorder caused by a lack of libidinal evolution…and the failure of conception is the result, not the cause, of the disease" (Tasca et al., 115). Freud is making the point that a woman who fails at society's expectations of motherhood is mentally ill. Herbert Spencer, the author of *Principles of Sociology* (1876), expanded on this claim, writing that "human development depended on the expenditure of a fixed fund of energy. Because women [have] depleted, or sacrificed, their energy in the reproductive processes, they were handicapped, even developmentally arrested, in their ability to compete intellectually" (Steen, 363). While Spencer was claiming that motherhood in general made women inferior, it was the same idea as Freud's. Motherhood and a woman's place and worth in society were intertwined and inseparable. This precedent set the mold for most of the psychiatric views of the future.

Societal expectations keep their hold on women and their subsequent mental illnesses to this day. Susanna Kaysen and Sylvia Plath both endured the lasting effects of the patriarchal views pertaining to what a woman should do in order to be a useful and productive member of society. The dogma that was established by Freud and his predecessors was holding psychiatry captive, with little other research being done on women's mental health. This stall in research and the willingness to accept Freud's sexist ideas halted and crippled the psychiatric field for far too long. Freud's ideas helped to cement the viewpoint that women were mentally inferior to men, and it offered misogynistic doctors the research needed to keep women oppressed and in their supposed place.

Patriarchy and the Written Portraits of Young Men

Kaysen and Plath felt the blatant judgement and oppression made by the societal expectations of women firsthand in a time that did not offer women the opportunity to have fulfillment in both a career and family life. While their healing was not properly supported by the psychiatric doctors whose sole job was to help, society was the driving force that led Kaysen and Plath to their subsequent mental breakdowns. Esther, Plath's narrator in *The Bell Jar*, states that she does not particularly want to marry or have children, yet makes multiple comments about her future children or husband. Readers can suspect that this was the same viewpoint Plath herself had, as scholars have determined that *The Bell Jar* was at least semi-autobiographical and depicts many of Plath's

own life experiences. This understanding that she would have kids was something that Esther, and Plath, had resigned themselves to, an unescapable path in life that each must follow at some point.

Susanna Kaysen had been a patient at McLean Hospital, a mental institution that had been visited by Plath. Her stay covered two years, from 1967 to 1969, and she was institutionalized due to a short meeting with a male therapist who sent her to the hospital on their first visit. *Girl, Interrupted* is the nonlinear memoir of the two years, bouncing from one memory to another, from one girl's story to the next, showing how all of the different women on the ward had gotten to McLean. At the end of her stay, Kaysen's release into the public after her hospitalization was brought by the power of a man, or rather, the marriage to one. The memoir's ending is reminiscent of a fairy tale, and Kaysen is released only when she is able to get married. If a sick woman is one who does not conform to social ideals, then this means that a woman who is able to get a husband and marry has recovered her senses and may return to the world. Elizabeth Marshall writes, "The same gendered criteria through which [Kaysen] was institutionalized allows [sic] for her entry back into the world" (125). Accepting cultural expectations, Kaysen traps herself within a marriage that ends in divorce. But it was her way to escape the hospital and to learn how to handle the world.

During the time that both Kaysen and Plath were writing, it was deemed that any sort of mental institution was a place of taboo, full of painful electroshock therapies and crazed people self-harming and diseased. This mindset was the general consensus of the public. These institutions were the best way to heal and help those suffering with mental illness, a hidden away location where the public would not have to concern themselves with those outside of conventional norms. Melva Steen spoke out against direct hospitalization as a way to cure, saying, "If depression in women results from oppression, hospitalization is not the answer" (368).

Kaysen would have disagreed with this on a personal level. As she wrote in *Girl, Interrupted*, "All my integrity seemed to lie in saying No. So the opportunity to be incarcerated was just too good to resist. It was a very big No—the biggest No this side of suicide" (*Girl,* 42). Throughout her experience with mental illness, Kaysen had experimented with a variety of self-harm techniques and other socially unacceptable actions, such as refusing to go to college or to try to find an immediate marriage when she became an adult. With phrasing like "incarceration," Kaysen illustrates the social perspective on entering into a mental institution. It was on par with the taboo of going to jail for an extended period of time. The time spent in a mental ward would label a person as a social leper, someone to be avoided at all costs. This admittance, and later acceptance of her situation, was Kaysen's way to show society that she was not

going to align with the societal norms that she was being forced into.

The resistance of the women in these writings shows how socially unacceptable rebellion was. They had no choice in saying "no" to children or a marriage, nor did they have the option to chase fulfilling lifestyles suited to them. These women knew that acting out against those practices that they did not like would gain them nothing and would only hurt them. However, by using the mental health diagnoses handed to them as a result of oppression, Kaysen and Esther Greenwood—and by proxy, Plath—were able to rebel in their own way; by using the system to their advantage, they were able to step away from the lives expected of them for a moment and find ways to be their own person.

There are stark differences in how to approach the oppression of societal views in various situations. However, most women can agree on one thing: men are upholding patriarchal oppression, sometimes without even knowing it.

A prime example of a man who unconsciously abused this power is the initial doctor that Kaysen meets at the beginning of *Girl, Interrupted*. While there were conflicting timelines between the doctor and Kaysen, it is well established that the doctor made a very quick decision in her admittance. He notices she is absentmindedly picking at a pimple and then remarks soon after, "'Take her to McLean, … and don't let her out till you get there'" (8). Kaysen notes that he was indifferent and cold to the problems that she wanted to speak about and discuss. She was unable to make a statement of her own and had no real understanding of what was happening to her. Under the impression that she would be in residential treatment for only a couple of weeks, she signed herself in, since she was legally an adult at eighteen. However, Kaysen ended up spending nearly two years at McLean Hospital. She credits somewhat the doctor on his decision, stating that when he saw Kaysen at eighteen years old, he thought, "It's a mean world out there…. He can't in good conscience send her back into it, to become flotsam on the subsocietal [sic] tide that washes up now and then in his office, depositing others like her. A form of preventative medicine" (40).

Yet even this type of thinking shows a sense of carelessness in fully assessing the situation. The doctor was willing to send off a young, vulnerable patient, possibly under the idea that it was a means of protecting her. This shows the delusion of men in power, the sense that they know best, of course, for the young women who may fall prey to an unfair world. What this doctor was not fully aware of was the fact that he was contributing to this society by locking away a young girl who may have been able to serve the world without needing two years in a mental institution.

The primary examples of the patriarchal oppression happen in *The Bell Jar*. Readers first meet the infamous Buddy Willard, who is instantly associated with a cadaver's head. Buddy had taken Esther to a hospital to look at the cadavers and teach her about his medical background. Esther [Plath] remarks, "I felt as though I were carrying that cadaver's head around with me on a string, like some black, noseless balloon stinking of vinegar" (*TBJ*, 2). This was a direct indicator of the influence that Buddy Willard had on Esther, and she carried around Buddy and his view of life around with her for the rest of her life. Esther remarks throughout the book that she looked down on Buddy, an attitude that is especially evident during their sexual encounter. It was a very unsatisfactory experience for Esther and nowhere near appealing. Plath writes, "Then [Buddy] stood there in front of me and I kept on staring at him. The only thing I could think of was turkey neck and turkey gizzards and I felt very depressed…. 'I think you ought to get used to me like this,' [Buddy] said…. Undressing in front of Buddy suddenly appealed to me about as much as having my Posture Picture taken at college" (80). Buddy's expectation that she has to get used to him unclothed shows his automatic assumption that they will be married. This scene is a prime example of how little Buddy thinks of Esther and her own ideas, because, in his mind, she has no choice except to marry him. He does not care how uncomfortable she is or how awkward the situation has become, because he assumes that Esther is his property as a future wife.

His hypocrisy is also a turning point for Esther's stance on Buddy. When he reveals that he had participated in an affair with a waitress at a summer job, Buddy is openly showing his hypocritical stance. Esther felt that he had only been pretending to be so innocent for her, a pure man who was simply following Esther's lead and following his feelings in their physical relationship. This revelation was a turning point for Esther, the proverbial straw on the camel's back. It is at this point that Esther realizes just how deeply Buddy has bought into the societal expectations that regard women as utilitarian and useful only when it benefits the men whom they are partnered with.

Leaving behind the insufferable Buddy, readers have to encounter Marco, the woman-hater. During a date where he becomes her escort, Marco offers Esther a diamond stick pin. When she takes it, Marco says, "'Perhaps,' the spark in Marco's eyes extinguished, and they went black, 'I shall perform some small service…worthy of a diamond'" (125). Esther later remarks that she had never met a woman-hater before. She was unprepared for the consequences of taking such a small thing like a diamond stickpin. Marco later attempts to rape Esther, until she fights back and throws the stickpin, allowing her to escape while Marco searches in the dark for his prized jewel.

This behavior is reflective of the idea that, in a man's world, no gift is given without expectation of payment. It was an understood idea once Marco made his comment at the party, but yet no one thought to tell Esther what it might mean. The other partiers were possibly used to this kind of transaction, something common in their society. It was an

ingrained part of the patriarchal society that had infested the upper-class social scene. Women were to take the gift and accept that they would have to offer payment, whether or not it was consensual.

Esther's encounter with Eric is deeply concerning on multiple levels. Aside from the fact that Eric seems to have some incestuous ideas about his sister, he makes the clear distinction between the women who have sex and those who do not. Those females who have sex cannot be loved, but those who are to be loved are too fragile and perfect to have sex. This is almost the exact basis of the idea of "purity" taught to young girls at churches across America, even in modern day. It has become common to have adolescent girls be taught the idea of purity and often given a purity ring, serving as a promise to save themselves sexually for marriage. The imagery in these classes or sermons is very similar to the ideas that Eric represents. A young girl who has sex before she is married is compared to a disposable Styrofoam cup, while a girl who saves herself is a teacup. The insults and psychological damage continue in the same trend as follows: chewed gum, a used tea bag, or a cup that multiple people have spit in. These all represent the idea that a woman who has sex before marriage is something worthless, possibly used once, and ultimately disposable. Eric's stance on sexual matters reflects this directly. Eric comments, "'A million years of evolution, … and what are we? Animals'…. [Sex] was as boring as going to the toilet. [Esther] said maybe if you loved a woman it wouldn't seem so boring, but Eric said it would be spoiled by thinking this woman too was just like the rest, so if he loved anybody he would never go to bed with her. He'd go to a whore if he had to and keep the woman he loved free of all that dirty business" (*TBJ,* 93). The imagery used represents a woman worthy of love as something similar to a priceless antique or piece of art, simply for show and to look at. Any woman who takes part in any sexual act is an animal and only for bodily use. These ideas are based in the patriarchal ideas based around sex, showing how radically men could think about the use of women outside of a person to clean house and rear children.

These ideas taught at an extremely early age show how misogyny and the need for control of female sexuality starts young. These types of lessons are not taught to men. They are not compared to used tea bags or plastic cups. Sexuality for women is inherently sinful and poisoning, yet it is not preached that the poison may harm the girls themselves. Young girls are taught that sex at a young age may eventually give their husband—a man whom they probably have not even met yet—cause to not want them anymore. This mindset follows them throughout their life as they grow older. But the verbiage changes over time. It goes from the idea of being "impure" to being "promiscuous" (a kind allegation) and a "whore."

This kind of teaching raises the question about the standards for men in regard to their sexuality. When one

thinks about a woman who frequently dates and has casual sex, she may be considered a pariah to society or unfit for a relationship. However, it is hard to find a definite line for men between a "player" and a guy who is promiscuous. Even Kaysen asks, "How many girls do you think a seventeen-year-old boy would have to screw to earn the label 'compulsively promiscuous'? Probably in the fifteen-to-twenty range, would be my guess—if they ever put that label on boys, which I don't recall their doing" (158).

It is this double standard that amazes Esther in *The Bell Jar*. While the main example of hypocrisy in the novel is Buddy Willard, readers also find that the double standard for sex could be found in popular magazine articles written by credible authors. Esther remembers reading an article by a female lawyer that said that men wanted to be pure for their wives but were not held to the same strict standards. Even if the men had had sex before, they still wanted to be the ones to teach their wives. Women were expected to be generally devoid of any type of sexual ideas or pleasures until they were married, when suddenly they should know all about sex and how to please their man. The lawyer also stated that men would of course try to persuade girls to have sex, but that was perfectly fine. It was up to the woman to continuously say "no" because if she were to give in, then the man would no longer respect her. This implies that a man would take "no" for an answer. But any woman is taught that this is not always the case and that shouting "Fire!" gets more attention than just screaming for help, just in case something were ever to happen.

The double standard represented by Buddy and the female lawyer demonstrate the maddening rules that women have to adhere to in society. But this fine line that women have to walk is dangerously toxic and concerning for any kind of mental stability. With young girls today still being taught that purity should be their defining characteristic and that sex makes a girl disposable, there is no wonder that many mental illnesses have ties with some sort of sexual component. Depression is accompanied by a loss of sexual desire, but this symptom is more common for men than for women. Meanwhile, manic episodes and borderline personality disorder are classified, in part, by casual sex, which, as stated before, is defined mainly for women. In a society where sex has become a weapon, women are being cut down for something natural to them by men who are able to wield this sword freely. And the toxicity has tainted women's own expectations of each other. Women must internalize their own sexual needs so much that they turn their own self-doubt into criticism of other women's behavior, only giving power to the patriarchal ideas.

The men in these two novels represent extreme examples that a woman may meet in her life. However, just because they are uncommon does not mean that they are not representative of a larger trend. Buddy's assumptions that Esther is his and his alone is still a common thought. Women

haters like Marco are rampant and hide under their "nice guy" facades until it is too late and too dangerous for a woman to leave. His woman-hating qualities have lasted the years since *The Bell Jar* was published, but this type of thinking has been brought to the forefront of social knowledge with the Me Too and Why I Stayed movements on social media. Eric represents the thought process concerning the women who have sex and those who do not, the idea that women who are readily open to sexual encounters are unworthy of actual love and affection, while those who are deemed pure enough to be in relationships should remain chaste and loyal. And Kaysen's admitting doctor shows just how powerful a man in authority can be, even when making questionable decisions.

Expectations and Roles of Women in Society

Kaysen and Plath both write on the expectations that society had established for women and on how falling short in these specific areas meant failing at life. They had been brought up with the idea that certain actions and abilities were required in order to succeed in life. This included not only character traits that represent femininity, such as grace, etiquette, poise, and composure, but also physical activities that were deemed the hobbies of the affluent and successful.

Kaysen summed up her feelings about the situation succinctly: "My chronic feelings of emptiness and boredom came from the fact that I was living a life based on my incapacities…. As far as I could see, life demanded skills I didn't have" (154-55). She could not ski, play tennis, go to school for any subject other than English or biology, or even plan to go to college. She was unable to provide a reasonable explanation for these feelings of inadequacy, yet no explanation available would appease society and what others thought she should do. But it was not only the fact that she was unable to do tasks; it was also the fact that she did not want to. This left Kaysen out of her peer group at an early age. She knew she wanted no part of the life that society was planning for her. With no desire to go to school or get married and be trapped by a husband—which was, in her eyes, just a smaller version of the overall patriarchal society that had already ensnared her—Kaysen was left dumbfounded. If she did not want the lifestyle expected of her, then the only other choice would be to have nothing.

When she was diagnosed with borderline personality disorder and sent to McLean Hospital, Kaysen willingly assumed the role that society and her family gave her: the role of the family lunatic. She describes two kinds of families, based on her experiences with the other girls on the ward: those who kept paying to keep the person in, and those who wanted to prove that no one in the family was crazy. This speaks to the idea of how different families would act to adapt to the societal expectations they felt themselves. Some families decided to hide the family lunatic away to keep them out of sight, knowing that people were aware of the lunatic's presence but also making the point to say, "*We* aren't crazy;

she is the crazy one" (95). This need to define the boundaries between the mentally ill shows that families were proud to keep their own secrets away but left the young girl in the hospital forced to wonder where her place could possibly be in society.

In *The Bell Jar*, Esther promptly addressees the societal expectations that she knows she does not meet. During her summer in New York, all Esther could feel was a sense of drifting, as though all she had worked for suddenly meant nothing, "all the little successes I'd totted up so happily at college fizzled to nothing…. I was supposed to be the envy of thousands of other college girls like me all over America" (2). Esther knows that her editorial job at the *Ladies' Day* magazine was an amazing opportunity, something she had fervently hoped for before she had gotten the news and gone to New York itself. However, the experience is accompanied by a sense of dread and foreboding. Esther realizes that all of the hard work she has done in college, getting good grades and scholarships, is the only thing that she feels truly talented at, yet "that era was coming to an end" (90). The ability to win scholarships or prizes is not a skill valued by the patriarchal society unless it is a prize for a pie at the local fair or church luncheon. Esther ultimately feels lost and unanchored, unsure of the next step to take.

Esther dreams of a career in journalism, like her boss Jay Cee has, but it would mean a life living alone and without intimate companionship. This idea of having someone to depend on is something that appeals to Esther just enough so she considers marriage, but she also understands that she is expected to be a mother and wife. Her view of marriage is bleak, a drastic and harsh end to the life she had worked on. Plath writes,

> [Marriage] would mean getting up at seven and cooking [her husband] eggs and bacon… [and] after he'd left for work to wash up the dirty plates and make the bed, and then when he came home after a lively fascinating day he'd expect a big dinner, and I'd spend the evening washing up even more dirty plates till I fell into bed, utterly exhausted. This seemed a dreary and wasted life for a girl with fifteen years of straight A's. (99)

Esther was seeking the same level of gratification from marriage that she had gotten from her life so far, but the marriages she had seen and been privy to had been anything but fulfilling for the wife.

At the time when Plath was writing and Kaysen was hospitalized, it was extremely difficult for a woman to have a family and career. Steps had been made to help women get into the workforce and develop a life outside of the home, but some of these women were still shunned. Often, women in the workforce were single and without kids. If a mother also wanted to work, she had to have the approval of her husband,

a hard-fought battle that, more times than not, ended in a brutal loss. The general mindset was that a woman was allowed to do one or the other: have a career or have a family. They were mutually exclusive lifestyles. The inability to decide meant that all of the paths become unavailable, a struggle to choose even one of them. To women like Plath and Kaysen, this was a conundrum that kept them trapped inside their own minds. The constant debate over which to choose led to an idea of inferiority to those other women who had already made their decision.

Mental Health and What the Authors Experienced

The choices forced upon them and the inability to find a fulfilling option led to a troubling spiral for Kaysen and Plath. The more time they spent inside their own minds considering how to fit into a society built against them, the more their minds started to struggle with the concept of existence. At some point, their minds were so taxed that the brain began to develop unhealthy ways of coping with the world, brought on by past trauma as well as by the struggle of becoming a woman in society. These disastrous coping mechanisms led to the revelation of mental health disorders. While these disorders caused chaos in both women's lives for a time, it began to make sense why they developed at the end of their adolescent years. It became a way to cope with the world, but Kaysen and Plath both learned that their mental illness could serve as a way to combat the unjust and cruel world that they were being forced into.

The trouble and uncertainty regarding which path to choose in life led to a visible mental decline in Esther. At the beginning of the book, readers can already see signs of disassociation, insecurity, and depression. Esther remarks at one point that the last time she had been truly happy was before her father died when she was nine years old, which is a concerningly long time considering that Esther was nearly in her twenties. The sadness and misery had made themselves at home, long enough that Esther does not notice them settling in until it is too late. This led to the sudden realization that she was unable to plan beyond the next day. Esther says, "I saw the years of my life spaced along a road in the form of telephone poles, threaded together by wires. I counted one, two, three…nineteen telephone poles, and then the wires dangled into space, and try as I would, I couldn't see a single pole beyond the nineteenth" (145). Throughout her downward spiral, Esther's depression had gotten so bad that it seemed as though there was no path for her to go forward. She has already established that no one plan—single but successful like her boss, Jay Cee, or married with children but no career, like neighbor Dodo Conway—seems to fit her idea of a happy life. At that point, this realization is simply feeding her mental illness, fulfilling the beliefs that society had taught her. If she has no plan to fit in some specified part of society, especially that of a caring mother and wife, then there is no hope. If there is no hope, then there is no reason to be alive.

Esther finds that killing oneself is much harder than it seems. She tries to cut her wrists but is unable to. The skin on her wrist seems too innocent and defenseless, but Esther also reaches a crucial realization. She says, "It was as if what I wanted to kill wasn't in that skin or the thin blue pulse…but somewhere else, deeper, more secret, and a whole lot harder to get at" (*TBJ,* 176). This discovery suggests that the thing that she wants to kill, the thing that Esther wants gone, is not an inherent part of herself. It is something that has been embedded in her: the ideas of society that have managed to infiltrate her very being, attacking her from the inside. The world and institutions that are supposed to care for her have instead begun their sabotage, unwilling to let her step outside of the social norms.

Plath aimed her writing at the world, establishing that her mental deterioration was not caused by a particular weakness that society and most physicians assumed of adolescent females. She makes the point that it was something with a specific cause found in the world around her. All signs in the novel point to the culprit being the expectations pushed on a young woman who was unsure if she wanted what life was forcing upon her. Yet what is more terrifying than the actual mental breakdown, suicide attempt with pills, and hospitalization is the attitude that the public took towards sickness. Whether it be physical (like the ptomaine poisoning that Esther and the other girls received at the *Ladies' Day* luncheon) or mental, the prevailing answer to illness in the novel is to ignore it and forget it. *Ladies' Day* offered the women who were sick a generalized "Get Well Soon" card and a book published by the magazine It was swept under the rug and the apology was simply a precaution because, as Doreen put it, "[*Ladies' Day*] can't afford to have the lot of you running around saying you got poisoned at *Ladies' Day*" (58). Society viewed illness like a small child: if no one can see it, then it is not really there.

Esther's mother is the most concerning character of all regarding illness. She seems to take Esther's sickness as a personal offense, continuously concerned that it is her fault. But Mother also does not seem to believe that Esther is truly sick until she tries to kill herself. The madness in her daughter could upset the precarious balance and façade that she has established in the neighborhood. She treats Esther's electroshock therapy as something that her daughter would actually readily volunteer for, remarking, "'I knew my baby wasn't like that…. Like all those awful people. Those awful dead people at that hospital…. I knew you'd decide to be alright again'" (174). Mother does sense in some way that the electroshock therapy, and possibly the causes for it, is a damaging and traumatic experience. But she holds to the idea that sickness is something that must be physical in order to be valid, and anything else is simply a choice that a person has made.

Kaysen addresses her mental illness with a level of self-awareness that offers a striking view into her inner

turmoil. She describes it as an oxymoron: "my misfortune—or salvation—to be at times perfectly conscious of my misinterpretations of reality" (*GI,* 41). She is aware of how her mental health and the issues that it causes can manifest in her life. The confusion in this time of her life is shown in the unsure chronology or logical order of *Girl, Interrupted,* and this offers an effective demonstration of how mental illness affected the adolescent identity that Kaysen had created. Instead of having a cohesive mindset and solid foundation of adulthood that most people find in their adolescent years, Kaysen was sent into the hospital with a non-linear, insecure, and ambiguous identity, and exited with roughly the same.

But she was then able to turn to writing to express how this identity was a way to fight the general animosity aimed at her by a society where she did not fit: "My hunger, my thirst, my loneliness and boredom and fear were all weapons aimed at my enemy, the world. They didn't matter a whit to the world, of course, and they tormented me, but I got a gruesome satisfaction from my sufferings. They proved my existence" (42). Kaysen acknowledges that she knew that the world did not care about her pain, but it was her way to prove to herself, no one else, that she was alive. It was an outward way to show that an internal condition existed and was present, that it was not just a figment of her imagination or an excuse to step away from the world. Nobody knew that she was in pain. Nobody knew that she was hurting herself. She says, "Part of the point was that nobody knew about my suffering. If people knew and admired—or abominated—me, something important would be lost" (153). The sense of importance was related to the maintenance of self, of a sense of belief that she was justified to feel these things without anyone else telling her that she was wrong to express herself.

Self-harm was not the ideal way for Kaysen to express herself or remind herself that she could feel and existed. Yet she was not sure of any other way yet. This was the course of action that seemed to make the most sense. It was what could allow her to prove her existence as she moved through a society that expected so much but offered so little support. Kaysen felt as though she was being ignored by the world and set up for failure. How was she to fight for her own space, to make her voice heard, to establish her own life? How could she prove that she lived in a time when everyone wished to ignore her existence, simply because they feared that her own insanity was a possibility for them, too? She wrote about her experiences. She turned from using hunger, thirst, loneliness, boredom, and self-harm as her weapons to using words and stories and anecdotes of herself and the other women who survived alongside her.

Conclusion

Through these two works, Plath and Kaysen were able to show that mental illnesses were not all that defined them, and certainly did not limit their ability to succeed. While society and the medical establishment had stepped into a more progressive era of treatment and rehabilitation for those with mental illness, the treatments used for Plath and Kaysen were frightening. Two young girls, who desperately needed help, were subjected to the same societal expectations in the hospital, a world that was supposed to keep them safe and heal them. The establishment treated them not as humans but rather as something fragile that did not understand its own mind and needs.

This stigma has faded today, but the patriarchal view still holds a tight rein over the medical institutions in the world, especially those for the mentally ill. Women's mental illness may not be categorized solely under "hysteria" anymore, but the lasting effects of male physicians' beliefs about the female gender being more fragile and susceptible are still lingering in the depths of medical books and practice. This is impacting the world far outside of just mental hospitals, but also for regular doctors who may dismiss their female patients as simply being anxious or looking too deeply into their illness and ignorantly refusing to believe that something may actually be wrong. In an article written for *The Guardian,* Gabrielle Jackson shows that this trend is still permeating research of medical practice, writing, "Diseases presenting differently in women are often missed or misdiagnosed, and those affecting mainly women remain largely a mystery: understudied, undertreated and frequently misdiagnosed or undiagnosed." In the world of mental illness, a prime example of this trend is seen in the case of attention deficit hyperactivity disorder, or ADHD. A young girl with ADHD may simply be called a daydreamer, disorganized, or simply chatty. Ignoring the early warning signs of women with this disorder leaves these girls more prone to eating disorders, obesity, and low self-esteem. Kaysen and Plath wanted to alert the world to this problem, and both books alert young women to the dangers that they may face when they step forward, and also encourage them to use their voices to tell others to advocate for their own health.

They also shed light on the inherent misogyny surrounding the world in general. As mentioned above, great strides have been made in the world for gender equality, and women across the globe are speaking out to fight against oppression, such as the gender pay gap or laws still governing women's bodies. Yet the world of America in the 1960's and 1970's was a frightening place. Women's rights made massive advancements with cases such as Roe v. Wade and the women's liberation movement, but women still felt vulnerable and under pressure to find a safe space to exist. Speaking out in society was terrifying for many women. Mental health was not readily discussed or known about in society, leaving behind those women who suffered as their peers moved forward with other necessary movements. Ladies with mental health issues still needed a weapon of their own, something to fight the patriarchal rules that had governed and silenced females for so long.

This is why *The Bell Jar* and *Girl, Interrupted* are such powerful pieces of literature. Not only did they enlighten others to the horrors and troubles they faced, but they also were able to shed light on the gendered perspective that the rest of society was holding onto so tightly. Kaysen viewed her time in the mental hospital as a sort of respite from the forces of the outside world, while Plath viewed mental illness as a trap inside her own mind. The reaction to their diagnosis was starkly different, as was the support that they were offered from family.

Yet both of these women used their perspectives and experiences to speak out against the stigmas surrounding mental illness, while also offering up their traumas, heartbreak, and pain as weapons against the world surrounding them. Plath wrote first through Esther, a thinly veiled version of herself, before continuing to write poetry and other books that were unflinchingly honest. She was willing to fight the demons of her mind in order to speak her truth, though unfortunately she lost the mental battle that she had survived for thirty years. Kaysen lived through her darkest and most depressing times, creating a novel that spoke about the same era that Plath depicts, but with almost thirty years of experience and thought preceding it. Still, both women helped to establish works that were greatly influential to the literary genre surrounding adolescent, especially female adolescent, mental health. This genre survives and thrives in the young adult section of many bookstores as women, and now men, are daring to step forward to speak about their own struggles. The current epidemic of adolescent and young adult mental health issues has kept these readers coming back to books such as *The Bell Jar* and *Girl, Interrupted.* These young adults who are preparing to face the world are looking for sources of hope, something to tell them that their mental illness and struggles do not have to be their defining factor. People are beginning to speak out against the establishment and societal rules that have haunted them and forced them into darkness. Women are fighting to take down the system that has kept them quieter and tamer than their male counterparts.

This change is largely owed to Plath, who began to give women hope and courage to write about their personal experiences from a more personal point of view, and Kaysen, who helped to keep the genre and hope alive. They demanded to be seen and heard, shouting that their mental disorders were not what defined them, that society would not force them to be something that they were not. They learned how to use their own demons as weapons against the systematic patriarchy that threatened to drown and silence them.

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Invisible Characters as the Personification of Mid-Twentieth Century Existential Anxiety

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Drama as a Communal Literary Form

Drama is arguably the most communal literary form, and it tends to embody the social aspects, culture, and climate of the period that produces it. According to Aristotle, Greek tragedies were meant to allow the community to purge themselves of strong emotions, namely pity and fear. By vicariously experiencing these emotions in a controlled and somewhat removed situation, Aristotle believed the spectator could turn his own anxieties outward. For example, in Sophocles' *Oedipus Rex*, Oedipus plucks out his own eyes to punish himself for his hubris and ignorance. The audience's resulting sympathetic identification with the suffering protagonist was seen as humanizing and healthy for the spectator.

During the Elizabethan era, Shakespearean drama was enjoyed by rich and poor alike. This was a period of economic prosperity, and as a result, the city of London experienced a population boom unlike any it had ever seen before. As the population grew, so did the potential audiences for art and theatre. The lower middle class, some of whom could not even read, would have seen the same play as Queen Elizabeth. Shakespeare used dirty humor and puns to appeal to the lower class, but because he was being paid by the nobility, most of his characters were noblemen and royalty. These characters, along with the complex themes and plots of his plays, were meant to appeal to upper class audiences. His collection of characters was also universally relatable because they were so diverse, including characters that were young and old, poor and rich, male and female. Their experiences were also common to all walks of life, such as love and marriage, dreams, religion, and war. Nobility, merchants, and yeomen could all find a personal connection within Shakespeare's plays.

It is easy to assume that the communal impact dramas such as Sophocles' and Shakespeare's had was achieved solely through the audience's personal connection to the characters they saw on stage. The onstage characters were the visible performers, and considering that drama is fiction represented through performance, it seems illogical for the driving force of the drama's action to take place offstage. The absence of a visual action or presence, however, can be crucial to the momentum of the onstage plot. The action that takes place offstage can have an even more powerful effect than the things that happen onstage. This can be done through the use of unseen characters.

Often referred to as invisible or absent characters, unseen characters are causal figures that significantly advance the plot of the play or motivate onstage characters, but whose physical presence onstage is not necessary. In fact, it is their absence onstage that lends them greater influence and power over the events and characters on stage. Dramatists have implemented these characters as early as the Greek tragedies. These roles were filled by the gods or the invisible hand of the Fates, but they could also include human beings. For example, Jason's bride in Euripides' *Medea* serves as the driving force behind Medea's filicide. Glauce is never seen by the audience, and the excruciatingly painful circumstances surrounding her death are only heightened by the fact that she is offstage. By hearing about the poisoning that killed both Glauce and her father rather than seeing it, the intensity and gruesomeness of their deaths are embellished through the audience's imagination. What the audience can imagine is far more haunting than anything that could have been portrayed onstage.

In Elizabethan theatre, Shakespeare also utilized the unseen character in his *Romeo and Juliet* through Romeo's initial infatuation of Rosaline. The audience never sees Rosaline, so through Romeo's description alone she becomes a pure, idealized figure. Rosaline represents the attainment of happiness that Romeo and the audience both desire. Rosaline gives the audience an idea of the ideal that Romeo seeks, and the tragic fact that Juliet cannot be that for him. After she rejects him, Romeo goes to the ball to catch a glimpse of her, and this is where he first sees Juliet. The offstage presence of Rosaline causes Romeo and Juliet to cross paths. Without Romeo's initial obsession with Rosaline, we never would have heard "wherefore art thou Romeo," and the ensuing tragedy may never have occurred.

At the turn of the twentieth century, European playwrights Strindberg, Ibsen, and Chekhov used unseen characters in a new way. Before, the plays themselves embodied the cultural zeitgeist of the period, and invisible

characters simply provided dramatic embellishment. Now, playwrights began using their invisible characters to embody the anxieties and pressures of the period. These new characters embodied the lack, absence, and needs of the period. As Robert Byrd explains in his essay, "Unseen, Unheard, Inescapable: Unseen Characters in the Dramaturgy of Eugene O'Neill," these twentieth century playwrights were looking to "find new forms for a view of life that, for good or ill, was replacing nineteenth-century optimism" (20). For instance, in his play *Three Sisters*, Chekhov focused on existential themes of change, suffering, and the meaning of life. Protopopov, an unseen character who is said to be having an affair with Natasha, embodies these themes. For Natasha's husband Andrei, Protopopov embodies change and suffering. We never see Protopopov, but he has changed Andrei's life in a painful and wrenching manner.

Later, Eugene O'Neill took these innovative European practices to the American stage. In his essay examining O'Neill's drama, Byrd cites O'Neill's dissatisfaction with the surface level of the spirit, quoting, "We have endured too much from the banality of surfaces…we have been sick with appearances and are convalescing" (25). Byrd goes on to say, "This dissatisfaction, which echoes Chekhov's, was solved in a Chekhovian manner: O'Neill used the unseen character to attain the unrealized regions" (25). He states that by engaging with an unseen character, as Eben does with Maw in *Desire Under the Elms*, the audience is pulled into an invisible world. He explains, "the invisible realm is also the hidden or mysterious part of the human mind. Here…unseen characters are not so much themselves as they are the conflicts, obsessions, fixations, transformations and devotions of the human personality" (26). Like Chekhov, Ibsen, and Strindberg, O'Neill used unseen characters to examine the human condition and to embody the existential dread and anxiety of the period.

In order to understand what pushed these later playwrights to use the traditional technique of the unseen character in new, innovative ways, it is important to understand the context of Modernism in mid-twentieth century society and individuality as well as its effect on art.

Modernism in the Mid-Twentieth Century

In his book discussing the origins of modernity in art as well as on a societal and individual level, Marshall Berman claims that Modernism can be broken into three stages. For the purpose of this paper, Berman's third stage, which spans the majority of the twentieth century, is most important. Through scientific discovery, industrialization and the invention of new technology, explosive urban growth and demographic paroxysms, and new methods of communication, the modern era saw the world simultaneously brought together and torn apart. Berman states, "Modern environments and experiences cut across all boundaries of

geography and ethnicity, of class and nationality, of religion and ideology: in this sense, modernity can be said to unite all mankind. But it is a paradoxical unity" (15). He goes on to explain that

> the process of modernization expands to take in virtually the whole world, and the developing world culture of modernism achieves spectacular triumphs in art and thought. On the other hand, as the modern public expands, it shatters into a multitude of fragments, speaking incommensurable private languages; the idea of modernity conceived in numerous fragmentary ways, loses much of its vividness, resonance and depth, and loses its capacity to organize and give meaning to people's lives. (17)

In order to survive in this overstimulated environment, the individual becomes unconsciously numb and, to a certain extent, apathetic to the world around them, resulting in a loss of individual purpose.

In his discussion of modernism, Nicholls interprets this apathy as *ennui*, defining it as, "a kind of primal melancholy, a combination of apathy and boredom which, in rendering the subject claustrophobically inactive, also brings painful hypersensitivity and nervousness" (7). He goes on to explain that Modern life is an "experience of extremes" and that this experience causes mankind to both embrace and resent apathy. He describes the modern subject as, "At once vulnerable because of hypersensitivity and dangerous because of his desire for ever greater intensity of sensation" (8).

It is also important to note that American mid-twentieth century modernism specifically followed turbulent events such as the Great Depression, World War II, and the Cold War. The Second World War brought income and manufacturing jobs to America, pulling the country out of the economic depression of the 1930s. Due to poor economic conditions and rampant segregation and discrimination, many African Americans had left the rural South and traveled to urban areas in Northern states during the Great Migration of the early 1900s. During World War II, the labor force deterioration created by departing soldiers opened the workforce to many nontraditional groups such as African Americans, Mexican immigrants, and women. Ultimately, these new workers were displaced when the troops came home. New identities and a sense of purpose that had been developed during the war were suddenly stripped away. People of color were still not given equal pay, and women were expected to return to the domestic sphere.

Women were expected to relinquish their new roles in the workforce and return to their roles as housewife, mother, and wife, but gender norms also changed for men. With the development of suburbia, gone were the days of the wide open frontier and Teddy Roosevelt's strenuous life ideology.

Now, men had to prove their masculinity by buying the nicest and latest cars, houses, and appliances, showing that they could provide for their families.

While it led to the Baby Boom and the creation of suburbia, the euphoric victory of World War II was swiftly followed by the tension and dread of the Cold War. With the invention of nuclear weapons and the tense standoff between the United States and the Soviet Union, there was the common belief that the world could end at any time. Children were taught ineffective duck-and-cover drills in school in order to subdue mass panic and anxiety, but with the looming threat of global annihilation, no citizen ever felt completely safe. Displacement, anxiety, and discrimination all contributed to the environment of change and extremes described by Berman and Nicholls, and heavily influenced the art and writing of this period.

Influence Over On Stage Characters

The onstage characters I examine here all feel the pressures and anxieties of the mid-twentieth century, but it is the unseen characters and their embodiment of mid-twentieth century existentialism and turmoil that drive the onstage characters and the plot. Whether this tension is tied to a sense of existential ennui, the overwhelming anticipation of personal desires left unfulfilled, or racial constraints and pressures, each onstage character is symptomatic of the anxieties of the period. The unseen characters either offer them a sense of purpose, motivation, or escape from those anxieties and pressures. In this paper, I will examine the invisible characters in Samuel Beckett's *Waiting for Godot*, Tennessee Williams's *The Glass Menagerie*, and August Wilson's *Fences* and argue how they embody the social ills, anxieties and struggles of the mid-twentieth century, and therefore fuel the motion of the plot and motivate the onstage characters.

Invisible Characters and Their Embodiment of Mid-Twentieth Century Anxiety

In Beckett's *Waiting for Godot*, the two characters Vladimir and Estragon are stuck in perpetual monotony waiting for the mysterious and elusive Godot, who never appears. Vladimir and Estragon are unsure of everything about their existence other than the fact that they are waiting for Godot. They do not know what day it is, if they are in the correct place, or even if the nearby plant is a bush or a willow tree. Early in the play they say:

> Vladimir: He said by the tree. [*They look at the tree.*]
> Do you see any others?
>
> Estragon: What is it?
>
> Vladimir: I don't know. A willow.
>
> Estragon: Where are the leaves?

> Vladimir: It must be dead.
>
> Estragon: No more weeping.
>
> Vladimir: Or perhaps it is not the season.
>
> Estragon: Looks to me more like a bush.
>
> Vladimir: A shrub.
>
> Estragon: A—. What are you insinuating? That we've come to the wrong place? (6)

Their sense of time, where they are, and even their conversations are convoluted and confusing, but they know that they are waiting for Godot. The promised meeting with Godot is the only thing that is clear to them, but they do not know anything definite or certain about him.

Many critics have interpreted Godot as a Beckettian God-figure. Due to the establishment of the Irish Free State in 1922 and the subsequent separation from the Church of England, the Church of Ireland became a minority church in the United Kingdom. In the following years, church membership drastically declined. Beckett would have been aware of this decline, and at close to the same time he was exposed to Nietzsche's proclamation of "God is dead" in Germany. Even with this decline in religious attendance and the prevalence of nihilism, Beckett never expressed a clear religious stance. In her article, "Beckett's Godot: Nietzsche Defied," Mary Massoud states, "It is important to note that although Beckett attacked institutional religion…, he always denied being an atheist. When in 1937, he was asked at a defense counsel… whether he was a Christian, Jew or atheist, he replied, 'None of the three'" (44).

During a period of spiritual decline and crises of faith, Beckett still recognized the importance of believing in something. While Beckett never claimed that he intended for Godot to serve as a religious God-like figure, he does appear to function as a source of faith and hope for Vladimir and Estragon. Just the possibility that Godot might show up gives them a reason to continue living. At one point they discuss a joint suicide, saying:

> Estragon: What about hanging ourselves?
>
> Vladimir: Hmm. It'd give us an erection.
>
> Estragon: [*highly excited*] An erection!
>
> Vladimir: With all that follows. Where it falls
>
> mandrakes grow. That's why they shriek when you
>
> pull them up. Did you not know that?
>
> Estragon: Let's hang ourselves immediately! (9)

The thinking appears to be that killing themselves would add some excitement to their listless, dull existence. Peter

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Nicholls claimed that Modernism was a state of continuous ennui fighting with the human desire for stimulation and excitement, and it appears that these are exactly the emotions that Vladimir and Estragon grapple with in this scene. Killing themselves would be a release from the tedium they have created for themselves.

In her article contrasting Beckett's play with Nietzsche's theory that "God is dead," Massoud says, "If God is really dead, as Nietzsche says, then what actually follows is not the wonderful freedom which Nietzsche and his 'happy atheists' are celebrating, but the terrible bondage pictured so vividly in Beckett's play. The two characters, Vladimir and Estragon, have been helplessly trapped together in a meaningless existence for fifty years. When they think of suicide as a way out, what stops them is the fear that while one of them may die, the other might live on" (45). But what stops Didi and Gogo from attempting suicide is not only the fact that one of them might be left alone, but the fact that Godot may finally arrive after they have committed the act. So instead, they remain in this languid, uncertain state of waiting. Massoud explains their choice, stating, "That Vladimir and Estragon cannot give up waiting for Godot, despite an inward feeling that he will never come, goes to show that when belief in God is discarded, man will still be tied to the old beliefs, but now these beliefs are empty and meaningless" (46). At the end of the play they even say:

> Vladimir: We'll hang ourselves tomorrow. [*Pause.*]
>
> Unless Godot comes.
>
> Estragon: And if he comes?
>
> Vladimir: We'll be saved (84).

Instead of finding liberation in the absence or death of God, as Nietzsche theorized, *Waiting for Godot* shows that mankind will simply waste away and long for something bigger than themselves to cling to. In the play, that something is the visit from Godot, and as Sharma explains, "The long waiting for Godot who does not appear throughout the play, and Vladimir and Estragon's hoping against hope that "he will come tomorrow," confirm once again the contention of Kierkegaard that existence does involve the future; one exists in a process of becoming by facing a future. The play unfolds in waiting for an experience of the fullness of man's personal and impersonal reality" (277). Vladimir and Estragon's purgatorial life is an example of the Modern existence that Nicholls described as a blend of apathy, boredom, hypersensitivity, and nervousness. While Godot is the only thing that convinces them to continue living, he is also the force behind their perpetual ennui. Godot serves as a warning against the mid-twentieth century population's tendency to retreat into themselves.

For the entirety of the play, the audience is led to believe that Godot will eventually appear. Instead, characters like Lucky and Pozzo make strange debuts, and Vladimir and Estragon are still left waiting. While meeting Godot would solve much of Vladimir and Estragon's ennui and suffering, it is Godot's absence, not necessarily the interactions on stage, that furthers the plot. Without the promise that he will eventually show, Vladimir and Estragon's lives would have no purpose. The hope that Godot will come gives them something to cling to and orient themselves with. If Godot were to eventually appear, Vladimir and Estragon's purpose would unavoidably shift or vanish entirely. In his article discussing *Waiting for Godot* as a counterfoil to Kierkegaardian philosophy, Anurag Sharma explains,

> Right from the very beginning of the play, the impression given to the audience is that Godot is the person/thing the whole play is about, not a threat or a menace but something/ someone who even in its/his absence is most welcome. His unseen presence throughout the play is referentially humanized and so he becomes a participant, one of the dramatis personae in the play. With a masterstroke of irony, Beckett makes Vladimir and Estragon realize the objective reality of Godot subjectively. (276)

He goes on to explain that Kierkegaardian theology says that mankind realizes through their own creation. Based on this argument, the God-like figure of Godot created by Vladimir and Estragon is their path to understanding and realizing their own existence, and therefore Godot is the entire reason anything at all is happening on stage.

Similar to Godot, the absent father in Williams's *The Glass Menagerie* also presents Tom with a potential escape route from what he views as an oppressive and uninspiring life. Arguably, Tom is the only character in the play, since all of the others that we see are from his memory. In his introductory monologue, he says, "But I am the opposite of a stage musician. He gives you illusion that has the appearance of truth. I give you truth in the pleasant disguise of illusion…. The play is memory. Being a memory play, it is dimly lighted, it is sentimental, it is not realistic" (4-5). Told as a memory play, *The Glass Menagerie* is narrated by Tom and focuses on his life with his mother, Amanda, and his sister, Laura, in the late 1930s. Tom wants to be a writer and travel the world, but instead he is stuck working in a warehouse to provide for his family and living with his mother who gives him no privacy or peace. Because it is told through the lens of Tom's memory, it is clear that he is trying to disguise his misery and guilt through humor and irony. He feels trapped by this memory, and the guilt and pain of his past prevent him from moving on and living his life.

As Tom explains early in the play, "There is a fifth character in the play who doesn't appear except in this larger-than-life-size photograph over the mantel. This is our father,

who left us a long time ago. He was a telephone man who fell in love with long distances; he gave up his job with the telephone company and skipped the light fantastic out of town…" (5). The portrait of the father acts as a constant reminder of the family's past happiness as well as their disappointment and feelings of abandonment. The presence of the portrait highlights the father's literal absence. In his article, "Irony and Distance in "The Glass Menagerie,'" Thomas King states:

> …but then he remembers another member of the family, the father, and that hurts too much to give in to so he shakes off the reverie and returns once more to irony. The irony is no longer the playful irony of the interlocutor before the audience, but an irony which protects him from the painful memories of the past, that allows him to rise superior to the "father who left us" and to get a laugh from the audience…. The chuckle may be good-natured, but the humor is not; it is gallows humor in which the condemned man asserts himself before a crowd in relation to which he is horribly disadvantaged by making it laugh. (211)

Here we realize the source of Tom's guilt. As can be seen by his Merchant Marine uniform, Tom has abandoned his mother and sister, shamefully following his father's example of desertion. This escape, however, comes with moral and sentimental apprehension. When his father left, the responsibility to provide for Amanda and Laura fell to Tom, and he feels smothered by this responsibility and consequently shameful of his bitterness and desire to be free.

Tom resists leaving his family for a long time due to this feeling of responsibility, and ultimately leaving provides him no relief. While he was away, Laura died, and as he narrates the play, he shows that he feels responsible for what happened to her, even though he was not present. In his absence, he feels that he caused her harm, much like their father did when he left them.

Amanda only ever speaks kindly of her children's father, but his abandonment of the family is partially why she is so desperate to find a husband for Laura. Tom sees this frantic search for a gentleman caller as frivolous and irritating, but Amanda's search for a potential match for Laura is her only way to provide for both her children. She sees any prospective gentleman caller as a way to provide for Laura as well as a way to allow Tom to live a life of his own. Since their father is not around to take care of Laura, that responsibility would fall to either Tom or Laura's future husband. Amanda is not oblivious to her son's desire to leave, and ultimately she wants only to make sure that both of her children are happy and comfortable. For her especially, the father's portrait is a reminder of security, happiness, and youthful beauty.

Unfortunately, Amanda's fervent hovering and micromanagement of Laura's life has not left the young lady much room grow and learn to be independent. She is neurotic to the point that she cannot cope with the outside world, and since Amanda's over-attentiveness is caused by the father's abandonment, her neurosis can also be blamed on the absence of her father. In scene two, her teacher reveals the extent of her crippling anxiety, saying, "Her hands shook so that she couldn't hit the right keys! The first time we gave a speed test, she broke down completely—was sick at the stomach and almost had to be carried into the wash room!" (14). It is reasonable to assume that had their father been present, Amanda would not have felt the need to smother her children in the way that she did, and they both could have lived happier lives free from obligatory familial responsibility and disabling anxiety.

Arguably, however, the father in *The Glass Menagerie* represents the repetitiveness and anxiety that this family and people of the mid-twentieth century were coping with. While the symptoms of neurosis are most obvious in the character Laura, the entire family suffers from an ever-looming pressure and anxiety. For Amanda, it is the fear that her daughter will not be provided for whenever she is gone. When Tom tells her that he has finally found a gentleman caller to come to dinner the next day, she says:

> Amanda: But, Tom!
>
> Tom: Yes, Mother?
>
> Amanda: Tomorrow gives me no time!
>
> Tom: Time for what?
>
> Amanda: Preparations! Why didn't you phone me at once, as soon as you asked him, the minute that he accepted? Then, don't you see, I could have been getting ready! (42).

She then goes into a frantic state, wondering what clothes they should wear, what needs to be cooked for dinner, and what kind of man Mr. O'Connor is. While these are reasonable questions for a mother to have when hosting a guest, Amanda's agitated and frenzied state would generally be unwarranted. Due to Amanda's need to overcompensate for the father's absence, the anxiety and pressure of the situation are heightened. Amanda and Laura share what Nicholls would again refer to as "painful hypersensitivity and nervousness" (7).

Amanda's insistence that Laura find a husband to provide for her is caused by the expectations and standards of the period. During the 1930s, a traditional Southern home had a male head of household, ideally the husband or father. In *The Glass Menagerie*, the absence of the father emphasizes the immense power that the absence of a male head of

household can have over the lives of traditional Southern women. In his introductory monologue Tom explains the importance of the gentleman caller to the audience, saying, "He is the most realistic character in the play, being an emissary from a world of reality that we were somehow set apart from…. I am using this character also as a symbol; he is the long-delayed but always expected something that we live for" (5). The gentleman caller represents comfort and release for every member of the family. For Tom he symbolizes freedom, while for Laura he is the promise of security and an absence of anxiety. Amanda in particular is stuck with mindset that success and happiness rely on gentleman callers and marriage. She romanticizes and idealizes her own youth in a conversation with her children:

> Amanda [*crossing out to the kitchenette, airily*]:
> sometimes they come when they are least expected!
> Why, I remember one Sunday afternoon in Blue
> Mountain—
> Tom: I know what's coming!
> Laura: Yes. But let her tell it.
> Tom: Again?
> Laura: She loves to tell it.
> Amanda: One Sunday afternoon in Blue Mountain—
> your mother received—*seventeen!* —gentlemen
> callers! Why, sometimes there weren't chairs enough
> to accommodate them all. We had to send the (*slur*)
> over to bring in the folding chairs from the parish
> house. (7-8)

It is clear that Amanda has told her how children this story more than once, and Laura's insistence that she be allowed to tell it again shows important Amanda considered this period of her life. Amanda cannot conceive of herself outside of the context of the Southern woman with a strong male presence, and as a result she idealizes the potential of the gentleman caller to fill the void left by her husband.

Consequently, the gentleman caller's tragic failure underscores the awful power of the father's absence. The anxiety and grief brought on by the combination of Jim's rejection of her and Tom's desertion turn out to be too much for Laura to bear. When Jim informs her that he is engaged to someone else, she is visibly affected. The stage directions say, "Laura sways slightly forward and grips the arm of the sofa…. Leaning stiffly forward, clutching the arm of the sofa, Laura struggles visibly with her storm…. The holy candles on the altar of Laura's face have been snuffed out" (90). By the

end of the play she has died, presumably killed by this same stress and pain, and Tom is left with suffocating and immobilizing guilt as a result.

It can be argued that the family's collective neuroses would not have been eliminated if the father had played an active role in *The Glass Menagerie*. Even with an active male head of household, there would still be the outside societal pressures and expectations of the Modern era. As a man, Tom would still be obligated to help provide for the family to some extent. When the father inevitably died or was unable to do the physical or mental labor required to provide for Amanda and Laura, Tom would be duty-bound to take up the slack. Laura would still be expected to find a husband, again because a father cannot be expected to live forever. In a world where the man is supposed to provide for the family and the woman is limited to the domestic sphere, Laura would not have been encouraged to make an independent life for herself. The father's absence on stage, however, intensifies already present tension, anxiety, and expectations. His abandonment of the family places additional stress on each member of his family. Tom is not permitted even temporary freedom from familial obligations, Laura feels heightened pressure to find a husband, and in her attempt to compensate for their lack of a father Amanda essentially smothers and hobbles her children.

In Wilson's *Fences*, the main character, Troy Maxson, also carries the weight of familial responsibilities, but at the same time he has to battle racial inequality. In her article "Putting Black Culture on Stage: August Wilson's Pittsburgh Cycle," Patricia Gantt explains that "By the 1950s, the setting of Wilson's play, *Fences*, the Great Migration, had ended, leaving blacks in northern cities much busier coping with the challenges of everyday living than their parents had hoped when they began the move out of the South" (9). In the introduction to the play, Wilson details the racial divide in the American Dream, saying, "For the immigrants of Europe, a dream dared and won true. The descendants of African slaves were offered no such welcome or participation…. The city rejected them…, and in quiet desperation and vengeful pride, they stole, and lived in pursuit of their own dream. That they could breathe free" (944).

During this time, life was considerably more difficult for African Americans than it was for white Americans. The former were often forced to work the jobs that no one else wanted, such as garbage collection, and they were not offered the equal opportunities for advancement or pay in these jobs. As a result, they lived in poorer neighborhoods and had fewer health benefits. In his comparison of Willy Loman in *Death of a Salesman* and Troy Maxson, Walton explains that "Willy Loman was a descendent of what August Wilson describes in the opening of *Fences* as the 'destitute of Europe.' His ancestors were 'devoured' by the city. They found immediate welcome and acceptance…. No such silver spoon was extended to Troy" (60). Because of this racial inequality,

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there is not much in life that Troy has been able to call his own.

While the reason that Troy was not chosen to play major league baseball actually was because he was too old, he is not entirely incorrect when he claims that he was denied an opportunity because of his race. By the time integration started, he was too old to be considered. If they had integrated sooner, then he would have been a prime candidate. It is clear that Troy feels the sting of this injustice when his friend Bono tells him that he came along too early. He says, "There ought not never have been no time called too early!" (947). He was also skipped over for promotions at work where he was a garbage collector. The only people who were chosen to be drivers, the better paying, easier job, were the white employees. African American employees were stuck with the dirty, tiring task of loading the garbage onto the truck. In order to secure a promotion for himself, Troy had to file a formal complaint. Otherwise he would have been continually passed over.

Troy has the pressure not only of being a black man in America, but also of being a providing husband, brother, and father. Every week he gives his paycheck to his wife, Rose, in order to pay the bills and provide for the family. He has two sons that he tries to protect and provide for, as well as his brother, Gabriel, who suffered a head injury in the war. He says multiple times that he gives and gives to his family. By providing the family with money to put a roof over their heads and food on the table and by attempting to steer his son away from mistakes and heartbreak similar to his own, Troy feels that he gives and everyone else takes. He feels particularly trapped by Rose. It exhausts him, and he feels stuck in his role as provider.

The only person who has provided him any relief from these constraints is his mistress, Alberta, who lives and dies entirely offstage. As Troy confesses to Rose, "She gives me a different idea…, a different understanding about myself. I can step out of this house and get away from the pressures and problems…, be a different man. I ain't got to wonder how I'm gonna pay the bills or get the roof fixed. I can just be a part of myself that I ain't never been" (962). Unwilling to give up his relationship with Alberta, especially after he learns that she is pregnant with his child, her offstage presence puts a heavier strain on his other relationships.

When he tells Rose about the affair and how he refuses to give it up, she insists that he should have stayed faithful to her, saying, "Don't you think I ever wanted other things? Don't you think I had dreams and hopes…. But I held onto you, Troy. I took all my feelings, my wants, my needs, my dreams…, and I buried them inside you…. You always talking about what you give…and what you don't have to give. But you take too. You take…and don't even know nobody's giving" (963). As Gantt explains in her article, "The irony in Rose's life is that the more she subsumes her own personality in Troy's, the more resentment he feels about the

responsibilities she embodies and wants to escape her. They never truly understand one another" (11). Both of them feel as if they are the one giving, and that the other has never been equally giving back. It is not until the unseen presence of Alberta arises that they are able to verbalize these feelings to one another. After Alberta's death, Rose agrees to raise Alberta's daughter as her own, but her relationship to Troy will never be the same. She says, "This child got a mother. But you a womanless man" (965). The wealth of warmth and affection she felt towards him is now completely extinguished.

Before his affair, Troy already had a strained relationship with his son, Cory. Trying to protect Cory from suffering disappointment and a hard life like his own, Troy is very strict with his son. He is allowed to play football only if he helps Troy build the fence and keeps his job at the A&P. When he finds out that Cory has not been working and has been sneaking off to practice, Troy tells the coach that Cory is no longer allowed to play and has his boss at the A&P give him all of his hours back. This ruins any chance Cory has of being scouted and recruited to a college where he could have received an education further than what either of his parents had. Troy is trying to prevent Cory from having to deal with the same racial discrimination that he faced as a young man, but Cory resents his father for ruining his chances.

Until he finds out about Troy's affair, Cory is respectful towards, or at least scared of, his father. After he learns about the affair, however, he loses any respect that he once had for him, and Cory's long pent-up resentment floods out. In an altercation with his father, he says, "You don't count around here anymore…. You ain't never gave me nothing! You ain't never done nothing but hold me back. Afraid I was gonna be better than you. All you ever did was try and make me scared of you. I used to tremble every time you called my name" (966). Eventually the fight comes to blows, and by the end of the scene, Cory runs away from home to join the army. A few years later, he even struggles to bring himself to attend his father's funeral.

For Troy, Alberta is the embodiment of the self that he could never be, but for Cory, she represents the absence of the father that he wants and needs. While Troy attempts to take care of Cory and the family in the best way he knows how, it is not in the way that Cory needs. When Troy is with Alberta, he is able to let go of the pressures and responsibilities that he feels in his everyday life. Without these anxieties pushing him to do more and to do it better, he would be more receptive to dreams and possibilities. Instead of the dictatorial, heavy-handed authority that Troy enforces, Cory needs a father who encourages his dreams and helps him achieve them. Troy was too old to play in the major leagues by the time they were integrated, but Cory could have reasonably received a full scholarship for college by playing ball. Alberta represents a Troy free from the bitterness of his past and the pressure to provide.

By the end of the play, Troy has died alone. His relationship with Alberta ostracizes him from his family and friends, and even after her death, they are never able to fully welcome him back into their lives. Troy's best friend, Bono, seems uncomfortable coming to the same porch where he used to have a drink every night. Because he is so close to both Troy and Rose, he feels a loyalty towards her after Troy cheats on her. While Rose defends Troy after his death, saying that he meant to do better and did the best he could, their relationship is still never the same. She is a mother to his and Alberta's daughter, Raynell, but she cannot be the same wife to him that she was before. Cory is barely able to make himself attend his father's funeral, and it is clear that he has not been home for a number of years.

If Alberta had made an appearance on stage, then the conflict among the various characters would have distracted from Troy's sense of isolation. The focus would shift to the family members' conflicts with Alberta rather than with Troy. As an unseen character, however, she functions as the embodiment of absence and isolation. For Troy she represents the self that he could never be, but ultimately she symbolizes Troy's absence in his family members' lives as well as his sense of isolation from the rest of the world. The feeling of isolation due to anxiety and overstimulation is a Modern sensation. As Berman says in his book, "If we think of Modernism as a struggle to make ourselves at home in a constantly changing world, we will realize that no mode of modernism can ever be definitive. Our most creative constructions and achievements are bound to turn into prisons and whited sepulchers that we, or our children, will have to escape or transform if life is to go on" (6). He goes on to explain, "Subjectivity and inwardness have become at once richer and more intensely developed, and more lonely and entrapped, than they ever were before" (8). While modernity unites all of humanity, it also contributes to feelings of disconnection and solitude.

The life that Troy has built for himself has become a prison rather than a safe haven. As a result, he feels isolated from his family and the world around him, unable to connect with anything outside of himself. Alberta offers him temporary relief from this feeling of disassociation, but she also isolates him further from his life.

Conclusion

Invisible characters are by no means a new phenomenon. Dramatists have always used invisible characters to further the plot and motivate on-stage characters, but the modern era saw them reflecting specifically modern anxieties. By embodying the anxieties and expectations of the period, these unseen characters influence the plot and on stage characters to represent the modern era for both contemporary audiences as well as those who came afterwards.

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Linking Jairus' Daughter, The Hemorrhaging Woman, and Jesus in the Gospel of Mark

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On the surface, the Markan sandwich of Jairus's daughter and the hemorrhaging woman can be seen as having little to nothing in common. Jesus could also be seen as having no direct connection to the women, but that is far from the truth. Because of the Mosaic Law and the miracles, Jairus's daughter, the hemorrhaging woman, and Jesus are all linked by gender, name, number, blood, and social status.

Jairus's daughter

Jesus went to the opposite shoreline and a large crowd was following him. Jairus, a synagogue leader, asked Jesus to heal his dying daughter, and Jesus went with him. The crowd that had gathered around Jesus was pushing on him (Mark 5:21-24).

While Jesus was interacting with the hemorrhaging woman, people came from Jairus's house and told him that his daughter had died. They asked, "Why bother the teacher any longer?" Jesus tells Jairus to not be afraid and to simply believe. At the same time, Peter, James, and John were the only three who were allowed to follow Jesus.

When they arrived at the house, Jesus said that the little girl was asleep. The people in the house laughed at him, and Jesus cast them out of the house. Being followed by the girl's parents and the three disciples, he went into the house. He took her by the hand and told her, "*Talitha koum!*" ("Little girl, I say to you, get up!") The twelve-year old girl woke up, and Jesus told her parents to feed her. He also told them not to tell anyone (Mark 5: 35-43).

"A synagogue official was an eminent layman whose duties included oversight of the synagogue's activities and finances. [. . .] The request that Jesus lays [puts hands on her] reflects the Jewish sense of the capacity of the human body to mediate God's grace and power" (Healy 105). Jairus was a respected member of society and a leader of a congregation like Jesus was, so he "[had] enough prestige to ask Jesus to come to his house, and his presumption [was] not disappointed, for Jesus [went] with him" (Edwards 204).

Although Mark does not mention Jairus's feelings at that moment, losing a child feels like a pit full of despair, grief, regret, and unanswered questions. The people who come from Jairus's house have no faith or hope, and they are

willingly (or unwillingly) trying to make Jairus feel the same way. Jesus tells Jairus not to be afraid. "The exhortation [is] both an expression of consolation and a call for courage" (Collins 284-285). It is also a call to faith. The people who ridicule Jesus are put out because if there is a lack of faith, then Jesus cannot do miracles. Also, "it is not appropriate that divine power be seen at work" (Collins 285).

For his followers, "Jesus is calling his listeners to recognize that death is not the ultimate end of human life; it is only a temporary phase from which all will be awakened at the resurrection" (Healy 109). He also allows for his most trusted disciples—Peter, James, and John—to follow him. "Their presence here is a signal that what is about to happen is another key moment in Jesus' mission, giving a glimpse of his divine identity" (Healy 109).

The parents and those who are in the house are considered unclean, according to the book of Numbers. "This is the law that applies when a person dies in a tent: Anyone who enters the tent and anyone who is in it will be unclean for seven days." In the Old Testament, the dwelling is called a tent because the Israelites were migrating. In the New Testament, a house can also be considered a tent because it is a dwelling place. By Jewish standards, Jesus and his closest apostles are also considered unclean.

Mark correctly translates "*Talitha koum!*" from Aramaic. BDAG (988) also states that "*Talitha*" means "girl, little girl" and "*koum*" means "stand up" (563). Collins agrees with this, stating the following: "[Jesus] also said to her ταλιθα κουμ ("Talitha koum"), an Aramaic phrase that the evangelist translates as "Girl, I say to you, wake up!" (Collins 285).

The Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon (CAL), according to John Cook, professor of Religion and Philosophy at LaGrange College, lists two meanings for the masculine version of "Talitha": "ṭly, ṭlyʾ (ṭlē, ṭalyā) n.m. lamb (m.); youth." Lamb (ṭalyā) is masculine (CAL) and therefore would mean "male lamb." The CAL has this lemma for the precise word Jesus uses: "ṭlyh, ṭlytʾ (ṭalyā, ṭlīṭā) n.f. young girl" and does not give any examples where the feminine form of the noun means "lamb." The feminine form, consequently, occurs only with the meaning "young girl" in

Aramaic. Black states: "'Talitha koum,' which means 'Little girl [literally, 'little lamb'], get up!'" (5:41) is one of the Semitic expressions that Mark translates, presumably because they would otherwise not be understood" (Black 144). However, since the feminine form means "young girl" only in extant Aramaic texts, Black is almost certainly incorrect in his claim that the term "Talitha" means literally "little lamb."

There is a thesis that the words "*Talitha koum!*" are magical incantations.

> Certainly, the use of foreign words was a common feature of magical incantations, and it is entirely possible that Mark's primary audience would have interpreted Jesus' healing of the girl as magic, rather than miracle. We may speculate that Mark's inclusion of the Aramaic phrase was part of his rhetoric, his intention being to call attention to the magical possibilities, and then to expose the secret and destroy the magic power of the word by offering a translation. He thus affirms that Jesus' power is miracle and not magic in the same way as he authenticates the power of miracle over medicine in the narrative of the hemorrhaging woman. On medicine, miracle and magic as competing modes of healing in Judaism and the traditions of the late Hellenistic world [.] (Haber 188)

"It is noteworthy, however, that the only words of Jesus that the evangelist gives in Aramaic in this context are the powerful words by which, in part, Jesus raised the girl from the dead" (Collins 285).

For this thesis, there are pros and cons. One pro is that it provides insight into the life of first-century Israel. Even though the official religion was Judaism, magic was still a great part of life in secret. There are two belief systems: Judaism and the monotheistic God; and magical beliefs that comprised many gods and goddesses. There were people who had secret amulets and small idols in their homes, and for "*Talitha koum!*" to be considered a magical incantation supports the history.

Another pro is that the New Testament was written in Greek, not Aramaic. Aramaic can be considered a foreign language by those who read the New Testament. Haber stated that "the use of foreign words was a common feature of magical incantations," so any Aramaic word or phrase that is used in Scripture is considered a magical incantation.

One con is that in first-century Israel, Jesus would have spoken Aramaic in daily life. In other parts of Scripture, Jesus uses Aramaic phrases such as "*Ephphatha*" (Mark 7:34), "*Abba*" (Mark 14:36), "*Eloi, Eloi, lema sabachthani?*" (Matthew 27:46, Mark 15:34), and "*Raqa*" (Matthew 5:22). Collins states the following: "One can argue that, since Jesus was an Aramaic speaker, there is nothing unusual in the evangelist quoting his speech in Aramaic here" (Collins 285).

It would be considered ordinary if Jesus used "*Talitha koum!*" to tell the little girl to rise. Although the words were transliterated rather than translated, that does not make them magical incantations. If they are considered magical, then that would shake Christianity's beliefs in miracles and Jesus' divinity. To construct Jesus as a magician would undermine his authority.

Jesus shows a bit of empathy and compassion for the child by telling her parents to give her something to eat. He may also be showing that she is not a "revenant" (Black 145) by telling her parents to feed her. Jesus also tells them not to tell anyone about what has happened, due to his messianic secret and for the privacy of the family. "A rumor that he has raised a dead child to life could lead to a superficial acclaim that would only hinder the understanding of his messiahship" (Healy 110). "The command to silence follows naturally enough on the amazement of the witnesses: the overwhelmingly impressive event should not be spoken about" (Collins 286).

The hemorrhaging woman

There was a woman who had been bleeding for twelve years, and she had gone to multiple doctors. She spent everything she had, and her condition had gotten worse. Seeing Jesus, she thought, "If I just touch his clothes, I will be healed." She touched his cloak, and she was healed.

Knowing that his power left him, Jesus looked around and asked who touched him. No one knew, and his disciples asked, "You can see the people crowding against you, [. . .] and yet you can ask, 'Who touched me?'" (Mark 5:25-31). Not listening to the disciples, Jesus kept looking around, and the woman fell at his feet and told him the whole truth. Jesus said to her, "Daughter, your faith has healed you. Go in peace and be freed from your suffering" (Mark 5:32-34).

The hemorrhaging woman is desperate and close to becoming a beggar and death, if not already there. Her faith, however, allows her to be in a crowd that has deemed her unclean, and she has the courage to touch Jesus. "The woman's faith forms the center of the sandwich and is the key to its interpretation. Through her, Mark shows how faith in Jesus can transform fear and despair into hope and salvation" (Edwards 205).

When Jesus asks who touched him, she is terrified because she had made him ritually unclean. Being rebuked by him in public means that she will never be allowed into society again. Touching Jesus is her last chance to become healthy, and she earns her place in society by being faithful.

Jairus's daughter, the hemorrhaging woman, and Jesus

Jairus's daughter and the hemorrhaging woman are linked by gender, name, number, blood, and social status. Jairus's daughter and the hemorrhaging woman are both female and are called by their roles in society. Because Jairus is a prominent member in the community, Jairus's daughter

can be considered respected in the community. The hemorrhaging woman is defined by her problem that cements her role in society. "Both women are called daughter. . ." (Baert 666).

Both women are linked by number. "The girl faces the beginning of her menses, while the woman is healed through the stopping of the flood" (Baert 665). Because Jairus's daughter was twelve years old, she was on the verge of being seen as or considered a woman. In Jewish society, a young girl is considered an adult once she is twelve years old. "With regard to a girl who is eleven years and one day old, her vows are examined to ascertain whether she is aware of the meaning of her vow and in Whose name she vowed. Once she is twelve years old and has grown two pubic hairs, which is a sign of adulthood, even without examination her vows are in effect. And one examines her vows throughout the entire twelfth year until her twelfth birthday" (*Mishnah Niddah* 5:6).

The hemorrhaging woman has been bleeding for twelve years and was subject to Levitical law. A "woman who has a discharge of blood for many days at a time other than her monthly period or has a discharge that continues beyond her period" will be considered unclean. Any person or thing she touches will be considered "unclean until evening" (Leviticus 15:25).
It is also quite possible that she became menopausal. "If the latter interpretation is correct, it may have eschatological connotations: the human being of the new age or the kingdom of God is beyond sexuality" (Collins 282).

They are considered societal outcasts, "one because of death, the other because of menstruation" (Baert 666). Being raised from the dead, Jairus's daughter is unclean because, if we are being technical, she was in an unclean house that held a dead person. She has to become ritually clean in order to live a normal life. "Whereas those with corpse contamination would only be temporarily excluded from the community, others with ongoing symptoms of scale disease or genital efflux could be separated from community and family indefinitely, and forced to live out their lives in isolation on the edge of society" (Haber 176-177). Through Jesus, both women regained their places back into the society.

Jesus is linked to both women by gender, name, number, blood, and social status. Jesus is a Jewish man who, being the firstborn son, is the head of the household because Joseph has passed away (according to tradition). He is also seen as the provider and is the leader of a congregation. He can be seen as the head of a family who takes care of men, women, and children who believe in him and need his help.

Like Jairus's daughter and the hemorrhaging woman, Jesus is not called by his name. Instead, he is referred to as "teacher" (Mark 5:35). He is also an instructor, and this is seen when he instructs the parents to feed their daughter and to not tell anyone. He also instructs the hemorrhaging woman to "[g]o in peace and be freed from [her] suffering" (Mark 5:34). His words to the latter are "grounded in Jewish history

tradition [because] these words seem oddly placed and redundant. [. . .] The statement is best understood against the background of Jewish purity and its distinction . . . . It is only after [the Levitical law's seven days] that a woman is considered completely healed from her disease and thereby undergoes the purification procedure" (Haber 184, 185).

The number twelve holds significance for Jesus. The number twelve can "refer to the twelve tribes of Israel" (Baert 665). When Jesus was twelve years old, Jesus and his parents went to Jerusalem for Passover. He was found three days later in the Temple and was with the teachers (Luke 3:41-42, 46). Jesus could have been considered a man by Jewish standards and might have known that Jairus's daughter needed more time to learn about God and Scripture.

Jesus is linked by blood because he predicts the Passion in the upcoming chapters of Mark. He, like Jairus's daughter and the hemorrhaging woman, will experience death in both societal and literal terms. During the Passion, the crowds that followed him (societal) turn against Jesus, and he dies a bloody, painful death (literal).

Jesus is made an outcast three times. Firstly, he is made ritually unclean by the hemorrhaging woman because she has touched his cloak. Secondly, Jesus becomes ritually unclean by going into a house with a corpse in it. Jesus could have raised the child from outside the home, but he goes inside in order to "hide" his power from the never-ending crowds and those who lack faith.

Third, he becomes ritually unclean when he takes the girl's hand. "Whoever touches a human corpse will be unclean for seven days. [. . .] If they fail to purify themselves [on the third and seventh days] after touching a human corpse, they defile the LORD's tabernacle. They must be cut off from Israel" (Numbers 19:11, 13). That means that Jesus would have to be considered unclean for seven days. In another way, Jesus can be seen as cutting himself off from Israel. In Jesus' time, Israel was more secular than religious because it was all about laws and tradition rather than faith.

Conclusion
The Markan sandwich of Jairus's daughter and the hemorrhaging woman needs to be understood as not just two different miracles that have no relation to one another. They are equally important and necessary in order for the sandwich to work. Because the women were linked to Jesus by gender, name, number, blood, and social status, the reader can see how Jesus was human. It allows us to know that ordinary people can be made great through Jesus.

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Reducing the Risk of COVID-19 throughout College Residential Communities

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The Public Health Department suggests that it is advantageous for college residential students to be grouped into "communities." It suggested that doing so may reduce the spread of COVID-19 among students. Members of a "community" are those that would be together for large portions of the day even when outside of the residence hall. Based on a hypothetical, but realistic residential student list, the task of deciding on dorm placement (building, floor, and room) for each student was attained. Each author/speaker involved took on the role of one of four campus leaders, who each wanted the assignments to meet some set criteria. The Vice President for Academic Affairs wanted majors grouped together, the athletic coaches wanted athletes grouped together, the housing director wanted to promote diversity, and the business office wanted to reduce costs. The assignments followed the Public Health Department's suggestion as described above while compromises had to be made in order to also satisfy the four campus leaders' wants.

Video Link: **https://youtu.be/NGa8bM9l6ys**

Modeling COVID-19 Data using an SIR Model

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Abstract

When analyzing the spread of infectious diseases, a common model that is used is a differential equations system called the SIR model, representing the population divided into three categories: susceptible, infected, and removed. There are many variations and applications of this model, and in this research we apply the basic model to COVID-19 data from Japan and Brazil.

In February 2020, Coronavirus disease (COVID-19) became a concern worldwide. Various institutes began collecting data regarding the number of infections, recoveries, and deaths throughout the world [3, 7]. We use the gathered data from two countries, Japan and Brazil, and model the effects of the epidemic in the population using an ordinary differential equations system called the SIR Model. This model represents the susceptible (healthy, uninfected) population, the infected population, and the removed (no longer infected) population [1].

The SIR Model

The SIR Model represents the population using a single system of three different functions: the function of the susceptible group, the infected group, and the removed group. In our application, the removed group consists of both recovered individuals as well as the deaths caused by COVID-19. While forming this model, the following assumptions will be made:

- once recovered, individuals will no longer be susceptible
- deaths will only be caused by the infection
- there will be no births introduced to the population
- each individual has the same the chance of susceptibility, infection, and removal.

This model will be represented by a system of ordinary differential equations (ODE) [4]. The system of ODEs that represent the changes across the population is given by

$$
\begin{aligned}
\frac{dS(t)}{dt} &= -\beta S(t)I(t) \\
\frac{dI(t)}{dt} &= \beta S(t)I(t) - \gamma I(t) \qquad (1)\\
\frac{dR(t)}{dt} &= \gamma I(t).
\end{aligned}
$$

Here, β represents the infection parameter that causes the susceptible population to decrease, when the population of the infected group is considered. When the population of the susceptible group is considered, β then causes the infected population to increase. When the removed population is considered, the removal parameter, γ, is introduced, causing a portion of the infected population to move to the removed population. From these parameters, the basic reproduction ratio, $R_0 = \frac{\beta N}{\gamma}$, can be used to find the expected number of new infections from a single infection. Typically when $R_0 > 1$, the infection will spread in a population. An epidemic with a large R_0, will be hard to control [2]. At any given point in time the sum of each populations will be equivalent to the total population, since each individual will either be susceptible, infected, or removed.
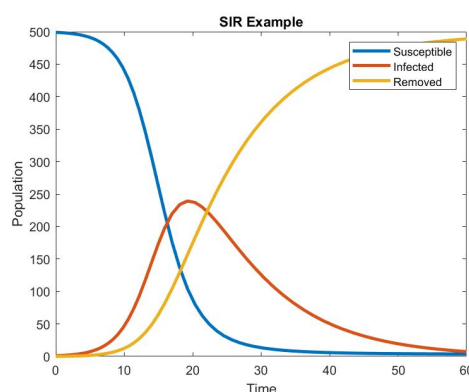

Figure 1: An example of the basic SIR model.

Although the SIR model is a standard differential equation system used to model epidemics within a population, it is interesting to note that the SIR model can also be used to ana-

lyze the use of social networking sites and even the applause of a crowd [6].

Implementing the Model

Now that we have established the basic SIR model, we will create MATLAB code to implement this model so that we can apply the system to our gathered data [5]. Prior to applying the data, we will discuss the basic implementation of the MAT-LAB code that we use to represent the ODE system.

The SIR Model

We first construct a function to represent the SIR model. This includes creating the basic model and passing in the parameters, β and γ, as well as the three populations at a given time. It will return the rate of change of each population, to be used in an ODE solver.

```
function dydt = odefun(˜,y,p)
% input: population: y (in three parts)
%        parameter: p = [beta, gamma]
% output: rates of change of populations
        s = y(1); i = y(2); r = y(3);
        dydt = [-p(1)*s*i; p(1)*s*i - p(2)*i;
                p(2)*i];
end
```

Modeling the ODE

We use an ODE solver, ode45, to approximate the solutions. This uses the populations and the derivatives at each time step to approximate the populations at the next time step. It repeats this process through the duration of the time interval. Then we compute the least squares error between our approximate solution and our gathered data at each of our time steps [4]:

$$J = \sum_{i=1}^{n} y_{model_i} - y_{data_i} \qquad (2)$$

Our goal is to find the parameters which form the solution set that best minimizes the least squares error (2). We create a function to form a solution set and return the given error as follows:

```
function err = odefit(act_t, act_y, p)
% input: time, raw data, parameters
% output: least squares error

   IC = [1 0.00015 0];
   % initial conditions:
   % scaled to represent 1 infected (i),
   % the rest are susceptible (s)
```

```
   [˜,y] = ode45(@(t,y)odefun(t,y,p),act_t,IC);
   % approximates the solution at many points
   % over our time interval

   err = sum((y(:) - act_y).^2);
   % computes the least squares error
end
```

Parameter Estimation

Now, since there are functions representing the ODEs and the error from the ODE solver, we use the MATLAB tool fminsearch to approximate the infection and recovery parameters. This tool uses our error function to find the best fitting parameters by minimizing the least squares error. We start with an initial guess for the parameters and we form an approximated solution and a corresponding error. From there, the function tests different parameters and compares the resulting least squares error from each of those corresponding solution sets in order to determine the optimal parameters. If the initial parameter estimations are not reasonable, fminsearch will typically not be able to find a close approximation.

Application to COVID-19 Data

Now that we have established the basic SIR model and have implemented it in MATLAB, we attempt to model the COVID-19 data of different countries.

Data Collection

We collected the data for daily infections, deaths, and recoveries from the Johns Hopkins Data Center [3]. The text file of the data was stored as a CSV file to be loaded into a new MATLAB document. The susceptible data was found by taking the total population and subtracting the infected population for each day. The infected data on the site was cumulative and did not include the removed group, so the infected group per day was found by taking the data given for infections and subtracting the sum of deaths and recoveries. In this model we are combining deaths and recoveries into one removed group, and thus the sum of deaths and recoveries were added together to form one removed group. Because the population in most countries was so large in comparison to the actual infected population, the reported population was scaled down, while keeping the same infection and recovered data.

Japan COVID-19 Data

We chose to study the reported COVID-19 data for the island nation of Japan. Japan has a population of about 126.3 million people, but for the purposes of applying an SIR model to our data set, we will instead use a modified total population of one twentieth of the true population. This is because only 3.08 million were ultimate infected, with a maximum daily infected population reaching 46,551. Thus, the susceptible population was substantially larger than the infected and removed population.
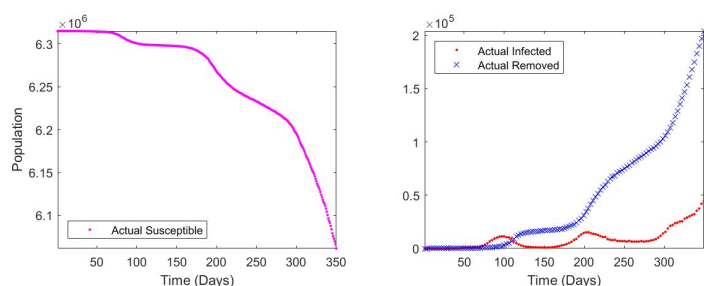

Figure 2: Susceptible, infected, and recovered populations in Japan.

To better visualize the data, the susceptible group was plotted separately from the other two groups as seen in Figure 2. The data and the approximation from our model can be seen together in Figure 3. We can see that as the infected group increases, the susceptible group decreases at nearly the same rate, until the removed population grows. Since the data has multiple spikes throughout the time interval, there are clearly components of the data that could not be modeled as well as others. These are likely contributed to data collection inconsistencies, as well as COVID-19 hotspots, formed from large gatherings of the population. For the Japan model, the infection parameter (β) is 0.0800, and the removed parameter (γ) is 0.0681.
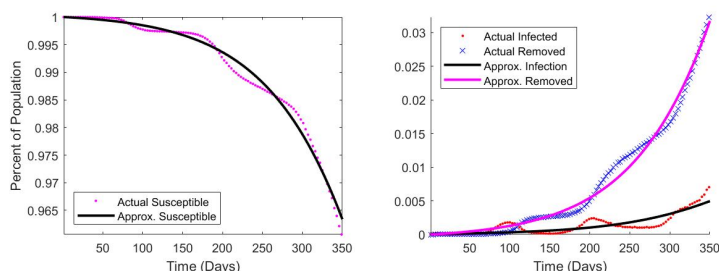

Figure 3: The COVID-19 data and models for Japan.

Brazil COVID-19 Data

We also chose to model Brazil COVID-19 data because it has many differences from Japan. Brazil has many bordering countries and has a larger population, 212.6 million people. We rescaled the magnitude of the susceptible population for the purposes of modeling the data. We can see the data and the SIR model approximation in Figure 4. We initially use only the first
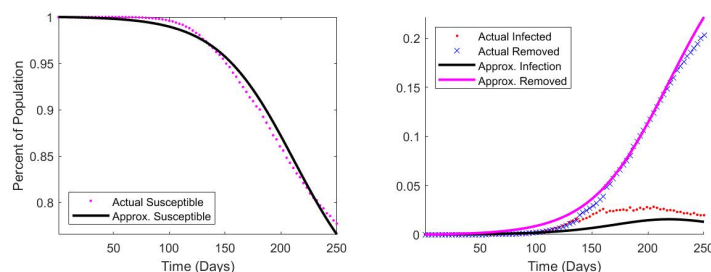
Figure 4: The COVID-19 data and models for Brazil (first 250 days).

250 days of gathered data from Brazil, and obtain an estimate representing the SIR population. We can see that Figure 4 resembles the initial basic model in Figure 1. For this model, the infection parameter (β) is 0.1433, and the removed parameter (γ) is 0.1075.

The reason that we originally only used the first 250 days of data is because there were some errors in the gathered data around day 280 in the model. If we used the optimized parameters from the 250 day model, seen in Figure 4, to attempt to model the entire data set (437 days), we would obtain ill-fitting results as seen in Figure 5. We expected this to be a poor
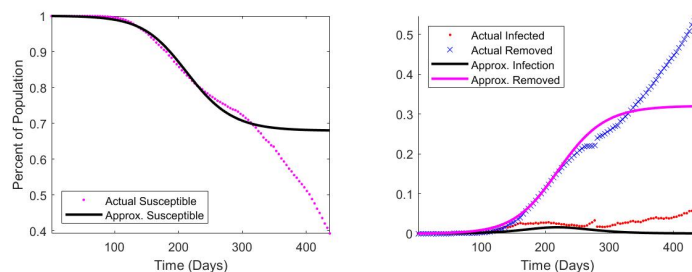
Figure 5: 437 days of COVID-19 data modeled with the 250 day solution set for Brazil.

fit because we are experiencing an ongoing pandemic and by only using a basic SIR model with the first 250 days to model the complete data set, we would certainly not be able to predict the behavior of the population system. To obtain a better fit we would have to make many modifications and use the full amount

of obtained data available. We included this poor fit as an example of why it is hard to use current data to predict the future of population dynamics in an epidemic.

We ultimately also used the full 437 days of Brazil COVID-19 data that were available to us at the time of the research, and in Figure 6 we see the resulting model. In this model,

Figure 6: The COVID-19 data and models for Brazil (437 days).

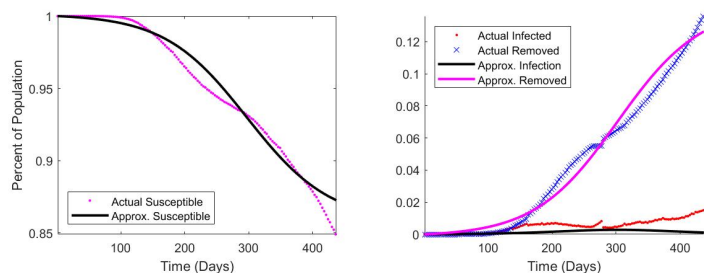the infection parameter (β) is 0.0756, and the removed parameter (γ) is 0.0423. It is clear that susceptible, infected, and removed population are better modeled in Figure 4 than in Figure 6. This is largely due to inconsistencies in data collection that occurred near day 200. It seems likely that the data was not gathered for several days and then reported all at once, causing a large irregularity which the model was unable to properly handle. Further, at the time of the data collection, Brazil was in the peak of a large second wave of infection, and the basic SIR model is only capable of handling one major infection wave. This shows us that while the SIR model is capable of handling some basic population modeling, it would need substantial modifications to be able to handle the dynamics that we have seen in the gathered COVID-19 data,

Conclusions

The basic SIR model can be used to make a rough approximation to the pandemic population data, and can reasonably represent the overall population dynamics if the data is relatively smooth and only has one primary epidemic wave. In order to truly capture the dynamics of COVID-19, we would have to make many modifications. We could lift the assumption that once the individual has recovered, they are no longer susceptible and we would need to introduce terms to handle the data spikes. We would also have to consider the percentage of the populations that have received the COVID-19 vaccine. Another way to better model the data might be to add parameters such as the demographics of the population, including, age, blood type, or chronic illnesses. This study could also be used to compare the severity of COVID-19 to other diseases, and ultimately we

could use the comparison to create action plans and have a better understanding of the new disease.

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Traveling Salesman in LaGrange, Georgia

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Abstract

In the field of graph theory in mathematics, the Traveling Salesman Problem determines an optimized closed loop through multiple locations. We apply this problem to various destinations throughout LaGrange, Georgia to solve for minimum time and distance paths. This problem has many applications where one needs to determine optimal routes for visiting every location in a predetermined list. Here, present and demonstrate the Traveling Salesman Problem and then we apply this problem to the scenario of visiting the popular locations in LaGrange, Georgia while minimizing distance and time.

When given multiple locations, what is the the most efficient way to visit each of them? This a common scenario, known as a Traveling Salesman Problem (TSP) and can be applied in many situations. For example, when considering LaGrange College, many prospective students may like to see what the city has to offer before making a final decision. We consider the scenic areas in LaGrange, Georgia and construct a Traveling Salesman Problem around visiting those locations with a prospective student. Before we apply this problem to our given scenario, let's first demonstrate a basic example, and then discuss how we have chosen to implement this process using Matlab.

Preliminary Example

We created an example using four nodes with various weights representing the cost to get between nodes. In Figure (1), the arrows represent the weight of the paths to travel between nodes. We transform this diagram into a matrix whose elements represent the distance between the nodes. Here, the (i, j) element represents the weight of the path from node i to node j.

$$A = \begin{bmatrix} 0 & 2 & 1 & 3 \\ 5 & 0 & 2 & 1 \\ 2 & 2 & 0 & 4 \\ 1 & 1 & 3 & 0 \end{bmatrix}$$

Notice that along the main diagonal of A, all the values are zero. Since each element represents the distance from one index to another, it makes sense that the distance from each node to itself would be zero. Note that not all weights are the same between nodes.
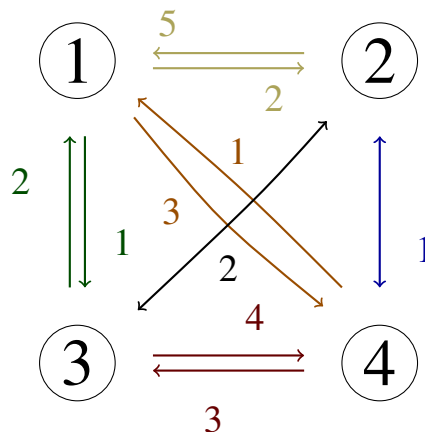
Figure 1: Weighted Diagram of Travel

To find the optimal path with weight P^*, through each node, we begin by looking at all possible paths of our matrix. We use the notation $P(1, \{2, 3, 4\})$ to represent the weight of the path starting at node one and considering all of the path options that include nodes two, three, and four. We then proceed to break down the paths into their subsequent steps. Here,

$$\begin{aligned} P^*(1, \{2, 3, 4\}) &= \min(P(1, \{2, 3, 4\})) \\ &= \min(P((1, 2) + P(2, \{3, 4\})), \\ & \quad P((1, 3) + P(3, \{2, 4\})), \\ & \quad P((1, 4) + P(4, \{2, 3\}))) \end{aligned}$$

where the notation $(1, 2)$ represents the weight of the path from

node 1 to node 2. Then,

$$P((1,2) + P(2,\{3,4\})) = 2 + \min(P(2,\{3,4\})) \quad (1)$$
$$P((1,3) + P(3,\{2,4\})) = 1 + \min(P(3,\{2,4\})) \quad (2)$$
$$P((1,4) + P(4,\{2,3\})) = 3 + \min(P(4,\{2,3\})). \quad (3)$$

The second terms in (1), (2), and (3) are the minimum weights of the paths that from the second to the third node. Without loss of generality, we will only consider (1) and take the next step. However, the process is the same for (2) and (3).

$$P((2,3) + P(3,\{4\})) = 2 + \min(P(3,\{4\})) \quad (4)$$
$$P((2,4) + P(4,\{3\})) = 1 + \min(P(4,\{3\})) \quad (5)$$

Here we seperately consider each remaining node as the nest step. We continue this process until the final step. We will now include the distance it takes from the fourth and final node back to node one, and display it as the value in parenthesis. For (4) and (5) this becomes

$$P(3,\{4\}) = P((3,4) + (4,1)) = 4 + (1) = 5$$
$$P(4,\{3\}) = P((4,3) + (3,1)) = 3 + (2) = 5.$$

Since we are solving for the minimum weight, we must first solve for the minima of (4) and (5) as follows:

$$P((2,3) + P(3,\{4\})) = 2 + 5 = 7$$
$$P((2,4) + P(4,\{3\})) = 1 + 5 = \mathbf{6}.$$

We repeat this process for (2) and (3) to obtain:

$$P((3,2) + P(2,\{4\})) = 2 + 2 = \mathbf{4}$$
$$P((3,4) + P(4,\{2\})) = 3 + 6 = 9$$

and

$$P((4,2) + P(2,\{3\})) = 1 + 4 = \mathbf{5}$$
$$P((4,3) + P(3,\{2\})) = 3 + 7 = 10.$$

The bold face values represent the minimum weight path of the two options from each second node. We evaluate (1), (2), and (3) to find

$$P((1,2) + P(2,\{3,4\})) = 2 + 6 = 8$$
$$P((1,3) + P(3,\{2,4\})) = 1 + 4 = \mathbf{5}$$
$$P((1,4) + P(4,\{2,3\})) = 3 + 5 = 8.$$

Now we can assemble our path of minimum weight as follows:

$$
\begin{aligned}
P^*(1,\{2,3,4\}) &= P((1,3) + P(3,\{2,4\})) \\
&= P((1,3) + (3,2) + P(2,\{4\})) \\
&= P((1,3) + (3,2) + (2,4) + (4,1))
\end{aligned}
$$

and hence

$$P^*(1,\{2,3,4\}) = 5.$$

Thus the optimal path through the numbered nodes in Figure 1 is given by

$$1 \to 3 \to 2 \to 4 \to 1. \quad (6)$$

If we were to begin the path at a different node, our optimal path would appear in the same order as in (6). For example, if we again considered the system depicted in Figure 1 and chose node 2 as our initial location, our optimal path would then become

$$2 \to 4 \to 1 \to 3 \to 2.$$

Now that we have a basic understanding of how to solve the traveling salesman problem, we can address other methods and practices used in addressing this problem.

Methods of Implementing Traveling Salesman

While our described process was just one way of solving the Traveling Salesman Problem, this method will become an issue when the number of nodes increases beyond just a few. The resulting number of permutations that must be considered when looking at every optimal path requires a large amount of runtime. As this is a common problem in graph theory, many methods exist to solve this problem in a different way:

- the Miller, Tucker, and Zemlin method (MTZ)

- the Dantzig, Fulkerson, and Johnson method (DFJ)

- Ant Colony System (ACS)

- Genetic Algorithm (GA).

The last two methods, ACS and GA, originate from biology and embrace machine learning through "families" of iteration. The DFJ is a robust method that handles calculating very quickly, and the MTZ ultimately acts as a good starting guide for the TSP [1]. However, these methods tend to involve subroutines where the overall optimal path may not be connected.

Implementing the Method using MATLAB

In our method, which is the direct method involving permutations, we began by loading a square matrix of dimension $n \times n$ consisting of weights to travel between nodes. For each path through all the nodes, there is a cost to travel, and this cost is determined by adding the appropriate weights in the matrix.

For a matrix of size $n \times n$, we have n nodes and we first list the permutations of those nodes, excluding our starting and

finishing node. We then assemble a full array of all possible paths $(n-1)$ into an $(n-1)! \times (n-1)$ matrix and reinsert our starting and finishing node, thus creating a $(n-1)! \times (n+1)$ matrix. Then, to calculate the total cost of each path, we implement the following chunk of code:

```
for j = 1:(n-1)!
    for i = 1:(n-1)
        cost(i,j) = A(path(i,j),path(i+1,j));
    end
    cost(n+1,j) = A(path(n,j),path(n+1,j));
    total_cost(j) = sum(cost(:,j));
end
```

In this code, the A matrix is our initial weight matrix, `cost` contains the distance weight between nodes within each path, and `path` is a matrix of our possible paths. Once we run this within MATLAB, we can then calculate a simple `min` operation of our variable `total_cost` which contains the total weight of each path and find our shortest distance along with its corresponding path. Executing it this way has one drawback of taking $O(n!)$ operations which can slow down runtime for larger values of n.

To speed up this process and reduce the number of operations, we implement a path comparison conditional. To begin a comparison conditional, we create a variable called `best_dist` and prepare a placeholder for our value of shortest path. We let this initial placeholder be the total sum of all the elements within our cost matrix, which quickly gets replaced as soon as we start iterating through our possible paths. Once we have calculated the total cost of the first path, we compare it to `best_dist`. If it is less, we replace the value of `best_dist` with the new value and save the index of the path being used. From here, we repeat the process. As we compute `total_cost(j)`, we compare it to our `best_path`:

- If `total_cost(j)` is larger than `best_path`, it is ignored.

- If `total_cost(j)` is equal to `best_path` then the indices j is stored.

- If `total_cost(j)` is less than `best_dist`, the value of `best_dist` would be replaced and the previous index stored in `best_path` would be removed and replaced by the current index.

We then repeat this process through all iterations to gain our final minimum distance and path(s).

Application

We now apply this method to our initial LaGrange College prospective students scenario. Recall that our goal is to show a prospective LaGrange College student the highlights of the town, beginning and ending at LaGrange College. The following locations were chosen based on their historical and cultural significance to the city, with consideration given to the intended age group:

- LaGrange College
- Callaway Stadium
- LaGrange Mall
- Great Wolf Lodge
- Pyne Road Park
- Granger Park
- Charlie Joseph's
- Lafayette Fountain
- Callaway Clocktower
- Wild Leap Brewing
- LaGrange Art Museum
- Sweetland Amphitheater

We collect data consisting of the distance and time between each of these locations prior to implementing the code for the Traveling Salesman Problem in MATLAB.

DISTANCE(MI)	LaGrange College	Cal. Stadium	Mall	Great Wolf	Pyne Road Park	Granger Park	Charlie Joseph's	Fountain	Clocktower	Wild Leap	Art Museum	Sweetland
LaGrange College	0	1.1	3.8	4.1	6.9	1.2	0.9	0.7	1.8	1.1	0.9	1.3
Cal. Stadium	1.1	0	4.7	3.4	7.6	2.2	1.6	1.7	1	1.4	1.7	2.3
Mall	3.8	4.7	0	9	10.6	4	3.2	3.3	4.7	3.5	3	3.6
Great Wolf	4.1	3.4	4.8	0	10.2	4.3	3.3	3.4	2.7	3	3.3	3.9
Pyne Road Park	6.9	7.6	10.6	10.7	0	8	7.5	7.5	8.5	7.8	7.6	8.1
Granger Park	1.2	2.2	4	4.3	8	0	1	0.9	2	1.2	1	0.6
Charlie Joseph's	0.8	1.6	3.2	3.5	7.5	1	0	0.07	1.5	0.4	0.2	0.7
Fountain	0.7	1.6	3.3	3.4	7.5	0.9	0.2	0	1.4	0.3	0.1	0.6
Clocktower	1.8	1	4.7	2.7	8.7	2	1.4	1.4	0	1.3	1.6	2.3
Wild Leap	1	1.4	3.5	3	7.8	1.2	0.2	0.3	1.3	0	0.4	1.3
Art Museum	0.9	1.7	3	3.3	7.6	1	0.2	0.1	1.6	0.3	0	0.7
Sweetland	1.4	2.3	4	4.3	8.2	0.4	1.1	1	2.2	1.2	0.7	0

Figure 2: Cost Matrix for Distance in Miles

Optimal Distance Path

We obtain the minimal distance between each location using Google Maps [2] as seen in Figure (2). The starting location is listed along the left hand side of the table and the ending location is listed along the top of the table.

We allow LaGrange College to represent the beginning and end nodes of our path, and we then derive the optimal path through all locations excluding Great Wolf Lodge and Pyne Road Park. We choose to omit these to reduce the wait due to the processing time needed for each additional location. For example, as we can see in the Table 1, the processing time can grow exponentially with the addition of more locations, hence we perform our computations using a reduced number of locations for our scenario.

# of Locations	Time Taken to Calculate
6	0.395s
7	0.3725s
8	0.476s
9	3.45s
10	563.84s

Table 1: Time taken to Process Locations

By implementing our code using the cost matrix in Figure 3 with the aforementioned modifications, we obtain an optimized route which begins and ends at LaGrange College. The route is given as follows:

LaGrange College → Callaway Stadium
→ Clocktower → Wild Leap → Charlie Joseph's
→ Fountain → Art Museum → Mall → Sweetland
→ Granger Park → LaGrange College.

The distance for the optimal path is 11.97 miles. In Figure (4) we see a map overlay of our optimal distance path in LaGrange for our given locations.
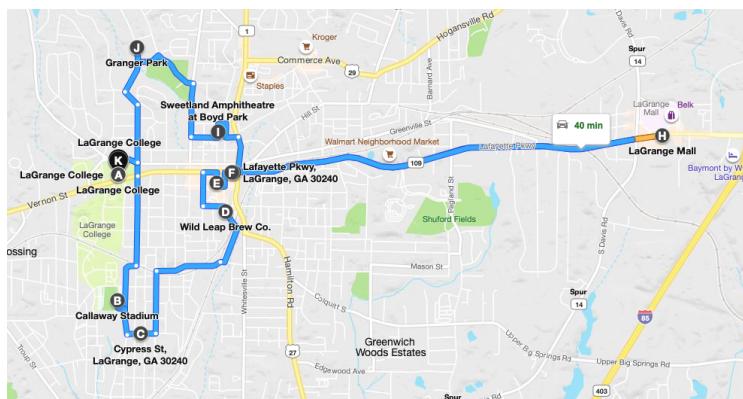
Figure 4: Distance Path Map Overlay [2]

Although the path of optimal distance seems like it would be a good choice for a prospective student, when driving we typically choose the path of minimum time without regard to the distance. In order to determine whether these routes are the same, we need to obtain timed data in addition to our distance data.

Optimal Time Path

We follow the same process to find our optimal (minimum) timed route, beginning by collecting the timed data in minutes using Google Maps [2]. We see the results of the data collection in Figure (3). We should note that traffic was not taken into consideration with our timed paths, i.e., if we had obtained the data at 5:00 PM we likely would have had longer time estimates corresponding to higher levels of traffic. The data was

TIMES(MIN)	LaGrange College	Cal. Stadium	Mall	Great Wolf	Pyne Road Park	Granger Park	Charlie Joseph's	Fountain	Clocktower	Wild Leap	Art Museum	Sweetland
Lagrange College	0	4	8	9	10	3	3	2	5	4	3	4
Callaway Stadium	3	0	10	8	12	5	5	4	4	4	5	7
Mall	9	10	0	9	17	8	7	5	10	7	6	8
Great Wolf	9	8	9	0	15	9	6	6	4	5	5	8
Pyne Road Park	10	12	17	15	0	14	13	11	14	13	13	15
Granger Park	3	6	8	9	14	0	5	3	6	5	4	3
Charlie Joseph's	3	5	7	8	13	4	0	1	5	3	2	4
Fountain	2	4	7	7	12	4	2	0	4	2	1	4
Callaway Clocktower	5	3	10	6	14	5	4	4	0	3	4	7
Wild Leap	4	4	7	6	13	5	1	2	3	0	2	4
Lagrange Art Museum	3	5	6	6	13	5	3	1	4	2	0	3
Sweetland	4	7	9	10	15	2	6	4	7	6	3	0

Figure 3: Cost Matrix for Time in Minutes

collected at a time when we anticipated very few cars on the road.

After running the timed data through our Traveling Salesman code, we obtained two optimal routes. One route is exactly the same path as our optimal distance path. However, we have an alternate route of optimal time as follows:

LaGrange College → Callaway Stadium
→ Clocktower → Wild Leap → Charlie Joseph's
→ Fountain → Sweetland → Art Museum → Mall
→ Granger Park → LaGrange College

Both routes require the minimum time of thirty-three minutes to traverse through each location, beginning and ending at La-Grange College. It should be noted that when we implement a different number of nodes or a different assortment of locations, we occasionally obtain multiple paths as has occurred in this case. This is a common result in Traveling Salesman Problems. Depending on the application, often only one of the optimal solutions is provided.

In Figure (5), we see a map overlay of our optimal distance path in LaGrange for our given locations. In our appli-
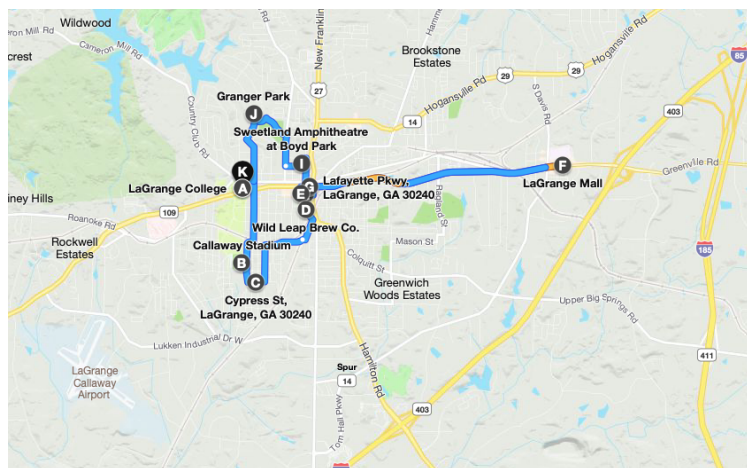

Figure 5: Time Path Map Overlay [2]

cation, the optimal time path would be the path that we would recommend for a prospective LaGrange College student to take in order to have a better idea of some of the highlights of the town.

Conclusions

The Traveling Salesman Problem has many real world applications and many methods for implementation to best han-

dle each of those applications. It seems straightforward to implement in theory, but in practice is rigorous in formulation, and there are various drawbacks to each method. The direct method that we implemented is thorough but lacks in speed, and is rendered unusable with large numbers of nodes. With more development, our goal would be to reach more locations and have a faster processing time by implementing one of the methods that does not require a thorough search through the permutations of each node. We would like to reduce computational time while increasing the amount of nodes handled per path, and this would likely involve the incorporation of machine learning to achieve this goal.

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The Effect of Water Quality on Bat Activity over Streams in the Middle Chattahoochee River Watershed in Western Georgia

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Abstract

North American bat species are linked to freshwater ecosystems, and poor water quality could be having an impact on bat populations. Bat populations are sensitive to a variety of environmental factors such as disease, pollution events, and fluctuating population and diversity of prey species. We hypothesized that higher quality freshwater systems, having large diverse populations of macroinvertebrates and low amounts of *E. coli*, would be correlated with bat activity. Our results show that overall, bat activity is higher in healthier streams with diverse communities of macroinvertebrates. This study is important for demonstrating the link between water quality and the environment as well as to help further the study and protection of declining bat populations in North America.

Introduction

North America is experiencing an overall decline in bat populations (Rodhouse et al. 2019), partially due to the sensitivity to environmental change among members of this taxonomic group (Salvarina 2015, Phelps and Kingston 2018). The infection of many different bat species by *Pseudogymnoascus destructans* or White Nose Syndrome (WNS) is the dominant cause of decline in North American bats, resulting in a 90% reduction in population size of some species (Alves et al. 2014, Cheng et al. 2021). In addition, habitat destruction, biotic and abiotic factors, and pollution events contribute to declining bat populations (O'Shea et al. 2015). Understanding the ways in which bats interact with their environment and vice versa can help to further the protection of North American freshwater ecosystems.

Riparian habitats are of particular importance to bats. Healthy riparian habitats with a mixture of large open waterways and forest canopies support a diverse bat community, providing key habitat for both habitat specialists and generalists (Biscardi et al. 2017). These riparian habitats provide fresh drinking water, roosting trees, and many different insects, and can serve as corridors between foraging areas (Johnson et al. 2010).

Bat activity in general is linked to freshwater eco-systems, and bats are considered top predators in riparian streams. As a habitat generalist, *Nycticeius humeralis* is commonly found in freshwater ecosystems; however, previous studies have shown that they are less impacted by water quality, due to the large diversity in their diet. *Perimyotis subflavus* is a riparian habitat specialist and has been shown to be impacted by water quality, as their diet mainly consists of *Dipterans* (Kalcounis-Rueppell et al. 2007, Li and Kalcounis-Rueppell 2017, Feldhamer et al. 2008). As foragers, *P. subflavus*, *N. humeralis*, as well as *Eptesicus fuscus*, and several *Myotis* species rely on diverse aquatic and terrestrial insect communities to suit their nutritional needs. Poor water quality and degraded riparian habitats can impact foraging behavior and food availability for these species (Biscardi et al. 2007, Feldhamer et al. 2008, Johnson et al, 2010).

Stream health and pollution levels can be estimated using several different methods. Often stream health is assessed through aquatic insect biomonitoring (Bonada et al. 2006). Macroinvertebrates are typically unable to escape pollution events and are small enough to be collected in large numbers and easily identified. Some taxa of macro-invertebrates are sensitive to levels of pollutants in water as well as oxygen levels. Invertebrates in the order *Ephemeroptera*, *Plecoptera*, and *Trichoptera* (EPTs) are especially sensitive to unhealthy streams. Healthy freshwater ecosystems will often have both a large and diverse population of EPTs and other groups of macroinvertebrates. Species in the order *Diptera* can vary on their indication of stream health. Those in family *Athericidae* are very sensitive to pollutants; families *Tipulidae* and *Simuliidae* are somewhat tolerant of pollutants, while species in the *Chironomidae* family can be extremely tolerant of pollutants. Large quantities of macroinvertebrates, such as those in the order *Hirudinea* or class *Oligochaeta*, usually indicate poor stream

health, as they are more tolerant of low oxygen levels and pollutants (Sallenave 2015, Kenney 2009).

Bacterial biomonitoring is another way to assess water quality in freshwater ecosystems. Levels of *Coliform* bacteria or *Escherichia coli* can indicate amounts of fecal matter or pollutants from sewage in aquatic systems. While a majority of *E. coli* found in a water supply is not disease causing, the higher the amount of *E. coli* in a body of water, the greater the probability for pathogenic strains to be present (Standridge 2008).

This study aims to investigate the link between bat activity in riparian areas, as measured by acoustic sampling of bat echolocation calls, and overall stream health. The authors hypothesize that streams that are considered healthier, having more diverse macroinvertebrate counts and low amounts of *E. coli,* will impact bat activity and bat species composition.

Methods

Three stream locations—Dixie Creek (33.06966 N/ 85.03667 W), Blue John Creek (32.99949 N/ 85.05141 W), and Flat Shoals Creek (32.84128 N/ 85.11643W)—in the Chattahoochee River watershed, Georgia, were selected as study sites. Each stream location was associated with continued water quality sampling by the Chattahoochee River Keepers and represented 3 levels of pollution (Table 1). Water quality levels were determined based on total *Coliform* and *Escherichia coli* quantified using Idexx Colilert ® kits to estimate Most Probable Number (MPN/ 100mL). These Idexx kits have been shown to be practical for field work and effective for measuring *Coliform* bacteria (Noble et al. 2003, Lee et al. 2014). The MPNs for both total *Coliform* and *E. coli* for sites were compared using a one-way ANOVA and Tukey's post hoc test in Jamovi (1.6.23).

Hester-Dendy (H/D) samplers were placed at each site to determine the composition of aquatic invertebrates. Evidence shows that H/D samplers are slightly more effective at measuring EPT richness than other methods of aquatic invertebrate sampling (Letovsky et al. 2012). The smooth Masonite boards of the H/D samplers also provide suitable

habitat for some species of macroinvertebrates while being relatively easy to clean during processing and uniform in structure across all sample sites (Wilbanks et al. 2020). A cluster of three H/D samplers was left for 7 days—from 04/06/21 to 04/11/21— after which the samplers were collected. Samplers were stored in gallon-sized plastic bags with additional water from the stream in which collected. Samplers were rinsed with tap water into two fine mesh sieves and then transferred into collection jars. Larger plant material, sticks, rocks, and sand were also retained in the collection jars. Collection jars were stored in the refrigerator when not being examined. Invertebrates were identified visually under a microscope using the *West Virginia Department of Environmental Protection Field Guide to Aquatic Invertebrates*. Positively identified organisms were kept in a sample jar filled with ethanol.

Individuals of each taxonomic group were tallied for each stream sample to characterize community composition. EPT taxa richness or %EPTs was determined by dividing the total number of individuals in the orders *Ephemeroptera*, *Plecoptera*, and *Trichoptera* by the total number of individuals in the sample (Reif 2002). Total species richness was calculated using the Shannon-Wiener diversity index (H') (Nikleka et al. 2013).

Bat community composition and activity were determined using acoustic detection techniques. An Anabat Swift bat detector was placed at each site and left overnight. Acoustic sampling began 30 minutes prior to sunset and continued to 30 minutes after sunrise each evening. Each site was sampled 4 times; 2 times in April and 2 times in May (Table 1). Since only 2 detectors were available, detectors were rotated to ensure that each site sampled at least 2 evenings simultaneously with the other 2 sites. Detector microphones were oriented towards an open portion over the stream with slow-moving water and devoid of vegetational clutter to improve bat call quality (Hayes 2000).

Bat call data was downloaded using Anabat Insight. Only calls containing 5 or more pulses were considered for analysis. The software package BCID was used for initial call

Table 1. Study site locations and dates of acoustic sampling of bat echolocation calls at each site.

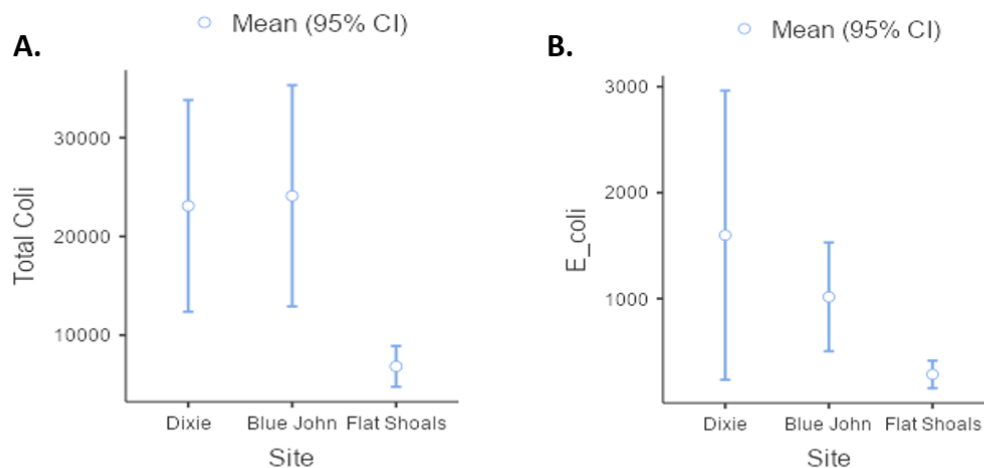| Site | UTM Coordinates | | Acoustic Sampling Date | | | | | |
	Northing	Westing	4/6/2021	4/7/2021	4/8/2021	5/13/2021	5/14/2021	5/15/2021
Dixie Creek	33.06966	-85.03667		X	X		X	X
Blue John Creek	32.99949	-85.05141	X		X	X		X
Flat Shoals Creek	32.84128	-85.11643	X	X		X	X	

Fig. 1. Total *Coliform* concentration (A) and *E. coli* concentration (B) estimated as MPN/100ml for 3 stream locations in the Chattahoochee River watershed of western Georgia. Data downloaded from Chattahoochee River Keepers between June 2020 to April 2021.

identification, using the species list of potential species in Georgia. The default call filter was used to further reduce the number of echolocation calls for analysis. Calls were also visually identified to check automated identification accuracy. Relative abundance of bats was estimated by counting the number of echolocation call files recorded in a given 24-hour period. The numbers of call files for *E. fuscus*, *P. subflavus* and *N. humeralis* as well as for all bats combined were compared using a one-way ANOVA and a Tukey's post hoc test, in Jamovi (1.6.23), to determine if significant differences existed among study sites.

Results

Data collected by the Chattahoochee River Keepers from 06/18/2020 to 04/28/21 show that Dixie Creek had a total *Coliform* amount of 23092.6 MPN/ 100mL (SD = 32627 MPN/ 100mL) and a total *E. coli* amount of 1598.3 MPN/ 100mL (SD = 4149 MPN/ 100mL). Blue John Creek had a total *Coliform* amount of 24108.5 MPN/ 100mL (SD = 32635 MPN/ 100mL) and an *E. coli* amount of 1016.5 MPN/ 100mL (SD = 1493 MPN/ 100mL) (Figure 1A and 1B). Total *Coliform* amount for Flat Shoals Creek was 9685.7 MPN/ 100mL (SD = 6364 MPN/ 100mL), and total *E. coli* amount was 551.5 MPN/ 100mL (SD = 400 MPN/ 100mL). There was a significant difference in mean total *Coliform* MPN among the 3 study sites (F=4.04, df= 2, p=<0.001). There was no significant difference in mean total *Coliform* MPN between Dixie Creek and Blue John Creek (p = 0.99). Flat Shoals had significantly less mean total *Coliform* MPN than both Blue John Creek (p = 0.011) and Dixie Creek (p = 0.012) (Figure 1A). There was a significant difference in mean *E. coli* MPN among the 3 study sites (F=5.63, df= 2, p=0.006. There was no significant difference in mean *E. coli* MPN between the Dixie Creek site and the Blue John Creek site (p=0.699). Flat Shoals also had significantly less mean *E.*

coli MPN than Blue John Creek (p = 0.021) but not Dixie Creek (p = 0.141) (Figure 1B).

Dixie Creek had the highest total number of macroinvertebrate individuals (497); however, 398 of those were *Chironomidae* (Table 2). This is possibly because this sampler became buried under the sediment of the stream during the time it was placed at Dixie Creek. Blue John Creek had the least number of individuals (12), and Flat Shoals Creek had a total of 152 individuals. Percent EPTs, a measure

Table 2. Total macroinvertebrate counts, percent EPTs, and H' for each of the three Hester-Dendy sampler locations from 04/06/21 to 04/11/21.

		Dixie Creek	Blue John Creek	Flat Shoals
Amphipoda				
	Gammaridae	31		
Bivalvia		3		
Coleoptera				
	Elmidae			4
Diptera				
	Chironomidae	398	3	8
	Simuliidae		3	47
Ephemeroptera				
	Heptageniidae			9
Megaloptera				
	Corydalidae			2
Nematoda		36		
Oligochaeta			4	1
Plecoptera				38
Prostigmata				
	Hydrachnidae			1
Trichoptera		29	2	42
Total Individuals		497	12	152
%EPT		5.8%	16.7%	58.6%
Shannon-Wiener Index (H')		0.74	1.38	1.61

Table 3. Mean number of bat call files (4 nights at each site) for total number of bats, big brown bats (EPFU), evening bats (NYHU) and tri-colored bats (PESU) for 3 stream sites in the Chattahoochee River watershed of western Georgia. For a given comparison, sites with different numbers of asterisks indicate significant differences.

Species	Number of call files			One-way ANOVA
	Dixie Creek	Blue John Creek	Flat Shoals Creek	p-value
Total bat calls	6.5 (7.55)*	26.3 (20.4)*	325 (154)**	0.028
EPFU	0 (0)	1 (2)	3.75 (4.35)	0.195
NYHU	2 (2.31)*	8.5 (6.45)*	25.5 (18.1)**	0.04
PESU	0.5 (0.577)*	3.5 (2.89)*	236 (72.4)**	0.007

of *Ephemeroptera*, *Plecoptera*, and *Trichoptera* taxa richness, was measured by dividing the total number of individuals in those taxa by the total number of individuals in the sample (Reif 2002). Flat Shoals Creek had the highest %EPT at 58.6%. The %EPT of Blue John Creek was 16.7%, and for Dixie Creek it was 5.8% (Table 2). Using the Shannon-Wiener diversity index (H') (Nikleka et al. 2013), Flat Shoals had the greatest species richness, H' = 1.61. Species richness for Blue John Creek was H' = 1.36 and for Dixie Creek was H' = 0.74 (Table 2).

The Flat Shoals Creek site had a mean total number of bat call files of 325 (SD = 154) calls, Blue John Creek had a mean total number of bat call files of 26.3 (SD = 20.4) calls, and Dixie Creek had a mean total bat call files of 6.5 (SD = 7.55) calls (Table 3). There was a significant difference in the mean total number of bat calls among the 3 study sites (F=8.77, df=2, p=0.028). There was no significant difference between mean total number of bat calls between the Dixie Creek site and the Blue John Creek site (p=0.948). The mean total number of bat calls at the Flat Shoals Creek site was significantly greater than the mean total number of bat calls at both the Dixie Creek site (p=0.002) and the Blue John Creek site (p=0.003) (Table 3). There was a significant difference in mean number of bat calls identified as *P. subflavus* among the 3 study sites (F=20, df=2, p=0.007). There was no significant difference in mean number of P. subflavus calls between the Dixie Creek site and the Blue John Creek site (p=0.994). The mean number of *P. subflavus* was significantly greater at the Flat Shoals site than at the Dixie Creek (p=<0.001) and Blue John Creek sites (p=<0.001) (Table 3). There was a significant difference in the mean number of bat calls identified as *N. humeralis* among the 3 study sites (F=4.71, df=2, p=0.04). There was no significant difference in the number of *N. humeralis* calls between

the Dixie Creek site and the Blue John Creek site (p=0.7). There was no significant difference in the number of *N. humeralis* calls between the Blue John Creek site and the Flat Shoals Creek site (p=0.134). The mean number of bat call files identified as *N. humeralis* was significantly greater at Flat Shoals Creek than at Dixie Creek (p=0.034, Table 3). There was no significant difference in the mean number of bat calls identified as *E. fuscus* among the 3 study sites (F=1.97, df=2, p=0.195, Table 3).

Discussion

The results of this study show a significantly greater bat activity at the healthier stream site than at the stream sites with lower stream health indicators. Flat Shoals Creek was determined to be the healthiest stream of all three sites, having the highest %EPTs and the highest aquatic invertebrate diversity level of all three study sites (Table 2). Flat Shoals Creek also had the lowest total *Coliform* and total *E. coli* amounts of all three stream sites (Figure 1A and 1B). Bat activity measured over Flat Shoals Creek site was significantly higher than at the other two sites as well (Table 3).

Activity levels of *P. subflavus* have been shown to be linked with the water quality of freshwater ecosystems. *P. subflavus* has a diet associated with soft-bodied aquatic insects, with a preference for *Chironomidae* (Feldhamer et al 2008). Several studies have indicated that *P. subflavus* activity tends to increase as water quality declines and *Chironomidae* populations increase (Kalcounis-Rueppell et al. 2007, Li and Kalcounis-Rueppell 2017, Feldhamer et al. 2008). However, the results of this study indicated that *P. subflavus* activity was greater at the healthy stream site. Biscardi et al. (2007) also found that even though *Chironomidae* is the preferred food source for many species of bats, these species still prefer the healthier riparian systems with diverse aquatic insect communities. *P. subflavus* prefers *Chironomidae* as a large portion of its diet; however, they

also show a preference for *Trichopterans* when they are available in large numbers. Like many other species native to freshwater riparian systems, *P. subflavus* is a dietary generalist and requires a somewhat diverse diet to meet its nutritional needs (Biscardi et al. 2007, Feldhamer et al. 2008, Johnson et al, 2010, Kalcounis-Rueppell et al. 2007, Li and Kalcounis-Rueppell 2017). While the amount of *Chironomidae* was greatest at Dixie Creek, other stream quality measures indicated this site to have lower stream health than Flat Shoals Creek (Table 2, Figure 1A and 1B). The lack of macroinvertebrate diversity at this site seems to be correlated with lower levels of bat activity (Tables 2 and 3).

Many other habitat variables may influence bat use and community composition at a site. Stream width, depth, and flow can impact a species' use of that habitat as well as the composition of riparian vegetation, which can also impact aquatic macroinvertebrate communities (Salvarina 2015). It should be noted that the physical characteristics of the three sites may have impacted the results of this study. While all sites had similar canopy cover and vegetation surrounding the streams, the width, depth, and flow of all the streams were different, which may have impacted macroinvertebrate composition during sampling. The H/D sampler placed at Dixie Creek became buried in sediment at some point during the week when it was placed. This may have artificially inflated the number of *Chironomidae* individuals in the sample, as *Chironomidae* are known to prefer silt sediment habitats (Sallenave 2015). It should also be noted that bat trapping may have been a more accurate method of determining species composition and bat activity at each of the sites; however, due to concerns of potential cross-species transmission of COVID-19, acoustic sampling was deemed the safest method for sampling the bats.

The cause of the relatively low total amount of macroinvertebrate individuals at Blue John Creek is unknown. The stream had a depth, width, and flow similar to that of Dixie Creek; however, the H/D sampler for Blue John Creek did not become buried in sediment. Further testing is needed to determine more accurately the community composition of macroinvertebrates at these two sites, and to determine the impact of the physical characteristics of the riparian habitat on the bat community composition.

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The Effect of Chlorpyrifos Exposure on NFH Concentration in Dopamine-Producing Cells

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Introduction

Neurofilaments (NF), which are a crucial building block of the cytoskeleton of neurons, are composed of three subunits, one of which is neurofilament heavy (NFH). The phosphorylation of NFH has been tied to axonal growth, in that it allows for axonal transport to occur properly. Axonal transport is crucial for a neuron so that proteins and other molecules that are necessary for survival may be exchanged between the cell body and the axon terminal of the neuron. Without proper axonal transport, neurotransmitters cannot travel to the terminus of the axon and be released by the neuron. Previous studies have seen that axons lacking NFs show a decrease in cross-sectional area, meaning that they are smaller than axons with higher NF concentrations (Boquet *et al.* 2009). Previous studies suggest that NFH acts as a biomarker for nervous system distress. High concentrations of NFH have been observed in patients with neurodegeneration, such as spinal cord injuries, cognitive impairment from chemotherapy, and delirium (Sumitani, *et al.* 2016; Mietani, *et al.* 2019; Perrot, *et al.* 2008).

Chlorpyrifos (CPF) is a commonly-used organophosphate insecticide that leads to neurodegeneration through the inhibiting of AChE, the enzyme responsible for breaking down acetylcholinesterase (Williamson *et al.* 2013). AChE inhibition disrupts the communication between neurons, preventing vital information from being conveyed between cells. Chlorpyrifos can cross the blood-brain barrier (BBB), entering the brain and affecting normal gene expression of cells composing the BBB. This permanently renders the BBB from functioning properly, as the cells responsible for keeping out large, charged, and lipophobic molecules are no longer able to do so (Wu, *et al.* 2017).

Chlorpyrifos crossing the BBB is a concentration-dependent response, with concentrations above 10 μM CPF leading to decreased neurite length and number of neurons in cell cultures. At concentrations of 30 μM CPF, cell death is observed (Wu, *et al.* 2017). Other research has found that CPF induces apoptosis in dopamine-producing cells at 25 μM CPF (Raszewski, *et al.* 2015). Other studies have seen that, in the cells that survive CPF exposure, neurite outgrowth is significantly inhibited at 50 μM CPF (Wu, *et al.* 2017). The

hypothesis of this study was that if dopamine-producing cells are exposed to CPF, then cells that are exposed to 25 μM CPF will have the highest concentration of NFH, as compared to cells exposed to 0 μM, 5 μM, or 20 μM CPF.

Methods

Cultures of SH-SY5Y cells were maintained in HAMs F-12 media with 10% FBS. Cultures were maintained at 37°C in a humidified incubator. To count cells, media was removed from the flask, cells were washed with 1X DPBS, and 0.25% trypsin was added to lift the cells from the flask. The flask was incubated for two minutes at 37°C, and media was added to neutralize the trypsin. This solution was centrifuged at 1200 RPM for 7 minutes to concentrate the cells at the bottom of the tube. The cells were then resuspended in 1X DPBS. Trypan Blue was added to 25 μl of the cell suspension in a 1:1 ratio. Cells were counted to determine the needed volume of media that would provide 5×10^4 cells per ml. Cells were plated at 5×10^4 cells/ml to each of twelve wells in a cell imaging plate (Eppendorf).

The cells were treated the following day with 5 μM, 20 μM, or 25 μM of CPF or media only (0.01% ethanol). Chlorpyrifos was diluted in 100% ethanol. Final concentrations were made in media with three wells per treatment. The plate was incubated for 24 hours at 37°C.

The media was removed, and the cells in each well were pre-fixed with 2% PFA for 10 minutes and then with 4% PFA for 15 minutes. Cells were washed three times with 1X DPBS and treated with 0.1% Triton X for 10 minutes to allow for permeation of cell membranes. The cells were washed three times with 0.1% PBST and blocked with BSA for one hour at room temperature. The PBST was again used to wash the cells three times. Anti-NFH antibody (1:1000 dilution in 1% BSA in 0.1% PBST) was added to each well. Cells were incubated in the anti-NFH antibody at room temperature for three hours. The antibody was removed, and the cells were washed three times with 0.1% PBST. The secondary antibody (1:1000 dilution in 1% BSA in 1X PBS) was added to each well, and cells were incubated at room temperature for 45 minutes. The cells were washed three times with 0.1% PBST
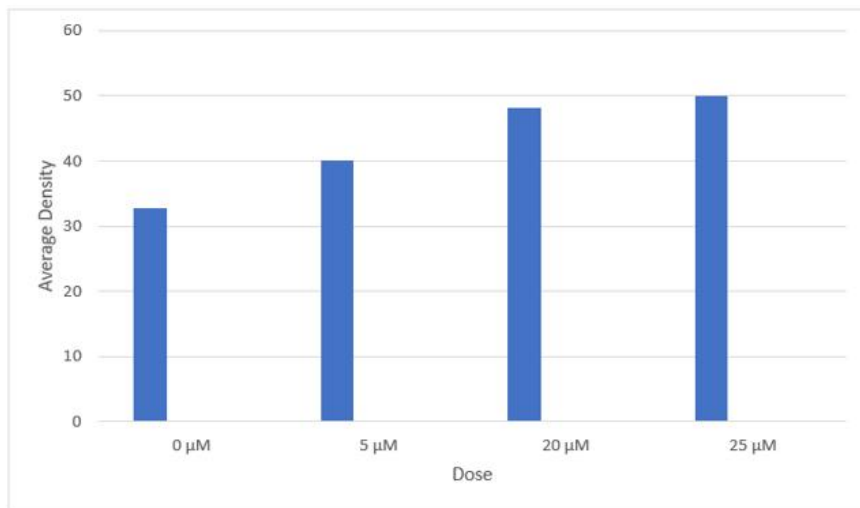
Figure 1: Average density of NFH in neurons exposed to various concentrations of chlorpyrifos. Cells exposed to CPF had significantly more NFH than control cells. Cells exposed to 20 μM had significantly more NFH than cells exposed to 5 μM of chlorpyrifos.
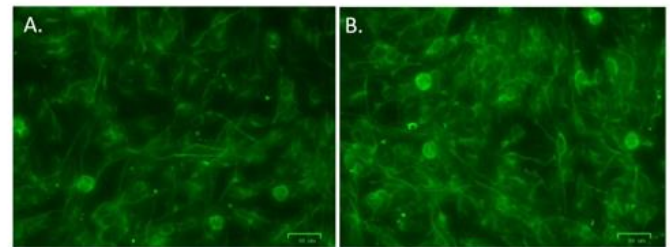

Figure 2. NFH protein in neurons exposed to 0 μM CPF (A) and 25 μM CPF (B). There was significantly more NFH protein in cells exposed to 25 μM CPF, compared to 0 μM CPF.

and stored at 4°C until they were imaged the following day using a ZOE Cell Imager (BioRad).

Results

The average density of NFH in the control was 32.71 (+/- 11.48). In neurons exposed to 5 μM CPF, the average density of NFH was 40.04 (+/- 11.93). Neurons exposed to 20 μM CPF had an average density of NFH of 48.12 (+/- 14.36), and neurons exposed to 25 μM CPF had an average NFH density of 50.27 (+/- 13.31) (Figure 1).

There was significantly more NFH in neurons exposed to 5 μM, 20 μM, or 25 μM CPF, compared to the control ($p < 0.001$) (Figure 2). There was significantly less NFH present in neurons exposed to 5 μM CPF, compared to neurons exposed to 20 μM CPF or 25 μM CPF ($p < 0.001$). There was no significant difference in NFH density between neurons exposed to 20 μM CPF and 25 μM CPF ($p = 0.66$).

Discussion

The hypothesis stated that dopaminergic cells exposed to 25 μM CPF would have a higher concentration of NFH, compared to cells exposed to 0 μM, 5 μM, or 20 μM CPF. There was significantly more NFH in cells exposed to 20 μM CPF and 25 μM CPF, compared to cells exposed to 5 μM CPF, and in all CPF concentrations compared to the control. This suggests that neurons exposed to 20 μM CPF produce significantly more NFH than neurons exposed to 5 μM CPF. Neurons exposed to 20 μM and 5 μM CPF produced significantly more NFH than neurons that were not exposed to any CPF. There was no significant difference between the NFH density of neurons exposed to 20 μM CPF, compared to 25 μM CPF.

This finding is consistent with studies on NFH concentrations in patients with traumatic brain or spinal cord injuries. Studies suggest that higher levels of NFH were present in patients with severe spinal cord injuries and encephalitis, compared to control participants (Sing, *et al.* 2017; Li, *et al.* 2019).

Neurofilament heavy protein (NFH) is important for myelination of neurons, as well as for ensuring that the cytoskeleton of the cell is stable. Without NFH, a cell would not have the necessary conduction or stability for transporting signals throughout the neuron. Increased NFH production is the cell's defense to nervous system distress and its effort to increase axonal growth and, thus, transport. When damage is inflicted to the nervous system, a proteolytic cascade occurs. This leads to neurons releasing more NFH than they would if unaffected (Petzold and Plant 2012).

Cells exposed to 25 μM CPF had the highest average NFH density of all the lower CPF concentrations. This is consistent with expectations that neurons who are exposed to higher CPF concentrations will produce more NFH. The fact that there was no significant difference in NFH density between cells exposed to 20 μM CPF, compared to 25 μM CPF, may be due to the fact that 25 μM is nearing the concentration of CPF at which cells die (30 μM CPF). It is possible the rate of NFH production slows as CPF concentration increases beyond 20 μM CPF and the cells begin to undergo extreme distress or death.

Studying the effects of CPF in neurons is crucial to fully understanding how CPF affects the nervous system. By using NFH as a biomarker for nervous distress in cell cultures, researchers may be able to determine which concentrations of CPF are detrimental to human health and the extent to which they cause harm. This could have effects on legislation to further ban use of CPF or to give benefits to people exposed to CPF.

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Exploring the Relationship among Social Media Use, Body Image, and Gender

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Abstract

Men and women's body image has been thoroughly studied, providing evidence that men and women experience negative body image in different ways. This includes their behaviors to cope with negative body image and the impacts that negative body image may have on them. The purpose of the current research is to examine the relationship between viewing different body types on social media and how this may impact an individual's body image differently for men and women. It was hypothesized that those who view different desired body types online would be more likely to report negative body image. It was also hypothesized that women would be more likely than men to report negative body image when viewing different body types. Men were expected to fixate more on fit ideals and behaviors. Results showed that there was no significant difference between men and women's body image. Results suggested that viewing different desired body types online is correlated with more negative body image. Results also showed that men were more likely than women to fixate on muscle toning behaviors and ideals.

People may have varying views of their body: positive, negative, or neutral. Body image can be defined as "a person's perceptions, thoughts, and feelings about one's own body" (Yu, Damhorst, & Russell, 2011). The knowledge on body image is expanding every day, and new factors that impact body image are being further researched. The beliefs and feelings that people have for their bodies can be influenced by many outside sources, whether that be media, such as TV shows and movies (Hobza et al., 2007), social media (Lewallen & Behm-Morawitz, 2016; Zimmer-Gembeck et al., 2020), or peers (Lin et al., 2015). The goal of the current research is to examine how social media, along with gender, play a part in impacting body image. Developing a greater understanding of the potential impacts that social media can have on individuals can help to deter such negative effects in the future.

Social Media and Body Image

Social media have become a normal part of human life. This integration of social media into everyday life is new, so there is not an extensive amount of research on how it may impact people in the long term. One impact that has already been witnessed is engaging in social comparison to idealized body types. For many cultures, there are ideals such as thinness or muscular tone that are internalized by members of that culture (Magallares, 2016). When people are repeatedly exposed to body types that their culture has deemed "ideal," there is often comparison, and with comparison there may be negative consequences (Hobza et al., 2007; Lewallen & Behm-Morawitz, 2016). Kohler and colleagues (2020) suggest that those who engage in comparison with online idealized body types are more likely to have higher anxiety and decreased mood. There are sometimes even more dire consequences for partaking in comparison with dissimilar body types; behaviors such as disordered eating, unhealthy amounts of exercise, and steroid use are associated more with those who engage in social comparison (Hobza et al., 2007). For example, a study conducted by Lewallen and Behm-Morawitz (2016) found that participants who engaged in social comparison by following fitness boards on Pinterest were more likely to engage in extreme weight loss behaviors in order to attain the body types they were viewing.

Those using social media may be posting content for others to see, but something else to consider is how the users view their online persona. Generally, research has shown that higher social media use (both posting and viewing) is associated with lower body-esteem and low appearance satisfaction (Choukas-Bradley et al., 2019; Zimmer-Gembeck et al., 2020). This dissatisfaction comes from the constant posting of the self and viewing the posts as separate from what individuals view as themselves in real life. Particularly,

Choukas-Bradley and colleagues (2019) study measured women's appearance-related social media consciousness (ASMC). Having a high ASMC meant that participants were very aware of their image to their online audience. Those in the study who had a prominent ASMC were more likely to have negative emotional effects, such as high body comparison and depression symptoms (Choukas-Bradley et al., 2019).

As people are aware of their own body, they may also be aware of certain body types that are stigmatized in their culture. Specifically, weight bias plays a role in our reactions to the different body types we see. Grogan's (2010) research mentions that in many cultures, being "too" thin or "too" fat is seen as negative and unwanted. This bias can lead to both personal bodily dissatisfaction as well as the stigmatization of smaller or larger bodies (Darlow & Lobel, 2010). If certain bodies are being presented in media with a stigma attached, the viewer could further perpetuate that stigma through internalizing those ideals (Savoy & Boxer, 2020). This means that people could see a body type that is either very different from theirs (an example being a heavier woman viewing an idealized thin woman in media) or very similar (a muscular man viewing a muscular man) and then internally confirm that their body must be a certain way in order to fit into that culture.

Gender and Body Image

Women are stereotypically portrayed as caring more about their appearance as compared to men. While this is true for some, the reason behind this may be due to societal pressures. Pretty consistently in cultures around the world, women are expected to be thin; particularly in Western cultures, women are expected to be thin with larger breasts (Darlow & Lobel, 2010; Lin et al., 2015). These expectations of a woman's body type can lead to some women partaking in behaviors such as exercise avoidance or excessive exercise and disordered eating (Grogan, 2010), and research has shown that these behaviors occur more often with women than with men (Hobza et al., 2007; Lewallen & Behm-Morawitz, 2016).

Compared to women, men have a slightly different set of issues regarding body image ideals. One problem is that men's negative body image issues are less frequently noticed by others; this is widely due to the prominent fear in many cultures that tells men not to voice their emotions, casting a shadow on these issues. This can make men's negative body image issues difficult to recognize and assess (Burlew & Shurts, 2013). However, one trend has been assessed when it comes to male body ideals in the media. In many media depictions, the male figures are muscular, and this trend has become more common over time (Burlew & Shurts, 2013; Hobza et al., 2007). Furthermore, these depictions have been shown to impact males' self-esteem, with those who are impacted being more likely to engage in activities such as

unhealthy amounts of exercise, dieting, and steroid use (Hobza et al., 2007).

There is some overlap in the behaviors men and women use to cope with negative body image. For example, both men and women are likely to engage in extreme dieting and strenuous exercise when viewing idealized body types that are different from their own (Grogan, 2010; Hobza et al., 2007). Research has exemplified that both men and women partake in these behaviors, but more information is needed to understand why some of those behaviors are more or less likely to occur.

Viewing Similar Bodies

Summarizing the research above, it is apparent that viewing dissimilar body types online can influence viewers (men and women) to change their own bodies. However, there is research that suggests that no matter what the body type, those who view similar bodies are likely to react more positively than if they were to view a different body type. For example, research has shown that women participants have a more positive perception of brands that advertised models with similar body types to the viewer (Yu et al., 2011). The most research has been done on plus-size women when it comes to representing more diverse body types. This can be exemplified by Pounders and Mabry's (2019) study that inspected the reactions that consumers had to viewing plus-size bodies being represented in magazines. Many participants who were plus-size themselves were satisfied that people who looked similar were being represented. Most participants who responded with some level of disgust or disappointment were not plus-size. This research suggests that viewing someone who looks similar in media will evoke a more positive response (Pounders & Mabry, 2019).

In addition, a study conducted by Marcus (2016) included two groups of body types/ communities online: pro-anorexia and fat-positive communities. Because each of these groups had similar body types to each other, their reactions while viewing each other were assessed. The first exposure to each other generally gave participants a sense of belonging, implying that exposure to those similar body types was not a negative reaction. This reaction then led to the group supporting each other through comments. This is important because those who were in a support network were less likely to have depressive symptoms (Marcus, 2016).

The Current Research

Given the current available literature, there seems to be a need to investigate how exposure to different body types online may affect body image, as well as how this may be different between men and women. There is a gap in the research specifically on how body image is impacted through social media. There is little to no research on viewing different body types online and the related effects it can have on individuals. It could be that similar body types make an individual feel better and included, or that different bodies

make them feel worse because they do not have that body type. It could also very well be a combination of both. In the current research, I will explore individuals' reactions to different body types and measure body image and satisfaction after viewing fabricated social media posts. I will also inspect the behaviors that individuals are likely to partake in, such as exercise and dieting. The importance of including gender in this research regards the differing (and similar) ways in which men and women react to certain body standards. More information is needed on how men and women react when exposed to differing body types while using social media. The hypothesized outcome is that women and men will be affected differently, with women having a more negative body image. Those who are impacted by viewing different body types online are predicted to be more likely to report a negative body image. It is also expected that men will be more likely to fixate on strength and muscle toning behaviors.

Method

Participants

A total of 57 undergraduate students participated in this study. In this group, 58% were female and 42% were male. Ages ranged from 18 to 33 (M=19). Class ranks were represented by 25 first-year students, 16 second-year students, 8 third-year students, 7 fourth-year students, and 1 fifth-year student. Regarding race, there were 12 African American or Black students, 2 Asian students, 40 European American or White students, 1 Latino student, and 2 students identified as "other."

Materials

Social media usage (including posting and viewing content online) was assessed using eight forced-choice questions (Appendix A). The first part asked things such as, "How much time do you spend actively scrolling on social media per day?", "How often do you post images of yourself on social media?", and "Do you currently follow any fit inspiration or 'fitspo' pages?". The second part utilized a Likert scale with statements such as, "When browsing social media, I find myself comparing my body to others that I see online," "I prefer to view body types on social media that are similar to my own," and "I follow a diverse array of people on social media that have both similar and dissimilar body types to my own." Participants indicated their agreement on a scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 6 (strongly agree).

The Fit Ideal Internalization Test (FIIT) (Uhlmann, Donovan, & Zimmer-Gembeck, 2020) was used to measure both body dissatisfaction and thin and muscular ideal internalization. There are 20 items which participants answered on a 5-point scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). Some statements were "I often feel concerned about the progress I am making towards achieving a perfectly lean and toned body" and "I spend time fixating on parts of my body that are not very lean and toned."

The Body-Image Ideals Questionnaire (BIQ) (Cash & Szymanski, 1995) was used to measure self-discrepancies in appearance and internalized ideals for some physical characteristics. Participants rated ten bodily attributes. First, they rated how similar each attribute was to their current attributes on a scale from -1 (exactly as I am) to +3 (very unlike me). Then they rated how important having each of those ideal attributes was to them on a scale from 0 (not important) to 3 (very important).

The Stunkard scale (Stunkard, Sorensen, & Schulsinger, 1983) was used to measure body dissatisfaction. Participants were presented with images of nine different body shapes and were asked to first select the image that reflects how they think they look and second, select the way that they would ideally want to look.

Fabricated Instagram images (Appendix B) were used to measure how participants responded to viewing different and similar body types. Five fabricated Instagram post images were made using zeoob.com. Each fabricated post depicted a person with a different body type. Two images were stereotypically fit body types, and three were stereotypically average body types. After each of the images, participants rated their agreement with three statements meant to determine their reactions to varying body types utilizing a Likert scale from 1 ("Strongly Disagree") to 6 ("Strongly Agree"). The statements included, "This image makes me feel negative about my own body," "This image is ideally how I would like my own body to look," and "This image is similar to the types of images I like to view on social media."

Procedure

Participants were recruited from the Research and Experiment Participation System (REPS) and came from a variety of undergraduate courses. Participants first read through the informed consent, and either consented to participate or not. If they chose not to consent, then the study terminated, and they were redirected to the debrief form. If participants chose to go forward, then they were directed to the first set of questions. Participants first answered eight questions regarding their social media usage. Participants then completed the FIIT (Uhlmann, Donovan, & Zimmer-Gembeck, 2020), the BIQ (Cash & Szymanski, 1995), and the Stunkard scale (Stunkard, Sorensen, & Schulsinger, 1983). The last section had participants view (fabricated) Instagram images of different body types in a randomized order. Males viewed five images of males, and females viewed five images of females. This was the only difference in what male and female participants viewed. After each of the five images, participants answered questions to assess their reactions to these posts. Participants then answered demographic questions about gender, age, class rank, and race. The participants then read the debrief form and were thanked for participating.

Figure 1

Differences in Weighted Discrepancy and Body Size Satisfaction Between Men and Women
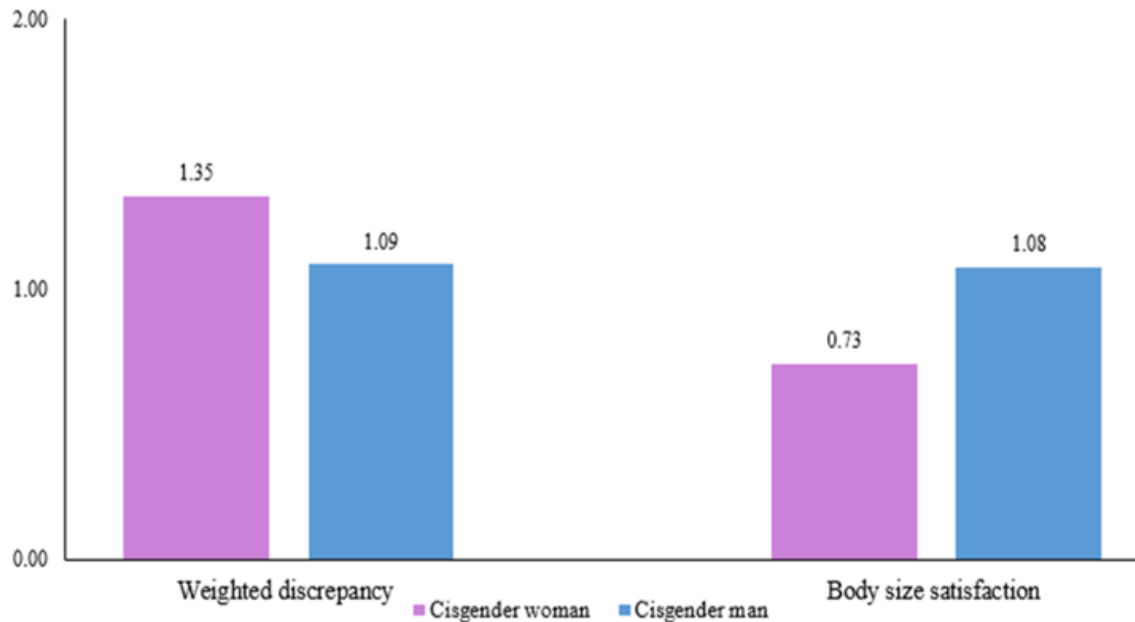
Note. There were no significant differences in men and women's weighted discrepancies or body size satisfaction.

Results

Hypothesis 1

Women were hypothesized to experience a bigger impact on their body image from viewing different body types online. An independent samples t-test was used to assess these differences. There were no significant differences in men and women's body image. Specifically, there was no significant difference in weighted discrepancies between men and women, $t(55) = 0.79$, $p = 0.428$, and there was no significant difference in body size satisfaction between men and women, $t(55) = 0.86$, $p = 0.392$ (see Figure 1).

Hypothesis 2

It was also hypothesized that those who reported viewing different body types online impacted them in some way would have a more negative body image. A correlational analysis was used to assess the relationship. Responding negatively to the fit body type images was significantly positively correlated with body size satisfaction (specifically wanting to be smaller), $r(55) = .506$, $p < .001$. In addition, comparing one's own body to others online was significantly positively correlated with responding negatively to the fit body images, $r(55) = .660$, $p < .001$.

Hypothesis 3

Finally, men were hypothesized to be more likely than women to fixate on muscle toning behaviors and ideals. An independent samples t-test was used to assess the differences. There was a significant difference in FIIT scores, such that men scored higher than women. Specifically, men

scored higher in both fit overvaluation, $t(54) = -2.51$, $p = .015$, and fit drive, $t(54) = -1.97$, $p = .035$ (see Figure 2).

Discussion

Overall, two of the hypotheses were supported and one was not. Men and women were hypothesized to have a difference in body image. Results showed that there was no significant difference between men and women's body image. Specifically, there were no significant differences in weighted discrepancies or body size satisfaction. This means that men and women did not differ in how they viewed certain bodily attributes about themselves, nor in their satisfaction with their current body type.

The second hypothesis was that those who were impacted by viewing different body types online would also report more negative body image. Results supported this hypothesis, as responding negatively to the fit body type images was significantly correlated with wanting to have a smaller body size. Participants who compared their body to others online were also more likely to respond negatively to the fit body type images.

For the last hypothesis, men were expected to be more likely than women to fixate on fit ideals and behaviors. As expected, results showed that men were more likely than women to overvalue fitness as well as have a higher drive to be fit.

Regarding previous research, some of the results from this study did line up with previous findings, whereas some results did not. In line with previous research (Lewallen & Behm-Morawitz, 2016; Zimmer-Gembeck et al., 2020), social

Figure 2

Differences in Fit Overvaluation and Fit Drive Between Men and Women
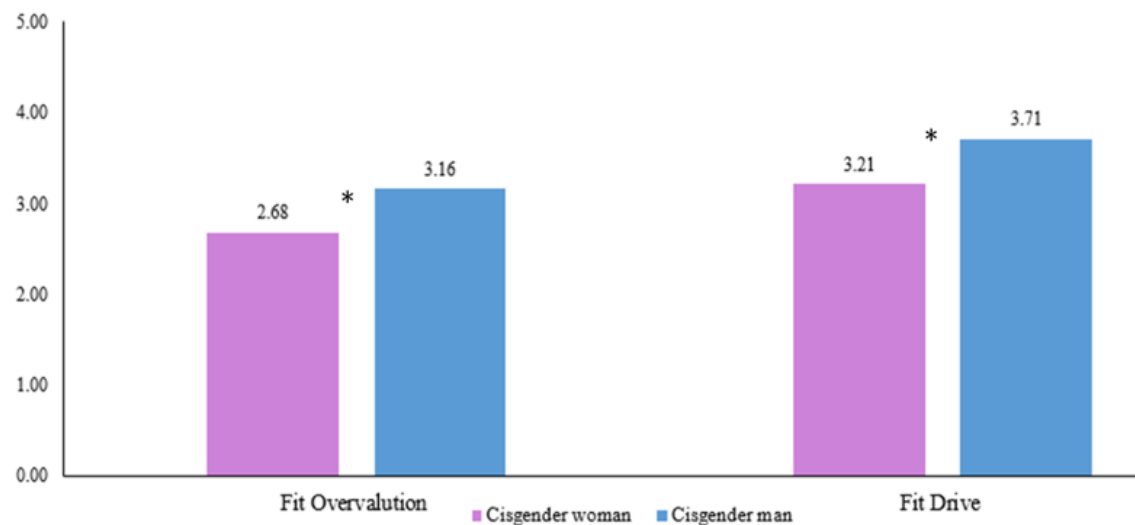
Note. There was a significant difference in fit overvaluation and fit drive scores, with men scoring significantly higher than women in both instances.

media had significant impacts on body image. Another similarity is the impacts of social comparison. Kohler and colleagues' (2020) research suggested that those who engage in social comparison also have higher anxiety and decreased mood. This is in line with the current research, which suggests that these individuals also have a more negative body image. Current research also replicates the findings from previous research when it comes to men and muscular ideals (Burlew & Shurts, 2013; Hobza et al., 2007), as men were more likely to fixate on these ideals. Contrary to previous research (Hobza et al., 2007; Lewallen & Behm-Morawitz, 2016), men and women did not have significant differences in their overall body image.

Limitations

There were a few limitations to this study. First, there was a small sample size (N = 57). A larger sample size may have provided a wider array of responses. Another limitation was that the study was available only for those who identify as a man or a woman. There was no representation for those who identify as non-binary or non-conforming. The study could have also included more diverse body types in the fabricated Instagram images. Having more options could have provided participants the chance to relate more to the body types presented if they saw their own body type.

Future Research

Looking forward, there are several directions that this research could take. Relationships with fitness were examined, but it would be interesting to examine relationships with diet behaviors as well. I would hypothesize that those who engage in social comparison online would be more likely

to partake in extreme dieting behaviors or fad diets. Another interesting direction this research could take is expanding to other identifiers, such as race, age, or sexuality. To examine the impacts that social media may have on the body image of identifiers beyond gender could provide valuable information. Depending on the identifier used, I would assume that whichever groups in a particular culture are less represented would likely have more negative body image. Taking this research even further, it could also be interesting to examine intersections of identity to better understand how overlap may impact body image differently. This could include identity intersections such as young Black women, elderly homosexual men, or middle-aged White women. Again, I would assume that those groups who may be more oppressed in a certain culture would be more likely to have negative body image.

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The Relationship between Substance Use, Self-Esteem, Academic Performance, and Parental Divorce

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Abstract

Previous research on parental divorce has focused on the effects of the divorce for middle and high school students at the time of the parents' divorce. The specific objectives of this research are to determine the potential relationship between parental divorce and college students' self-esteem, academic success, and substance use. Another objective is to determine the relationship between growing up in a single household and college students' self-esteem, academic success, and substance use. The data were collected using a set of questionnaires to assess all four variables. Results showed that there was no significant difference in self-esteem, academic success, and substance use between those who experienced parental divorce and those who had not, or between those who had grown up in a single household and those who had not. In a set of exploratory analyses, results showed that there was a significant positive correlation between how participants rated the happiness of their parents' marriage and the stability of the parents' marriage. Another finding was a significant negative correlation between how participants rated the happiness of their parents' marriage and the participants' self-esteem score. One limitation of the current research is how difficult it was to create a working operational definition of *parental divorce*. Another limitation is the very small and limited sample size from LaGrange College. Future research could investigate the operational definitions of *parental divorce* and *marriage* to determine the best way to measure this variable

Divorce has become more common today, so there are often fewer negative social repercussions as compared to previous times (Shansky, 2002). In the United States, 40-50% of first-time marriages, as well as 60% of second-time marriages, end in divorce (Clyde, Wikle, Hawkins, & James, 2019). Given these high rates of divorce, parental divorce has clearly shaped the lives of many children. From the ages 0 to 5, about 12% of children live with a single parent, and of all households, 13% are single parents (Ortiz-Ospina & Roser, 2020). Children must make several major adjustments if their parents get divorced, such as being required to see a counselor (Shansky, 2002). The effects of a parental divorce can be associated with a broad spectrum of behavioral problems in children. Many families do not always consider the damage that can be incurred regarding things such as emotional adjustment, parental relationships, and substance abuse (Gatins, Kinlaw, & Dunlap, 2013). The current study investigated the relationships between parental divorce and self-esteem, academic success, and substance use.

Academic Success

When high school children's parents get divorced, there are a lot of changes at home, so much so that the children's academics can become neglected (Shansky, 2002).

Academic performance tends to decline over time in children with divorced parents, as compared to those whose parents are still married (Shansky, 2002). This suggests that parental divorce influences children's academic priorities, given that the decline is not seen until after the divorce occurs.

Children from divorced parents who remarried reported testing lower on standardized tests than children from families that were still together or children from a single parent (Jeynes, 1999). This expands on the idea of how children from divorced families must go through different struggles compared to children from families that are still intact. This can also explain how academic performance is lower in children who have experienced parental divorce because there is a possibility for their parental situation to change again.

One specific concern related to academics is an increase in school absences. Students are more likely to skip school and receive lower grades if their parents are not fully together (separated but not legally divorced) (Hanson, 1999). In addition, school absences are significantly higher for children whose recently divorced parents get into another relationship soon after (Hanson, 1999). Together, this suggests that these changes at home have a strong relationship with a child's school attendance.

Another aspect of academics that has been investigated in relation to parental divorce is completion of high school or college. Children are 8% less likely to complete high school and 11% less likely to complete college if their parents were divorced (Brand, Moore, Song & Xie, 2019). This is important because this suggests that parental divorce can potentially be handicapping children's future.

Substance Use

Alcohol can sometimes be used as a coping mechanism for changes in a person's life, so it is important to investigate substance-use behaviors in children of parental divorce. In one such study, 68.59% of seniors in high school revealed that they used drinking to cope with the changes and stress from their parents' divorce. This increased alcohol consumption is observed even years after the parents' divorce (Jeynes, 2001). Further, those with parents who have been divorced less than 4 years have a higher rate of drinking compared to those whose parents were divorced more than 4 years (Jeynes, 2001). In addition, research has found that high schoolers' grades dropped continuously due to excessive drinking, and that children with divorced parents are more likely to engage in drinking and driving (Billingham, Wilson, & Gross, 1999). In a situation in which parents are dealing with a divorce, they may not be able to monitor or notice the child's drinking behaviors, which could then lead to decreased academic performance and risky behavior. This is cause for concern because using alcohol as a coping mechanism for parental divorce increases the danger to both the children and others.

In some instances, individuals may use other illicit drugs in addition to or instead of alcohol. Higher drug use has been observed in high school students whose parents did not have the same house rules after their divorce (Gatins et al., 2013). If parents do not have a strong line of communication with each other after divorce, then children can take advantage of that. Another possible contributing factor to illegal drug use after divorce is that many children have lower self-esteem due to the parental divorce (Jeynes, 2001). This self-esteem reduction can result in the children finding an escape through illegal substances that make them feel better about themselves. Specifically, the lowered self-esteem can increase their need to fit in socially, which can increase their sensitivity to peer pressure. That peer pressure can then lead to increased use of illegal drugs (Jeynes, 2001).

Self-Esteem

When comparing young children with divorced parents to children with parents who are still married, the children with divorced parents tend to have lower self-esteem over time (Shansky, 2002). Having lower self-esteem can cause children to crave social acceptance, especially females. Specifically, females in high school with divorced parents have lower self-esteem compared to males with divorced

parents (Hanson, 1999). This is important because this suggests that females can have a harder time adjusting to parental divorce compared to males.

Research suggests that the lower the child's self-esteem, the more conflict happened during the parental divorce period (Lau, 2007). This is important because the age of the child when the parents get divorced can impact outcomes and conflict. For example, students who experienced parental divorce while in high school had a higher chance of being depressed compared to those who experienced parental divorce when they were younger (Williams & Dunne-Bryant, 2006). Younger children seem to have an easier adjustment to parental divorce, perhaps because they are more naïve when it comes to the reasons for or the process of divorce. In addition, research has shown that college-aged children could not separate their feelings or thoughts of their parents and themselves when one parent would say negative things about the other parent. This resulted in the children having lowered self-esteem (Baker, 2005).

Current Research

Not many studies have investigated the long-term changes in young adults when it comes to the effect of their parents' divorce. This study will address this gap by investigating college students and examining the relationship between parental divorce and academic success, self-esteem, and substance use, utilizing an online questionnaire. I hypothesized three specific relationships. First, I hypothesized that there would be lower self-esteem for college students with divorced parents compared to those who did not have divorced parents. Second, I hypothesized that there would be a higher rate of substance use for college students with divorced parents compared to those who did not have divorced parents. Lastly, I hypothesized that there would be lower academic success for college students with divorced parents compared to those who did not have divorced parents.

Methods

Participants

A total of 34 undergraduate students participated in this study. Of these, 13 were female, 19 were males, 1 was a transgender woman, and 1 was non-binary. Ages ranged from 18-23 (M= 20.15). Regarding class status, 8 were first-year students, 11 were second-year students, 6 were third-year students, 7 were fourth-year students, and 2 were fifth-year students. Regarding race, there were 4 African Americans or Black students, 1 Asian student, 27 European American or White students, and 1 Latino student. There were 25 participants who had grown up in a single household (i.e., they have lived in only one house), and 4 participants who did not. There were 8 participants who had experienced parental divorce, while 24 participants had not.

Materials
Parental Divorce

The questionnaire for this section contained seven questions asking about each participant's parental marriage information. The first section of the questionnaire determined the participant's guardian's status as single, married, separated, or legally divorced. The second section asked the participant to rate the happiness and stability of their guardian's marriage. The answers for this section were on a 6-point Likert-type scale, with 1 being "not at all stable" and "6 being extremely stable." The last section asked participants to describe their family situation between the ages of 5 to 18 in 100 words or less.

Self-Esteem

The Rosenberg self-esteem questionnaire (Rosenberg, 1965) was utilized to assess self-esteem. There was a total of 10 statements to which participants indicated their agreement using a 4-point Likert scale from 1 "strongly agree" to 4 "strongly disagree." An example of one of the statements is "On the whole, I am satisfied with myself."

Academic Success

The questionnaire for this section contained 3 questions. The first question asked for the year the participant graduated high school. The second question asked for the participant's SAT/ACT score. The last question asked how many total classes they have been absent from in their current semester. The participants were also asked to provide their full name as well as their student number in order to grant access to their final grades from the previous semester.

Substance Use

This questionnaire contained 14 statements to which participants indicated their agreement using a 6-point Likert scale. The statements assessed factors such as the participant's chances of consuming an alcoholic beverage during the week or on the weekend, their chances of consuming a drug or an alcoholic beverage if their friends were, and other statements related to substance use. One example of these statements is "I do not see a problem with driving while under the influence of alcohol."

Procedure

Participants were recruited through the Lagrange College Research and Experiment Participation System (REPS). This system includes courses in psychology, sociology, and many other departments. The first form that was presented to each participant was the consent form. If the participant did not agree to the consent form, then they were exited from the study. If they agreed to the consent form, then they were granted access to the study.

When the participants started the study, they were presented with the following questionnaires in this order:
- the parental divorce questionnaire,
- the Rosenburg self-esteem questionnaire (Rosenberg, 1965),
- the academic success questionnaire,
- and finally, the substance use questionnaire.

After completing these, the participants were presented with a few questions pertaining to demographics such as age, gender, race, and class status. After completing all questionnaires, the participants were debriefed and thanked for their participation.

Results

Substance Use

There was no significant difference in substance use for participants who had divorced parents compared to those who did not: $t(29) = -1.492$, $p = .146$. There was no significant difference in substance use for participants who had grown up in a single household compared to those who did no: $t(27) = 1.623$, $p = .116$. Thus, this hypothesis was not supported (see Figure 1).
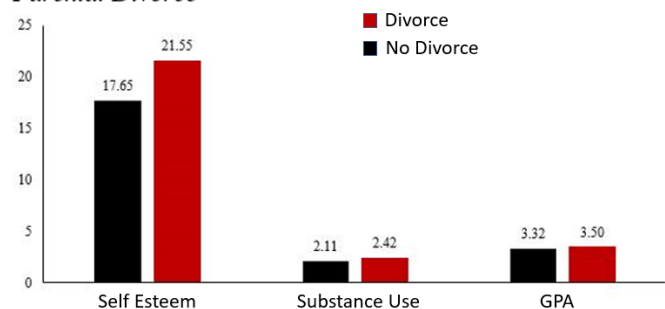
Self-Esteem

There was no significant difference in self-esteem for participants who had divorced parents compared to those who did not: $t(29) = -1.594$, $p = .122$. There was no significant difference in self-esteem for students who had grown up in a single household compared to those who did not: $t(27) = 1.326$, $p = .196$. Thus, this hypothesis was not supported (see Figured 1).

Academic Performance

There was no significant difference in academic performance for participants who had divorced parents compared to those who did not: $t(24) = 0.008$, $p = .994$. There was no significant difference in academic performance for participants had grown up in a single household compared
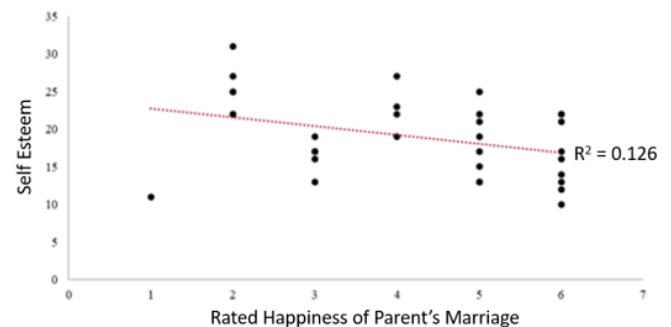
Figure 1

Self-Esteem, Substance Use, and GPA for Those with and without Parental Divorce

Note: There was no significant difference in self-esteem, substance use, and GPA between participants who had experienced parental divorce compared to those who had not.

Table 1
Correlations among All Variables of Interest

Variable	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.
1. Marriage Happiness	—							
2. Marriage Stability	.830***	—						
3. Self-Esteem	-.355*	-.278	—					
4. Substance Use	-.261	-.248	.352*	—				
5. GPA	-.023	-.048	.227	-.139	—			
6. Age	.033	.117	-.002	.071	.036	—		
7. SAT	.046	.027	-.037	.194	.437	.450	—	
8. ACT	.302	.435	-.502*	.037	.195	.172	.516	—

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Figure 2
Relationship between Happiness of Parents' Marriage and Children's Self-Esteem

I also conducted two independent sample t-tests to explore differences between males and females. There was a significantly positive correlation between the rated happiness of the parents' marriage and the rated stability of the parents' marriage ($r = .830$, $p < .001$). There was a significantly negative correlation between the rated happiness of the parents' marriage and the children's self-esteem ($r = -.355$, $p = .043$) (see Figure 2). There was a significantly positive correlation between the children's self-esteem and substance use ($r = .352$, $p = .041$). Finally, there was a significantly negative correlation between the children's self-esteem and their ACT score ($r = -.502$, $p = .047$).

to those who did not: $t(22) = -0.080$, $p = .937$. Thus, this hypothesis was not supported (see Figure 1).

Exploratory Analysis

To explore the data further, I calculated a series of correlations between many of the main variables of interest (see Table 1). There was a significantly positive correlation between the rated happiness of the parents' marriage and the rated stability of the parents' marriage ($r = .830$, $p < .001$). There was a significantly negative correlation between the rated happiness of the parents' marriage and the children's self-esteem ($r = -.355$, $p = .043$) (see Figure 2). There was a significantly positive correlation between the children's self-esteem and substance use ($r = .352$, $p = .041$). Finally, there was a significantly negative correlation between the children's self-esteem and their ACT score ($r = -.502$, $p = .047$).

I also conducted two independent sample t-tests to explore differences between males and females. There was a significant difference in self-esteem between males and females: $t(30) = 2.132$, $p = .041$, with females ($M = 20.39$) having higher self-esteem than males ($M = 16.95$). There was also significant difference in GPA between males and females: $t(26) = 3.521$, $p = .002$, with females ($M = 3.69$) having a higher GPA than males ($M = 3.094$).

Discussion

When starting this project, I had three hypotheses. First, there would be lower self-esteem in college students with divorced parents as compared to those who did not have divorced parents. Second, there would be higher substance use in college students with divorced parents as compared to those who did not have divorced parents. Lastly, there would be lower academic success in college students with divorced parents as compared to those who did not have divorced parents. Contrary to predictions, my results did not support any of my three hypotheses.

Contrary to previous research (Shansky, 2002), academic performance did not decline in college students

with divorced parents as compared to those without. Also conflicting with previous findings (Jeynes, 2001), substance usage was not higher for those who had experienced parental divorce. However, exploratory analyses indicated there was a positive correlation between self-esteem and substance use. This demonstrates that substance use may be related to another factor besides parental divorce. Finally, contrary to previous research (Hanson, 1999), college females had significantly higher self-esteem than college males. This could be because there was a smaller number of females to males, making the variety of scores smaller. My results imply that there is not a significant difference in self-esteem, academic success, and substance use between students who had experienced parental divorce compared to those who had not.

Limitations

There were a few limitations with the current research. One was the overall small sample size ($N = 34$). Having used only undergraduates from one small private liberal arts college in Georgia created a small sample of individuals with divorced parents. Another big limitation was the difficulty in defining *parental divorce*. During the process of defining *parental divorce*, I went through all of the open-ended responses and determined which participants fell into the categories of parental divorce or not, as well as single household or not. This strategy was utilized because every family is different; thus, I had a hard time defining what would be considered *divorce* for my study. For example, some participants grew up with only one parent, but then would spend periods of time with their grandparents. This participant would be categorized as *no parental divorce* and *no single household*.

Future Research

For future research, it is important to try to establish a clearer operational definition of *parental divorce*. Individuals' family situations are very complex. For example, some participants had parents who had separated into different

households but never legally divorced. This resulted in these participants not being included in the *parental divorce* category, but they may have still experienced many of the same situations as those who had experienced parental divorce. Having a clearer operational definition of this important variable would lead to more clearly defined groups and thus might enable researchers to better explore the difference between them.

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Student Perceptions of Potential Child Abuse

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Abstract

This study aims to examine the acts that college students classify as *child abuse* and assess their perceptions of mental health counseling (MHC) services to determine if they feel that such services would be beneficial to both victims and witnesses of abuse. Previous research has been conducted on perceptions of child abuse and MHC services but has not investigated both concepts together to assess the relationship between them. In the current study, participants were presented with a set of scenarios that describe acts about physical abuse, neglect, sexual abuse, witnessing abuse, and acts that are not technically abuse. Participants rated each scenario on a scale from 1 (no abuse at all) to 10 (the most extreme abuse). Then, participants' perceptions of how beneficial they felt MHC services would be for the victims in the scenarios were also assessed. I hypothesized that the majority of participants would view MHC services as beneficial for victims of abuse, but not for witnesses of abuse. This hypothesis was supported. Due to the lack of literature regarding what types of acts college students consider or classify as *abuse*, there was no specific hypothesis, and the data analysis was exploratory in nature. The witnessing- abuse scenarios were rated significantly lower than the physical abuse, sexual abuse, and neglect scenarios. The non-abuse scenarios were not rated significantly lower than witnessing abuse. The results from this study can be utilized when examining the gap in education for understanding child abuse and the benefits of MHC services.

Perceptions of Child Abuse and the Usefulness of Mental Health Services

Child abuse is maltreatment in any form of a child by another individual, and it occurs more often than many realize (Friedman, 1990). Individuals often do not fully grasp the effects that abuse can have on a child; furthermore, many do not realize that implementing mental health services could help minimize those negative effects. For example, research has shown that the abuse that children experience in their life can affect their functioning later in life, due to the trauma (Wamser-Nanney et al., 2018), and that others assess the severity of the abuse based on the relationship between the child and the abuser (Reynolds & Birkimer, 2002). Those findings from previous research acknowledge the impact that child abuse can have in a child's life, and it also highlights the different interpretations of severity, depending on the relationship the perpetrator has to the victim child. In addition, research conducted on perceptions and usage of mental health services has shown that many individuals believe that these services were put into place for women specifically, which explains the low usage of mental health services among men (Vogel et al., 2007). Although this biased perception of mental health services exists, school counselors can help set the tone for how individuals view mental health professionals, so school counselors could erase those negative perceptions of mental health services, especially for men (Wantz & Firmin, 2011). The purpose of the current study is to investigate what actions individuals view as *abuse* and their perceptions of the benefits of mental health services for the abuse victim, while controlling for the gender, age, and the relationship between the child and abuser. This research will give a better understanding of the perceptions that individuals have of child abuse and the perceptions of mental health services regarding how beneficial they may be. A better understanding of the perceptions of child abuse and perceptions of how beneficial mental health services are will help examine the gap in education for understanding child abuse and the purpose of mental health counseling services.

Child Abuse Overview

Abuse is any negative behavior that has a result of damage and neglect accompanied with adverse results (Kalsoom et al., 2019). *Child abuse* specifically can be acts that are neglectful to a child, acts that are sexual in any way towards a child, any type of physical abuse, and an aspect that is often forgotten, a child's having witnessed abuse. Witnessing abuse can be just as traumatic as receiving abuse directly, but not much research has been conducted on this aspect of abuse (Luster et al, 2002). Although there have been efforts to better protect children from abuse, there is still a significant amount of child abuse occurring (Gil & Noble,

1969). According to the National Children's Alliance (2019)[1], there are about 700,000 reports of child abuse per year in the United States. Although this is a staggering amount, there are still innumerable additional children who are being abused, whose cases unfortunately never get reported (National Children's Alliance, 2019). These statistics are extremely heartbreaking, but the most disappointing part of it all is the realization that due to underreporting, we truly have no idea how many children experience or witness abuse.

Research has focused on the problem of child abuse for years, going all the way back to 1962, when the amazing work of Henry Kempe and his colleagues helped bring attention to the topic of child abuse. This was the starting point for many child protective services that are still utilized today (Levine & Levine, 2012). Previous research has highlighted some of the negative effects that abuse can have on a child's daily functioning and well-being, both at the time of abuse and later in the individual's life (Price et al., 2001).

Perceptions of whether an act is or is not seen as abuse and if so, how severe the abuse is perceived to be, are all impacted by the perceiver's age, gender, socioeconomic status, and whether or not the perceiver has children himself or herself (Price et al., 2001). It is important to understand the way that individuals perceive acts of child abuse so that knowledge can be utilized to help stop child abuse. For example, men and women view child abuse differently. A study conducted by Reynolds and Birkimer (2002) investigated how the relationship between the child and the abuser affected perceptions of the abuse. The relationship between the child and abuser did not impact females' perceptions of the abuse, but males viewed the scenarios differently. Specifically, when the abuser was the child's stepfather, the abuse was rated as significantly worse than when the abuser was the child's neighbor (Reynolds & Birkimer, 2002). Another factor that Reynolds and Birkimer (2002) pointed out as having a potential influence on an individual's perception of abuse is whether or not that person has children. However, since their study was conducted with undergraduate students and the majority did not have children of their own, the results from the study may be different when conducted with a group of individuals who are parents. Whether or not a child was viewed as a willing participant in the abuse was another interesting factor that stood out in Reynolds and Birkimer's (2002) research. Children who were viewed as unwilling participants in the abuse were perceived as suffering more than those who were seen as willing participants (Reynolds & Birkimer, 2002).

Effects of Child Abuse

A factor that can be overlooked is the psychological impact that abuse can have on a child, whether that child is the actual victim or even a witness of abuse. Research has shown that as compared to other types of trauma, violent and sexual traumas are related to higher levels of traumatic symptoms (Wamser-Nanney et al., 2018). This demonstrates the need for some type of professional help after the child has experienced abuse because the emotions that were associated with the abuse do not just go away, and many times, emotions may evolve after the abuse has taken place. In a study conducted by Young and Widom (2014), individuals who had a history of child abuse or neglect were more likely to recognize negative emotions than positive emotions, which could be a result of their abuse and of having perceived fewer positive emotions throughout their life. This suggests that an emphasis on mental health services, specifically counseling, needs to be put into place so that children who experience or witness abuse are not left with a cognitive bias towards negative emotions.

Perceptions of Mental Health Services

Individuals tend to view counseling as something that caters to women but not men, which often causes men to not consider counseling as an option for themselves (Vogel et al., 2007). This leads to a gap regarding gender and the use of mental health services. There has often been a negative stigma attached to males seeking help. In most Western societies, males are stereotypically viewed as self-reliant, physically tough, and able to control their emotions, which explains further why they choose to not seek help (Addis & Mahalik, 2003). With males being stereotyped in this way, they are often overlooked when it comes to being a victim of abuse. To understand the influence of males' not seeking help, Addis and Mahalik (2003) gave an example, saying that in sports, those who do not complain and who continue to play are the ones who are cheered for. That discourages males from taking care of themselves because they are looking to show others that they are tough. Toughness and lack of emotions are characteristics that are praised among males because if males display their emotions, then they are viewed as weak. Females, on the other hand, are more likely to seek help because they have more positive attitudes towards counseling than males do (Vogel et al., 2007). It is easier for a female to get help from a counselor than it is for males because society has fostered the idea of counseling being intended only for females. One factor that has been shown to increase males' willingness to attend counseling is their knowing someone else who has dealt with the same or similar problems (Addis & Mahalik, 2003). This is because the more

[1] An organization that promotes the investigation of child victims of abuse by providing Children's Advocacy Centers and multi-disciplinary teams throughout the U.S.

males view a problem as normal, the greater the chance of their seeking help for that problem (Addis & Mahalik, 2003).

Mental health services, specifically counseling, can be associated with some levels of anxiety, due to the stigma that is associated with counseling. A study conducted by Blau and colleagues (2015) showed that individuals who referred themselves to counseling had significantly lower anxiety levels than individuals who were referred to counseling by someone else. This suggests that the negative reactions are lowered when individuals make the choice themselves to attend counseling, which could help inform approaches to dealing with victims of child abuse. However, a study completed by Wantz and Firmin (2011) showed that out of all the individuals who were surveyed who have used human service professionals, only 3% had a negative view of professional counselors. Thus, once individuals get into counseling, their negative view of it seems to dissipate. Even though some research has shown that those who are aware of mental health services may not view it negatively, the attitude that is associated with seeking help is still a major hurdle that needs to be cleared (Vogel et al., 2007).

Benefits of Utilizing Mental Health Services to Cope with Child Abuse

More individuals need to become educated on child abuse in general (Price et al., 2001). Many individuals may view an act as abuse, while others do not view that same act as abuse, which shows the variety in understandings of what *abuse* is (Price et al., 2001). Mental health services are beneficial to those who have experienced trauma, and certain emotions are linked with traumatic experiences, such as child abuse. ("What is Trauma-Focused Therapy?," 2020). While researchers have investigated child abuse and its effects, there is minimal information regarding the benefits of mental health counseling, specifically with children who have been victims or witnesses of abuse. The use of mental health counseling after a child has disclosed either witnessing or being abused is often an essential component of the child's healing process. In a study conducted by Amstadter and Vernon (2008), there were different responses regarding the overall emotional intensity after the trauma and the patterns of emotions that followed. After trauma, there were high levels of sadness, shame, fear, and anger reported, but sexual assault victims experienced higher levels of guilt afterwards, due to the negative feelings of themselves internally (Amstadter & Vernon, 2008). These results help to shed light on the need for mental health counseling after abuse, since research has repeatedly shown an increase in negative emotionality after abuse has occurred.

Though research has been conducted on perceptions of child abuse and perceptions of mental health counseling, research has yet to examine the intersection of these two areas. The current study will address this gap by examining child abuse and mental health counseling together in order to better grasp the perceptions of the two individually, as well as to understand the perceptions of how others feel that mental health counseling can be impactful to child abuse victims. This will be achieved by asking how beneficial college students feel mental health counseling services will be for a child who has been a victim or witness of abuse and what types of acts college students consider or classify as *abuse*. The hypothesis is that college students will find mental health counseling services to be helpful for victims of abuse, but not for witnesses of abuse, regardless of abuse type. Due to the lack of literature regarding what types of acts college students consider or classify as *abuse*, there is no specific hypothesis, and the data analysis will be exploratory in nature.

Methods

Participants

A total of 44 undergraduate students participated in this study. Of these, 25 were female, 17 were male, 1 was non-binary, and 1 was "other." Ages ranged from 18 years to 33 years old ($M = 20.18$). Regarding class status, 15 were first-year students, 8 were second-year students, 11 were third-year students, 9 were fourth-year students, and 1 was a fifth-year student. Regarding race, there were 9 African American or Black students, 2 Asian students, 30 European American or White students, 2 Black and White students, and 1 other.

Procedure

Participants were recruited through the LaGrange College Research and Experiment Participation System (REPS), which includes all "Introduction to Psychology" courses as well several courses from other disciplines.

All participants were notified that the purpose of the study was to investigate what acts college students would classify as *abuse* and their perceptions on mental health counseling services. Participants were also notified that it was their choice to participate, since the acts described in some of the scenarios had the potential of re-traumatizing individuals who may have been abused themselves. Participants either indicated their agreement to participate and began the rest of the questionnaire or declined to participate and were immediately exited from the study.

Once participants began the study, they were asked to read a series of scenarios and rate the act that was described in each on a scale from 1 to 10, with 1 being "not at all abuse" and 10 being "the most extreme abuse." While some of the scenarios described acts that were abuse, there were also scenarios that did not meet the criteria of abuse. The scenarios given described acts of child physical abuse, child sexual abuse, child neglect, and a child having to witness abuse. For each type of abuse, there were three different scenarios, which were classified as a neutral scenario (technically not abuse), a less extreme scenario of abuse, and a more extreme scenario of abuse. In total, participants read 12 different

scenarios, 4 of which were not technically abuse (see Appendix A for all scenarios). To eliminate order effect, these scenarios were presented in a randomized order for each participant.

After participants finished the scenarios, they moved on to the mental health counseling survey questions and demographic questions. The survey questions investigated if participants felt that mental health counseling services would be useful for the scenarios given, and if so, which scenarios they felt would benefit from it most. Participants were able to select as many scenarios as they felt would benefit from the services. Some of the other questions assessed the participants' personal experience with mental health counseling services. Finally, participants answered basic demographic questions.

Once the participant finished all sections of the survey, all participants were fully debriefed and were given contact information for the Counseling Center on campus and for he researcher, just in case they had any questions or concerns after completing the study.
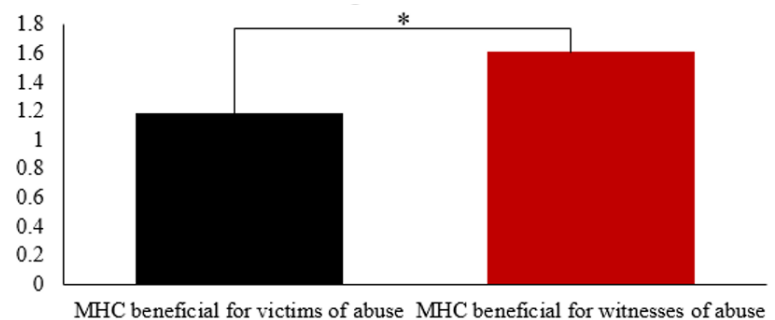
Results

Hypothesis 1

The first hypothesis was that the majority of participants would view mental health counseling services as beneficial for victims of abuse, but not for witnesses of abuse. I conducted a paired samples t-test to assess this hypothesis. For each scenario, participants indicated whether or not they believed that the individual would benefit from receiving mental health counseling services. If the participant believed that the individual would benefit, then they received a 1 for that response; if they did not believe that the individual would benefit, then they received a 0 for that response. Averages were calculated separately for the scenarios regarding victims and witnesses of abuse, and the neutral scenarios were not included in the calculations. Participants were significantly more likely to indicate that victims of abuse would benefit from mental health counseling (M = .866) as compared to

Figure 1
Average Rating of Mental Health Counseling Being Beneficial

witnesses of abuse (M = .727), $t(43) = -3.462$, $p = .001$ (see Figure 1).

In addition, participants were explicitly asked about their beliefs regarding the use of mental health counseling services in general for both victims and witnesses of abuse. Participants were significantly more likely to indicate that victims of abuse would benefit from mental health counseling services (M = 1.182) as compared to witnesses of abuse (M = 1.614), $t(43) = -3.50$, $p = .001$, (see Figure 2)[2].

Figure 2
Average Rating of Agreement That Mental Health Counseling Is Beneficial

Correlations were then calculated between agreement that mental health counseling is useful in general, agreement that mental health counseling is useful for victims of abuse, agreement that mental health counseling is useful for witnesses of abuse, and agreement that mental health counseling was useful for themselves if they had experienced it (see Table 1). There was a significant positive correlation found between general mental health counseling usefulness and mental health counseling usefulness for victims of abuse, $r(42) = .45$, $p = .002$, suggesting that the more useful one sees counseling overall, the more likely they are to agree that counseling would be beneficial for victims of abuse. However, this relationship was not found for the variable related to witnesses of abuse. There were no other significant correlations between the variables.

Table 1
Correlations between Perceptions of Usefulness of MHC for Different Individuals

| Variable	1	2	3	4
1. General MHC Usefulness	—			
2. MHC Victims of Abuse	0.448**	—		
3. MHC Witnesses of Abuse	0.233	0.290	—	
4. MHC Beneficial for Me	0.262	0.237	0.162	—

* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001

Hypothesis 2

Although there was no specific hypothesis for the classifications of abuse, a repeated measures ANOVA was conducted to investigate if any types of scenarios were rated significantly differently. The scenarios were grouped into five

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[2] A lower value means more agreement.

categories: physical abuse, sexual abuse, witnessing abuse, neglect, and not abuse. The overall ANOVA was significant: $F(4, 43) = 80.260$, $p < .001$, $\eta 2 = .651$, which showed that at least one group's mean was significantly different. Thus, a post-hoc test was conducted to investigate further (see Figure 3). The non-abuse scenarios were rated significantly lower than the physical abuse: $t(42) = 12.468$, $p < .001$, sexual abuse, $t(42) = 15.149$, $p < .001$, neglect scenarios, $t(42) = 13.057$, $p < .001$, and the witnessing abuse scenarios, $t(42) = 5.336$, $p < .001$.The witnessing abuse scenarios were rated as significantly lower than the physical abuse scenarios: $t(42) = 7.132$, $p < .001$, sexual abuse scenarios, $t(42) = 9.813$, $p < .001$, and the neglect scenarios, $t(42) = 7.722$, $p < .001$.

Figure 3
Average Abuse Ratings by Category
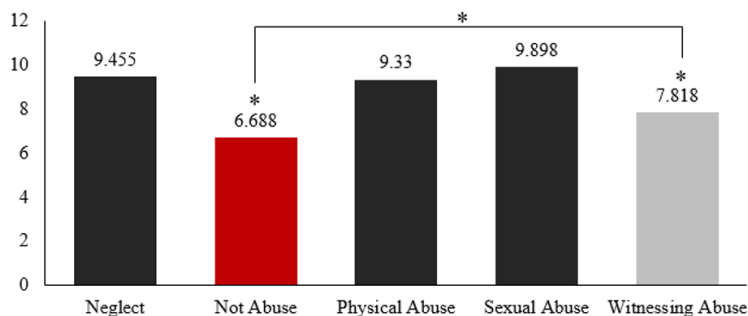
Note. Different colored bars are significantly different from each other. Bars that are the same color are not significantly different.

Discussion

My hypothesis that the majority of participants would view mental health counseling services as beneficial for victims of abuse, but not for witnesses of abuse, was supported. For the classifications of *abuse*, scenarios that were not technically abuse were still rated highly. The scenarios for witnessing abuse were not rated higher than the scenarios that were not technically abuse. These findings suggests that witnesses of abuse are not viewed the same as direct victims of abuse.

The results from this study help to identify where more education is needed so individuals will be able to correctly identify acts that are abuse. Also, with little research being conducted on witnesses of abuse, the results show that there is a need for more research to identify what is the cause of individuals nor rating the witnessing-abuse scenarios as highly as the victims-of-abuse scenarios. This additional research on the impact of witnessing abuse could allow individuals to treat witnesses the same way as victims. There is a lot of research conducted on victims of abuse and the impact that abuse has on the victim throughout their life, but there is not the same in-depth research being done for witnesses of abuse.

Limitations

There are a few limitations to the study. For example, social desirability may have been an issue. Specifically, participants may have been hesitant to say to a psychologist that mental health counseling services are not beneficial. In addition, due to the wording of some questions, demand characteristics may have also been an issue. Specifically, most questions were worded in such a way as to indicate that mental health counseling is beneficial. For example, questions such as "I believe that, in general, mental health counseling services are useful" and "I believe that mental health counseling will be beneficial for a victim of abuse" could have made participants feel forced to agree, even if they truly did not. Finally, there was a small sample size, and the participants were from a small private religiously-affiliated college in Georgia. Thus, the results may not be generalizable.

Future Research

Future research should examine more deeply why witnesses of abuse are not viewed the same as victims of abuse. This would help practitioners to understand what types of services should be offered for witnesses of abuse. It can also lead to further education to allow witnesses of abuse to be treated more similarly to (and ideally the same as) victims of abuse. Witnesses of abuse are often forgotten about, since the abuse was not directly aimed at them, but the impact of seeing abuse needs to be acknowledged.

In addition, research should examine why abuse scenarios that were not technically abuse and scenarios for witnessing abuse were rated similarly. Witnesses of abuse should not be taken lightly or treated the same as individuals who have not been abused. Researching why abuse scenarios that are not technically abuse and scenarios that involve witnessing abuse are viewed similarly will help to discover the lack of understanding of the trauma that witnesses experience. There is a lot of research still to be done around witnesses of abuse because their experience and interpretation of abuse that occur sin front of them can be just as traumatic as being the actual victim.

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