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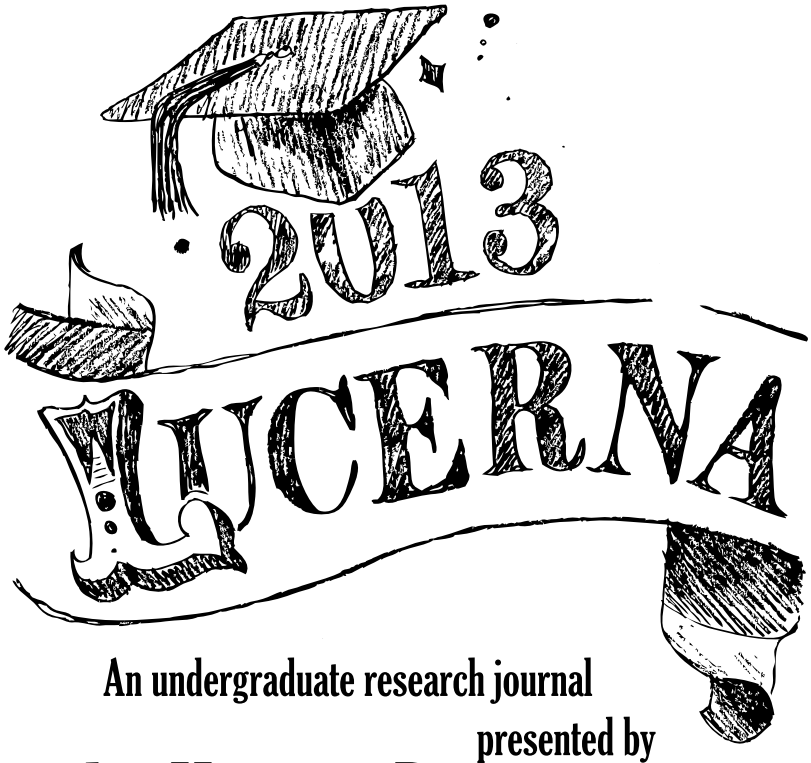

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CONTENTS

LETTER FROM THE EDITOR

Welcome to the eighth volume of *Lucerna*. Within these pages, you will find an impressive array of research conducted by your undergraduate peers in various disciplines at UMKC. From Geology, Mathematics, and Economics to English, Philosophy, and Foreign Languages, I hope you will enjoy reading these essays as much as we have.

Of course, the publication of this journal would be impossible without the professors who encouraged their students to submit. On that note, I would like to personally thank Professor Mitchell Green, Dr. Raymond Coveney, Dr. Richard Delaware, Dr. Yong Zeng, Dr. Henri Wood, Dr. Jane Greer, Dr. Gayle Levy, and Dr. James Sheppard. Your advice, guidance, and support in the development of these essays are appreciated by all of us.

Additionally, I would like to thank the Honors Program faculty members that serve as advisors for *Lucerna*, Dr. Frances Connelly, Dr. Gayle Levy, and Ms. Sally Mason. I would also like to give a special thanks to Egghead, the UMKC student graphic design group, and their faculty liaison Paul Tosh. Their untiring enthusiasm, motivation, creativity, and invaluable advice have supported the continued growth and development of this journal. I must also thank our peer reviewers and editorial staff for their hard work this year towards the publication of *Lucerna*. If the dedication our staff displayed this year is any indication of our future success, I am certain *Lucerna* will only continue to grow and improve.

Finally, I would like to offer some words of thanks and encouragement to our student authors. Thank you for submitting to *Lucerna* and congratulations on your published work! I am convinced that the essays published in this volume of *Lucerna* include the best representation of undergraduate work here at UMKC. I hope you will continue to be an inspiration to your peers and never doubt your voice as a writer. The work you have published is an important contribution to UMKC undergraduate academic research as well as an important contribution to your own development as a scholar. Trust your peers and professors when they say you have an important perspective that is worthy of sharing. Your ability to construct meaningful research and writing from your experience as a student is crucial, and will only better you and the people around you if it is shared. I wish you all continued success in your future endeavors.

"Don't ask what the world needs. Ask what makes you come alive, and go do it. Because what the world needs is more people who have come alive."
– **Howard Thurman**

Very Sincerely,
Noria McCarther
2012 Managing Editor

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EDITORIAL BOARD

Editor-in-Chief Mikayla Green

Mikayla Green graduated from UMKC with her Bachelor of Arts degree in English Language and Literature in August 2013. She began working with *Lucerna* during her second year at UMKC as Secretary, moved to the position of Managing Editor the following year, and finally led the journal as Editor-in-Chief during her last year as an undergraduate. Mikayla enjoys working on *Lucerna* because it provides hands-on, real-life experience to supplement what she learns in the classroom. Mikayla was also involved with many other extracurricular activities within the Honors Program. Mikayla worked on *The Honors Herald*, the Honors Program newsletter, participated in Honors Student Advisory Council, and was a member of three honor societies, Sigma Tau Delta, Mortar Board, and Omicron Delta Kappa. Mikayla plans to work in the field of publishing doing magazine editing.

Managing Editor Noria McCarther

Noria McCarther is currently a junior at UMKC pursuing a double degree in Biology and Sociology. Noria developed a love of writing and research in high school and wanted to foster her interests by participating in the publication of *Lucerna*. Noria joined the Honors Program in the spring of 2013 and has been involved with *Lucerna* ever since. Noria enjoys working on *Lucerna* because she likes seeing students work collaboratively with their peers and faculty in the writing process. It helps students improve their writing skills and come away with a tangible achievement from their undergraduate career. Noria is also involved with GlobeMed, a nonprofit public health organization on campus. She plans to apply to medical school next summer and will work toward an MD/Masters in Public Health degree.

Treasurer Shiva Oliaei

Shiva Oliaei is a sophomore majoring in Biology with a focus in pre-medical studies. Besides working as Treasurer for *Lucerna*, Shiva is an active member of Alpha Phi Omega fraternity, a community service fraternity on campus. Shiva also works as a biology and chemistry tutor. In her free time, Shiva enjoys traveling, shopping, and reading. Shiva joined *Lucerna* because she enjoys reading articles and her position helps her to be more organized.

Marketing & Media Coordinator Sarah Pourakbar

Sarah Pourakbar started out as a freshman at UMKC in the fall of 2012 and in the fall of 2013, she began UMKC's Six Year Medical Program. Sarah is currently pursuing a Bachelor of Arts in Biology with a minor in Spanish and by May 2019, she will have completed her medical degree. Although Sarah is not absolutely sure what kind of medicine she wants to pursue, as many students change their mind throughout the program, she is leaning towards becoming a family practitioner. Sarah's other extracurricular activities include playing the piano, volunteering at The Ewing Marion Kauffman School, and participating in Alpha Phi Omega, UMKC's on-campus community service fraternity. Sarah decided to join *Lucerna* because she had experience with the literary magazine at her high school. Sarah enjoys being a part of a *Lucerna* because it brings to light the various kinds of undergraduate research being conducted at our own university.

Secretary Chelsea Mouse

While at UMKC, Chelsea majored in Biology with a pre-medical emphasis and minored in Spanish. Chelsea's future goal is to become a family physician and to help as many people as she can. In her spare time, Chelsea loves going to country music concerts and spending time at the beach. Chelsea got involved in *Lucerna* because it gives people a chance to publish great works of writing, in which they put a lot of effort. Chelsea enjoys getting to read pieces of writing from her peers who have a different outlook on the world.

Essay Reviewers

Kayla Cummickel

Kayla Cummickel is a senior pursuing a degree in Nursing and has been in the Honors Program since her freshman year. Kayla decided to join the *Lucerna* staff because she was looking to become more involved in the Honors Program. Kayla's future goals are to get through her senior year and graduate with Honors with a Bachelors of Science degree in Nursing. After that, she hopes to get her nursing license, become a traveling nurse, and see the world! Kayla is also a member of Alpha Sigma Alpha, a sorority at UMKC.

Sydney Ingram

Sydney Ingram is a senior majoring in Creative Writing. Sydney plans on attending graduate school next year to pursue a Master's degree. Sydney spent a semester abroad in London through the Missouri-London Program (MLP) and would like to be able to travel as part of her future career. Sydney is the student ambassador for CAPA International Education Organization, the organization that hosts MLP. Sydney wanted to participate in *Lucerna* because she enjoys editing and the publication process. Sydney likes collecting vinyl records and researching the Beat Generation.

McKayla Smith

McKayla Smith is a senior studying Philosophy and Spanish, on the pre-law track. McKayla plans to attend law school next year and her goal is to eventually become an attorney working in the non-profit field. McKayla is passionate about human rights and she really enjoys volunteering. She loves to read non-fiction and her favorite author is Phillipe Bourgois. McKayla was interested in *Lucerna* because she thinks it is a valuable resource for learning about the research our peers are doing, and because it was a good opportunity to work on her editing and writing skills.

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LYDIA A. ALPURAL-SULLIVAN

ECON 201

Introduction to Economics I with Professor Mitchell Green

Roots and Radicals:
Community and the New Northwest

Abstract

During the last several centuries as the world has acclimatized to a new global economy, economic growth and increasing productivity has traditionally been regarded as a highly desirable sign of a flourishing economy. Capitalist systems seek to continually increase growth and consumption and to expand markets, despite cyclical financial crises and environmental damage that result from these endeavors. By analyzing historical sources, symptomatic social phenomenon, and literature regarding the Pacific Northwest region, this work attempts to identify and source the common ideological underpinnings of the Northwest as it is today. In exposing the Northwest's history and political composition as unparalleled and examining its history of intentional communities, it becomes clear that the unique way in which Northwest peoples choose to resist the environmental, economic and social tolls imposed by capitalist society may offer insight for solutions to avert these crises in the future, if applied on a larger scale to the region's existing socio-economic structure. If these principles can become widely applied and demonstrated in the Northwest, the conclusion of scaling back economic growth as a counter-point to capitalist expansionism could potentially be applicable in other regions as well as the global economy faces new challenges regarding overproduction, environmental damage, and social inequity.

The story of Anglo-American settlement in the Pacific Northwest is a familiar one in which man pits himself in a battle against nature for the victory that is civilization. It is the story of rapid economic growth under capitalism and the social and environmental tolls that inevitably result from unregulated economic growth and industrialization. In this paper, the unique radical heritage of the Northwest is examined; as well as how its history, politics, ecology, and mythos come together to offer an ecological and communitarian answer to problems that arise from normal capitalist relations. Long a part of the Northwest narrative, radical communitarian ideas may be key in changing the way we think about our own communities. By examining the principles of communitarianism and their application in the Northwest over more than

a century, perhaps we can better understand how to create large-scale sustainable socio-economic systems that are so desperately necessary in these times of economic and ecological crisis.

In the late 1800s, propaganda published in the Midwest promoted the Northwest region aggressively, touting its abundant timber and mineral wealth. Shortly thereafter the region experienced a massive boom in industry followed by unprecedented urban growth, with populations in major cities multiplying by ten, thirty, even sixty times within a single decade (Schwantes, 15). Gold and silver rushes, as well as coal, timber and iron ore mining quickly became industrialized. Unlike other regions of the United States, the growth and regional dependence on extractive industries lured large numbers of unskilled and semi-skilled laborers to the Northwest to obtain wage-paying work in timber, fishing and mining. The nature of the work often resulted in rampant seasonal unemployment, and laborers found themselves shifting from one industry to another to stay employed.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, a lack of local capital attracted droves of investors from outside the region, which eventually allowed consolidation within industries and their labor forces to take place. As local industrial giants continued to grow they were employing ever larger numbers of unskilled wage laborers. Amongst laborers, many of whom were forced to wait for work between seasons in miserable camp-town conditions, a sense of class consciousness was growing. The need for labor unions became desperately clear; an ideological crack began to form between wage workers and those that controlled capital as it became increasingly apparent that wealth distribution among the classes was inequitable (Schwantes, 40). In a few short years, the Northwest had become a hotbed of social and labor reform efforts on the part of its working class. As such, the perfect climate had formed for the working class to welcome the literary works and revolutionary ideas of figures such as Eugene Debs, union leader and co-founder of the Industrial Workers of the World; Laurence Gronlund, lawyer and author of many works advocating socialism; and the utopian Edward Bellamy whose book *Looking Backward: 2000 to 1887* envisions the future as having achieved harmony via socialization of the means of production. These men and more were prominent leaders in the struggles of the working class, whose words did not fall on deaf ears in the Pacific Northwest where local union branches were fast organizing and blue-collar publications such as *The Socialist* began appearing by the early 1900s.

It was precisely at this time too, as the Northwest swirled in the tides of radical ideology and progressive social movements, that the first intentional communities were created. Intentional communities, perhaps more often

called communes, are the retraction of a collection of individuals from society at large in an effort to live a simpler and more egalitarian existence that centers on family, community, and nature. The Puget Sound Co-operative Colony in Washington was among the first of such communities, as was the Aurora Colony in Willamette Valley, Oregon. These communities are equally a symptom and a reaction to the destructive conditions created by large-scale production and the wage-labor system that accompanies it. Intentional communities seek to realize a desire for a less alienated, smaller-scale, natural existence, which the Northwest happily facilitates with its mild climate, abundant water and lush wildernesses. In his book *Eden Within Eden*, James Kopp notes that northwest immigrants' decision to come west "often was based on the promise of Edenic proportion that was offered…" (Kopp, 87). The popular perception of intentional communities is that they are comprised of ideologically marginal folks, utopians who simply can't face or function in the "real world"— just a collection of radicals. This is by all means true; after all, the very term "radical" derives from the Latin word for "root." Intentional communities are indeed radical in this sense because they emerge as an alternative for people to live more simply, often in accordance with certain ideals such as family, community, ecology, democracy, egalitarianism, and self-reliance; all of which are incidentally features of early human societies. The assumption that societies at this scale make can be summarized as follows: that which benefits the group also benefits the individual, thus all people perform work regardless of gender and each according to ability. Classical political philosophers and early economists such as Thomas Hobbes and Adam Smith respectively argued that the nature of humankind is competitive and self-interested, and that self-interest must necessarily be facilitated to its greatest advantage by free-market competition. From another angle, even if we are to assume that the nature of man is ultimately motivated by self-interest, it is not self-evident that selfishness and competition are qualities mutually exclusive to co-operation. Despite what capitalism in our time has perhaps forced us to assume, even in self-interested endeavors, humankind is ultimately socially inter-reliant; we are just as willing and able to function as communities as we are individually. To this universal inter-dependency David Graeber (2001), author of *Debt: The First 5,000 Years*, lends the handy term "baseline communism"—which, he continues, forms "The ground of all human social life" (Graeber, 280).

So what are we to make of the proliferation of intentional communities in the Northwest? Their existence and numbers bring into question whether they are symptomatic of a broader cultural openness in the region to the ideologies that drive intentional communities. Perhaps it is time, then, for the

Northwest to acknowledge its unique qualities and strengths and begin actively applying community-scale principles to its lively regional economy. Already, many of the values shared amongst intentional communities have been embraced by Northwest culture for over a century. A long, radical labor history, concern for environmental stewardship and grassroots organization are some of those values embraced in the region that would seem necessary ingredients for radical changes in the mode of production—changes which are necessary to preserve the ecological quality of the region as well as its economic and social stability. Efficiency, community, and low-impact living are concepts ever-present in the region's consciousness. For instance, recycling. Just over one-third of *Popular Science's* rankings of the United States' 50 greenest cities are in Oregon, Washington or California. Some other common forms of community activism include watershed councils, through which community members can cooperate to help monitor and restore the health of their local environment, and farmers' cooperatives. Slightly larger organizations such as the Northwest Environmental Defense Center, which pursues environmental issues through the legal system, and the Sightline Institute, which publishes publicly available environmental data, also help equip policymakers and communities to form an ecologically and socially sound Northwest.

The progressivism that helped shape the Northwest is not limited to just ecological concerns but democratic ones as well; for example, recently Washington state became the first in the nation to legalize both same-sex marriage and marijuana use, while Oregon and California both offer civil unions and have decriminalized the use of marijuana. In contrast, half of all U.S. states have maintained the outright illegality of marijuana use and more than half of same-sex marriage. Popular support for regulatory legislation that limits businesses as well as secures individual freedoms is part of Northwest states' cultural tradition and is evident even in its foundational documents, as the University of Washington's Center for the study of the Pacific Northwest notes:

> The constitution for the state of Washington, written in 1889, stands as … [an] instance of lasting populist influence. The document reflects very clearly the concerns of farmers [and others] who felt strongly about regulating railroads and other monopolies, reducing the influence of big business on government officials, and guaranteeing the rights of individuals.

History would seem to suggest that creating a freer, more humanitarian society is plausible and attainable in the Northwest—but of course there are still impediments. One of the most crucial steps in getting closer to the new Northwest is to adopt some skepticism toward the dogma of economic growth. We must ask ourselves whether increasing output, consumption, and expansion is really the end game, or whether we are willing to take a look at our priorities and examine whether "growth," so long dearly regarded as the ultimate goal, is really bringing about the positive changes we desire for our communities. In his book, *The Ecology of Freedom*, Murray Bookchin takes up the question of growth, economic scale and individual happiness. He writes:

> It is no longer a new age cliché to insist that, wherever possible, we must "unplug" our "inputs" from a depersonalized, mindless system that threatens to absorb us into its circuitry… loss of individuality and uniqueness, with its ultimate result in the liquidation of the personality itself, begins with the loss of our ability to contrast a more human-scaled world that once was; another world, approximating complete totalitarianization, that now is; and finally a third one, human-scaled, ecological and rational, that should be. (Bookchin, 335)

Bookchin thus highlights that the primary obstacle to employing a more socialized economic life process is that we have enlarged beyond what is natural and sustainable. Our current mode of production, by espousing an irrational obsession with growth and consumption, denies people through abstraction and alienation the indulgence of their natural social proclivities and the pursuit of their individual happiness. The Northwest has been envisioned before as the perfect platform for harmonious planned living en masse, in Ernest Callenbach's 1975 novel *Ecotopia*. In it he imagines a world in the far future year 1999, in which the Northwest region secedes from the United States and Canada and becomes the sovereign nation of Ecotopia. With a voluntary contraction of the economy and intentionally declining population, Ecotopia is a large-scale attempt to combat the evils of over-growth, over-population and consumer culture by embracing communitarianism. *Ecotopia* can be considered an exaggerative exposé of the Northwest character in which ganja-smoking Ecotopian natives live in communal apartments, wear only recycled clothing, and bicycle everywhere and where the only form of condoned violence or weapons are those used to protect Ecotopia from the consumerist outsiders across the border. (Interestingly, it was in 1999 that Seattle famously hosted the site of the anti-globalization, anti-capitalist demonstration nicknamed the "Battle in Seattle", which thrust the issue's meaning

fully into global consciousness for perhaps the first time in history). Real-life underground movements for secession have been around for decades in the Northwest, with the proposed conglomeration of Washington, Oregon, California, Alaska, and Idaho into a new nation called Cascadia. The Northwest as a utopia seems to be a recurring theme; the beauty and natural purity of the Northwest is perhaps symbolic of the hope mankind has of once again finding its roots. The cause for the pattern seems clear. The world has been steadily creeping toward the precipice of a new age. The turn of the twentieth century marked the beginning of unfettered, thoughtless growth and production, the scale of which has been met only by the human propensity to consume. As a race we find ourselves at a point where the functions of production have divorced from need-fulfillment and have become ends in themselves. We have stopped growing to survive and begun surviving to grow, or as Henry David Thoreau beautifully summarizes it: *Men have become the tools of their tools* (33).

Our current mode of production and consumption is unstable and destructive, as has been illustrated by the environmental and financial crises over the course of the last century. Ultimately it will become unsustainable altogether. As we grow further alienated from one another in the pursuit of expanding our economic frontiers, as we grow numb and turn our faces away from the things that make us truly happy, like equality, harmony, tighter communities, equal access to resources, balance with nature, personal freedom, and creativity, our ability to see and to prevent the looming crises on the horizon dwindles. Even if those ideals are regarded as nothing but radical, utopian pipe dreams, it should be remembered that fantasies are powerful reflections of innate human needs and problems. They are the expression of a desire to graduate from a current state of being to something better. Rather than imagining an unknown, distant future, perhaps people can look at the Northwest today and see a glimmer of a world that once was and that can be again; ecological and rational, right here and now.

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JAMES W. MITCHELL

ENV-STDY 499WI
Environmental Studies Practicum with Dr. Raymond Coveney

United States Carbon Tax:
Practical, Ethical, and Effective Within the Context of Global Climate Policy

Abstract

Thus far, international climate policy negotiations have failed to produce a global policy to mitigate climate change. There is strong evidence that human activities are driving climate change and that the expected population and economic growth in the 21st century will further exacerbate anthropogenic climate forcing. The social implications of this make the need for international climate policy clear; however, international law presents difficult challenges for such a policy. Because obligations cannot be imposed on sovereign nations without their consent and there are strong financial incentives to remain outside of a global climate policy, it is unlikely that globally synchronized action will begin with one all-encompassing agreement. However, the implementation of a carbon tax by the United States presents an opportunity for the nation to begin addressing its own heavy dependence on fossil fuels and to coerce all nations that export goods to the U.S. to tax carbon as well. This is the most viable tool for the U.S. and globally to reduce greenhouse gas emissions. The U.S. should implement a carbon tax with border tax adjustments for the carbon content of goods imported to the U.S. because it is practical, ethical, and the most effective tool to mitigate serious climate change.

Climate Change, Social Issues and Economic Problems

Climatologists strongly agree that human activities are the most significant contributing factor to climate change (Doran and Zimmerman 22). Since the industrial revolution, humans have emitted increasing amounts of greenhouse gases (GHG), substances that contribute to climate change. The major GHGs that are considered in climate analyses and policy are carbon dioxide (CO_2), methane (CH_4), nitrous oxide (N_2O), and halocarbons (Bernstein et al. 37).

The release of these GHGs has increased global surface temperature well beyond the natural baseline that would have been expected from the small increase in solar irradiance. Since 1750, radiative forcing, which is the relative change in strength of solar irradiance, has increased 2.64 W/m^2 from increases in atmospheric CO_2, CH_4, and N_2O, and halocarbons. Natural increases in solar irradiance have caused a .12 W/m^2 increase in radiative forcing. The cumulative increases caused a .7℃ global surface temperature increase in the 20th century. However, accelerated increases of approximately .2℃ per decade were observed throughout the last three decades of the 20th century. A further increase of .2℃ was observed in the first decade of the 21st century (Bernstein et al. 45). The planet is now as warm as the Holocene maximum and is within 1℃ of the maximum temperature in the last million years (Hansen et al. 14288). Due to the slow climate response, the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) predicts that even when emissions are stabilized, temperature will continue to increase for up to a century. This is particularly worrisome because CO_2 concentrations are at their highest level in 650,000 years, and possibly the last 20 million years (Canadell et al. 18866).

Sea level rise is consistent with global temperature increase. From 1961 to 1993, sea level rose at an average of 1.8mm per year. From 1993 to 2003, sea level rose an average of 3.1mm per year. Since 1993, thermal expansion, which is the physical expansion of the ocean as it warms, has been responsible for 57 percent of sea level rise. The melting of glaciers and ice sheets has been responsible for the remainder of sea level rise. The extent of sea level rise in the 21st century will be dependent on the increases in global surface temperature. Estimates are that sea level will increase .2–.6m in the 21st century and continue to increase thereafter. Due to the slow speed at which heat is transferred to the deep ocean, sea levels will continue to rise even after GHG emissions are stabilized or reduced. The IPCC estimates that if emissions were stabilized at year 2100, thermal expansion would contribute to .3–.8m of sea level rise over the following two centuries (Bernstein et al. 46).

There will be serious social implications of climate change in the 21st century beyond increased temperatures and higher sea levels. Ecosystem services, on which humans depend for food and water supplies, will be diminished. Global food production potential may decrease after 3℃ warming, relative to temperature at the end of the 20th century, thus potentially creating a dangerous population trap. Millions more people will be exposed to annual flooding in the densely populated deltas of Africa and Asia. Tropical storms will increase in intensity. Meltwater flow from glaciers and snow, on which one-sixth of the world population depends, will be reduced. Weather patterns will change, redistributing the water supplies that society has built around.

Sea level rise will increase groundwater salinization in coastal areas (Bernstein et al. 49).

Although the precise impacts on social conditions for such a scenario are somewhat unclear, over 100 nations have adopted a global surface temperature warming limit of 2℃ relative to pre-industrial levels (Bernstein et al. 49). To have a 75 percent chance of achieving this goal, global emissions from 2000–2050 must not exceed 1000 gigatons of CO_2. 234 Gt CO_2 were emitted from 2000–2006 (Meinshausen et al. 1158). This presents a problem as developing nations evolve and enter the world economy because global emissions generally track gross world product. From 1970 to 2000, the carbon intensity, which is defined at the kg CO_2 emitted per dollar of gross world product, decreased annually. However, carbon intensity increased from 2000–2006 (Canadell et al. 18866-18867).

"Generally, poor countries, and poor people in any given country, suffer the most, notwithstanding that the rich countries are responsible for the bulk of past emissions" (Stern 31). The social costs and ethical implications of remaining in a global climate policy stalemate are unacceptable. Developed nations have the ethical duty to address climate change; however, to have a reasonable probability of limiting warming to 2℃, developing nations must develop in a less carbon-intensive way than developed nations have already done.

Global Policy Context

Climate change is regarded as a global public good, which is a type of economic activity whose impacts are indivisible and whose influences are felt around the world (Stern 27). Global public goods are difficult international governance issues. Under the 1648 Treaty of Westphalia, which still stands as international law, no obligations can be imposed on sovereign nations without their approval (Nordhaus 28). Current governmental approaches to managing global public goods include leaving it to the market (*laissez-faire*), aspirational or non-binding agreements, binding treaties between individual nations, agreements embedded in broader international institutions such as multilateral trade negotiations, and delegations of fiscal authority such as the World Trade Organization. None of these mechanisms have the breadth to truly address climate change because none can force or coerce all countries to limit emissions (Nordhaus 29).

Because most approaches to international climate policy aim to make emitting carbon more expensive, and every nation's economy is based around fossil fuels to an extent, there is a large incentive to free-ride: to opt out of the global climate policy. In the advent of an international climate policy that

does not include every country, free-riding countries would become comparatively cheaper places to do business. This would result in carbon leakage, the movement of emissions to countries outside climate policy (Di Maria and van der Werf 55-56).

Global cap-and-trade and an internationally-harmonized carbon tax are the two most likely candidates for a global climate policy. Both options attempt to internalize the externality of carbon emissions to correct the market failure that is climate change.

Cap-and-trade is a market-based, quantity-oriented mechanism, which sets a cap or binding limit on carbon emissions. Prospective emitters must purchase allowances, which are emission rights, to emit. By forcing emitters to purchase emission rights, cap-and-trade puts a price on carbon emissions. This internalizes the externality of carbon emissions and creates a financial incentive to reduce emissions. The regulating institution decides where to implement cap-and-trade in the carbon stream—the fossil fuel production process. Upstream implementation is near fuel refinement and downstream implementation is near to final consumers. Administrative costs multiply downstream because of the larger number of entities to regulate (Hsu 20-22; Stern 353).

There has been one attempt at global cap-and-trade—the Kyoto Protocol. Kyoto failed at reducing global emissions because it did not include enough of the world's emissions and had an offset program that was abused—the Clean Development Mechanism.

The most well-known system that is also most applicable for comparison is the European Union Emission Trading System (EU ETS), which accounts for 40 percent of the European Union's emissions by forcing 11,500 power utilities and industrial emitters to purchase emission allowances. It was implemented in 2005 and has operated as an emissions reduction mechanism since 2008 (Nordhaus 26-27). The main problems with the EU ETS are price volatility and that it has failed to reduce EU emissions (Wilensky 27).

International implementation of cap-and-trade would require the creation of a prohibitively complicated global regulatory agency that would establish national emission caps and operate the allowance trading system. National caps would be based, to some extent, on countries' historical emissions. This makes cap-and-trade hugely unpopular with developing nations. China and India have both flatly refused to participate in a global quantity-oriented mechanism. Because their economies are rapidly expanding as they develop, both countries argue that by basing their emissions cap on historical emissions they will be put at a disadvantage (Hsu 192). Any international agreement without both China and India in accord is doomed to fail to

achieve its foremost goal of reducing emissions. Even the United Nations has been unsuccessful at introducing discussion about quantity-oriented policies because developing countries refuse to participate. Furthermore, at the 2009 UN Climate Change Conference (UNCCC), the world's 17 largest emitters, most of whom are developed nations, could not reach an agreement on any binding emission cap. Even if developing countries were to participate in talks, establishment of a global emission cap is extremely unlikely (Nordhaus 26; Stern 497). Without an emission cap, global cap-and-trade will never exist.

Under the Westphalian system, the market-based, price-oriented mechanism of the carbon tax is the most effective and likely candidate for a worldwide climate policy. A carbon tax is a tax on fossil fuels that can be levied at any point in production or distribution. Under a carbon tax, countries would be free to levy the tax where they please in the carbon stream, from the loading of coal into a train car to the purchase of fuel by an individual consumer. However, upstream levy is by far the cheapest (Metcalf and Weisbach 501).

An internationally harmonized carbon tax is a simple agreement under which countries price carbon at an internationally accepted price. It would create a level economic playing field while also valuing carbon. From an economic stance, valuing carbon internalizes the externality of greenhouse emissions by creating a financial incentive to emit less. Trade would be unimpeded between countries which operate under a harmonized carbon tax; however, for free-riding countries that operate outside of the tax, border tax adjustments can reduce or eliminate leakage while also creating a financial incentive to join the harmonized carbon tax (Metcalf and Weisbach 502).

In this context, border tax adjustments would be levied on imported goods based on the carbon emissions from the production of that item. Border tax adjustments reduce leakage by removing the financial advantage to produce goods outside taxed countries. It is unlikely that carbon tax rebates would be legal under international trade laws. Because of this, industries that export carbon-intensive goods would be disadvantaged; however, border taxes create a revenue incentive against free-riding.

Carbon taxes generate revenue. When a border tax is levied it only creates revenue for the importing country. This puts the exporting country at a disadvantage and creates an incentive to levy a carbon tax, especially in the case of large exporters such as China. The comparative ease of international negotiations puts the carbon tax at an advantage to an international cap-and-trade system (Stern 362; Nordhaus 35; Metcalf and Weisbach 540-541).

U.S. Climate Policy

Despite some industry support and the possibility of political palatability, the previously proposed American Clean Energy and Security Act of 2009 (ACESA) shows that the U.S. has not learned the lessons of the EU ETS. The act proposed a U.S. cap-and-trade system was to be implemented mid-carbon stream and offered large numbers of free allowances. Had the bill passed, it is unlikely that it would have reduced emissions; however, it is likely that it would have slowed emissions growth (Wilensky 27).

Like the EU ETS, the ACESA proposed that power utilities and large industrial emitters should buy emission allowances, necessitating the creation of a complex national administrative system and the participation of each individual entity in allowance auctions. In the American system, however, this exposed the bill directly to pressures of industry lobbyists (Wilensky 27). President Barack Obama was forced to back down after proposing a system of 100 percent auctions. The evidence of politicking is clear. The bill included 35 percent free allowances for electric utilities, 15 percent for energy-intensive industries, and 9 percent for natural gas distributers (Hsu 61).

It is highly unlikely that a U.S. cap-and-trade system produced by Washington will be strong enough to make serious emission reductions. Furthermore, even if it were designed to mimic a carbon tax by upstream implementation with border tax adjustments for goods, it would be more costly to administer and would be subject to some degree of price volatility.

An upstream U.S. carbon tax with border tax adjustments and neutralization of existing fossil fuel incentives is the best climate policy for the U.S. By taxing natural gas as it enters distribution pipelines, coal as it is mined and imported, and petroleum at refineries, 80 percent of U.S. GHG emissions would be taxed while only 3,000 entities would be taxed directly. Approximately 90 percent coverage of U.S. emissions could be achieved with a relatively small additional expense by also including cement plants and the transmission and storage of natural gas. Even 80 percent coverage is significantly higher than the coverage of any climate policy in existence. By creating a level economic playing field based solely on carbon content, a broad U.S. carbon tax with border tax adjustments would create a true market for carbon and efficiently internalize carbon emission externalities to most activities in the U.S. This would incentivize changes away from fossil fuels, leading to reduction in use and efficiency improvements. A carbon tax also raises revenue, which could be used for limited tax-related job loss compensation and government subsidy (Metcalf and Weisbach 527-528).

Border tax adjustments based on the carbon content of the goods being imported remove the financial incentive for countries outside the U.S. to

increase production of goods that carbon taxation makes more expensive in the U.S. Thus the terms of trade effect is minimized and U.S. emission reductions are not offset. Economic distortions and the resulting emission leakage between industries within the U.S. will also be minimized because of broad coverage of taxation (Di Maria and van der Werf 56; Nordhaus 35).

The goal of energy independence gives the U.S. an advantage in terms of carbon leakage via the energy market effect, which is the substitution of fossil fuels for other sources because of the cost reduction of fossil fuels. As of 2011, the U.S. was a net energy exporter. By levying border taxes equal to its carbon tax and maintaining a carbon tax rate equal to or greater than the global price reduction of fossil fuels, the U.S. has the ability to offset the energy market effect while also creating a revenue incentive for other fossil fuel exporters to tax carbon. The disadvantage of this policy is that it may put the U.S. fossil fuel industry at a competitive disadvantage; however, if the revenue incentive works and other fossil fuel exporters implement carbon taxation, this will be negated. Because tax rebates are not allowed by international law, the U.S. fossil fuel industry will be disadvantaged regardless of the carbon tax rate policy (Metcalf and Weisbach 547).

Setting the carbon tax rate, which is defined as dollars per ton of CO_2, is a challenging issue. There are two approaches. The first, called the Pigouvian approach, is to set the carbon tax rate equal to the marginal damages that CO_2 causes, which is the social and environmental cost in dollars. Even economists do not agree on how to calculate marginal damages. For example, the IPCC supports a carbon tax of $12 per metric ton, yet acknowledges that there are estimates from $3 to $95 (Metcalf and Weisbach 511).

This approach is flawed because it assumes that the market knows the optimal level of emissions. This is based on the imperfect but widely used theory of Pareto Optimality, which states that a properly functioning market will move towards a position in which no one can be made better off without making someone else worse off. The fundamental problem of Pareto Optimality is that the optimal market position is determined by initial conditions (Freeman 320). The implication of this for U.S. climate policy is that the optimal market position will be heavily influenced by current emissions, which are 80 percent fossil fuel combustion emissions. This will limit the effectiveness of a carbon tax.

The preferable second approach mimics a cap-and-trade system by setting the tax rate to achieve an acceptable level of GHG emissions. The emission level should be determined by climate science and public debate so that impacts of future climate change can be better predicted and adaptation planned. Even if the U.S. were to successfully implement a carbon tax and

reduce its emissions, the global impact on emissions would be relatively small in the face of burgeoning economies in Africa, South America, and Asia. However, as the world's largest single-nation economy, the U.S. has the ability to coerce other nations to tax carbon at the same rate, thereby harmonizing carbon taxes. The revenue incentive is the mechanism by which the U.S. could do this. Even if the border tax incentive fails to coerce governments to implement a carbon tax, it would still serve as an incentive to reduce emissions and, because the tax would generate revenue, fund research on GHG emission-reducing technologies.

It is clear that human activities are driving climate change and that the effects will be overwhelmingly negative, especially for those least responsible for historical GHG emissions. The stalemate of international climate negotiation and the reasonable refusal of China and India to take part in a quantity-oriented global policy leave a globally harmonized carbon tax as the only plausible option. However, there is no global carbon tax. Although it would be highly unpopular, the U.S. should implement a carbon tax with border tax adjustments to coerce other nations into a harmonized carbon tax system. It is the most practical way to limit GHG emissions nationally and foster an international market for carbon. Implementation is the most ethical decision given the lack of international policy options.

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MATH 464WI
History of Mathematics with Dr. Richard Delaware

The Impossible Proof:

An Analysis of Adrien-Marie Legendre's Attempts to Prove Euclid's Fifth Postulate

Abstract

Euclid's Fifth Postulate, the controversial Parallel Postulate, has been labeled by mathematical scholars throughout the centuries as unnecessary, as able to be proved from the other four Postulates. Many throughout the centuries tried to give a firm proof for this claim. However, as of 1750, none had been given. Adrien-Marie Legendre, French mathematician who lived from 1752-1833, spent forty years of his life attempting to produce such a definite proof. This paper explores some of Legendre's major attempts, and it demonstrates the reasons why they failed.

Forty years. For forty long years, Adrien-Marie Legendre [1752-1833] [6], the brilliant French mathematician, attempted to prove that the sum of the angles of a triangle is equal to two right angles, or one hundred eighty degrees, using only the first four Postulates and five Common Notions of Euclid. These attempts were scattered throughout the twelve editions of his book *Elements of Geometry* from 1794 to 1823 **[3, 213]**, texts that expanded on Euclid's Elements and were the "leading elementary text on the topic for around 100 years" [6]. The proof of the sum of the angles of a triangle is fairly simple if one accepts Euclid's Fifth Postulate without question. However, Legendre was not satisfied with this. He wanted a proof that did not utilize this postulate. He desired to display to everyone that Euclid's *Elements* were the surest foundation that could be desired for mathematics, that they were completely true even without the controversial Fifth Postulate. This was possible if he could simply construct a proof determining the exact sum of the angles of a triangle using only Euclid's first four Postulates, his five Common Notions, and the first twenty-eight Propositions deduced from them.

The great Greek mathematician, Euclid of Alexandria, lived three centuries before the Common Era, yet his writings on the subject of geometry have remained the primary authority in that field for thousands of years. Euclid began his work by presenting five primary truths, which he called "Postulates", along with five "Common Notions", which we would call rules of logic. From only these ten statements, the remainder of Euclid's work was built by proof. These ten were to be taken as true without the need of justification, for they appeared, for the most part, self- evident. The five Postulates are as follows:

- [It is possible] to draw a straight line from any point to any point.

- [It is possible] to produce a finite straight line continuously in a straight line.

- [It is possible to] describe a circle with any centre and distance [radius].

- That all right angles are equal to one another.

- That, if a straight line falling on two straight lines makes the interior angles on the same side less than two right angles, the two straight lines, if produced indefinitely, meet on that side on which are the angles less than the two right angles. **[3, 195-202]**

Observe the Fifth Postulate. The basic idea of it is that, if two continuous lines, such as *AB* and *CD* below, are not parallel, they will, eventually, meet at a point (in the figure, they will meet on the right). If a third line is drawn (such as *EF* below) intersecting the two non-parallel lines, then the sum of the two interior angles that line makes with the non-parallel lines will be less than "two right angles" **[3, 202]**, or one hundred eighty degrees, on the side where the two parallels meet.

This final postulate, also called the "Parallel Postulate", caused much controversy among mathematicians following Euclid **[3, 202]**. As can easily be seen, it is, first of all, much longer than the first four. Moreover, the nature of its truthfulness is not as immediately evident. It seems that even Euclid himself was hesitant about the necessity of this postulate, for, while proceeding with his Propositions he used the first four almost immediately and quite liberally, he waited to use the Parallel Postulate until his twenty-ninth Proposition of Book I **[2, 36]**. Though many mathematicians after Euclid had argued about and stated opinions concerning the necessity of this postulate, none had been able to present a proof showing that it could be discarded. Legendre set himself to the task. Sadly, he was doomed to failure. Even though he was unsuccessful, however, it is interesting to examine his proofs to see where they were exactly correct and how easily one small fault can cause the downfall of a proof.

We will explore Legendre's journey by looking at four proofs demonstrating the core of his research. The first of these establishes, correctly, that the parallel postulate can be proven, given the knowledge that the angles of a triangle sum to two right angles. Second, we will look at Legendre's successful proof that the angles of a triangle must sum to less than or equal to two right angles. Finally we will look at two of his unsuccessful, yet brilliant, attempts at ascertaining, without the Fifth Postulate, that this sum is strictly equal to two right angles. Throughout these proofs, my comments will be inserted in [square brackets]. Unless otherwise noted, I have also drawn all figures in this paper. We will now proceed with our exploration.

As an integral portion of his succession of proofs, Legendre uses the idea of the *Postulate of Archimedes,* which is as follows:

Preliminary: The Postulate of Archimedes [1, 23]

Let A_1 be any point upon a straight line between the arbitrarily chosen points A and B. Take the points A_2, A_3, ... so that A_1 lies between A and A_2, A_2 lies between A_1 and A_3, etc. moreover let the segments AA_1, A_1A_2, A_2A_3,... be all equal. Then among this series of points, there always exists a certain point An such that B lies between A and A_n.

[Thus, for any line segment AB, we are able to choose n sufficiently large so that the sum of the segments AA_1, A_1A_2,... $A_{n-1}A_n$ is greater than the length of the segment AB.]

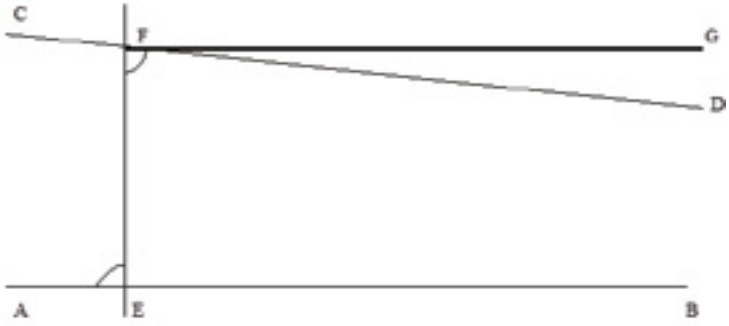
With this information available to him, Legendre moved towards the first step in his plan. He decided that he would approach the postulate from an indirect route. If it could be known that the angles of a triangle add to two right angles, then the parallel postulate would immediately follow. In Euclid's Elements this is not shown, but rather its converse appears in Proposition I-32. It rested on the assumption that the Fifth Postulate is true, not Legendre's desired goal. Thus, he chose to begin by proving the opposite direction.

Legendre's First Proof

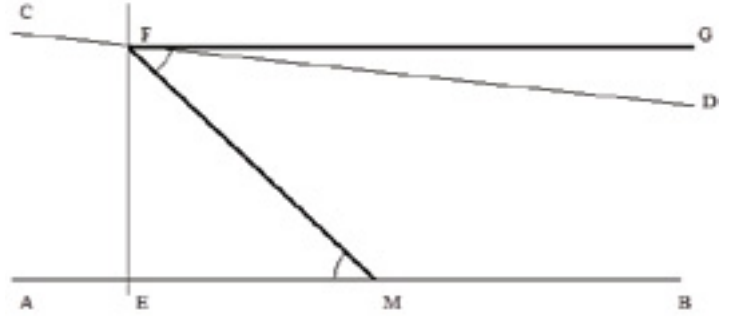
If the Angles of a Triangle Sum to Two Right Angles, the Fifth Postulate is True [5, 18]

If two straight lines AB, CD, make with a third EF, two interior angles, on the same side, the sum of which is greater or less than two right angles, the lines AB, CD, produced sufficiently far, will meet.

[Proof:] *Demonstration.* Let the sum [of the two interior angles on the right side of *EF*,] *BEF* + *EFD* be less than 2 right angles;



draw FG so as to make the angle EFG equal to AEF; we shall have the sum BEF + EFG equal [because EFG = AEF] to the sum BEF + AEF [which composes a straight line], and consequently equal to two right angles; and, since [the original sum] BEF + EFD is less than two right angles, the straight line DF will be comprehended in [be located within] the angle EFG.



Through the point *F* draw an oblique line *FM*, meeting [line] *AB* in [point] *M*; the angle *AMF* will be equal to *GFM*, since, by adding to each the same quantity *EFM* + *FEM*, the two sums are each equal to two right angles.

[We know from our hypothesis that the angles of a triangle add to two right angles. Therefore, in triangle *FEM*:

(*EFM* + *FEM*) + *AMF* = 2 Right angles

Also,

EFM + *GFM* = *EFG* = *AEF*
Further, *AEF* + *FEM* = 2 Right angles.
Thus, (EFM + GFM) + FEM = 2 Right angles].

Take now [on line *AB*] *MN* = *FM*, and join *FN;* the exterior angle *AMF*, of the triangle *FMN*, is equal to the sum of the two opposite interior angles *MFN, MNF*.

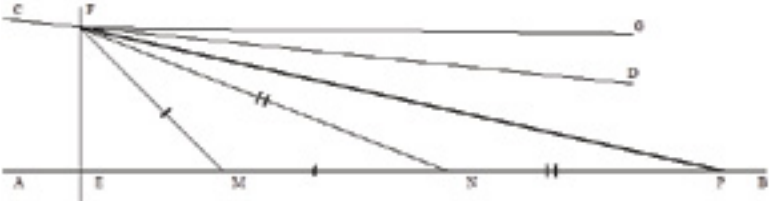
[Again, the angles of a triangle sum to two right angles, by hypothesis. Thus, as follows:

Forming a straight line,	*AMF* + *FMN* = 2 Right angles
In triangle *FMN*,	*FMN* + *MFN* + *MNF* = 2 Right angles
So,	*AMF* + *FMN* = *FMN* + *MFN* + *MNF*
	Therefore, *AMF* = *MFN* + *MNF*.]

[A]nd these [angles, *MFN* and *MNF*] are equal to each other, since they are opposite to the equal sides *MN, FM* [of the isosceles triangle *FMN*]; consequently the angle *AMF,* or its equal *MFG*, is double of [the angle] *MFN*; therefore the straight line *FN* divides into two equal parts the angle *GFM [MFG]*,

[*MFG* = *AMF* = *MFN* + *FNM* = 2*MFN*.]

and [line *FN*] meets the line *AB* in a point *N* situated at a distance *MN* [equal to *FM*].



It follows from the same demonstration, that if we take [on line *AB*] *NP* = *FN*, we determine, upon the line *AB*, the point *P* of the straight line *FP*, which makes the angle *GFP* equal to half the angle *GFN*, or one fourth of the angle *GFM*.

$$[GFP = \tfrac{1}{2}\, GFN = \tfrac{1}{2}\,(\tfrac{1}{2}\, GFM) = \tfrac{1}{4}\, GFM]$$

We are able, therefore, in this manner, to take successively the half, the fourth, the eighth, & [et]c., of the angle *GFM* [which is greater than angle *DFM*], and the lines which form these divisions meet the line *AB* in points more and more distant, but easily determined, since [by construction] *MN* = *FM, NP* = *FN, PQ* = *PF*, & [et]c. Indeed, it will be remarked that each successive distance of the points of intersection from the fixed point *F*, is not exactly double the distance of the preceding point of intersection; since *FN*, for example, is less than *FM* + *MN*, or 2*FM* [*FN* < 2*FM*] [This is from Euclid's Proposition I-20, "In any triangle [such as *FMN*], the sum of any two sides [such as *FM* and *MN*] is greater than the remaining one [*FN*]" [3 286]. In our case, *FM* = *MN*, so 2*FM* > *FN*]; we have, in like manner, *FP* < 2*FN*, *FQ* < 2 *FP*, & [et]c.

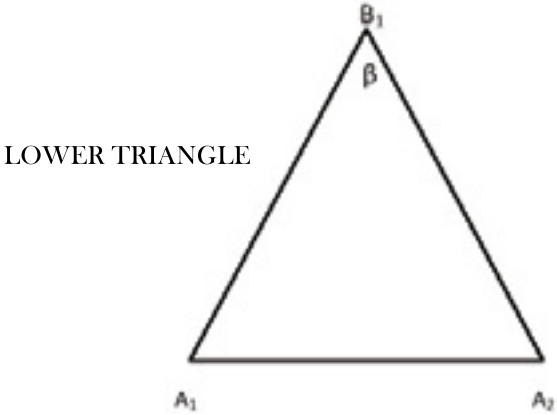
But, by continuing to subdivide the angle *GFM*, in this manner, we shall soon arrive at the angle *GFZ* less than the given angle *GFD* [as shown by the Postulate of Archimedes]; [I]t will nevertheless be true that *FZ* produced will meet *AB* in a determinate [calculable] point [Z]; therefore, for a still stronger reason, the straight line *FD*, comprehended in [contained within] the angle *EFZ*, will meet *AB*.

[End of proof].

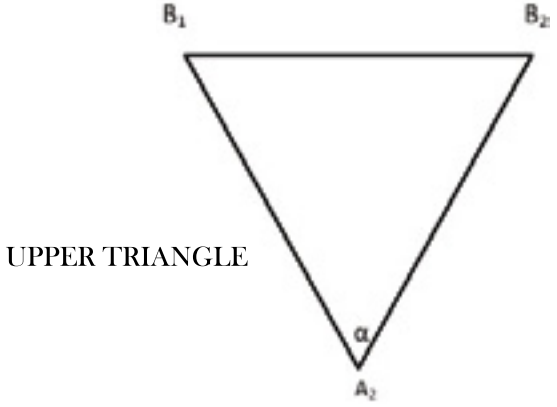
With this portion of his task accomplished, Legendre moved to the next step in his plan: proving that the sum of the angles of a triangle must not be *greater than* two right angles.

We will now proceed with Legendre's second proof.

[Proof:] Let n equal segments A_1A_2, A_2A_3,...,A_nA_{n+1} be taken one after the other on a straight line



On the same side of the line let n equal [lower] triangles be constructed, having for their third angular points $B_1B_2...B_n$.



The segments B_1B_2, B_2B_3,...,$B_{n-1}B_n$, which join these vertices, are equal [by construction] and can be taken as the bases of n equal [upper] triangles, $B_1A_2B_2$, $B_2A_3B_3$,...,$B_{n-1}A_nB_n$.

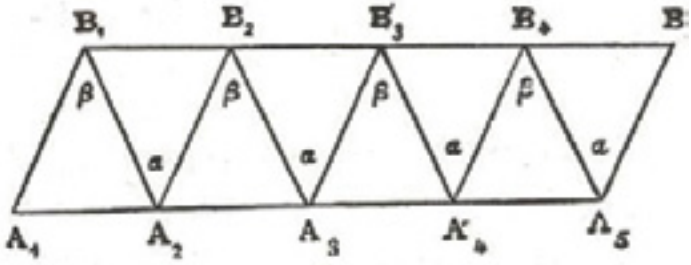


Fig. 28.

[1, 56]

[The upper triangles $B_1A_2B_2$, $B_2A_3B_3$,...,$B_{n-1}A_nB_n$ have two sets of sides equal, B_1A_2,...,$B_{n-1}A_n$ and B_2A_2,...,B_nA_n. Further, the angle these sides form, angle α in the figure, is the difference between two right angles (a straight line) and the two lower vertices of the first set of triangles, which are congruent by construction. Thus, each angle α is equal to all other angles α, so the triangles are congruent].

The figure is completed by adding the [upper] triangle $B_n\ A_{n+1}\ B_{n+1}$ which is equal to the others.

Let the angle B_1 of the [lower] triangle $A_1B_1A_2$ be denoted by β, and the angle A_2 of the consecutive [upper] triangle by α.

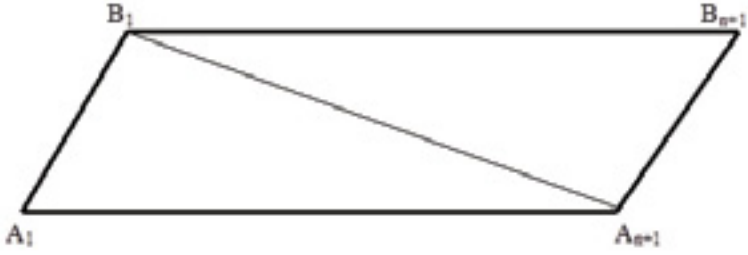
Then [we claim] $\beta \leq \alpha$.

[Proof of claim:] In fact, if [by way of contradiction] $\beta > \alpha$, by comparing the two triangles $A_1B_1A_2$ and $B_1A_2B_2$, which have two equal sides, we would deduce $A_1A_2 > B_1B_2$.

[From Euclid's Proposition I-24, we know that "If two triangles have the two sides equal to the two sides respectively, but have the one of the angles contained by the equal straight lines greater than the other, they will also have the base greater than the base." **[3, 296]** If β is greater than α, the base opposite β, which is A_1A_2, will be greater than the base opposite α, namely B_1B_2].

Further... the broken line $A_1B_1B_2...\ B_{n+1}A_{n+1}$ is greater than the segment A_1A_{n+1}[.]

[A fact that can be shown as follows: by construction, segments A_1A_{n+1} and B_1B_{n+1} are straight lines, which are joined at their endpoints by segments A_1B_1 and $B_{n+1}A_{n+1}$.



By Euclid's proposition I-20, also known as the *triangle inequality*, "In any triangle two sides taken together in any manner are greater than the remaining one" **[3, 286]**. Knowing this,

$$A_1B_1 + A_{n+1}B_1 > A_1A_{n+1} = n\ A_1A_2$$

Hence, certainly it is also true that the sum of three sides of the above figure is greater than the remaining side, A_1A_{n+1}.Therefore, the following inequality is true:]

[Continuing Legendre's proof:]

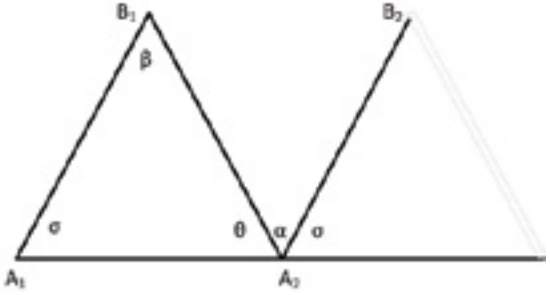
$$A_1B_1 + n\ B_1B_2 + A_{n+1}\ B_{n+1} > n\ A_1A_2$$
$$[A_1B_1 + A_{n+1}\ B_{n+1} > n\ A_1A_2 - n\ B_1B_2]$$
$$\text{ie,}\quad 2A_1B_1 > n\ (A_1A_2 - B_1B_2).$$

But if *n* is taken sufficiently great, this inequality contradicts the *Postulate of Archimedes* [described above].

Therefore A_1A_2 is not greater than B_1B_2, and it follows that it is impossible that $\beta > \alpha$.

Thus, we have $\beta \leq \alpha$. **[End of proof of claim.]**

From this it readily follows that the sum of the angles of the triangle $A_1B_1A_2$ is less than or equal to two right angles.



[To see how, as Legendre states, his claim "readily follows", observe the above figure. Let the two angles which form a straight line with α be called θ and σ. Thus, $\alpha + \theta + \sigma = 2$ right angles.

Observe:

$$\beta \leq \alpha$$
$$\beta + \theta \leq \alpha + \theta$$
$$\beta + \theta + \sigma \leq \alpha + \theta + \sigma$$

Sum of the angles of triangle $A_1B_1A_2 \leq$ two right angles.]

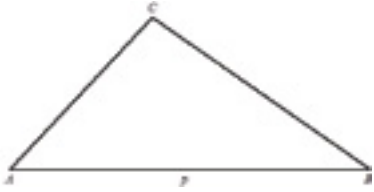
[End of proof]

Legendre, at this point, had the first portion of his project accomplished. He then had to prove the second half: that the angles of a triangle were not just less than or equal to two right angles, they were strictly "equal to".

Legendre's Third Proof

The First Attempt at Proving that the Angles of a Triangle Sum to Two Right Angles
[4, 205-207]

[Proof] Let us call *p* the side [of the triangle] in question, *A* and *B* the two adjacent angles, *C* the third angle.



The angle C must be entirely determinate [determined], when the angles A and B are known with the side p; for if several angles C could correspond to the three given things A, B, p, there would be as many different triangles, which would have a side and the two adjacent angles of the one equal to a side and the two adjacent angles of the other, which is impossible [by Euclid's Proposition I-26, which states "If any two angles [A and B] equal to two angles respectively, and one side [p] equal to one side, namely... the side adjoining the equal angles..., they will also have the... remaining angle [C, equal] to the remaining angle." **[3, 301]**. This Proposition reveals the Angle-Side-Angle triangle congruency property]; therefore the angle C must be a determinate function of [entirely determined by] the three quantities A, B, p; which may be expressed thus

$$C = \Phi : (A, B, p)$$

[C is a function, which Legendre here calls "Φ", of angle A, angle B, and side p].

Let the right angle be equal to unity [which is 1], then the angles A, B, C, will be numbers comprehended between 0 and 2 [Since each angle is positive, and their sum $A + B + C \leq 2$ by Legendre's second proof above, then $0 < A, B, C < 2$.]; and, since

$$C = \Phi : (A, B, p)$$

[Claim:] we say that the line p does not enter into function Φ [the function Φ does not depend on p].

[Proof of claim:] Indeed we have seen that C must be entirely determined by the data A, B, p, merely, without any other angle or line whatever; but the line p is of a nature heterogeneous to [different than] the numbers [angles] A, B, C; and, if, having any equation whatever among A, B, C, p, we could deduce the value of p in A, B, C, it would follow that p is equal to a number [angle], which is absurd [it is in this statement that Legendre has drawn an unjustified conclusion, as will be discussed below]; therefore, p cannot enter into the function Φ, and we have simply

$$C = \Phi : (A, B)....$$

[End of proof of claim.]

This formula proves already that, if two angles of a triangle are equal to two angles of another triangle, the third must be equal to the third; and, this being supposed, it is easy to arrive at the theorem we have in view.

Legendre continued from this point, but we omit the remainder of his proof, as it was in the noted portion that he made an error that caused the rest of his argument to fail. Here we only remark on his error. In the proof following this one, however, a thorough explanation of that included error will be discussed. Here Legendre seems to conclude that a function, Φ, cannot map the triple of domain elements (line segment *p*, angle *A*, and angle *B*) to the range element angle (*C*), since he could then, by rearranging the function, write or "solve for" the line segment *p* from this "equation" as a combination of angles, forcing it to be an angle too. However, we know from our experience with functions that a general function has no such limitation. For example, trigonometric functions take input values that are angles but produce output values that are not. It is in this false assumption that Legendre's argument fails.

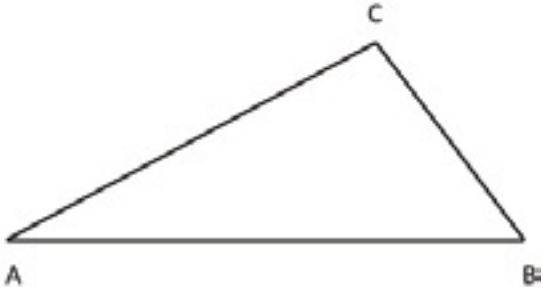
[End of discussion].

Legendre had not succeeded the first time. He was not one to give up easily, however, as his forty years of research proved. In his twelfth and final edition of his *Elements*, another famous attempted proof is found towards the same goal **[3, 215]**. Though logical in most respects, one key flaw can be found which is fatal to the argument.

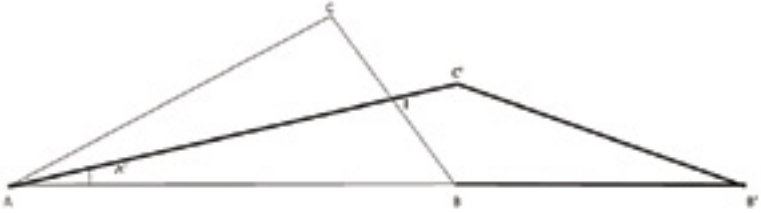
Legendre's Fourth Proof

TThe Second Attempt at Proving the Angles of a Triangle Sum to Two Right Angles. [3, 215]

[Proposition] *57. In any triangle, the sum of the three angles is equal to two right angles.*



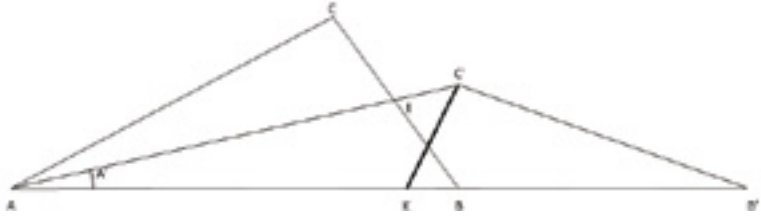
[Proof:] *Demonstration.* Let *ABC* be the proposed triangle, in which we suppose* that *AB* is the greatest side, and *BC* the least, and that, consequently, *ACB* is the greatest angle, and *BAC* the least [which is true from Euclid's Proposition I-18, "In any triangle the angle opposite the greater side is greater" **[3, 283]**.]



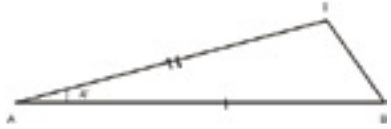
Through the point *A*, and the middle point *I* of the opposite side *BC*, draw the straight line *AI*, and produce it to *C'*, making *AC'* = *AB*; produce also *AB* to *B'*, making *AB'* double of *AI* [so, *AB'* = 2*AI*]. If we designate by *A, B, C,* the three angles of the triangle *ABC*, and by *A'*, *B'*, *C'*, the three angles of the triangle *AB'C'*,

[Claim:] we say that [angles] *C'* = *B* + *C*, and *A* = *A'* + *B'*; from which we deduce [by adding the two equations] *A* + *B* + *C* = *A'* + *B'* + *C'*; that is, the sum of the three angles is the same in the two triangles.

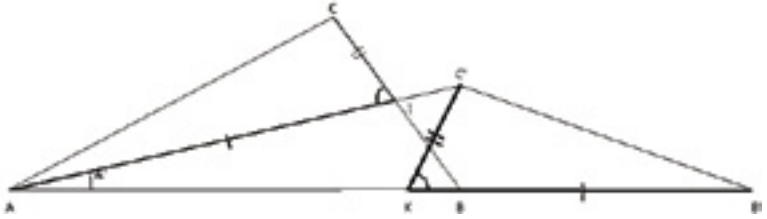
(*This supposition does not exclude the case in which the mean [middle length] side *AC* [with a length here between that of the greatest side *AB* and the least side *BC*] is equal to one of the extremes *AB* or *BC*).



[Proof of claim] To prove this, [choose point *K* on *AB'* so as to] make *AK* = *AI*, and join *C'K*; we shall have the triangle *C'AK* = *BAI.*

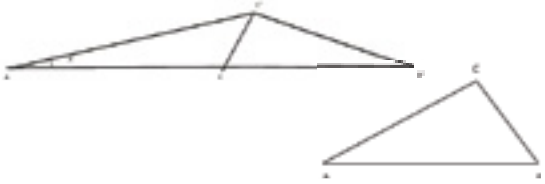


For, in these two triangles, the angle *A*' is common, and the side *AC*' = *AB* [by construction], and *AK* = *AI* [by construction]. Therefore [by Euclid's I-4] the third side *C'K* is equal to the third *BI*, and consequently the angle *AC'K=ABC*, and the angle *AKC'=AIB*.



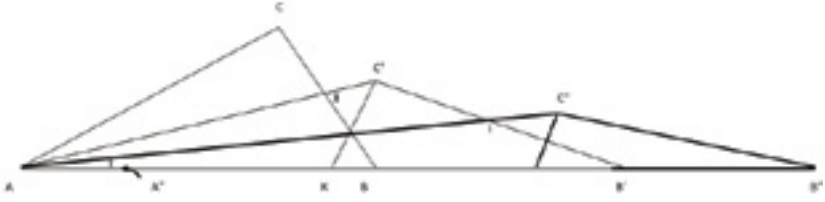
We say now that the triangle *B'C'K* is equal to the triangle *ACI* [we will omit the proof of this statement, as it is very similar to the previous demonstration. The above figure displays a diagram of the proof].

[Proof continued] It hence follows [from knowledge of these two sets of triangles],



1. That the angle *AC'B'*, designated by *C*', is composed of two angles, equal, respectively, to the two angles *B* [= *AC'K*] and *C* [= *KC'B*], of the [original] triangle *ABC*, and that, accordingly, we have *C*' = *B* + *C*;
2. That the angle *A* of the triangle *ABC* is composed of the angle *A*', or *CAB*', which belongs to the triangle *AB'C*', and the angle *CAI*, equal to *B*', of the same triangle, which gives *A* = *A*' + *B*'; therefore *A* + *B* + *C* = *A* + *B*' + *C*'.

Moreover, since, by hypothesis, we have $AC < AB$, and, [by congruent triangles, $AC = C'B'$ and $AB = AC'$,] consequently, $C'B' < AC'$, it will be seen, that, in the triangle $AC'B'$, the angle at A, designated by A' [opposite from $B'C'$], is less than B' [opposite from AC']; and, as the sum of the two [$A' + B'$] is equal to the angle A of the proposed triangle, it follows that the angle $A' < \frac{1}{2} A$.



If we apply the same construction to the triangle $AB'C'$, in order to form a third triangle $AC''B''$, designating the angles by A'', B'', C'', respectively, we shall have, in like manner, the two equations $C'' = C' + B'$, and $A' = A'' + B''$, which gives $A' + B' + C' = A'' + B'' + C''$. Thus the sum of the three angles is the same in these three triangles. We have, at the same time, the angle $A'' < \frac{1}{2} A'$, and, consequently, $A'' < \frac{1}{4} A$.

Continuing indefinitely the series of triangles $AC'B'$, $AC''B''$, [et]c., we shall arrive at a triangle $a\ b\ c$, in which the sum of the three angles will always be the same as in the proposed triangle ABC, and which will have the angle a less than any given term of the decreasing progression $\frac{1}{2} A$, $\frac{1}{4} A$, $\frac{1}{8} A$, & [et]c.

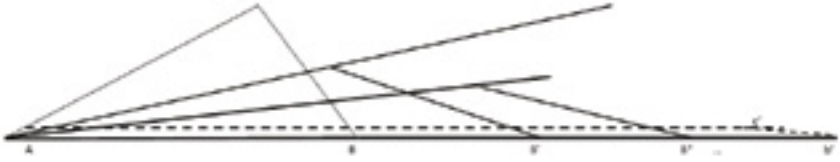
We may therefore suppose this series of triangles continued until the angle a is less than any given angle…

[I]t will hence be seen that the sum of the three angles of the triangle [the final triangle] reduces itself to the single angle c' [when a is "less than any given angle"].

In order to obtain the exact measure of this sum, let us produce the side *a'c'* toward *d'*, and designate the exterior angle *b'c'd'* by *x'*, added to the angle c' of the triangle *a'b'c'*, will make a sum equal to two right angles; thus denoting the right angle by *D*, we shall have

$c' = 2D - x'$;

therefore the sum of the angles of the triangle *a'c'b'* will be
$2D + a' + b' - x'$.



But we may imagine the triangle *a'c'b'* to vary in its angles and sides, so as to represent the successive triangles which are derived ultimately from the same construction [described above], and which approach more and more the limit at which the angles *a'* and *b'* are nothing. At this limit, the straight line *a'c'd'* is confounded [coincides] with *a'b'*, and the three points *a'*, *c'*, *b'*, are in the same straight line [as shall be explained below, it was in this assumption that Legendre made an error];
then the angles *b'* and *x'* become nothing at the same time with *a'*, and the quantity $2D + a' + b' - x'$, which is the measure of the three angles of the triangle *a'c'b'*, reduces itself to 2*D*; therefore, *in any triangle, the sum of the three angles is equal to two right angles.*

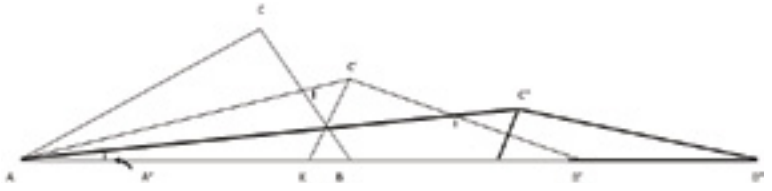
[End of Legendre's proof]

It appeared, at this point, that Legendre was convinced that he had finally reached the end of his quest, for he did not produce another edition of the *Elements*. He had, in his mind, proved that the sum of the angles of a triangle is equal to two right angles. And his demonstration was rather remarkable. Using only what is laid out in Euclid's *Elements* up to Proposition I-28, he had shown how he could create numerous triangles having the same angle sum. But, as had been shown so many times before, the necessity of the Fifth Postulate held. We will now bring certain portions of Legendre's proof into question.

J.P.W. Stein, in the 1824-1825 edition of the Journal "Annales des Mathematiques: Pures et Appliques" [Annals of Mathematics: Pure and Applied], showed that Legendre's proof was faulty.

Below is Stein's argument, shown with all vertex labels changed to match those in Legendre's proof above.

J.P.W. Stein's Demonstration of the Fault in Legendre's Triangle Proof [8]



[As can one can see from reading it, Legendre's proof is] based primarily on the principle of apparent evidence, that when the limit of angle *A* is zero, the limit of the distance to the side *AB* from any point *C* on the side *AC* is equal to zero, which amounts to saying that, at the limit, point *C* will fall on [the line *AB*].

However, it is easy to prove that this principle cannot be admitted.

[Proof] Indeed, divide the angle *BAC* in two successive, four, eight, ..., equal parts by lines *AC', AC"*. [These points] are [successively] lowering *BC* [in a direction] perpendicular to *AC*; we have made *KB'* = *AK*, and being lowered to it is [*BC*, and we continually lower the height of the triangle, cutting the sides successively in half in this manner]. It is easy to demonstrate that, however far we push the operation, we will constantly have [*BI* = *IC*, *B'I'* = *I'C'*, and *AK* = *KB'*, etc] Thus, in this construction, the limit of the angles *A, A', A"*, etc., is zero, as [demonstrated] above. However, when considering the point *C*, the limit [for it to], fall on *AC* remains rather a constant distance from the right [when the angle $A^{(n)}$ is equal to zero, the limit, the side *B'C'* is not equal to zero, thus has not reached its limit. It still has a "constant distance" remaining to move to the right].

It would be easy, moreover, to imagine a construction in which the decrease of the angles [*A, A', A"*], etc, would be faster than the terms of the progression [of the sides *BC, B'C', B"C"*, etc., which decrease in the manner] 1, 1/2, 1/4, 1/8, etc. or however and point *C* moves constantly [towards the line *AB*], or remain in a distance [from *AB* that is changing by a constant rate] or at least remain a greater distance [than the limit of angle *A*] over a given length.

We must therefore conclude that the demonstration cannot be accepted so far as we have evidence that the distances of the points [*C'*, *C"*, *C"'*], and so on, [from the line *AB*] has [still a value greater than zero] when the correct angle $A^{(n)}$ have [reached the limit of] zero. [We must then conclude] that [proving that the angles of a triangle sum to two right angles] probably could not be done without relying on principles presupposed, that of the theory of parallel already established…The principle [Legendre presented] is based on an obvious falsehood [that both the angle *a'* and the side *c'b'* have the same limit, namely, zero. They, in fact, do not].

[End of proof.]

The task of proving the parallel postulate is, as first shown in 1868, impossible **[3, 219]**. There simply is no way to prove it. Legendre appeared to have come to this opinion following this blundered proof, for it was his final attempt to place the postulate on a more certain foundation. As stated above, it was, in his own lifetime, shown to be flawed. Several years later, in the year before he died, he stated, "It is nevertheless certain that the theorem on the sum of the three angles of the triangle should be considered one of those fundamental truths that are impossible to contest and that are an enduring example of mathematical certitude." **[7]** Legendre, hence, had chosen to content himself with accepting the postulate in its postulate state, without prior proof. In the realm of Euclidean geometry, the Fifth Postulate had stood the test of time. That fact, to Legendre and his research spanning half his lifetime, would have to be enough proof in itself.

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NEILOY M. MEDHI

MATH 490
Independent Study with Dr. Yong Zeng

A Meta-Analysis of Polls from the 2012 Presidential Election

Abstract

Political pundits framed the 2012 U.S. presidential election as a horserace between Barack Obama and Mitt Romney. However, a number of election forecasters found that the election was always Obama's to lose. This paper presents a simple quantitative methodology to analyze polling data of the national race and the four closest swing states: Florida, North Carolina, Ohio, and Virginia. Our results suggest that out of the four states, only Florida emerged as a true toss-up. In addition, the national popular vote appeared to lean toward Obama throughout the election cycle. The analysis also allows us to visualize trends in public opinion during the campaign through various key events including the Supreme Court's ruling on the Affordable Care Act, the announcement of Romney's running mate, the national party conventions, the release of a video showing Romney making controversial comments at a fundraiser, the three presidential debates, the vice presidential debate, and Hurricane Sandy.

1. Introduction

The 2012 U.S. presidential election provided much fodder for the news media. Political pundits focused on the horserace, often framing the election as a tossup. However, using quantitative models, a wide range of poll aggregators and election forecasters predicted that the election was always President Obama's to lose. Ignoring differences in motivation, there are two notable reasons for these conflicting interpretations. The first reason was that pundits tended to focus on the seemingly close national popular vote. However, the U.S. president is not elected by national popular vote. Instead, the president is elected through the Electoral College, which the quantitative forecasters emphasized.

The Electoral College consists of 538 electoral votes, which are allocated to each state and the District of Columbia. States with larger populations are allocated more electoral votes while states with smaller populations are allocated a minimum of three electoral votes. With the exception of Maine and Nebraska, each state (and the District of Columbia) awards all of its electoral votes to the candidate who wins the statewide popular vote. Most states solidly and reliably vote for either the Democratic or Republican presidential candidate. Therefore, the outcome of the Electoral College comes down to several "swing states."

Secondly, the pundits tended to focus on the single latest poll released. In contrast, the quantitative forecasters used aggregates of many polls from different polling companies conducted over the same time period. The aggregation of many polls provides more reliable results than any single poll.

Three election forecasters using different models all provided extremely accurate predictions of the 2012 presidential election outcome. Nate Silver of the *New York Times*' FiveThirtyEight blog [1] became the most famous forecaster. In addition to his celebrity status in the media, he has been recognized by professional statisticians and will be the President's Invited Address speaker at the 2013 Joint Statistical Meetings [2]. Silver's forecast incorporated state polls, national polls, and economic data to calculate the probable outcome of the election on each campaign day. Drew Linzer of Votamatic [3] used historical data to set a long-term prediction and used that prediction to interpret polling data throughout the campaign cycle. His work on election forecasting was recently published in the *Journal of the American Statistical Association* [4]. Sam Wang of the Princeton Election Consortium [5] used state polling data to estimate conditions of the campaign as polls came in, as well as predict the probability of Obama's reelection from both a random drift and a Bayesian perspective. Wang is an Associate Professor of Molecular Biology and Neuroscience at Princeton University.

In this paper, we present a quantitative methodology to analyze polling data for the national popular vote and for the four closest swing states of the 2012 presidential election. Our approach is much simpler than the methods used by Silver and others. However, through this approach, we can still see that, out of the four states, only Florida emerged as a true tossup. In addition, the national popular vote appeared to lean toward Obama throughout the election cycle. Furthermore, this analysis allows us to visualize how the race unfolded over time through key campaign events.

The rest of the paper is organized as follows: in Section 2, we summarize approaches taken by forecasters such as Silver, Linzer, and Wang. In Section 3, we describe our methodology. In Section 4, we present and analyze

the results using the methodology, which is done for national polls and the four closest swing states: Florida, North Carolina, Ohio, and Virginia. We summarize our conclusion in Section 5.

2. Various Approaches

Nate Silver began forecasting during the 2008 presidential election. Silver's model, described in his FiveThirtyEight blog, weights each poll based on the past performance of the pollster, sample size, and recentness. For states where there were no recent polls, Silver used an inferential process to calculate a rolling trend line. Historical polling data are also incorporated to simulate 10,000 election scenarios under the assumption that demographically similar states are likely to move in a similar pattern. The model also makes adjustments based on economic indicators. Probabilities for the likely winner are then assigned to each state and the national election [6, 7].

Like Silver, Drew Linzer started forecasting in 2008. Linzer's Votamatic developed a unified statistical model to measure trends in public opinion and to make an Election Day forecast. This model used a historical forecast in the earlier stages of the campaign. The historical forecast is based on the Time-for-Change model [8], which says that the incumbent party candidate's national share of the two-party vote is "a function of three variables: the president's net approval-disapproval rating in June of the election year; the percent change in GDP from Q1 to Q2 of the election year; and whether the incumbent party has held the presidency for two or more terms". This national level pattern can be applied to each state because states tend to move together due to national effects. The state-level forecasts were then modified as new polls are released [4].

Sam Wang started applying his model during the 2004 presidential election. Unlike the approaches taken by Silver and Linzer, Wang's approach does not include historical data. Only state level polls are used. Instead of averaging the polls, Wang uses medians of the previous week's polls in order to overcome outliers. The state polls were used to estimate the median electoral vote outcome and the *Popular Meta-Margin*, which is defined as "the amount of opinion swing that is needed to bring the Median Electoral Vote Estimator to a tie" [9].

Finally, HuffPost Pollster (formerly Pollster.com) provides trend estimates based on the most recent polls. They do not average polls to estimate the trends. Instead, they use smoothed estimates of candidate support based on local regression models. Like Wang, they do not use any historical data [10].

3. Methodology

For our approach, we use polling data provided by the HuffPost Pollster database [10] to create poll charts. The database contains information such as the organization that conducted the poll, the dates in which the polls were conducted, the sample size, and the percentage of respondents for each candidate. While the database contains national polls dating back to March 2009, we consider polls from June 1, 2012 till Election Day since June was when the nominations wrapped up and the general election campaign began.

Charts are created based on national polling and polling from each of the following states: Florida, North Carolina, Ohio, and Virginia. These states are chosen because they were the four closest swing states and the only states where the candidates came within five points of each other. Candidates spend most of their time and resources campaigning in swing states and thus, these states came under close scrutiny. Therefore, these states were more heavily polled so there is a richer amount of data from which to work. Trend lines for candidates Barack Obama and Mitt Romney are created using both weighted averages according to sample size from polls and simple averages without regard to sample size. Similar to Wang's method for finding the meta-margin, the trend lines were updated for each day using averages of either the three most recent polls or all polls with a final polling date within the last seven days, depending on which is greater. Depending on how many polls share an end date, occasionally, dates meant to show data using the three most recent polls in fact include more than three polls.

The weighted average on each day is calculated as follows:

$$\hat{p} = \frac{\sum_{i=1}^{n} s_i p_i}{\sum_{i=1}^{n} s_i}$$

Here, sample size s_i and a candidate's percentage p_i are for the i-th poll, and n is the number of polls up to and including the day for the most recent seven days. If there are less than three polls with an end date from the past seven days, then $n = 3$ is used for the three most recent polls. Polls with larger sample sizes carry more weight when $\hat{p}$ is calculated. In contrast, the simple average $\bar{p}$ does not take sample size into account as shown below:

$$\bar{p} = \frac{\sum_{i=1}^{n} p_i}{n}$$

One advantage of the weighted average method is that we can calculate a 95 percent confidence interval for each day. The confidence intervals were calculated as follows:

$$\hat{p} \pm 1.96 \sqrt{\frac{\hat{p}(1-\hat{p})}{N}}$$

where $N = \sum_{i=1}^{n} s_i$. A disadvantage of the weighted average method is that a single outlier poll with a large sample size can severely affect the trend lines. On the other hand, such an effect is smaller using the simple average method, which can be seen in polls for both Florida and Virginia.

Our method does not account for bias or house effects (where specific pollsters tend to produce results that are systematically more favorable toward a candidate or party) among pollsters [11, 12]. Pollsters that release polls more frequently, such as Public Policy Polling and Rasmussen Reports, might crowd the results, which could be problematic if those pollsters have strong house effects. The method also does not account for outlier polls. Furthermore, fewer polls are released earlier in the campaign, so the charts may not illustrate trends in opinion as well during these periods as later in the campaign. This is particularly true in states that were polled less frequently. It is less of a problem nationally, as no date from the beginning of June had fewer than five polls over a seven-day period.

4. Analysis

We use our methodology to study trends in voting preferences from the U.S. as a whole and the four closest swing states. Most of the discussion is based on the weighted-average methodology. We will also show the results for simple average methodology and discuss similarities and any differences where applicable. In the rest of this discussion, following Nate Silver's definition, we frequently use the term *bounce* to describe a change in the spread between the candidates rather than a change in the absolute position of one candidate. For example, Candidate A might have 49 percent and Candidate B might have 48 percent, which means the spread is one percent. If Candidate A changes to 50 percent and Candidate B changes to 47 percent (now a spread of three percent), that would be a two-point bounce for Candidate A. Bounces are usually temporary.

Each chart is marked with several noteworthy dates in the campaign. These dates include the day the Supreme Court issued the ruling to uphold the Affordable Care Act (ACA), sometimes derisively called "Obamacare" by opponents, which was a signature piece of legislation from Obama's first term. The Act was a source of much controversy, especially concerning the so-called "individual mandate" for Americans to purchase health insurance. The second important date was when Romney announced Representative Paul Ryan from Wisconsin as his running mate. (As the incumbent, Obama continued with Vice President Joe Biden as his running mate.) The third and fourth dates mark the Republican National Convention and the Democratic National Convention. Since each convention took place over the course of four days, the final dates of the conventions are marked on the charts.

The fifth date in each chart marks when a controversial video of Romney at a private fundraiser was released. The video became known as the "47 percent video" because of this quote:

> "There are 47 percent of the people who will vote for the president no matter what. All right, there are 47 percent who are with him, who are dependent upon government, who believe that they are victims, who believe the government has a responsibility to care for them, who believe that they are entitled to health care, to food, to housing, to you-name-it. That that's an entitlement. And the government should give it to them. And they will vote for this president no matter what…These are people who pay no income tax." [13].

Other dates include the first, second, and third presidential debates between Obama and Romney, and the vice-presidential debate between Vice President Joe Biden and Representative Paul Ryan. The final date marks when Hurricane Sandy hit.

Prior to presenting our results, we make one cautionary note. Changes in trends after events are not necessarily caused by the events. Additionally, polls are typically conducted over several days, so a poll released immediately after an event is unlikely to capture the full impact of the event. If an event causes a change in candidate preference, the change takes several days to fully materialize.

4.1 National Polls

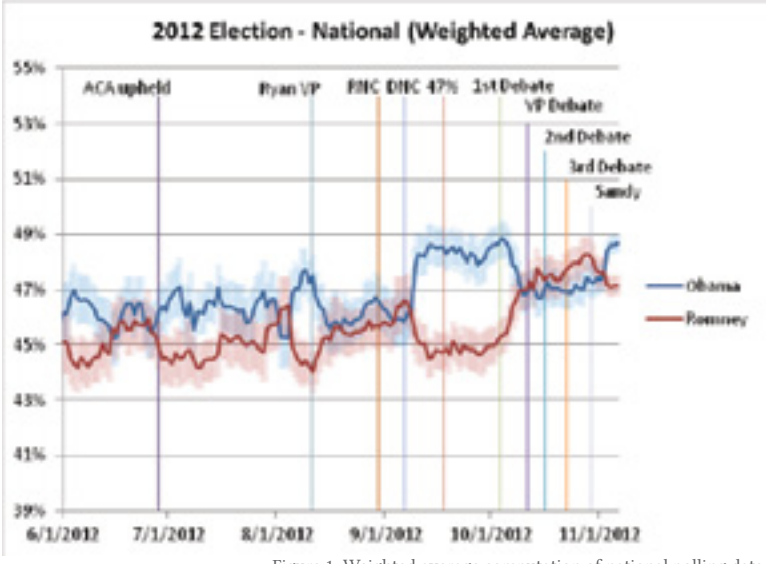

Figure 1: Weighted average computation of national polling data

Although U.S. presidents are elected through the Electoral College and not a national popular vote, it is worth looking at national polling to get a sense of potential national-level effects of certain events. Figure 1 shows the trend lines using our methodology with weighted averages.

The ACA was a contentious campaign issue. It was a major piece of legislation from Obama's first term. A case challenging the constitutionality of the law made its way to the Supreme Court, which released its decision to largely uphold the law on June 28. Interestingly, while public opinion for the law had consistently been underwater [14], Obama appears to gain one percentage point while Romney loses half a percentage point. However, this change could just be the result of normal fluctuations. The apparent bounce peaked around July 4.

Historically, presidential candidates receive a bounce in the polls when they announce their running mates and the 2012 election was no exception. Silver found that the selection of the vice-presidential candidate led to a five point bounce on average [15]. Our approach found Romney's bounce was lower than average, gaining 3.3 percentage points.

Bounces also typically happen after party conventions. After the final day of the Republican National Convention (RNC), August 30, Romney received a 1.8 percent bounce which ended by September 6. The reason for such little movement after the RNC might have been that the Democratic National Convention (DNC) happened the week afterward, quashing the possibility for further movement in Romney's direction. Obama's convention bounce was around 4.9 percentage points. Obama's convention bounce appears different from other bounces or movement in the campaign because it seems to sustain for a longer period of time (nearly one month), while other bounces seem to peak after about a week. Perhaps the release of the 47 percent tape caused his bounce to sustain.

Challengers typically get bounces in polls after the first presidential debate. Silver found that "historically, the largest shifts in the polls after the first debate have been about three points in either direction" [16]. According to our analysis, movement toward Romney after the first debate appeared even larger. Between the first presidential debate on October 3 and the vice-presidential debate on October 11, Romney's poll numbers improved about 3.6 percentage points.

A few things possibly contributed to this larger-than-average bounce. Romney was overwhelmingly considered the winner of the first presidential debate [17] and his win was among the largest ever for a first debate [18]. Additionally, the Obama campaign jumped on Romney's 47 percent comments, running ads that tied Romney to them. The Obama campaign sought to portray Romney as, not only out of touch, but also as a candidate with extreme positions [19]. The October 3 presidential debate was the first time since the release of the 47 percent tape that Romney could directly address a large section of voters and counter or dispel the Obama campaign's attacks. Romney projected a more moderate image during the debate [20].

After the debate, pundits portrayed the bounce as huge momentum toward Romney [21]. Much was made of a Pew Research poll, which showed Romney leading 49 to 45 among likely voters after the first debate [22, 23]. However, from Figure 1, we see that after the first debate, Obama's level of support merely fell to pre-convention levels. Obama's support remained at these levels until the last few days. Romney's support narrowly passed Obama's support during this time period, peaking with a 1.2 percent lead on October 27.

One might be tempted to say that Hurricane Sandy caused Obama to re-take the lead since Romney's support fell and Obama's support rose afterward. From Figure 1, we observe that there was around a 2.5 point swing between Obama and Romney from the day Hurricane Sandy hit New Jersey

to Election Day, resulting in an Election Day lead for Obama of 1.5 points over Romney. Examining the confidence intervals, Obama's Election Day lead ranges from 0.8 to 2.2 points, excluding undecided voters. When we look at simple averages, Obama had a one-point lead on Election Day (see Figure 2).

The response to Hurricane Sandy might have helped Obama, but it appears that national polls on the whole underestimated Obama's popular vote margin. This is based on the observation that the final popular vote total had Obama beating Romney 51.1 percent to 47.2 percent (a 3.9 percent margin of victory) [24], while the final weighted average was 48.7 percent for Obama and 47.2 percent for Romney. Given that 1.7 percent of the electorate voted for third party candidates, nearly all of the remaining undecided voters would have had to vote for Obama. Exit polls indicate that around three percent of the electorate decided their vote on Election Day, of which 51 percent chose Obama and 44 percent chose Romney [25]. If national polls systematically underestimated Obama's support by a similar margin throughout the campaign, he would have finished ahead regardless. On the other hand, from Wang's analysis, state polls seem to indicate that Obama's post-Sandy bounce already faded by Election Day [26].

Finally, we note that the trend lines based on simple averages (see Figure 2) appear very similar to the trends based on the weighted averages.

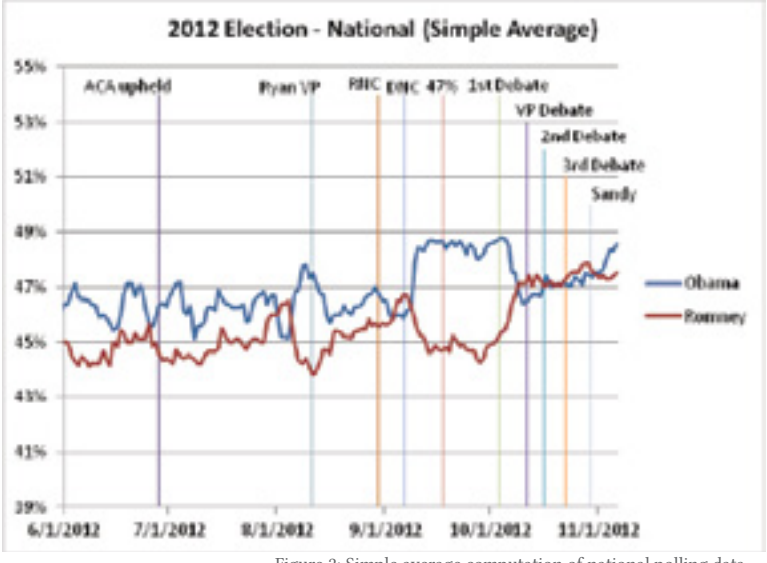

Figure 2: Simple average computation of national polling data

4.2 Swing States

Many of the national level effects appear in swing state polling as well. At times, the state-level swings appear larger than the national swings. This is possibly because candidates spend most of the time campaigning in swing states, making the campaign events more salient to swing state voters.

4.2.1 Florida

Florida had the closest result of any state in the 2012 election; Obama only won by 0.9 percent. As Figure 3 shows, the polling from Florida seemed especially volatile. Obama's support remained pretty steady after the Affordable Care Act was upheld. Romney's support declined before the Supreme Court announced its decision but increased afterward to levels similar to those before the decline. Romney's support continued to stay steady until he announced Paul Ryan as his running mate. The apparent bump for Obama at the end of July is due to the three most recent polls, all of which showed favorable results for him. The huge nearly-13 point swing after the Ryan pick is due to one outlier poll with a large sample size that can significantly affect weighted average. The poll from Foster McCollum White & Associates showed a 14-point spread between the candidates, something that no other Florida poll showed in either direction. Romney likely received a bounce from the Ryan pick, but probably not one of that magnitude. The bounce for the simple average is a still-large 9.7 points (see Figure 4), but less pronounced compared to weighted averages.

Following the Democratic National Convention and through the 47 percent tape, Obama received about a 3.7 point bounce, which began to come down prior to the first debate. After the first debate, Obama's support remained fairly steady while Romney's support increased a couple points, peaking around the second debate. In the last eleven days of the campaign, the spread between Romney and Obama remained less than one percent. From Election Day polling, Romney led Obama by only 0.2 points based on weighted averages. Examining the confidence intervals, we found that Florida's Election Day polling ranged from a 2.1 point Romney lead to a 1.8 point Obama lead. Romney led by 0.5 points from simple averages. The result had Obama winning Florida by just under 0.9 percent [24].

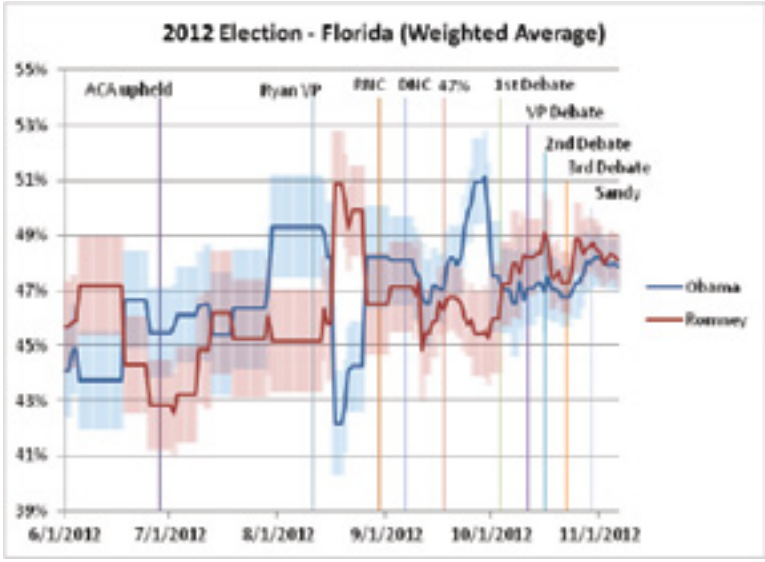

Figure 3: Weighted average computation of Florida polling data

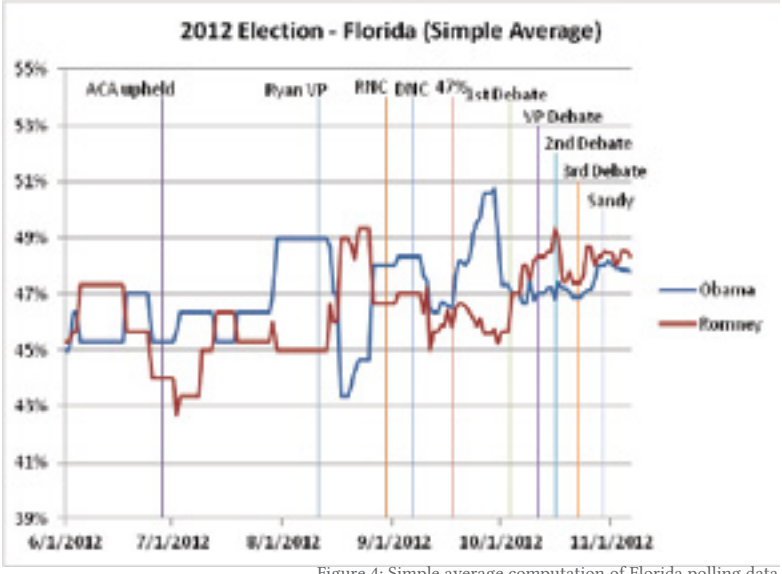

Figure 4: Simple average computation of Florida polling data

4.2.2 Virginia

In Virginia, the apparent bump for Romney after the DNC results from one poll, from Gravis Marketing, with a very large sample size (see Figure 5). Such a bump does not appear when we look at the simple averages (see Figure 6). Obama's convention bounce in Virginia was more than five points. After the release of the 47 percent video, the gap between Obama and Romney widened a bit until it started shrinking toward the end of September and the beginning of October, before the first debate. Romney received at least a three-point bounce following the first debate.

Romney and Obama fluctuated within one percent of each other until after the third debate when Obama's support seemed to rise steadily. Romney's support also appears to fall about one point after Hurricane Sandy. Other than the period right after the DNC, the difference between weighted and simple average is not significantly different. Election Day polling showed Obama leading by 2.4 points from weighted averages. Examining the confidence intervals, Obama's lead ranged from 0.4 to 4.4 points. Obama led 2.5 points from simple averages. The final result had Obama winning by 3.9 points [24].

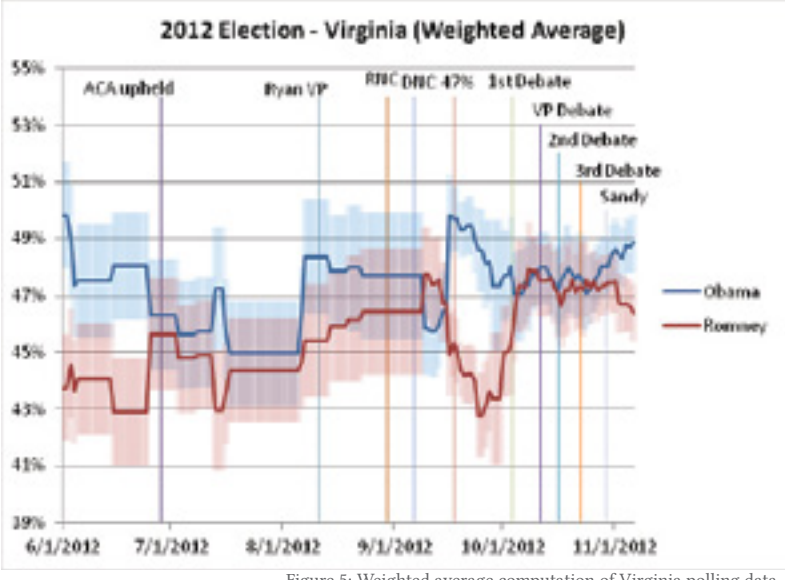

Figure 5: Weighted average computation of Virginia polling data

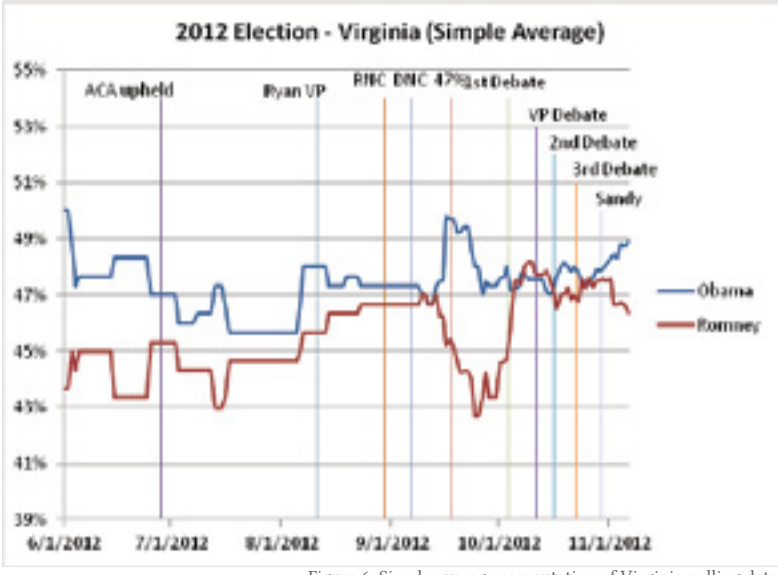

Figure 6: Simple average computation of Virginia polling data

4.2.3 Ohio

As seen in Figure 7, Obama was almost always ahead in Ohio, except for a brief period after the RNC. The simple averages show a very similar trend (see Figure 8). Romney received about a five-point bounce after announcing Paul Ryan as his running mate, which is larger than the national bounce but not enough to bring him into the lead in Ohio. After the RNC, Romney appeared to receive a 2.8-point bounce, one point larger than his national bounce, although it was more related to Obama's support dropping than Romney's support increasing. This apparent movement comes from a period using three polls; two were from the same firm (Gravis Marketing) and the other was a mail survey conducted by the Columbus Dispatch. Due to this circumstance, we should view the result with caution.

Obama received a bounce of about 5.7 points after the DNC, larger than the national bounce; however, the bounce may be a recovery from the dip seen in Figure 5. Furthermore, Obama's peak support after the DNC bounce was not much higher than his peak before the RNC. The bounce started to fade, but then he got a second bounce of around 5.5 points after the release of the 47 percent video. This is unlike the national numbers, which

remained steady for both candidates. Obama's support peaked at 51.1 percent, then began to fall leading up to the first debate. Obama's support continued on this trajectory while Romney's support sharply rose following the first debate, resulting in a bounce for Romney of nearly seven points. During this period, Romney rose to his peak of just under 47 percent.

Conventional wisdom among pundits said that the first debate gave Romney momentum and the Obama campaign needed a solid vice presidential debate performance from Biden to "stop the bleeding" for Obama [27]. In Ohio, however, Romney's debate bounce peaked before the vice presidential debate. After the vice presidential debate, Obama's lead over Romney remained at least 1.5 points. Following the third debate, the lead remained at least two points. Obama's lead in Ohio peaked at three percent right after Hurricane Sandy hit. Election Day polling had Obama with a lead of 2.6 points from weighted averages (±1.5 points with 95% confidence) and 2.8 points from simple averages. Obama won Ohio by just under three percent

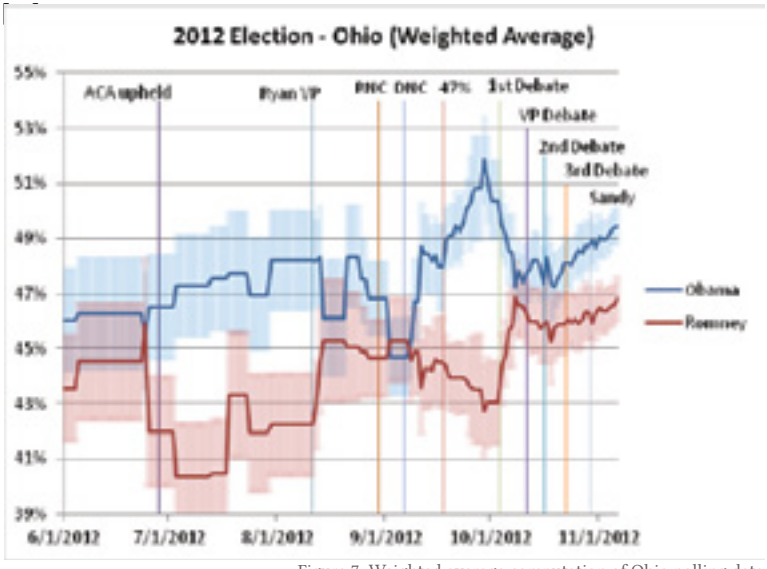

Figure 7: Weighted average computation of Ohio polling data

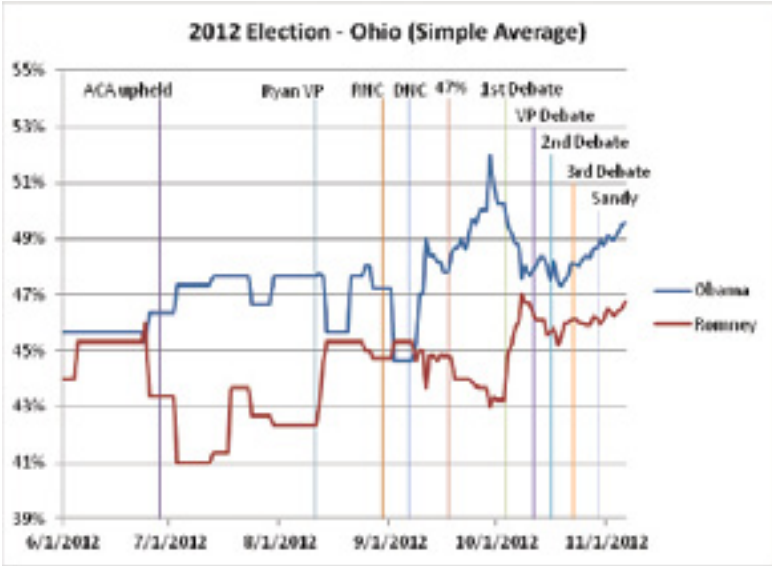

Figure 8: Simple average computation of Ohio polling data

4.2.4 North Carolina

Polling was less frequent early on in North Carolina, so the trends initially appear fairly constant (see Figure 9). From the available data, there is no evidence that either the Supreme Court decision or Romney's choice of Paul Ryan had much effect on the race. Romney received around a 4.3 point bounce following the RNC. Obama received around a two-point bounce following the DNC; however, his support hit a plateau on par with his support prior to the RNC. On the other hand, Romney's support continued to increase and hit a new peak just below 50 percent.

Romney's support started to fall from this peak before the release of the 47 percent tape. After the tape's release, Obama receive a bounce of 4.5 points, pulling him into the lead. The lead was brief, however; Obama hit his polling peak of 48.3 percent, lower than Romney's peak support up until that point, and lower than Romney's general level of support afterward. Obama's lead primarily came from a drop in Romney's support. Romney re-gained most of his support prior to the first debate and hovered around 49 percent for the rest of the campaign. After the first debate, Romney received about a 5.5-point bounce. On the other hand, with simple averages, the bounce was less pronounced (see Figure 10); Obama's large drop was mostly caused by a

Gravis Marketing poll with a large sample size showing normal support for Romney (50%) and much lower support for Obama (41%). By Election Day, polling showed Romney ahead by 1.8 points from weighted averages. From the 95 percent confidence intervals, the Election Day polling result ranges from Romney leading by 4.7 points to Obama leading by 1.2. Romney led 1.5 points from simple averages. The actual election result was a two percent lead for Romney [24].

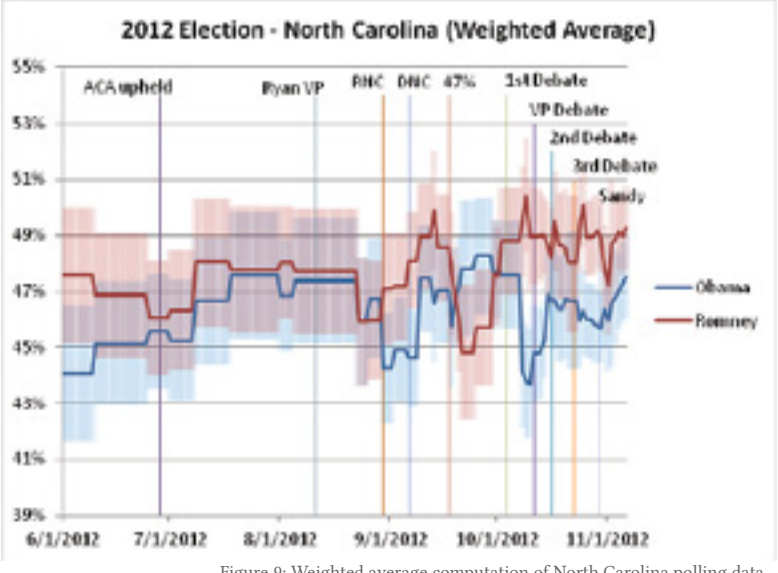

Figure 9: Weighted average computation of North Carolina polling data

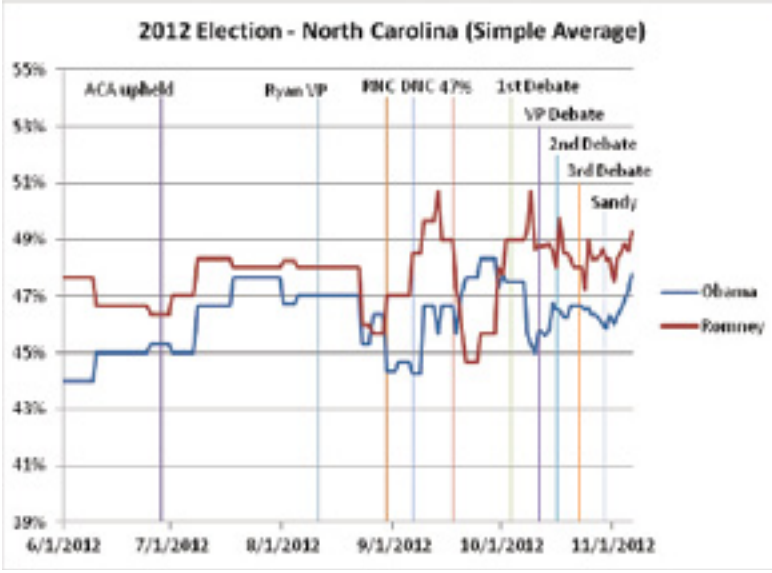

Figure 10: Simple average computation of North Carolina polling data

4.3 Weighted Average vs. Simple Average

The above discussion is mostly focused on the weighted averages. We have also included the graphs for the simple averages. We observed that, except for a few cases when single polls with large sample sizes made shifts appear more pronounced, there was no significant difference in the trends between weighted and simple averages. The problem of including outlier polls in the averages can be minimized by using Wang's method of using medians instead of averages. However, on the positive side, confidence intervals can be calculated for weighted averages.

5. Conclusion

During the 2012 presidential campaign, pundits often framed the election as close. However, our study of the four closest swing states and the national polls shows that

1) in Ohio, Obama held a consistent lead in polls for most of the campaign
2) in Virginia, Obama led for most of the campaign aside from the period between the first and third debate, and came out leading in the end
3) Romney was generally ahead in North Carolina, except for a period between the release of the 47 percent video and the first debate when Obama had a slight increase in support coincide with a larger decrease in support for Romney
4) Obama and Romney alternately led in Florida and the final polling showed an essential tie
5) national polls showed Obama ahead for the most part except for periods after the first debate, but Obama came out ahead in the polls.

In each state, Romney's support appeared to fall after the release of the 47 percent tape. Nationally, the tape's release seemed to sustain Obama's convention bounce. In each state, Romney started regaining support before the first debate then received a bounce after the debate. Nationally, the first debate seemed to bring Obama's support back down to pre-convention levels while Romney's support reached new peaks. Obama did not appear to regain his national lead until after Hurricane Sandy hit the east coast. However, he maintained his lead in Ohio and began retaking the lead in Virginia before Hurricane Sandy.

Our methodology is much simpler than that of Silver, Linzer, and Wang. However, it gives insight into Obama and Romney's standing throughout the presidential campaign. Models from Nate Silver and Drew Linzer ended up correctly giving Florida to Obama, while Sam Wang's model showed Florida to be a tie [28]. Our model ended with Romney ahead in Florida by a very slim margin. The other swing states and the national polls fared better. The confidence intervals correctly pegged the margin between the two candidates from the results in each of the four closest swing states, though they understated Obama's national lead. While national polls showed Romney pulling ahead for a period of time, he likely was not actually ahead in the Electoral College. It is often said that Ohio is the ultimate swing state. Some analysts noted that Romney had a difficult path to win the Electoral College without Ohio [29]. Obama's consistent lead in Ohio seems to indicate that the election was his to lose all along.

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ALEX A. POPPEN

ENG H225
English II Honors with Dr. Henri Wood

Evoking Emotion:
The Visual Rhetoric of World War II Propaganda

Abstract

In our media-dominated culture we are constantly bombarded by visual rhetoric and every image we look at leaves some form of influence on us. The instant that we see an image, whether it is a poster, billboard, or picture, we form unconscious biases in our minds. This is the goal of most visual rhetoric, to elicit a response. Visual rhetoric, the use of images to influence or persuade an audience, is used countless times each day but goes unnoticed by most people. One of the most famous and most successful uses of visual rhetoric is found in propaganda posters during World War II. Government-employed artists designed these posters to persuade people to buy war bonds and enlist in the armed forces, among other things. These images depicted determined and patriotic soldiers raising flags or carrying children home to their parents.

In this paper, I will illustrate the use of visual rhetoric during the Second World War to demonstrate the mechanics of visual persuasion, of which most people have little understanding. Drawing on the scholarship of Rick Williams, a visual communications scholar, I will analyze several propaganda posters to demonstrate the role of the effectiveness of visual rhetoric while increasing the understanding of how images influence people.

Increasing public understanding of visual rhetoric will not only increase the awareness of the many influences people encounter daily. It will also lead to more logical and unbiased decisions due to people recognizing propaganda efforts of the media and interest groups and therefore rationalizing the issues instead of letting emotion control one's thoughts and actions. I claim that visual rhetoric has a profound, yet unnoticed, effect on our culture.

In our media-dominated culture we are constantly bombarded by visual rhetoric and every image we look at makes some form of impact on us. The instant that we see an image, whether it is a poster, billboard, or picture,

we form unconscious biases in our minds. This is the goal of most visual rhetoric; to elicit a response. Visual rhetoric, the use of images to influence or persuade an audience, is used countless times each day but goes unnoticed by most people. One of the most famous and most successful uses of visual rhetoric is found in propaganda posters during World War II. Government-employed artists designed these posters to persuade people to buy war bonds and enlist in the armed forces, among other things. These images depicted determined and patriotic soldiers raising flags or carrying children home to their parents. In this paper, I will illustrate the use of visual rhetoric during the Second World War to demonstrate the mechanics of visual persuasion, about which most people have little understanding. I will also analyze several propaganda posters to demonstrate the effectiveness of visual rhetoric while increasing the understanding of how images influence people.

Visual Rhetoric

Visual rhetoric is the use of images to communicate a message intended to evoke a response from the viewer. Rick Williams, a visual communications scholar, asserts that people do not perceive the influence on themselves from an image because most media images are "designed to bypass reason" (Williams 28). Thus, visual rhetoric techniques appeal to *pathos*, a form of persuasion appealing to an individual's emotions rather than their rational mind, therefore having greater persuasive influence ("The Forest of Rhetoric"). Although it might seem hard to believe that humans can be influenced subconsciously, it can be explained. Neurobiology researchers Joseph LeDoux and Antonio Damasio observed that when the eye observes a visual image, a signal is sent to the neocortex, the part of the brain that houses rational thought. But before the sensory signal is sent there, another signal is sent to the amygdala, the part of the brain that processes emotions and memory (LeDoux). Therefore, before our minds can fully perceive an image, the amygdala is already forming an emotional response and creating a subconscious bias. That is what makes visual rhetoric so powerful—its ability to "communicate directly and instantaneously" and "appeal to our deepest emotions, inner desires, and needs" (Williams 22, 26). Images can easily induce an incredibly wide range of emotion much more easily than words because our memory processes cannot tell the difference between simulated experiences (or images) and real ones (Williams 28). When you see a visual image, such as a poster, the image becomes a reality to your emotional mind and stimulates an emotional response before you process it rationally. It is only when the signal reaches the neocortex that you are able to analyze the image and suppress or

regulate your feelings. Visual rhetoric is intended to circumvent reason and elicit an emotional response. The visual rhetoric uses specific images to create strong emotions to persuade an audience to follow an intended course of action.

WWII & Propaganda

Some of the best examples of visual rhetoric were posters made during the Second World War. Through these posters I will illustrate how, given the context of the war, propaganda was used and why certain themes and symbols were used.

American involvement in WWII began on December 7, 1941 when the Pearl Harbor Naval Base was bombed by Japanese fighter planes. Before Pearl Harbor, many Americans did not want to get involved in another war, having only recently withdrawn from the Depression a few years earlier and knowing the devastation a World War brings. The surprise attack by Japan, however, became a call to arms for Americans. Support for the war was seen everywhere: children picking up cans for scrap metal, mothers planting victory gardens, and fathers carpooling to conserve gas for the army. Patriotic American citizens were filled with a sense of duty to serve in any way they could. George Roeder, a liberal arts professor, observed that the ways citizens could support the war effort were visible in hundreds of places on propaganda posters, which the government presented as a reminder that "everything citizens did…had an impact on the war effort" (Roeder 141). This gave civilians a sense of "personal involvement in the war" even though they were not directly fighting (Roeder 60).

These posters created support, both material and immaterial, for the war effort by advocating the purchase of war bonds, promoting cooperation between employees and employers, and withholding military intelligence from the enemy (although a vast majority of Americans didn't have any of the latter). The propaganda tactics used in WWII were first honed and developed during WWI, when President Woodrow Wilson declared that it was not just the army that must be conditioned for war, "it is an entire nation" (Raico). Some of these methods included censoring all photographs of dead soldiers and of soldiers engaging in questionable activity such as torturing or raping prisoners of war (Roeder 33). These methods helped keep a positive mentality about the war for the civilians as well as provided the government with funding and resources to continue the war. Wartime propaganda was also used in an attempt to unite the nation in supporting the cause. This national cohesion was attempted by displaying posters advocating cooperation between labor

unions and big industries for the sake of the troops. Class differences were also minimized by wartime imagery through "elevating workers as well as by humanizing big shots" (Roeder 48). Both the emphasis on cooperation between businesses and workers and the supposed de-stratification of social classes were intended to unite the nation under a single cause, particularly because of the wide gap between the upper and lower classes due to the Great Depression. Also, most of the soldiers illustrated in propaganda pieces were white, which was an attempt to prevent social issues from distracting the nation's attention from the war (Roeder 45). This attempt to gain widespread support was continued by distributing propaganda focusing on positive themes, rather than the more violent ones.

Most propaganda posters did not emphasize the fighting and killing of German and Japanese soldiers. Rather, they appealed to the human sense of compassion and empathy by emphasizing the dangers that the troops faced every day and the sacrifices they were making for those back home. The need for constant support from Americans to buy war bonds, donate scrap metal, and plant victory gardens was highlighted and usually implied the reward of the war ending sooner and the troops returning safe. In one poster titled "Bring him home sooner!" the government conveyed this message with an illustration of a soldier joyously returning home, walking through a white picket fence, and on another poster titled "Carry your share" burdening a large supply bag. These posters impart a sense of responsibility to Americans and appeal to their sense of familial obligations to garner further support for the war effort. This appeal made it easier for government-employed artists to connect with people and remind them of all the sons and fathers overseas protecting their country. The artists made people feel compelled, if not obligated by some patriotic sense of duty, to contribute.

Propaganda during the Second World War also played heavily on the emotions and fears of the people. For example, one poster with the slogan "You can't afford to miss either"depicted an avian gunner firing rounds at the enemy in order to advocate for regular purchases of war bonds. This subtly implies that if they do not buy on time or are not buying bonds at all, then the man in the poster will suffer because of it. The soldiers were usually depicted with short, dark hair and an attractive face. This was done to reflect the public image of a masculine ideal and maximize viewer identification with the soldiers and increase the chance of persuasion (Fehl). All of these influences incorporated by government-employed artists were included to create a bias within the viewer to support the war, however most influences were not recognized.

Propaganda Analysis

In the next section I will analyze two propaganda posters in the context of the war period and illustrate the techniques and themes that influence our emotions and biases.

Upon looking at the poster "Deliver us from evil," there is immediately a sense of dread accompanied by a strong desire to help the little girl featured in the image. There is also a link established between the word "evil" and the swastika because the German Nazis are our enemies and therefore evil, and that the girl must be protected from harm. But why? Taking a step back and looking at the image rationally we can see the themes and techniques used to persuade an audience.

The first aspect is the color scheme. The black and white image conveys a sense of negativity and despair because there are no bright colors that normally illustrate happy moods. Even the blue font reading "Buy War Bonds" is muted and doesn't stand out, compelling the viewer focus on the girl rather than the intended response in a more natural, less contrived way. The quote at the top of the poster, "Deliver us from evil," is an excerpt from the Lord's Prayer, something that most onlookers would be able to recognize because at the time the majority of Americans were Christians. This quote emphasizes the sense of desperation because prayers are commonly associated with a time of great need and obstacles that must be overcome. It also acts as a call to arms for the American population to rise up and fight off the "evil". The word "evil" is obviously referring to Nazi Germany, symbolized by the swastika in the center of the poster, surrounding a frightened girl. The poster also associates the word "us" with the young girl in the center, asking the viewer to save her and girls like her. Looking at the child communicates a feeling of empathy and suffering because her hair is disheveled, her eyes are tearing up, and her clothing is worn and dirty. The use of a young girl is also a key factor in this example of visual persuasion intended to demonize the enemy. The girl is a symbol of innocence and purity that, in the context of the image, is in danger of being corrupted and tarnished by the Nazi government. This imparts a sense of protection on the viewer to defend the child, as well as creating a strongly negative impression of the German government. Thus, it becomes assumed that the enemy is wrong and therefore we, Americans, are in the right. All of these factors are symptoms linked with hardship and pain with which the viewer is able to identify easily.

Going back to the connection between the word "evil" and Nazi Germany, it can be realized that this link is made because of two factors: the matching colors of the word and swastika and the placement of the symbol surrounding the little girl. In the poster, white is the brightest color and since

both the word “evil” and the swastika are both the same shade of white the eye recognizes this and the mind instantly associates one with the other in the context of the image. As for the position of the swastika, it looks as if it is trapping the little girl and is therefore responsible for the hardship and agony that the girl is experiencing.

The combined effects of associating the word “evil” from the Lord’s Prayer with the swastika causes the viewer to mentally associate Germany and Nazis with negative images that cause civilians to dislike and even hate the Allied enemies and subsequently generate a sense of duty to support for the war effort with the hope that children similar to the one is the poster are protected. And underlying all of these emotions is the subtle message of the poster “Buy War Bonds.”This is intended to be the overall reaction to viewing the propaganda and although it is not overly emphasized, there is no room left for questioning or considering an alternative option. It is a firm, declarative statement with the unsaid “or else” that implies that the child in the poster will suffer if not followed.

The second piece of propaganda I will analyze, “Care is costly,” is also a promotion of buying war bonds. It depicts a wounded soldier sitting down and leaning against a wall, his hands and legs are bandaged and bloodied and his facial expression is one rife with hopelessness. At first gaze, the viewer feels emotions of suffering, anguish, and guilt. This seems to be a fairly natural response to seeing someone in pain because, if you recall, the amygdala, which houses the unconscious mind, can’t differentiate between a real experience and a contrived one. But after our rationalizing functions become active we can interpret the different parts of the visual rhetoric displayed in this image. The main focus of the poster is the injured soldier, whose worn down look of despondency triggers the empathetic link with the audience. The soldier’s unfocused gaze communicates a dazed state or a condition of shock. The bright red color of the blood on the soldier’s leg helps communicate this sense of injury to the viewer. The word “Care” is made so much bigger than all of the others to drive home the point that caring for soldiers in the army’s highest priority, and that is where the funds from any war bond purchases are directed. It implies that the contributions are used to buy medical equipment such as bandages and antibiotics, inferring a direct impact on the soldier’s well-being. The cost of care is emphasized because it places pressure on the audience to buy the war bonds because they aren’t risking their lives fighting for their country, so spending money is not a great sacrifice when compared to that the soldier’s suffering. The guilt that comes with this implication also serves as a means to persuade the viewer to buy war bonds.

Clearly visual rhetoric can be used to aid war support and as propaganda but that is only one example. The true importance lies in the understanding of how these images influence us and how they persuasively communicate to our emotions, in a direct and unfiltered manner. This knowledge can and will allow us to better communicate ideas and arguments and thus enhance the quality of all forms of rhetoric in discourse communities. However, more research needs to be done in the area of visual rhetoric recognition, specifically message resistance. My current hypothesis is that an understanding of visual rhetoric takes away some of the persuasive effect of an image because it enables the viewer to logically dissect the image and analyze whether or not the interest group promoting the image is using sound reasoning in attempting to evoke a response. To expand upon this field, many studies need to take place that observe the difference in the persuasive effectiveness on someone with a solid grasp of visual rhetoric and someone with no knowledge on the subject. Despite the need for this research, this would be a relatively difficult study to conduct because there are so many extraneous variables other than an understanding of the topic, such as intellect, environment, social standing, upbringing, race, religion, age, and gender, among others.

Conclusion

Visual rhetoric is a constant influence on our lives everyday and a powerful force in shaping our biases and perceptions. The persuasive element of visual rhetoric lies heavily in its ability to instantly connect with our emotional mind before the rational part of the brain is signaled. Visual persuasion through appeal to emotion influences the viewer much more strongly than non-visual methods, evidenced in the effectiveness of WWII propaganda posters. These images rely on their ability to identify the emotional dispositions of the viewer and then compel the individual towards a specific goal, whether it is to buy war bonds or collect scrap metal. Being able to recognize the patterns of visual persuasion and decipher why certain themes evoke certain responses will enable scholars of rhetoric in all fields to be more effective at communicating with their respective discourse communities. Also, increasing public understanding of visual rhetoric will not only increase the awareness of the many influences people encounter daily. It will also lead to more logical and unbiased decisions made due to people recognizing propaganda efforts of the media and interest groups and therefore applying reason to the issue instead of letting emotion control one's actions.


Bring him home Sooner!
BUY WAR BONDS


CARE is costly
BUY AND HOLD WAR BONDS


CARRY your SHARE
BUY WAR BONDS


"Deliver us from evil"
BUY WAR BONDS


YOU can't afford
to miss EITHER!
BUY BONDS EVERY PAYDAY

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Girls & Print Culture with Dr. Jane Greer

The Literary Achievements of Alice Lloyd Pitts:
Assumptions of Power through Rhetorical Identity Constructions

Abstract

Questions of American female intellectual and social identity were hotly debated at the turn of the 20th century, most publically within urban centers of the eastern United States. Focusing on the 1899 writings of a single 18-year-old Baltimore girl, this essay provides exegesis on the voice of the writer through a review of both her words and her penmanship. The purpose of this analysis is to consider how the conflicting historical archetypes of the New Woman and the Gibson Girl were explored and negotiated through a careful process of individual identity construction. The Baltimore setting is particularly crucial to this undertaking as this city offered the location for an experiment in female academic rigorousness in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The Bryn Mawr School for Girls, a feeder school for the university with the same name, was one of the first and most notable female college prep schools in the country. Competing for clientele against traditional finishing schools, Bryn Mawr promoted itself by negating the legitimacy of the education provided by its rivals. A student at the rival finishing school Southern Home School for Girls, Alice Lloyd Pitts uses the pages of her high school yearbook as a mouthpiece to simultaneously refute these attacks and identify herself and her classmates as intellectually superior beings, whose autonomy and wit as New Women is only surpassed by their Gibson Girlish beauty and feminine grace.

In 1899, a small group of girls burst from the doors of Jane Margaret Cary's Southern Home School in Baltimore, Maryland, having achieved a mark of academic distinction as high school graduates. Today, their handwritten class book (a predecessor to the modern-day yearbook) acts as homage to

Cary and her school, recording the graduates' final farewells to each other, well wishes to underclassmen, and perhaps most significantly, desires to be remembered by all. The book currently resides within the LaBudde Department of Special Collections at the University of Missouri-Kansas City's Miller Nichols Library. It serves as one of only a few remaining remembrances of the Southern Home School, which faded from importance in the early 20th century, as female education shifted from a socially driven to an academically driven focus. Established by Cary in 1842, Southern Home School "[laid] special stress on social graces," and was most notoriously a "finishing" school "where Literature and History were a specialty and Graciousness was encouraged as a crowning accomplishment" (Bond 80, 17). A gentrified Virginian, Cary could trace her lineage directly to Thomas Jefferson (Fesperman). Cary's southern principles of propriety resound clearly through the pages of this class book, which was dedicated to her. Models of virtue, the girls frequently refer to themselves diminutively as "Mother Cary's chickens," "flowers," and "little maids" (Peter 2; Dolden 15, 17; Maynard 14; "The Lily of the Valley" 55). Tales of naughty misbehaviors are diminished in gravity by effeminate interjections of "oh my!" and "ah no!"(Dolden 16-7). And yet, within the pages of this seemingly innocuous turn-of-the-century class book lie a sampling of carefully crafted texts—texts which serve as markers to the publicly constructed feminine identity of one Alice Lloyd Pitts, member of the SHS graduating class of 1899 and editor of the class book. Through textual analysis and historical excavation, I will illustrate the rhetorical and transcriptional devices that Alice employs to create duplicitous identities for herself. These identities proved necessary for her to successfully navigate the intensely charged streets of high society Baltimore as an educated and intellectual female, boasting of her somewhat controversial school behavior while simultaneously maintaining her reputation as a young lady and avoiding public scandal.

Pitts lends both poetry and playwriting to the SHS class book, with her texts constituting nearly twenty-five percent of the completed work. Alice's comic monologue performed by Roman goddess Minerva portrays "A Day Spent at the SHS" in all its jubilation. As Alice tells it, the girls unapologetically conspire to deflect their teachers' focus from the bores of Shakespeare and algebra through the guise of an assumed ignorance. In addition, they disrupt classes with fits of giggles, douse each other (and their educators) with cups of water, gossip about dates with boys over recess, and fabricate tales of intruding mice to terminate lessons early (Pitts 30-42). Alice's writing exudes a confidence and brazen honesty that contrasts sharply from that of her classmates. As Minerva relays the dialogues of classroom recitations such as the following:

MISS DUFF – Martha, how was Alcibiades punished?
MARTHA – They dosed him with ostracism.

The reader appreciates the literary wit and sparkle with which Alice peppers her work (31). Adopting the voice of the Roman goddess of wisdom to speak of the "genius" of her classmates (in addition to that of the classes of 1900 and 1901), Pitts's message here is clear (29). She paints the girls of SHS as cunning, headstrong, rambunctious individuals who have surpassed the limits of education afforded to them by the school, and are therefore using their remaining time to engage in frivolity. In a surprising reversal of roles, the girls have conquered SHS, and they wield power over their educators through behaviors that typify extreme social expectations of the silly and flirtatious 19th century girl.

Alice contrasts this text sharply with her two poems that appear in tandem later in the class book. The first of these, an untitled piece, addresses the romantic relationships of the class of 1900. Alice writes:

First in the line comes Miss Bessie Sloan
Who believes in spending her time at home
Perhaps to see a certain "uptown" swell
Who has loved her long and loved her well.
Next we have Sara her classmate dear
Who of man, bird or beast has never a fear
But our friend Harold has captured her heart
So of her we can now only claim a part (72).

Alice continues the poem to discuss junior Amy and "the Falconer Patterson combination" before speculating on the romantic interests of the "second seniors" (sophomores), and concluding with the statement "We must let them go without review / For I don't know whom they like, do you?" (72). At first glance, this poem appears to have been composed by a different Alice—a pre-rabbit hole, spindly, and sufficiently boring Alice. Yet, close examination of the work reveals that the verse is not quite the ode to heterosexual romantic love that a novice would expect from a 19th-century, 18-year-old girl. While the tone and language do introduce us to a new voice, this Alice, like the last, writes of relations of power. Pitts has here carefully composed her work in such a way that the females mentioned within the poem retain

agency in these relationships. Young Bessie makes the active choice to return home after school. While we assume she does enjoy the advances of the "uptown swell" who visits her, there is no indication that she fully returns the amorous devotion he has long displayed toward her. And while Sara's heart has been "captured," an action denoting forced physical entrapment and loss of power, we are told that "of man…she has never a fear," which implies a certain freedom, at least of the emotional variety. In addition, it seems that her schoolmates have only agreed to sacrifice "a part" of Sara, because they genuinely approve of her wooer, Harold. Were Harold not "a friend," but rather a foe and a perceived threat to Sara and the girls of SHS, the relationship between all parties may not be quite so amiable. Finally, the flippant manner in which Alice pursues and then rapidly surrenders interest in the amorous relationships of her sophomore underclassmen, and the slightly supercilious use of the accusative "whom" suggest a lack of genuine interest in the topic she has broached, and a desire to move toward a more interesting and worthy subject matter.

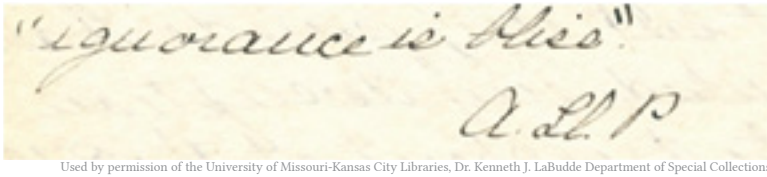
Pitts pursues this new subject in her final contribution to the yearbook, a poem entitled "Cupid's Pranks." In this piece of verse, the Alice of the previous page echoes her general theme of romance, but rather than introducing specific classmates to act as her cast of characters, Alice instead challenges her reader to engage with her, the writer, in a debate concerning the merits of her classmates. "Think of the charms that we can boast of / Is it surprising these maids demand love?" Alice inquires with bravado (73). She continues, "For never from the SHS did go/ A maid unattractive, stupid or slow" (73). In what appears to be a swift about-face, Pitts has transitioned from demonstrating the limitations of the academic suppleness of the school, which allow for the students to fairly effortlessly usurp authority over the educational staff, to extolling the school's aptitude for both enlightening and beautifying its young scholars. Her words' denial of an accusation that remains unspoken within the context of the poem, suggests a previous or perhaps lingering indictment, alleging SHS girls as ugly, unlearned, and dense.

The implicit charge and Alice's rapid denial of it only become clear when considered in conjunction with her other compositions and when placed into historical context. As Alice's works are reviewed in juxtaposition, a narrative emerges. This narrative is of a clever and self-aware artist/intellect who, through the pages of her class book, constructs conflicting identities—the first a New Woman, an affluent, educated, and powerful vanguard of youthful feminine subversion of hegemonic forces, and the second an image in which romantic self-control meets intention, marrying in the form of a typical turn-of-the-century Gibson Girl. Caroll Smith-Rosenberg defines the

New Woman as a "pioneer [of] new roles" with the capability and the audacity to "insist upon a rightful place within the genteel world" (245). The New Woman was typically a suffragette, an ambassador for the political, social, and academic rights of the female. Late nineteenth-century Baltimore housed an impressive cast of New Women, their names today resounding as a veritable roll call of "who's who" in the implementation of revolutionizing acts of American female equity. The New Woman was a pot stirrer, a rebel with a cause, one whose continuous pushing of the envelope became an annoyance and a downright threat to the powerful men who populated the streets, city councils, and university boards of Baltimore. Her foil was the Gibson Girl, named in honor of artist Charles Dana Gibson, whose illustrations of women inspired an icon of beauty and statuesque elegance who "worked to produce children not political change" (Patterson 74). The Gibson Girl's external aesthetics and advertised approval of patriarchal culture overshadowed the independent spirit with which she dominated her suitors. Like our first Alice, the New Woman may have found herself subverting paradigmatic behaviors by "[falling] full length on the floor…after a little romp" in the hallway, while the Gibson Girl constricted her female form in much the same way that our second Alice constricts her tone, use of vocabulary, her personal interest in the subject matter she advances, and even her handwriting (Pitts 25).

Alice's use of penmanship to denote character should not lie unaddressed, for it further solidifies the argument that Pitts intentionally approached her texts as conduits of a public formation of two decidedly separate and unique identities. In the 19th century, graphology—personality identification through handwriting—was the latest craze. According to handwriting scholar Tamara Plains Thornton, graphology was a natural spinoff from physiognomy and phrenology. Its study "embodies two basic postulates, uniqueness and correspondence. Taken together, these propositions commented as much on the nature of the self as on the nature of handwriting, for they asserted not only that each person's handwriting is different and reflects his or her character but also that each person is characterologically unique" (73). Interestingly, within the completed text of the SHS class book, Alice's two voices and identities are paired graphologically with two separate penmanship styles, which most likely belonged to two completely different hands. The first, shown in Image 1, exemplifies a bold hand, with the pen strokes dark in color, firm in line, and broad in size. The letters correspond in shape and character with the graphological diagnosis of a "woman of too much force" (Thornton 111), or a New Woman, matching the dominating and confidently playful tone of the text they embody.

Image 1



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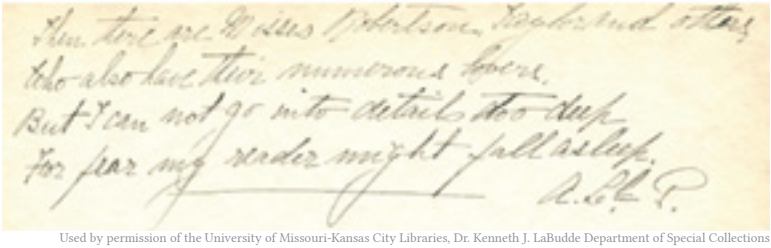
Conversely, the poetry of the second Alice is written in Spencerian style, light in stroke, tall, thin, and graceful in stature. As shown in Image 2, within the transcription of these verses, the typical Spencerian hand has been "trained to look more graceful and beautiful, her movements…of the greatest care…[her] waist squeezed into the tightest corsets, her hair piled upon her head, liable to fall with any unguarded movement, her feet, once giving her a firm footing, are pinched into narrow shoes, till deprived of all that gave her freedom, she is transformed into a delicate and beautiful pet" (Thornton 62-3).

Image 2



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In short, the handwriting of the second Alice matches the carefully regulated physique of the Gibson Girl. Thornton suggests that with regards to the penmanship of Victorian women, the most predominant threat was that "outward appearances, instead of reflecting the self, might actually displace it entirely" (100). To further elucidate Thornton's statement, a great fear of handwriting instructors was that the individuality of the female would be stifled through the structured form of the Spencerian hand. Alice, in effect, achieves the opposite through her purposeful assumption of character, represented through deliberate rhetorical and graphological devices.

The result is an Alice who embodies both the New Woman and the Gibson Girl. Through the act of embracing these categorically opposing

archetypes as two identities that form an indivisible whole, Alice adopts the commendable qualities of both, while simultaneously avoiding the stigmas associated with each. This tightrope walking act was necessary for a girl like Alice, for while the New Woman did exist Gibson Girl-less within 1899 Baltimorean society, she only avoided censure if her wealth, family name, and social mobility precluded her from it. Although Pitts was born in November of 1881 as the only daughter of a fairly wealthy merchant, she lacked the necessary pedigree to successfully don the robes of the indifferent suffragette (Bureau of the Census 1900). Allen Kerr Bond's *When the Hopkins Came to Baltimore* depicts an unfortunate anecdote of a team of young scholars whose attempt at unadorned New Womanhood resulted in social ostracism reminiscent of the dose given Alcibiades.

> The group of young women, advanced pupils, cast adrift on their own resources, got up a class in Biology and Science; and invited my informant to join. 'My dear!' one of them pleaded, 'you ought to join us. It is fascinating. *Yesterday we dissected a rat!*' 'When I heard that, I just ran!' said my friend. Their former classmates were scandalized. They were the talk of the town. '*They dissected a rat*!' placed them outside the pale of propriety (18-19).

Alice's adoption of the Gibson Girl's affected charm and romantic prowess provided her the powerful status of the "fetishized object…always out of reach" and therefore not disposed to the vituperative attacks that were heaped upon the isolated New Woman (Patterson 79).

The assaults would have been plenty, as Baltimore in 1899 was in the midst of a heated dialogue concerning the belief in "female difference," an argument that had long been in existence, but was perpetuated by groundbreakers in women's rights, including the likes of Catherine Beecher, Emma Willard, and Mary Lyon (Hamilton 7). Termed "Real Womanhood" by feminist scholar Francis B. Cogan, the female difference model encouraged a thorough academic education so as to prepare the female to "cope with the duties and obligations of…womanhood. This academic education should be undertaken to help fulfill woman's [domestic] sphere, not for a career as such" (67). Hearkening back to the "republican motherhood" argument, there endured a conviction in this model that men and women existed in separate social spheres, and that the role of the woman was to use her education to promote the betterment of society through her informed engagement in the domestic sphere as a wife and mother (Hamilton 5). But as Baltimore began to construct its own identity as a budding cultural milieu, the female difference model came

under attack, and a divergent model was proposed, with a novel educational plan to match.

The last quarter of the nineteenth century was, for the city of Baltimore, one of intellectual and artistic excitement, stimulation, and controversy. The Peabody Library, art gallery, and music academy had only recently been established as a mecca for the enlightened of Baltimore and beyond, and the nearby Johns Hopkins University was lending legitimacy to the city's drive toward academic prestige (Warren 36). It happened then, that there began a movement to duplicate these successful efforts of the leading men of the city, extending the educational opportunities that had been created for the sons of Baltimore and making them also accessible to its daughters. Spearheading this effort were the aforementioned historical who's who: M. Carey Thomas (dean and later president of Bryn Mawr College) and Mary Garrett (daughter and heiress to the deceased B & O Railroad tycoon John Work Garrett), bolstered by their equally well-positioned friends Mamie Gwinn, Elizabeth Tabor King, and Julia Rebecca Rogers (Beirne 2-3). Galvanized by their own educational struggles, which for them illuminated the inequities of the sexes, and the attempted exclusion of the female from the political and academic realms, these five women made the decision to put their experiences, finances, and elite social standings to use. On October 1, 1885, they opened the Bryn Mawr School for Girls, unofficially designating it a "feeder" school for the Philadelphia college bearing the same name (Beirne 5).

In Andrea Hamilton's *A Vision for Girls: Gender, Education, and the Bryn Mawr School* (a simultaneously laudatory and critical exposé of the girls' school), she delineates Carey's and Garrett's unremitting insistence that the school demand the same level of academic excellence of its female pupils that would be expected of their male counterparts. Hamilton's research reveals that "Bryn Mawr…bulletins from the school's first decade announced that all students would study Latin, French, English, history, science, and mathematics throughout their course at the school. Greek or German was required of advanced students" (28). After successful completion of all mandatory coursework, students were then required to pass a final comprehensive exam that would prove their merit to their teachers, to themselves, and to the Baltimore society at large. Failure to successfully complete the exam resulted in a student's disqualification from graduation from the Bryn Mawr School. Fittingly, Bryn Mawr School's exit examination was the very same test administered for entrance to Bryn Mawr College (Hamilton 28).

So while Alice Pitts was educated in "social graces" and "Graciousness" within the walls of Southern High School for Girls, some of her contemporaries just down the road were being drilled in the classical languages

of Greek and Latin. The goals of Bryn Mawr School explicitly rejected those of finishing schools such as SHS, and research suggests that the faculty and administration at Baltimore's Bryn Mawr took a decidedly negative view of competing girls' schools. This view was then disseminated among its young scholars. Hamilton quotes an early graduate of the school, expressing thinly veiled disdain toward a non-Bryn Mawr education:

> Among the city's private schools, we knew simply and without question that Bryn Mawr was the *best*. Others could be finishing schools… or country-style boarding schools; they could teach manners, art, piano, horsemanship; we were all out for brains. Other schools might believe in being bright, colorful, attractive, warm; Bryn Mawr believed in being Important (39).

The implication within this argument is that importance with a capital I was only accessible through a Bryn Mawr education, and that Baltimore girls educated outside of Bryn Mawr lacked any hope of achieving either intelligence or importance.

Similarly, Rosamond Randall Beirne, a graduate of Bryn Mawr School who heralded its history through an unapologetically biased account of the school's beginnings (which was published in honor of the school's 95th anniversary by its own alumnae association), describes the pre-Bryn Mawr Maryland girl as an ignorant philistine, who was "reared for marriage and to be a good house-keeper in marriage. Charm was the watch-word, and if a girl had brains she must hide the dreadful fact" (1). Beirne continues to describe the typical 1880s female education as delivered by a "group of expatriated Virginians who had come to the nearest large city to recoup their fortunes after the Civil War" (1). While SHS's founder Jane Margaret Cary had resided in or just outside of Baltimore since at least 1842 when the school was first established, her daughters Hetty and Jenny left Baltimore for Virginia in 1861 after the April 19 riot that killed twelve Baltimore civilians. The girls embarked to the Confederate state to act as aids in the cause for secession and the continued reign of the white, patriarchal southern family. They returned in 1865, at which time Hetty began to teach at her mother's school. She continued as an educator at Southern Home School until 1879 (Fesperman). Therefore, while lacking in accuracy, Beirne's description of "expatriated Virginians" is almost certainly intended to imply the Carys specifically.

As a graduating senior of Cary's Southern Home School in 1899, Pitts would have been privy to the apparent campaign that M. Carey Thomas and Mary Garrett were launching against her academic institution, the

education it offered, and the girls it instructed. While Alice lacked the social platform to refute these attacks before the city, her class book allowed her a canvas to display her identity to a smaller public as that of an intellect who had surpassed the didactic limitations presented by her school to assume a scholarship on par with the students of Bryn Mawr. The New Woman character portrayed within her monologue "A Day Spent at the SHS" epitomizes Alice as the bright scholastic prodigy sought by Thomas and Garrett to populate the seats of their new school.

Simultaneously, Alice's second identity construction of the Gibson Girl avoids close identification with the New Woman, by carefully promoting the heterosexual romance that leads to marriage and motherhood within her untitled work. Pitts feigns a fleeting interest in the romantic pursuits of her underclassmen, creating a closed system of shared likeness so as to avoid her excommunication from the ever-important realm of school popularity, while concurrently assigning herself the role of overseer and therefore regulator of said system. Finally, Alice's third poem "Cupid's Pranks" responds directly to external attacks on her school, her classmates, and herself through the same socially legitimate, idolized, and therefore powerful character of the Gibson Girl.

Finding herself at a crossroads within the Baltimore political dialogue, with both proponents and rejecters of the difference model viewing her school with scrutiny, Alice Lloyd Pitts navigated these potentially dangerous waters through the wiles of her pen. In a class book that acts as a historical timepiece by its very nature, Alice characterized herself for perpetuity as the embodiment of the harmonious joining of the New Woman and the Gibson Girl, a powerful, autonomous individual who achieved agency through an embrace of multiple feminine archetypes on her own terms.

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Anti-Immigrant Rhetoric and Metaphors

Abstract

This paper examines how immigration discussions and laws are considered based on the rhetoric used in talking about and planning them. Specifically, it looks at how anti-immigrant rhetoric shapes the way a majority thinks about immigration and how that same rhetoric creates anti-immigrant laws such as Arizona Senate Bill 1070. The most controversial section of the bill, part 2B, states that officers have to stop anyone they suspect of being an immigrant and then detain or arrest that person if there is reasonable suspicion that the person is here illegally. Not only is that blatantly racist, the rhetoric of the bill is euphemistic, hiding that racism by using words such as "reasonable," implying that there is some clear reason when to stop someone and ask for papers. This paper examines in detail how the law was discussed, debated, presented and then passed to determine how anti-immigrant rhetoric shaped it. This is relevant to everyone's life because we all have a responsibility to recognize the wrong in this bill and in immigration portrayals. This anti-immigrant rhetoric is not only present in this law, but also in news sources and mainstream media. Recognizing anti-immigrant language is important for an overall understanding of the discussion on immigration.

"I've got a quick message for illegal aliens if you happen to be watching. You better start packing your bags. And to the politicians in Washington who are soft on illegal immigration, start packing up your office, because when the terrorists strike, which they will, and we find out that they're here illegally from some other country, we will be telling all of you to get the hell out" ("Fear and Loathing"). Well-known conservative and radio host Glenn Beck often directs his show toward his hatred of undocumented immigrants, repeatedly saying that "every single illegal immigrant is guilty of a crime, every single one" ("Fear and Loathing"). This anti-immigrant rhetoric is common in conservative media and the message from those opposed to positive immigration reform is clear: Immigrants are harmful and unwelcome in the USA. Bill O'Reilly, another conservative media host also maintains that hatred: "Number one, the illegal aliens shouldn't be here. And number two, the culture

from which they come from is a lot more violent than the USA" ("Fear and Loathing"). Commonalities flow through every comment made from such media outlets — they are largely based on biased assumptions rather than factual evidence. They portray immigrants as criminals, and are almost always referring to Latinos when they speak of immigrants. Neal Boortz, a conservative radio host, made this clear on his show when advocating for border control, stating he doesn't "care if Mexicans pile up against that fence like tumbleweeds in the Santa Ana winds in Southern California. Let 'em. You know, then just run a couple of taco trucks up and down the line, and somebody's gonna be a millionaire out of that" ("Fear and Loathing"). Offensive stereotypes often play a key role in the media's representation of immigrants, and those stereotypes quickly develop into common metaphors that are associated with immigrants in general. These metaphors, along with anti-immigrant rhetoric overall, are now part of the mainstream media as well. These depictions then carry over to society's immediate "knowledge" of the immigrant, and then flow into the development of laws, namely the Arizona 1070 Bill. Arguably, the metaphors and anti-immigrant rhetoric that fill the media shape the way society perceives immigrants and go on to form the laws that respond to immigration.

How Metaphors Shape Society

Before examining the particular metaphors associated with immigrants it is important to understand how metaphors play a key role in the shaping of society. According to linguist George Lakoff and philosopher Mark Johnson, "metaphor is pervasive in everyday life, not just in language but in thought and action. Our ordinary conceptual system, in terms of which we both think and act, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature" (55). The pair point out that metaphors are not just a figure of speech that come up in language and discussions, but rather, in our every thought and action. To break this down, we need to think about the discussions we have in our everyday lives, and then consider how many metaphors are within them. Lakoff and Johnson argue that we may not even be conscious of the constant metaphorical language we use because it is so prevalent in our everyday lives, such as "argument is war" or "time is money." Thus, our everyday activities are structured by concepts that are metaphorical in nature (55-56). If human thought processes are metaphorical, and the human conceptual system is defined by metaphors, then the metaphors we create in society deeply affect how we perceive that concept or idea (Lakoff and Johnson 55). According to to Otto Santa Ana, a sociolinguist

and professor of Chicana/o Studies at UCLA, "metaphoric processes are found across the entire range of human thinking, from foundational corporeal recognition of "up" versus "down,"... to higher- level activities such as... social institutional functioning, and social policy execution" (60). Thus, metaphors present in discourse shape the social perceptions and policy creations that come to follow. Such perceptions and laws can be directly attributed to the metaphors that built the concepts they respond to. Therefore, it makes sense "to focus on metaphoric representations in powerful practices of public discourse in the United States to comprehend the construction of Latinos" (Santa Ana 60) and immigrants as a whole.

Dominant Metaphors in Anti-Immigrant Rhetoric

In the ongoing national discussion on immigration, there are metaphors that are repeatedly used to define immigrants. These metaphors are what "Americans build their commonplace understandings and attitudes" upon (Cisneros 570). If society's "conventional understandings of immigration are made concrete through metaphor," then it is important to closely examine the core metaphors used in the representation of immigrants in addition to the language used in common anti-immigrant rhetoric (Cisneros 571).

One of the most common terms used to frame immigration discourse is "illegal aliens" (Cisneros 571). Undocumented immigrants are often simply referred to as "illegals," and it is a trend often followed by much of the media. Many proponents of changing immigration rhetoric refuse to use this term to denote an immigrant, while The Applied Research Center has launched a campaign to end the term's use: Drop the I-Word (Rubio). They argue that "the I-word opens the door to racial profiling and violence, and prevents truthful, respectful debate on immigration" (Rubio). It is important to separate a human being from the action that she or he has supposedly committed, in this case illegal entry into the United States. Simply calling a person "an illegal" because they are presumed to have committed a crime allows for the assumption that everything that person does and stands for is illegal and/or criminal. This prevents any positive attitudes towards immigrants because the terms used set them up, from the start, as wrong-doers. The "alien" portion of the phrase carries its own negative connotations as well. Aliens are commonly defined as space creatures, a mysterious and unknown entity in most people's minds. There is pop culture surrounding alien takeovers and attacks, reflective of society's collective anxiety about immigrants. Designating immigrants as "aliens" is affiliating them with hostile takeovers and mysterious, evil beings. Many immigration discussions denote immigrants as illegals or illegal aliens,

often making this view of them concrete in the minds of those following the conversation.

The clear designation of immigrants as illegal beings sets them up for negative associations with the law, and there are more metaphors that perpetuate and expand this view. Immigrants are commonly identified with metaphors of social deviance and criminal behavior. These metaphors are supported with reports of immigrants as serious criminals: Laura Ingraham of Fox News claimed that "13 or 12 people a day who are killed under DUIs by illegals — those people would be alive if our immigration laws were enforced" (Newbold). First of all, we have to question the statistics she claims. It is unknown where she discovered that precisely 13 or 12 people are killed a day, but once she declares that on the news, it remains in the heads of the viewers. Also, the people killed in these accidents weren't killed because the people driving were "illegals," but because the people driving were drunk. Citizens of the United States kill people in drunk driving accidents frequently, and the only crime is the fact that the drivers were driving under the influence. However, when it is undocumented people driving, the fact that they don't have citizenship seems to be the crime that garners the most attention. This is an example of how the metaphor of immigrants as criminals distorts the accuracy of the information shared with the public. Not only does it distort the information shared — it consumes most of it. Out of 1,697 guests to discuss immigration on *Fox News*, 78% primarily discussed border security and enforcement and stories about immigrant criminality, while only 11% discussed immigration policy or reform (Newbold).

Distortion and consumption of media coverage is not the only problem with the "immigrants as criminals" metaphor. Perhaps the most worrisome problem is the falsehood of the connection. There is no evidence that undocumented immigrants are more likely to commit a crime than citizens of the country —in fact there is evidence to support that they are less likely to commit crimes ("Fear and Loathing"). Studies have shown that neighborhoods with higher immigrant levels are associated with lower crime levels and that "immigrants committed fewer crimes than native-born citizens" ("Fear and Loathing"). According to Mark Potok, a spokesperson for the Southern Poverty Law Center, "Latinos, and in particular undocumented immigrants are among the least likely to report hate crimes because they fear deportation" (qtd. in Rubio). Thus, immigrants are disproportionately being associated with criminal activity. But the media fuels this commonly held view, as expressed by Glenn Beck: "Every undocumented worker is an illegal immigrant, a criminal," immediately categorizing "immigrant" with "criminal" ("Fear and Loathing").

Another prominent metaphor that belittles immigrants is "immigrant as pollutant." This metaphor lends itself to the visual anti-immigrant rhetoric that is fueled by the media. Many images depict the supposed common immigrant display of a group of huddled people, usually in a dark or shady area, looking chaotic and messy (Cisneros 571). Pollution creates a dirtier world and leaves behind a mess for others to clean up and worry about. By depicting immigrants as a source of pollution, it is framing them as persons who are less than human, who are leaving behind a permanent problem in society. Pollution is also criticized for the rapid, irreversible damage it does to the environment. Likewise, immigrants are metaphorically associated with "infectious diseases" and are often discussed in waves or pools of influx, describing them as "flooding in" at dangerous levels (Cisneros). This is depicted in the images of immigrants sneaking across the border or jumping fences — portraying them as an approaching danger. These images become ingrained in the minds of most Americans, allowing the growth of the collective anxiety toward immigrants.

Anti-Immigrant Rhetoric in the Mainstream

Anti-immigrant rhetoric and propaganda, once a feature of hate groups, "is now a part of the lexicon used by anti-immigrant advocacy campaigns, politicians and media figures considered mainstream" ("Immigrants Targeted"). This means that the metaphors and hateful rhetoric previously discussed is what is primarily fueled out to the public about immigration. Recognizing the mainstream trends of the propaganda means recognizing the fact that most Americans may only get biased information about immigration. This is made possible because many anti-immigrant extremist groups make their way into the mainstream media by being quoted and described as "anti-illegal immigrant advocacy groups" ("Immigrants Targeted"). This is dangerous because it allows for false information and hateful propaganda to be presented as truth to the American public.

There are many state level anti-immigration organizations, but there is a "Leadership Team" comprised of the heaviest anti-immigrant groups, all with connections to John Tanton, "often considered the father of anti-immigration" ("Immigrants Targeted"). He is a writer and anti-immigrant activist who sets up funding for many anti-immigrant organizations. This team, along with other statewide organizations, pushes their anti-immigrant agenda into mainstream media as much as possible. This rhetorical agenda includes: depicting immigrants as criminals, terrorists, and a danger to society while using dehumanizing language to depict immigrants "swarming" over the border in "hordes" ("Immigrants Targeted"). It also propagates conspiracy

theories about Mexican immigrants plotting to overtake the Southwestern states and blames immigrants for destroying American culture and quality of life ("Immigrants Targeted").

Their agenda is important because it does not remain concealed in these hate groups—it instead circulates through the media. An example of a visual metaphor was an advertisement, printed in *The New York Times* and *The Nation*, showing a bulldozer knocking down a tree and busy traffic and argued that raising immigrant levels would cause "environmental damage, traffic congestion, higher taxes, severe strain on schools, emergency rooms and public infrastructure" ("Immigrants Targeted"). When considering how many Americans read these publications and trust in them to have accurate information, this anti-immigrant propaganda holds a lot of power in creating ideology and forming opinions. Another group published the following in their highly circulated newsletter: "Our country has been under assault from the influx of tens, if not hundreds of thousands of illegal aliens who have taken advantage of our lax enforcement of the law at the federal, state and local levels. These border crashers have contributed to rising crime rates, increasing burdens on our schools, hospitals and public services, and the very destruction of our American culture" ("Immigrants Targeted"). This example uses scary statistics and the term "illegal aliens" to demonize immigrants and sway its readers into fear and hatred of the immigrant population. Similar statements are made and published in most other mainstream media outlets, including *The Los Angeles Times, The Washington Post, and Fox News* ("Immigrants Targeted"). *Fox News* has exceeded most of the media in its constant anti-immigrant rhetoric used on air. They often host anti-immigrant extremists as guests and are notorious for their use of anti-immigrant slurs, such as "illegal alien" and "anchor baby," the derogatory term used to describe the children of undocumented immigrants serving as anchors to keep their parent in the country (Newbold).

If these anti-immigrant groups have successfully integrated themselves into mainstream media, the problem of propaganda versus truthful news arises. While the public should always check multiple news sources to get the most accurate reports possible, this proves to be a difficult task after examining how well the anti-immigrant groups have infiltrated the media. *Media Matters,* a prominent online news source, focuses on "illustrating skewed or inadequate coverage of important issues, thorough debunking of conservative falsehoods that find their way into coverage." Thus, it is fair to say that most of the American public, unless doing extensive research or following news sources such as *Media Matters*, only take in the anti-immigrant rhetoric held throughout most media sources. This being said, it is easy to make the

connection between anti-immigrant rhetoric and society's general weariness, if not hatred, of immigrants. The dehumanizing language used in immigration rhetoric directly creates the dehumanizing treatment immigrants receive. As Dr. Miguel Carranza, professor of Latina/Latino Studies at the University of Missouri-Kansas City, puts it: "With these types of negative metaphors/markers it makes it easier for groups to treat 'those aliens' as less than human so they have no human rights and we can treat them as inhumanely as we like" (Carranza). The rhetoric and metaphors being fueled into the minds of the general public by the anti-immigrant coverage has formed their thoughts and shaped the concept of what an immigrant is, what an immigrant does, and how an immigrant lives and affects the country. As previously examined, metaphors shape the concepts, the thoughts, the acts of our everyday lives, and the anti-immigrant heavy media has succeeded in shaping the minds of most Americans.

Anti-Immigrant Rhetoric Into Law Process

Allowing this rhetoric means perpetuating the falsehood and skewed perceptions the media creates. These perceptions not only affect the social treatment and general public's perception of immigrants, but also the more formal discussions on immigration reform. Dr. Carranza believes "since anti-immigrant rhetoric is most often illogical and divisive, it makes it [almost] impossible for people to talk about viable ways to approach immigration reform." This is perhaps the goal of many anti-immigrant rhetors in addition to pushing anti-immigrant law action. Consequently, it's common to see the creation of laws and reformation supporting anti-immigrant rhetoric. "If the rhetoric creates the social situation that says we are under siege and being overwhelmed by aliens and we as citizens believe the media, then it follows that politicians will try to establish bills, amendments, policies, etc. in order to be depicted as true Americans who will do anything to protect our country" (Carranza). Thus, the reform becomes limited to a black-and-white dynamic. As Dr. Carranza puts it: "either you are 'too soft' and you want to have open borders, or you are 'too hard' and unreasonable and want to rid our society of these aliens by any means possible."

Here, I will particularly examine how Arizona's Senate Bill 1070 maintains the anti-immigrant rhetoric discussed. The law asserts that it will "discourage and deter the unlawful entry and presence of aliens and economic activity by persons unlawfully present in the United States" (S. 1070). By simply including the anti-immigrant term "alien" it makes clear the standpoint of the bill and the anti-immigrant path it intends to encourage. Additionally, the

repetition of "unlawful" emphasizes association with crime and illegality. Supporters of the law argue that it's necessary because Arizona hasn't done anything to protect its residents from "illegal aliens" (Coskan-Johnson). Again, the connection between the support of this bill and anti-immigrant rhetoric comes out: the supporters feel they need protection from immigrants—going back to the metaphor of immigrants as criminals and a source of danger. It is unclear exactly how they feel their safety is being compromised, again perpetuating the illogical nature of the metaphor.

S.B. 1070 article 8B declares: "For any lawful contact made by a law enforcement official or agency of this state or a country, city, town or other political subdivision of this state where *reasonable suspicion* exists that the person is an alien who is unlawfully present in the United States, a *reasonable attempt* shall be made when *practicable*, to determine the immigration status of the person [emphasis added]" (Coskan-Johnson). Again, the term "alien" is used to describe an immigrant, which is the word of choice throughout most of the bill. The emphasis on the words *reasonable* and *practicable* serves its purpose by making clear the sheer ridiculousness of this section. In no way can anyone ever make a reasonable guess at whether someone is an immigrant or not, and whether they have either a documented or undocumented status. It is not "reasonable" to ever make such assumptions, but the bill uses this language in an attempt to boost its legitimacy. According to Dr. Carranza, "it codifies in a legislative statute that state government can use aspects such as 'profiling' and the use of not only ICE, the federal law enforcement specifically created to control immigration, but local, state, regional law enforcement agencies, who were not trained or hired for such purposes." Thus, the bill accepts racial profiling as an allowed tactic and it arguably sets apart Latinos as the main suspects. Opponents of the bill likewise say that "it gave police the legal right to harass people of color" (Coskan-Johnson). The bill supports the anti-immigrant rhetoric by building a case against immigrants and urging all undocumented people to be revealed and punished by any means necessary. With the support of anti-immigrant groups discussed earlier, this bill makes sweeping generalizations and stereotypes to dehumanize immigrants, which causes a rise in anti-immigrant rhetoric, pushing the message of "intolerance" (Coskan-Johnson). The metaphors depicting immigrants as a danger and harm to society ring clear in this bill, which is supported by those who have allowed these metaphors and anti-immigrant rhetoric to shape their thoughts.

Immigration is a topic of discussion in our nation that will remain prominent for many years to come. It's currently being shaped as a black-and-white conversation: for immigrants or against them. The anti-immigrant rhetoric and metaphors negatively associated with immigrants allows the

discourse to continue in this manner. These metaphors and rhetoric provide most of the media coverage and information the public has on immigration, creating a lot of misinformed minds to further participate in anti-immigrant rhetoric. Anti-immigrant organizations and leaders work to create laws that perpetuate anti-immigrant trends, and if most people have shaped their views based on these common depictions of immigrants, these laws will be supported. With anti-immigrant rhetoric and metaphors consuming the discourse about immigration, "it makes the 'difficult dialogues' that are absolutely essential for any reform to occur impossible to take place" (Carranza).

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Making the Modern in France: Dance, Art, Music, & Literature with Dr. Gayle Levy

The Struggle between the Domestic and Desire:

Bourgeois Women's Role in the Modern Market

Abstract

The Industrial Revolution brought with it changes in manufacturing, advertising and social order, which in turn spurred a consumer revolution that took hold of Paris in the late nineteenth century. This essay examines this culture of consumerism and the anxieties that came with it—in particular, anxieties about the effect that the market had on the moral standing of bourgeois women. Taking a multidisciplinary approach, this issue is discussed in the context of two period works from separate fields, one, an advertisement for "L'Artisan Moderne," created by Toulouse-Lautrec in 1894, and the other Emile Zola's immensely popular novel of 1880, Nana. Through the lens of these two works we can see two different views of female consumers from a nineteenth-century standpoint. This essay then draws on the work of present-day historians to explore changes in the marketplace that occurred during this period, including new methods of advertising and the development of department stores, as well as accounts of how men viewed women in the context of these changes and speculations as to why women behaved the way they did during this period. Examples from Nana and the "L'Artisan Moderne" poster are integrated to illustrate and reinforce these points.

Following the Industrial Revolution in France there was a great deal of ambivalence over the rampant consumerism that had taken hold of Parisian culture. For some this was a sign of economic prosperity and an indication of greater equality between the classes, but for others it was a divisive force which marked increasing ego centrism and corruption in the population. In particular there was growing concern over the effect that exposure to the marketplace had on women. These anxieties are reflected in Emile Zola's 1880 novel *Nana*, which condemns female consumerism by linking it with extreme vanity and even adultery. Though less blatantly critical, an advertisement for "L'Artisan Moderne" created by Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec in 1894 echoes similar sentiments as it associates the consumption of luxury goods and

services with immorality and the seduction of the marketplace. Put in conjunction these two works reveal many of the misgivings that men had over allowing female desire to range unfettered in the modern market.

The Modern Market

In France, the Industrial Revolution and resulting consumer revolution went hand in hand. Greater productivity resulted in increased income, allowing people to buy more consumer goods, which in turn created a demand for more production. This cycle of ever-increasing production and consumption created tremendous shifts in the social order, with the rate of change becoming most rapid between 1850 and the beginning of World War One (Williams 9). With this increase in income, average workers were not only able to buy more and better quality essentials like food and fuel, but they were also more likely to have a greater percentage of money left over for discretionary spending. For instance, in 1850 the average working-class family spent 80 percent of their income on food, but by 1905 food expenditures had dropped by 20 percent (Williams 10). With this increase in discretionary income we see the rise of the middle class and a complete shift in the market as more families now had the opportunity to make choices about how to spend their money. Simultaneously, the technological advances of the Industrial Revolution meant that existing goods could be produced at a lower cost while a slew of new consumer products were continuously introduced to the market (Williams 9).

The significance here is not just that there was increased consumption, but that an entirely new kind of consumption emerged. Before the Industrial Revolution, people used very little currency and instead relied heavily on bartering to obtain household goods they could not produce themselves (Williams 2–3). As production moved out of the home or small workshop and into factories, currency became essential for the payroll, and by 1860 deposit banking for individuals emerged and regulated personal credit was introduced to the market (Williams 10). With the shift to factories we also see mass production of consumer goods and new retail venues along with new modes of marketing to accommodate them.

In 1852, the first department store opened in Paris, marking a huge transformation of consumer culture (Williams 66). Compared to the small boutiques, which prevailed prior to the consumer revolution by selling specialized goods to a select upper-class clientele, department stores sold mass-produced products in large volumes to a wide variety of people from the middle to upper classes (Williams 3). One of the most important differences between boutiques and department stores was that department store prices

were fixed, while in independent boutiques prices were generally negotiable and it was customary to haggle over prices (Williams 66). This dynamic created a somewhat adversarial relationship between shopkeeper and buyer in boutiques, while in department stores the consumer was allowed to more leisurely browse through items (Tiersten 30). Shopping then became a form of leisure and entertainment that preoccupied a larger segment of the population more than ever before.

Marketplace Competition

Aside from increased income, there were also several social factors that turned the French—Parisians in particular—into a culture obsessed with the consumption of material goods. As we see demonstrated in *Nana*, the display of material wealth was crucial in indicating one's rank within the Parisian social hierarchy. For instance, once Nana establishes residence in the Avenue de Villiers she becomes extremely confident in confronting Lieutenant Philippe Hugon, saying "…if he thinks he's come to a nobody's, the drawing-room will astonish him. Yes, yes, take a good look at everything, my friend; it's all genuine. It'll teach you to respect the mistress" (Zola 303). This scene shows that it is Nana's surroundings rather than her actual position that gain her respect in society. Had she been surrounded by shabby furnishings, relying solely on her character, Nana would surely not have convinced the Lieutenant that she was suitable company for his younger brother. However, by cultivating her public image through carefully curating the items in her drawing room, she is able to convince him of her respectability before she even enters the room to meet with him.

While this sort of material competition has always been a factor in French society, it reached a level of heightened intensity for a much larger segment of the population following the Industrial Revolution. As the nouveau riche tried to establish themselves as equals with the aristocracy through their display of finery, the aristocracy, in turn, used consumer goods to demonstrate an air of distinction in their fashions, which they claimed the bourgeoisie could never achieve due to their baser heritage (Tiersten 8–9). As social mobility increased, these material tokens of status became a more and more sensitive issue, with minor details of dress and decor indicating nuances of social standing (Hiner 1). This is demonstrated throughout Zola's writing as he describes the most minute details of the characters' possessions down to the precise type of carriage they ride in and whether their place settings are monogrammed or not.

Meanwhile, as a greater portion of the population was vying for position through the consumption of commercial goods, merchants and manufacturers were also competing in the market. Due to the influx of products on the market, vendors became more aggressive in their advertising, competing for modern customers' attention. Spurred by advances in chromolithography, advertisers began creating eye-catching, colorful, graphic advertisements that replaced static, black-and-white, text-based ads. One of the criticisms of this new approach was that it sought to manipulate customers' emotions, rather than appealing to reason (Tiersten 32). Like most modern advertisements, Toulouse-Lautrec's poster for L'Artisan Moderne follows this same trend. Rather than giving information about the actual services offered, this image instead sets up a visual narrative to pique viewers' interest and appeal to their fantasies. This shift from reason to emotion parallels the overall shift in the mentality of consumption from necessity to desire, as many shoppers with increased disposable income were for the first time making the choice to spend frivolously rather than spending solely to meet the needs of the home.

The Modern Shopper

Due to the Victorian social structure, bourgeois women became the primary consumers in the modern market. It was generally believed that a woman's place was in the home where she would remain chaste and unpolluted by the public sphere. She would care for the domestic interior, providing a refuge for her family away from the corruption of the outside world (Tiersten 23). As keeper of the home in a culture of social competition, it was her responsibility to provision and decorate her residence in a way that would best demonstrate her husband's social standing, and as a representative of her family she was expected to cultivate a refined appearance herself (Iskin 35).

In order to fulfill this duty it was necessary for modern Victorian women to venture into the marketplace, but doing so put them in a precarious position. While they were expected to remain utterly pure, the market represented a new segment of the public world where they could be exposed to corrupting influences. This created a great deal of anxiety for bourgeois men as they saw this unavoidable exposure as a threat to the sanctity and stability of the home (Tiersten 25).

This anxiety was further heightened by the pervasive view of women at the time as frail and vulnerable creatures. New determinist models of human behavior lumped women together with the lower classes, characterizing them as "biologically and environmentally predisposed to irrational behavior." (Tiersten 17). This view reinforced the notion that women, due to their inherent psychological weakness, were "naturally" more susceptible to the

seductions of the market than their "rational" male counterparts (Tiersten 47). In *Nana*, Zola reiterates this stereotype, presenting Nana as a hyperbolic female consumer, whose actions are constantly dictated by whims and who is repeatedly overcome by bouts of extreme sentimentality (116-117; 165; 198-200; 298-299; 346).

Marketing to Madame

Critics claimed that marketers used new techniques of graphic advertisements and lavish visual displays in department stores to overwhelm the psychologically weak female shopper, disarming her sense of reason to turn her into an impulse shopper (Tiersten 32). Zola conveys the power that visual displays were thought to have over the female consumer as Nana, while walking down the Passage of Panoramas with Muffat, is constantly distracted, punctuating their conversations with exclamations about merchandise that she admires in the store windows (198-200). In a later scene, Muffat goes to great lengths to procure "a set of sapphires for which she had a great longing," but when he presents them to her she only gives him cursory thanks saying, "Darling, do you think it's the same one? It looked better in the window!" (Zola 314, 324) Beyond demonstrating Nana's general flightiness, this episode also communicates the perceived hardships that men experienced at the hands of impulsive women who were influenced by an unscrupulous market.

As noted above, by the 1890s marketers were turning more and more toward graphic advertisements that sought to arouse consumers' desires and emotions. Though these techniques have proven to be a successful method for advertising to both men and women, at the time they were seen as an especially effective means of manipulating the "irrational passions of the female consumer" (Tiersten 32). Compared to traditional text-based advertising, which tried to convince consumers of the value of a product, modern advertisements "sought to use visual and other sensory stimuli to circumvent the rational faculties and act directly on the sentiment" (Tiersten 33). As we see in Toulouse-Lautrec's interior design poster, the product itself is all but absent. There are hints of interior elements—the bedspread, curtain, and patterned wall paper—though their forms are quite vague. Rather than giving a concrete example of what the company has to offer, Toulouse-Lautrec instead conveys a cheerful feeling with bright colors and loose, playful forms. The vantage point of the scene implies that the viewer could be perched on the edge of the woman's bed, conveying a sense of intimacy, yet the scene is not entirely comfortable because of its questionable subject matter. Together these elements evoke an energetic and edgy-yet-cozy feeling, conveying a style

that the interior designer has to offer. That said, it gives no guarantee of quality and does not speak to the actual realities of the market. This image is antithetical to the rational approach esteemed by bourgeois French Republicans as it relies purely on sentiment and the manipulation of desire in order to sell products.

Moral Dilemma

Ideally, the woman's role as shopper was to fulfill the needs of the home, but in the context of Victorian social expectations and under the influence of modern advertisements, the boundary between need and desire was somewhat murky (Tiersten 39). The term "luxury" implies excess and the non-essential, yet it could be argued that in a culture where material goods indicated social status, luxury goods are, in fact, necessities. In a society where appearing in out-of-date or homespun fashions could tarnish a family's reputation, it would have been understandably difficult to distinguish which expenses were actually for the benefit the family and which were merely impulsive and selfish purchases. Shopping was also becoming a more indulgent activity overall as merchants tried to woo their customers with flattery, comfort, and visual spectacle (Tiersten 29–30). The rapid growth of department stores and the immense popularity of the World's Fairs (where by 1855 price tags accompanied almost every industrial marvel) clearly indicate that shopping was evolving into a form of entertainment (Williams 59).

The choices women were faced in interacting with the market and the ambiguity of necessity versus indulgence turned shopping into a social and moral dilemma, wherein less virtuous women who gave in to their impulses and marketplace seduction were accused of squandering men's earnings and debasing the household. This is the whole story of Nana. While her possessions do initially elevate her social standing, her impulsiveness and inexhaustible longing for luxury goods inevitably lead to the annihilation of multiple fortunes. Nana's extreme expenditures and consequences are out of proportion with the realities of bourgeois consumption, but this exaggeration gives the story a legendary quality, making it a sort of satirical fairy tale with a clear moral message: indulgence of the impulsive female consumer only leads to male ruination.

At times Zola vacillates between characterizing Nana as a vindictive man-eater who carelessly and cruelly destroys her lovers and, alternately, as an oblivious hedonist who simply does not understand the burden she imposes as she "look[s] upon herself as a model of economy" (Zola 200). This is an intriguing dichotomy as it is somewhat forgiving of the indulgent female

consumer, allowing that she may not be knowingly and deliberately causing hardships for her husband. At the same time it is condemning since the competing view is that she is completely deluded.

According to an article that appeared in the woman's magazine *La Mode Pratique* in 1893, obliviousness about the family budget was actually fairly common among bourgeois women (Tiersten 35). While some financial issues may have been the result of pure selfishness, it seems that many overexpenditures were due in a large part to a lack of education about budgeting. The introduction of formalized lines of personal credit at this time further complicated matters. Whereas before there was concrete limit to the budget, credit allowed consumers to spend far beyond their means (Williams 92–93). This was an especially treacherous issue given that the social mobility of the era provided an incentive to live beyond a sustainable level in hopes of inflating the family's perceived social status.

Vanity and Self-interest in Consumption

A major issue among male critics was not just the size or quantity of expenditures but the motivations behind purchases. According to social constructs, women would ideally enter the market only to provision the home, avoiding consumption rooted in self-interest. However, many contemporary commentators claimed that exposure to the new consumer marketplace cultivated women's "baser instincts of egotism, vanity and pleasure seeking" (Tiersten 4). Individualism inherent in the capitalist market was seen as a corrupting force over women, whereas male self-interest could be "a socially constructive force producing goods or profits" (Tiersten 2). Female self-interest in consumerism was a major issue, critics claimed, as it resulted in excessive waste and neglect of family and social duty (Tiersten 4).

This disdain for female egotism is reflected in Muffat's reaction to Nana's scene of blatant self-indulgence. "One of Nana's delights was to undress herself opposite her wardrobe, which has a glass door in which she could see herself full length. She would remove everything and would then become lost in self contemplation…absorbed in a love of herself" (Zola 204). This feminine self-love was likely all the more despicable because it assaulted the male ego. In this bout of feminine selfishness Nana is completely indifferent to her lover's presence. "It wasn't for the benefit of others that she did it; it was for her own" (Zola 205). After a time this act of vanity becomes intolerable to Muffat to the point where, in a fit of exasperation and disgust, he assaults the self-absorbed woman, throwing her violently to the ground (Zola 207).

In the critic's mind it was this wonton self-love rather than social necessity that spawned Parisian women's preoccupation with fashion. Louise de Salles explained in an 1892 article for *Paris-mode*, "she adorns herself because she sees herself as a sacred icon" (Tiersten 36). Consumed by her own vanity, it was believed that the impulsive female consumer would carelessly put her own self-interests before her family's well-being, financing her diversions and petty baubles by skimping on household necessities or driving her husband into debt (Tiersten 36).

Sabine, from *Nana*, is a mother guilty of this very trespass against her family. In the throes of an unbridled spending spree, she promptly agrees to sell a magnificent estate she had inherited—a symbol of old money, distinction, and family honor—in order to finance the full-scale renovation of her Paris residence. The new decorations are so extensive that they vanquish all traces of the prior "devout severity" of the old family home, indicating Sabine's break with her honorable family lineage and self-control within the domestic sphere (Zola 376). In a final show of complete self-absorption, Sabine's primary concern is not whether her daughter's fiancé is an appropriate match, but instead whether the wedding contract would be "signed on a Tuesday, to inaugurate the restoration of her town house" (Zola 375). In the deterioration of Sabine's character from that of restrained virtue to unbridled narcissism, we see the traditional domestic duty of the Victorian woman distorted. Traditionally decorating the home was a feminine responsibility aimed at benefiting the family, but here we see it perverted to the point where it threatens the integrity of the home. Decoration is a major theme throughout the novel. In Nana's case, she calls on the upholsterer over and over again to the point that her bed literally becomes a golden altar to herself, as her naked form is depicted on the footboard as goddess of the night, showing beyond the shadow of a doubt how her vanity is a key component in her consumerism, which in turn leads to bankruptcy and suffering (Zola 392).

Toulouse-Lautrec's advertisement also speaks to these themes, but rather than reproaching female consumers on the matter of self-interest, Toulouse-Lautrec appeals directly to this point. In an obvious appeal to vanity, the image of a female consumer is the focus of attention in this scene, placed in a position of dominance as the largest figure at the forefront of the composition. As the pampered woman reclines in bed dressed only in a rather sumptuous nightgown, the designer approaches with tool kit in hand to offer his services. This image parodies a scene of the doctor visiting a sick patient in bed, as the designer is dressed in a white coat much like a traditional lab coat and the shape and size of his tool box mimics a doctor's bag. The primary message sent by the conflation of these two professions is that L'Artisan Moderne, like the doctor, can ease your suffering and fix what ails you. The key

issue here is that rather than focusing on the home, the designer is instead focused on the woman. The implication of this dynamic is that the woman has hired a designer to benefit herself alone, as symbols of the home are largely excluded from the scene. The only major symbol of the household included in the frame is the maid who looks positively shocked by what is transpiring, suggesting that this is a less than honorable arrangement.

Material Lust

In many ways, anxieties over conspicuous consumption paralleled bourgeois men's concern for feminine chastity and fears of adultery. Though in the marketplace infidelity was not explicitly sexual, there is a certain betrayal implicit in the actions of the wife who overindulges in her own pleasures to the detriment of her husband. By the account of Henri Boutent, an artist who made his living depicting Parisiennes, "the consumer's agitation, her rapture upon making a purchase and the surge of remorse she feels afterward tellingly mimic the emotional styles of the adulterous wife" (Tiersten 42). This link between consumption and adultery is rendered explicitly in *Nana* when, upon Sabine's return from Les Fondettes, where she presumably began her affair with Fauchery, she "had suddenly developed a taste for luxury, and appetite for worldly enjoyments, which were rapidly devouring their fortune" (Zola 373). As both of these vices develop in unison they can be seen as having their roots from the same moral shortcomings, suggesting that a woman who succumbs to the seductions of material pleasures is likely to succumb to other seductions as well.

The connection between consumerism and deviancy is also suggested in Toulouse-Lautrec's advertisement. While it may be typical for a doctor to visit a patient in bed, this work is fraught with innuendo as the doctor doubles as a regular professional who has barged into this woman's boudoir. The lascivious nature of this scene is further conveyed by the man's somewhat sinister expression and the maid's stunned dismay. Curiously, the woman in bed does not seem in the least bit concerned but awaits the man's advances with a rather placid and perhaps vapid expression on her face. This scene can be read as an allegory to the female consumer's relationship with the market wherein unscrupulous marketers prey upon naïve women who blithely welcome their seductions.

If we delve further into this scenario and ask who the consumer is in Toulouse-Lautrec's image, the options are limited. Given that she has called upon the interior decorator, she must be in charge of the household and, given her surroundings and the presence of her servant, we know that she is quite

wealthy. Based on her status and authority it is most likely that she is either a married bourgeois woman or a courtesan. If she is the former then this image implies potential adultery, while the latter aligns consumerism with equally reprehensible vices. Given this limited visual information it is not possible to determine which category this woman falls into, though this confusion of the two is not an anomaly since "by the 1890s the negative image of the bourgeois shopper bore a discomfiting resemblance to that of the demimondaine" (Tiersten 43). Though Zola's *Nana* predates the 1890's by a decade, surely contemporary readers would have recognized the parallels between negative images of female consumers emerging in popular culture and Zola's portrayal of the female consumer par excellence: Nana the courtesan.

Conclusion

Whether or not bourgeois men's anxieties were well grounded, there was definitely a significant problem in the way that modern women approached the modern market. In Toulouse-Lautrec's poster the young woman enlists the services of a designer as doctor, seeking material commodities to help her feel better. Along the same vein, Nana consumes endlessly; yet at the height of her career, with every material desire instantly gratified, "she still retained that empty feeling of stupid idleness, which gave her pains in her inside" (Zola 309). In both of these examples there is a fundamental flaw in their relationship with material goods as both women rely on consumption of commodities for a sense of fulfillment.

While morals, income, advertisements and social expectations were all factors in bourgeois women's patterns of consumption, there is also an underlying factor in the social structure that could account for the impulsiveness and excessive self-indulgence expressed in the modern marketplace. Octave Uzanne, a contemporary journalist, argued in *La Femme et La Mode* that women acted in a self-interested and childish manner in response to their husbands treating them like a child (Tiersten 52). In the Victorian bourgeois social structure, women were completely dependent on men, not only financially but also socially, as they required the presence of a chaperone to venture into the public sphere. Sexually, women were also treated like children, as they were expected to remain pure even in marriage, viewing intercourse as a duty rather than a source of pleasure and intimacy. Under these conditions, constantly repressing natural drives with limited means of self-expression, women were stifled to the point of suffocation.

The department store, as a feminine realm in the public sphere, stood as one of the only venues in which women could travel unchaperoned and maintain their honor. Likewise, shopping became one of the few socially acceptable activities in which virtuous women could express themselves and experience

heightened pleasure. In this context it is no wonder that materialism was so rampant in modern Parisian society, as consumption was one of the few channels through which these women could vent all their pent up emotions and energies. Given that this suppression was the underlying cause of the irrational, impulsive, and excessive actions of female consumers, it can be argued that it was actually bourgeois men's own actions and social constructs which were the root cause for their own anxieties.

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Ethical Exclusions:
Culpability in the Suffering of Vulnerable Populations

Abstract

This paper incorporates various sources, especially the ethnography Righteous Dopefiend, in order to analyze mainstream culpability in the suffering of vulnerable populations. It does so by seeking to draw to attention certain exclusions of information regarding the suffering of others and by calling attention to the systemic forces which affect this suffering. Specifically, this paper explores the topic of systemic exclusion in the Kansas City greater metropolitan area. It analyzes the development of racial segregation in the city and the forces which created it. It discusses the topics of gentrification, segregation, ghettoization, homelessness and the exclusion of vulnerable populations in public places in relation to Kansas City and Righteous Dopefiend. This paper seeks to develop the connection between our ideologies and actions and our contribution to the suffering of disenfranchised people.

Regardless of whether or not we are aware of it, we as a society are constantly making choices about what to include and exclude in our ethical thinking. In the words of Amartya Sen, each ethical judgment we make is "characterized by its informational basis: the information that is needed for making judgments using that approach and -no less important- the information that is 'excluded' from a direct evaluative role in that approach" (Sen 56). Because of the role they play, it should be obvious that these exclusions are not without ramifications. On a societal and socioeconomic level, some people may be insulated from these ramifications while others, especially those living on the margins of society, are not.

In the ethnography *Righteous Dopefiend*, Philippe Bourgois and Jeff Schonberg capture years of fieldwork with homeless heroin addicts living on Edgewater Boulevard in San Francisco. They follow the lives, deaths, relationships and daily struggles of individuals living a severely marginalized and extremely difficult existence. These are people who are painfully isolated from

mainstream society and their suffering is often outright excluded or twisted by mainstream discourse. Because their severe addictions and lack of resources make every day a struggle to avoid the pain of withdrawal and to survive without steady shelter and food, they are unlikely to hold traditional, legal day jobs or live up to dominant standards of success. Put simply, they do not have a productive or socially sanctioned place in the economy or labor force. This lack of position makes them especially vulnerable to exclusion in a capitalist-and profit-driven society (Bourgois and Schonberg 306). These anthropologists' ethnographic fieldwork digs deeply into the daily challenges and perpetual suffering of those they study, while continually relating it back to the structural and ideological forces at work in shaping and deepening the problems and experiences they face. It is abundantly clear in *Righteous Dopefiend* that the profound impact our exclusions, both intentional and unintentional, have on policy and discourse, both of which are embodied in daily experience. This ethnography shows that decisions or ideas that might seem distant or irrelevant to the suffering of others (such as spending our tax dollars on revenue development or moving to the suburbs) actually make a profound impact. As demonstrated in *Righteous Dopefiend*, we often have and act on beliefs that we feel are simply our own rightful and justified personal opinions or priorities without fully understanding the concrete effect this has on others' lives.

With that being said, it would be an ethical injustice to simply use *Righteous Dopefiend* to reflect solely on the suffering of the people portrayed in it. To do so would be a glaring exclusion in our ethical thinking. Instead, it can be used as a tool to help us address parallel suffering to which we bear witness as members of our stratified society and divided cities. In this paper, I will do just that. I will consider Kansas City in the light provided by the tool that is *Righteous Dopefiend*. I will argue that our ethical exclusions in the Kansas City area translate into the direct suffering and physical isolation of vulnerable populations. My intention in this paper is to show that, because our ethical exclusions translate so significantly and directly into the abject suffering of others, we have culpability in this suffering and a responsibility to expand our ethical thinking and our actions.

Before proceeding, it is important to note that in this paper I will use the terms 'us' and 'we' to describe those with a more privileged socioeconomic background as individuals and mainstream America as a whole. I will also sometimes, for convenience, use 'them' to refer to people who are disenfranchised, homeless, impoverished, isolated or otherwise routinely excluded from significant consideration in prominent discourse. I do not intend this to draw or reinforce a clear distinction and separation between the two, as that

would be contrary to the goal of this paper. Instead, I intend to distinguish an important sector of the population of the United States, which is perceived separately and unfairly by those who are given more consideration, and to indicate the culpability of the latter majority in the suffering of the former. Before we can begin to address the exclusions and suffering that occur in Kansas City, it is important to consider Kansas City as a whole, and to understand a bit about how it came to be structured the way it is. The main factors in the physically and geographically embodied inequality of Kansas City are gentrification, suburbanization, ghettoization and division.

Kansas City has been a leader in the process of suburbanization. According to author Thomas Frank, Kansas City's well-known Country Club Plaza district was "the nation's fully restricted, fully-planned automobile suburb" (113). It is a shopping district located on the western edge of the city comprised of mostly expensive stores and ornate and decorative buildings that cater to affluent consumers. The Country Club Plaza and the development of suburbia in Kansas City were spearheaded by the developer J.C. Nichols. Nichols is arguably the single most important person in the development of the urban and suburban landscape of Kansas City. Nichols said himself he wanted to propagate the idea that "what was good for Kansas City was good for the J.C. Nichols company, and vice versa" (Frank 123). The problem with this vision however, was that J.C. Nichols's idea of good excluded vulnerable and impoverished people. Thomas Frank's article about Kansas City's suburban development outlines Nichols's dream of "City Beautiful" and his desire for perfection (119). As Frank says, Nichols's idea was to "restart the town elsewhere, with all-new neighborhoods, rigid restrictions, and no poor people" (119). Nichols did just that. Kansas City has an astonishingly affluent suburban community in Johnson County, referred to by author Richard Rhodes as "Cupcake Land". Rhodes goes on to describe Cupcake Land as "pleasantness, well-scrubbed and bland" (51). This seems to accurately portray the dream of J.C. Nichols and the reality of Johnson County today with its low crime rate, excellent schools, clean streets, nice houses and manicured lawns.

The sharp division of Kansas City neighborhoods is directly related to, and partially a result of, suburbanization. Troost Avenue is a particularly divisive line, which separates Kansas City sharply by class and race. On the east side there are poorer, predominantly Black neighborhoods. There are affluent and predominately white neighborhoods on the west side. The creation of this dividing line was no accident. Kevin Fox Gotham addresses the "building of the Troost Wall" in his book *Race, Real Estate and Uneven Development*. He identifies the school board's efforts to preserve segregated schools by using Troost Avenue as a "racially identifiable school attendance boundary

from 1955-1975, separating White schools to the west and Black schools to the east (93). He writes, "School boundary decisions transformed Troost Avenue into a cognitive racial boundary that profiteering real estate agents and "blockbusters" manipulated to stimulate White flight from neighborhoods east of Troost Avenue" (93). This dividing line, manipulated and manufactured for profit and to exclude certain populations, has remained in Kansas City as a visible and significant divider that still has profound impacts on the community as a whole and particularly those living on the east side. The divide has become legitimized and normalized as a part of Kansas City life. It is often taken for granted, as some sort of natural feature that arose as a conglomerate of individual choices and preferences. However, as we have seen, this is not the case. Furthermore, it is important to remember that Kansas City was not always this way. Gotham writes,

> Before the rise of the modern real estate industry and creation of segregated neighborhoods, there is no evidence that residents in Kansas City perceived a connection between race, culturally specific behavior and place of residence. […] Blacks and whites tended to live close to one another in shared neighborhoods[…] (23).

As Gotham shows, we cannot assume this boundary to be natural, rational or justifiable because it is none of those things. It is manufactured. When we normalize its existence we acquiesce to an ideology that allows us to justify such visible inequalities and exclusions. When we subscribe to this ideology we fail to recognize the racist and classist systems at work. In doing so, we perpetuate systems to manufacture inequality and suffering.

My argument as a whole is that when we exclude the unique struggles of vulnerable populations we participate in and contribute to their suffering and oppression. We do so not just on a level of policy or funding although those are directly and incredibly significant —but on an ideological level that is embodied in daily experience, mental and physical suffering, and interpersonal relationships. Even in the instances where we do not directly or even consciously exclude the suffering of vulnerable or excluded people (such as when we make choices to benefit ourselves or when we engage in blame-the-victim discourse) we are still doing harm. We are doing harm because we are still creating, enforcing and perpetuating systems that create, reinforce and perpetuate unnecessary suffering. Placing individual blame on those in dire situations of homelessness, drug addiction, unemployment, and poverty is an easy resolution, but it fails to hold accountable the structural, systematic, and intuitional forces impacting their realities. Failing to recognize true

responsibility can be incredibly harmful to those already suffering. As Bourgois and Schonberg write in *Righteous Dopefiend*,

> The widespread misrecognition of class power [...] subjects the poor, the powerless, and especially those addicted to drugs to dismisive moral judgments. [...] Condemning the actions of the powerless colludes with and exonerates those who are directly responsible for creating gray zones. (318-19)

It is easy to confuse the middle class struggle to find a good job, or the work put into getting a college education or advancing in a career, as proof of the validity of the individualist American Dream ideology. However, when we apply the rhetoric of individual responsibility to those who not only lack the same opportunities and resources but also face unique and incredible challenges we may not even know exist, we are not only grossly mistaken but acutely harmful as well.

As referenced with Kansas City, the exclusion of vulnerable people in discourse and consideration is often embodied in physical exclusion and geographic isolation. Geographic isolation is a self-reinforcing social structure. Our exclusions in our ethical thinking of 'undesirable' or 'problematic' populations translate into structural force, which manufactures physical isolation. This in turn removes their suffering from our experience and grants us ignorance, thereby isolating us further from the situations they face. Thus, we become less and less in touch with the complex experience of other people, perpetuating our perceived reason for physical isolation, and feeding our growing misunderstanding and misinterpretation of what little we do see. This can contribute to racism, stereotyping and blaming the victim. A Missouri report on homelessness elaborates on our exclusion of vulnerable populations based on our physical isolation. It reads,

> One explanation for the 'invisibility' of the homeless: those who are financially well off are spending less time in spaces occupied by the poor. The trends are away from public schooling, public transportation, public parks and city living and towards private education, remote homes, health clubs and online shopping. (Gould, Langton)

As we can see, the physical isolation and exclusion of certain people is not an accident and its consequences are not harmless. When we do not interact with a diverse range of populations we lack the experience to understand the impact of the choices we make and the systems we create and perpetuate. We

are left in blissful ignorance of the suffering caused by the structural forces in which we participate. Our ethical exclusions can become embodied in physical exclusions that serve to isolate and perpetuate exclusionary systems.

Ghettoization

Ghettoization is a concept central to the exclusion that is a theme common to both *Righteous Dopefiend* and Kansas City. Ghettoization involves the relegation of excluded and vulnerable populations deemed problematic or inferior to physical spaces characterized by decay, crime, drug use, violence, poverty and an overall poor infrastructure. However, the suffering of people effectively confined to these spaces does not stop at limited resources and increased structural obstacles. Mainstream dialogue propagates an individualist ideology that puts the responsibility on each person to better their situation without regard to the practical limits and structural forces working against them. This involves a blame-the-victim discourse that creates a sense of failure in those who, as to be expected, cannot achieve a middle class ideal of success amid such significant obstacles. Often this supposed failure can be used as justification of inequality, proof that they did not work hard enough and are therefore undeserving.

In Kansas City, Troost Avenue provides a clear line that delineates "ghetto" neighborhoods from affluent ones. It separates the physical decay and higher crime rates from the well-kept wealthy neighborhoods. David Sibley describes distinct borders such as this in *Geographies of Exclusion*, "the delineation of a border between the inside and the outside is the simple logic of excluding filth" (2). In Kansas City, the manufacturing of a divisionary line allows affluent residents to avoid acknowledging the structurally imposed suffering on the other side, and creates a clean barrier to exclude the problems of the east side. Although the Troost barrier may be a convenient way to exclude problems, it has serious and damaging ramifications for those isolated in areas with poor resources and infrastructure. The suffering of each individual is exacerbated when their immediate community is condemned to an area where systemic and structural problems such as poor housing, low quality education, and exposure to violence and drug use are prevalent. As Bourgois and Schonberg write in *Righteous Dopefiend*, the problem is "the social isolation that occurs when poor people become ghettoized by the geographic concentration of subsidized housing neighborhoods with inferior infrastructures" (310). As aforementioned, more privileged people become increasingly isolated to the realities of life for vulnerable and impoverished populations, which leads to exclusion in ethical thinking and policymaking.

Once again, this isolation was not accidental but a deliberate expression of systems of power relations and exclusion. As Sibley says, "power is expressed in the monopolization of space and the relegation of weaker groups in society to less desirable environments" (14). In Kansas City the development of poorer, homogeneous Black neighborhoods was not a coincidence. Gotham writes that during the 1950s through the 1970s, "real estate firms began advertising property 'east of Troost' and 'west of Troost' implicitly designing the race of those to whom property was available within the city" (103). He continues, "The profiteering actions of local real estate agents and blockbusters played a key role in encouraging racial turnover and contributing to the subsequent physical deterioration" (103).

This pointed exclusion of vulnerable people has dire consequences that persist today. The vast discrepancy in infrastructure on the east side created massive ghettoization and suffering. The suffering of people facing life in a neighborhood stigmatized as 'dangerous' or 'ghetto' is twofold: their opportunities are impaired by the structural obstacles brought on by poverty and poor infrastructure, but they also suffer on a personal level when we blame them for their inability to overcome those challenges or to improve their neighborhood, and when we stigmatize them as failures, further isolating them from 'success' as perceived in affluent America.

In 2009, the *Pitch,* a local Kansas City newspaper, ran a story entitled "Murder Factory: 64130 the ZIP Code of Notoriety in Missouri." It was an article about a particularly poor and crime ridden ZIP code in Kansas City that included interviews with people incarcerated for murder who lived in the ZIP code. According to the article, its residents make up 6% of the state's population, but 20% of those incarcerated for murder or voluntary manslaughter. The article goes on to describe the reason for the "Murder Factory" designation, "if society set out to design an assembly line for producing killers, it's hard to imagine any model more efficient than what exists inside its boundaries" (Rizzo). While society may not have set out to design an assembly line, Kansas City's intentional exclusions have produced conditions, that precipitate violence. By failing to seriously consider and include the structurally imposed suffering of certain populations, we have created a situation where violence has become normalized. The newspaper article mentions factors precipitating the violence such as single parent homes, poverty, and the violent death of loved ones. It states that 60% of people surveyed from that ZIP code reported having at least one family member killed in a violent crime (Rizzo). The article also touches on the idea of isolation, referring to "a ZIP code that many outsiders see only when they zoom through" where "decades of relentless violence have left too many feeling under siege and cut off from the wider community" (Rizzo).

This reference to exclusion is noteworthy because it relates to the previous discussion of how isolation perpetuates itself. Because the rest of the city avoids the ZIP code and its violence, we lack the experience to understand the experiences of people within it. This can contribute to harmful misperceptions.

This article is of interest because it simultaneously explores direct results of exclusion while exemplifying mainstream rhetoric of individualism. The incarcerated people interviewed about the ZIP code and their own lives invariably appealed to the individualist rhetoric and blamed solely themselves for their crimes, despite their descriptions of the challenges of living in the area. As one inmate wrote in his poem "I am the master of my own destiny/ I choose to get high everyday/ I choose to take this man's life" (Murder Factory). There is a self-blame and sense of personal failure embodied in those lines that is reminiscent of a homeless heroin addict in *Righteous Dopefiend*, Tina. At one point during the book, Tina had recently completed a 31-day treatment program but had started using again. "Tina took full responsibility for her relapse, despite her counselor's inability to locate post detox and housing services. […] She mourned her relapse, convinced of her own worthlessness" (Bourgois, Schonberg 281). These sentiments are a direct result of mainstream rhetoric that blames those without resources for their problems. This rhetoric becomes internalized and creates a sense of failure in the individual. This blaming rhetoric relates back to geographic isolation and perceived responsibilities, such as discussed in the Murder Factory article. When we stigmatize people for failing to meet our standards of success, we cause them additional suffering because it leads them to lament their struggles solely as personal failures. This ignores the huge role structural inequality plays and assumes that our choices are irrelevant to the suffering of others. Recognizing the systematic and structural causes surrounding the embodied suffering of others would result in an uncomfortable culpability we are not willing to accept. We simply express sadness when faced with the suffering of others yet we maintain the current power relations and ideology that exempts us from this burden.

The blame-the-victim and individualist rhetoric is directly related to the geographic isolation and segregation present in Kansas City and elsewhere. This segregation and dominant perceptions of it lend a flawed logic of association and causation that Gotham discusses:

> This connection between racial segregation, minority poverty, and deviant behavior tends to shape affluent and White perceptions and interpretations of social reality that may lead to scapegoating, and individualist explanations of social inequality that focus on the so-called pathological behaviors and moral values of the disadvantaged as the cause of social problems (150).

This association develops into a justification for holding those suffering accountable for the structural forces causing that suffering. The development and propagation of this ideology is very beneficial for some people at the expense of others. Gotham explains the manipulation of blame for profit in Kansas City, "to expedite the sale of property, real estate agents and firms attempted to define Black movement into White neighborhoods as invariably leading to increased crime, falling property values, and neighborhood decline" (103). This association, perpetuated for selfish motives, molded mainstream middle-class American discourse to be predisposed to exclude suffering. Self-interest and misdirected blame allow us to exempt ourselves from responsibility and when we blame victims we contribute directly to the perpetuation of suffering.

Gentrification and Suburbanization

Gentrification and suburbanization are important components and examples of geographic and ethical exclusion. They contribute directly to the suffering of impoverished and/or vulnerable populations and are direct results of our exclusions, while serving to perpetuate isolation and ignorance. Even though both processes involve clear structural and systematic inequality, they are often easily justified through a perceived social "common sense." Often we justify our exclusions to ourselves, believing we are acting simply out of a reasonable, "common sense" self-interest. For example, people move to the suburbs for the good schools, the bigger yards and houses, the lack of crime. People avoid the 'dangerous' ZIP codes and public transportation system out of fear for personal safety. Although suburbanization and gentrification are structural processes, they are enacted through individuals. The forces at work which are perpetuating and deepening the suffering of others are obscured in what seems like an obvious personal choice. However, both of these processes make housing and jobs more difficult for vulnerable populations and contribute to the concept of invisibility discussed earlier.

The personal choice rhetoric that explains White flight in Kansas City and elsewhere is closely tied to ghettoization and the perceived causal association between poor minorities and neighborhood deterioration. Gotham explains,

> The physical deterioration of majority Black neighborhoods compared to majority White neighborhoods confirmed Whites' beliefs that Blacks caused residential deterioration and instability [...]. Once such sentiments were validated, amplified and diffused, White resistance to racial integration and flight to the suburbs became the logical course of action. (116)

Through Gotham's analysis we can begin to see that ideologies operate within structural forces, which shape inequalities. Flight to the suburbs and resistance to integration only becomes the logical course of action if we subscribe to an ideology that identifies vulnerable populations as responsible for the structural forces working against them. When we exclude the bigger picture we mistakenly take actions and adopt ideas that contribute to the suffering of others. "The emphasis on individualism denies the structural basis of racial inequality while the reference to competition and laissez-faire disavows racial differences in material resources and justifies unequal outcomes" (Gotham 145). It is easy for us to conveniently overlook that which affects others unlike ourselves, especially when doing so appears to serve our self-interest. However, we must accept responsibility that our ideologies and actions have concrete effects on the suffering of marginalized people.

The suburbs of Kansas City were created specifically with exclusion of certain populations in mind. Gotham describes the view that "all-White racially homogenous neighborhoods were a superior atmosphere for residential life and a requisite for protecting the homeowner's assets" (35). This exclusionary idea had dangerous consequences. Gotham proceeds to describe in detail the use of racially restrictive covenants and homeowners' associations to keep Blacks out of developing suburbia (45). Exclusion and isolation were selling points for these suburban developments. Although exclusion was presented as a means of protection against decay and devaluation of property that is and was justified as rational, it left the urban core at a huge loss and accelerated the deterioration of poor neighborhoods, increasing the burden on vulnerable people. It is evidence that when we exclude certain information or people from our actions and decisions, they can have significant consequences.

Gentrification is another exclusionary tactic used in Kansas City and throughout the United States. Gentrification is often justified under the guise of benefiting the community. However, the reality is that gentrification pushes vulnerable populations out of neighborhoods as they become more expensive and tailored to the needs of the upper and middle class. Gotham elaborates, "Through intentional and sustained efforts [...] urban renewal became [an] oppressive device for stigmatizing racial minorities and the poor and clearing

their neighborhoods under the guise of progress" (89). As Gotham shows, gentrification is not a natural or easy process, it is a system designed to benefit some at the expense of others. These supposed ideas of 'development' and 'improvement' often benefit the dominant class while creating more obstacles and suffering for vulnerable populations.

Tax subsidies are one way in which gentrification occurs and exclusions of vulnerable and impoverished populations are structurally imposed. In reference to how tax dollars are used to spur 'development' and to benefit the community consider that "the federal government spends only one dollar on low income housing programs for every four dollars it gives in tax breaks to homeowners" (Gould, Langton). This gross discrepancy appeals to a common sense logic of economic growth, yet it does so at great costs. The withholding of tax dollars to provide housing aid is directly experienced in the pain of homelessness. Amid rhetoric of development and economic growth, we allow and promote suffering. Bourgois and Schonberg discuss national tax breaks oriented towards suburbanization and the middle class in R*ighteous Dopefiend.* They specifically mention Ronald Reagan's tax plan that gave huge breaks to middle-class America and directly promoted suburban development, but did so at the direct expense of the inner city (3). His highway development and tax breaks to homebuyers furthered the stratification of society through its resulting processes of suburbanization and ghettoization. This unfair emphasis on middle-class economic development in policy is a direct result of our ideology's ethical exclusions. When we fail to consider the impact our actions have on other populations it leads to policies, that can cause them significant harm.

The Crossroads area in Kansas City is a prime example of gentrification funded through taxes. The area was 'improved' through TiFs, which are essentially taxpayer funded development projects. The Crossroads "began as an industrial section" of Kansas City, home to manufacturing jobs (Schuckman). Throughout *Righteous Dopefiend*, Bourgois and Schonberg discuss the devastating impact of the decline in manufacturing jobs on vulnerable populations lacking social capital and skills necessary for jobs in the emerging information technology-based market. In the Crossroads, the plan for a major TiF was to "foster an urban-live-work environment by developing office, studio, retail and residential units, the design and construction of a premiere office complex suitable for a national corporate headquarters" (Schuckman). Bourgois and Schonberg's analysis remind us that these developments exclude some populations. People who lack a position within an information-oriented economy are excluded from benefiting from this development, and are harmed by the loss of accessible jobs. Although the seemingly harmless idea of TiFs is to

provide revenue for the city and improve its infrastructure, we often fail to consider the impact it has on those who are struggling to survive. Although the Crossroads district was not significantly inhabited prior to its 'redevelopment', as it consisted mostly of industrial buildings, the displacement of vulnerable people is still evident through economic displacement and elimination of job opportunities and other resources. Gotham writes, "Urban renewal not only dislocated residents, but also disrupted entire neighborhoods as residents were now forced to travel outside their neighborhoods to obtain [...] resources and services. [...] Urban renewal became a synonym for Black removal" (85, 83). The improvement for some comes at a cost of substantial disruption to others. Bourgois and Schonberg discuss throughout the book the elimination of manufacturing jobs and the inability of the impoverished people they are working with to adapt to the new labor market. San Francisco especially was a hub for information technology jobs and for shocking housing cost increases in the city. Changes such as these that the mainstream often sees as positive developments cause significant suffering in the form of joblessness, homelessness, addiction, and hunger. We often exclude this view from our perspective, blindly pursuing economic development. However, we often fail to consider that we are making a choice to fund corporate development at the cost of creating suffering.

Homelessness and Exclusion in the Public Sphere

Gentrification is not just embodied in the elimination of affordable housing or job displacement; it is also displayed in the exclusion of undesirable people from supposedly public spaces which become shaped to serve the dominant majority. "Who is felt to belong and not to belong contributes in an important way to the shaping of social space" (Sibley 3). This belonging represents, reflects and perpetuates the existing power structure. Widely known examples of exclusion of vulnerable people in Kansas City include the aforementioned Country Club Plaza and the Power and Light Entertainment District. The Kansas City Power and Light District is an entertainment district comprised mostly of bars in downtown Kansas City that cater to a particularly white and affluent crowd. Private companies operate both districts and both are for-profit. In Kansas City, both of these locations have been infamous for exclusion. I have personally witnessed many homeless people asking for money evicted from their spots on or near the Plaza, while the dress code of Power and Light specifically targeted clothing which specifically targeted certain groups, such as bandanas, work boots, long shirts and sagging pants and shorts. Both areas represent psuedo-public spaces privately run for revenue, allowing them increased ability to dictate who to exclude. Sibley brings up

another particular example of exclusion in Britain, but his analysis is relevant here also, "It should not be seen just as an arena where this particular power game was played, however but as one instance of the interaction between space and people which forms part of the routines for the reproduction of power relations in an advanced capitalist society" (XIV). Seeing suffering in the face of affluence is unsettling. Spending disposable income can be uncomfortable when directly faced with a shivering homeless person struggling to survive.

Geographic isolation in public spaces is a form of structural and symbolic violence that is normalized. The homeless are the most vulnerable population to geographic isolation and displacement because of their insecure residential status. Bourgois and Schonberg reflect on the assault on homeless encampments in San Francisco, "newspapers published front page stories with battlefield style maps peppered with red dots to indicate the locations of targeted homeless encampments throughout the city" (San Francisco Examiner 1997; March 26; Bourgois 219). Here we could make the mistake of assuming that this was specific to San Francisco at that particular time, but a news story from Kansas City from April 9, 2013 about the eviction of a significant homeless encampment proves otherwise. A representative of Hope Faith Ministries (an organization which works with the homeless) accompanied police in destroying the camp (Ortiz). The blame-the-victim rhetoric was incredibly prominent from both the police and the volunteers. They justified the destruction of the camp with the prevention of crime and an attempt to "prod its inhabitants to seek real shelter" (Ortiz). Sargent Cooley of the Kansas City police department claimed, "'many people […] are just resigned to this extreme existence. I don't believe [they] will take advantage of the opportunities. […] We can't make them" (Ortiz). When we engage in victim blaming such as this without recognition of structural forces we place an unfair burden on those who suffer. Instead, we should examine systematically what prevents the homeless from seeking shelter. Why would people choose an elaborate and difficult underground structure over a comfortable shelter? Perhaps, as Bourgois and Schonberg would suggest, they do so because the problem and solution are not so simple. Social structures in place to help homeless and vulnerable people should be informed by the realities of their lives, and work with them for effective problem solving, not righteously prescribe a solution. When we exclude the perspective of those we are supposedly trying to help, we do an injustice to them and our efforts are thwarted. In fact, initiatives such as these which attempt a sort of zero tolerance/tough love approach to eliminating homelessness not only fail to solve the problem but exacerbate the difficulties faced by homeless people. Bourgois and Schonberg reference the

effects of amped up evictions of the camps they studied: "The instability reduced their access to outreach services, but the number of people living on the boulevard did not diminish.[…] Interpersonal relationships in the network diminished as daily life became even more precarious and isolated" (222). These efforts did nothing to alleviate the suffering of homeless or to benefit their community or access to resources; instead they presented a façade of improving the community at the expense of increasing challenges and difficulties for vulnerable people.

Homelessness is a form of suffering which is a consequence of a lack of affordable housing. Lack of affordable housing is a direct result of the choices we make as a society. These choices are made within an ethical framework that excludes vulnerable populations. Bourgois and Schonberg discuss Single Room Occupancy housing (which is intended to house impoverished people with unstable residential status) throughout *Righteous Dopefiend* showing how decreased access to SROs leaves vulnerable people with nowhere to turn but the streets. In Kansas City, the struggle to obtain affordable housing is much the same. Susan Miller from Rose Brooks Center describes how "the waiting lists for affordable housing continue to be so long that families are residing in shelters for a year" (Gould, Langton). Also she describes how "the lack of adequate funding for rent subsidy and housing rehabilitation is forcing low income families and individuals into substandard housing and/or homeless situations" (Gould, Langton) Miller's examples show that when we make choices on how to distribute our tax dollars, we make choices that have an incredible impact on some people more than others. When we value economic revenue over housing impoverished people, excluding their suffering in our consideration, we leave them with nowhere to turn.

Analyzing the structurally imposed problems of homeless and vulnerable people and factoring them into our ethical framework may seem to be a daunting task. Finding solutions to reach out effectively is difficult, but we need to remember, "there is no greater cause nor solution to homelessness than the availability of safe, affordable housing" (Gould, Langton). We need to step back and remember the widespread poverty, suffering, homelessness and geographic segregation are not natural and unchangeable. Although recognizing the exclusions of others can be difficult, that is not an excuse to overlook significant suffering and systemic realities. It is a reality that people are suffering and we have the power within our choices to either attempt to alleviate it, to perpetuate it, or to deepen it. I argue that the first step to alleviating systemic suffering and social and geographic exclusions is to begin to include vulnerable populations in our framework for ethical thinking and decision-making.

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Author Biographies

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James W. Mitchell graduated from UMKC in May 2013 with a Bachelor of Arts degree in Environmental Studies and a Bachelor of Music degree in Music Performance (cello). James attended UMKC because of the conservatory and cello professor, Carter Enyeart. Outside of school, James attempts to balance his life with traveling and mountain biking. Combining the cello and environmental policy is another interest of his. And according to James, "yes, it is possible." James is currently attending the University of Oxford for his Master of Science in Nature, Society & Environmental Policy. James would like to thank Dr. Coveney, "you were the first professor outside of music to challenge me. Thank you for grading hard on my writing, it helped me immensely and won't soon be forgotten. Enjoy retirement!"

Anna R. Riffe is currently pursuing a degree in Mathematics with a minor in Physics. She enjoys living in Kansas City, so she chose to go to UMKC for her Bachelor's degree. Anna likes to play guitar, visit her church's prayer room, and play games with her family when she has free time. Anna would like to extend a special thanks to Dr. Richard Delaware for his guidance in both the research and the writing of her essay. His knowledge in the field of historical (and present-day) mathematics was a tremendous help.

Neiloy M. Medhi graduated summa cum laude in Spring 2013 with a Liberal Arts degree and minors in Math and Criminal Justice. Neiloy chose to attend UMKC because it is a good university in the Kansas City area. Neiloy's hobbies include singing and following politics, though not necessarily at the same time. Neiloy's future plans are to get some training in statistical software and data analysis. Neiloy would like to extend a thank you to Dr. Zeng

for doing this Independent Study with him and encouraging him to submit his paper to *Lucerna*. He would also like to thank Dr. Vonnahme for not only providing valuable feedback, but inspiring his interest in political science and public opinion as well.

Alex A. Poppen is a pre-pharmacy student and chose to attend UMKC because it is one of the only schools in Missouri to offer a full pharmacy program. Alex's hobbies include running, reading comics, and hanging with his friends. After graduation, he would very much like to find work as a veterinary pharmacist so he can work with animals. Alex would like to thank his English professor, Dr. Henrietta Wood, for getting him started on this paper and helping him along the way. Alex would also like to thank Stuart Hinds and the Special Collections Department for giving him access to the World War II posters, which made this paper possible.

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Lorraine I. Sands is a Spanish major, although she is considering an additional major in another area. Lorraine is also highly interested, and has been taking courses in, the new Latina/Latino Studies Program at UMKC, and would love to minor in that area if it is made available soon. Lorraine chose to attend UMKC because she loves Kansas City, and has lived here all of her life. She was excited to merge her academic interests with the place she cares about. Lorraine's interests include Kansas City, cooking, languages, and human rights. After graduation, Lorraine would like to travel and use her Spanish language skills, and hopefully find work that allows her to pursue her interests. Lorraine wishes to thank Dr. Wood and Dr. Carranza for providing guidance and opinions in the development of her essay, and for likewise encouraging her submission to *Lucerna.*

Gloria R. Devonshire graduated UMKC in May 2013 with a Bachelor of Arts degree in Art History. Gloria chose to attend UMKC because it gave her the opportunity to work directly with local museums as a part of her coursework. Aside from studying art, Gloria also makes artwork herself sometimes. Gloria currently works in the Education Department at the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art. Gloria would like to thank Professor Gayle Levy for giving her the confidence to share her work.

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