# ΛΟΓΟΣ

## LOGOS: A Journal of Undergraduate Research

*Essays and Art by*

*Missouri State University*

*Undergraduate Students*

# Missouri State™
# UNIVERSITY

*LOGOS*
Honors College
Missouri State University
901 South National Avenue
Springfield, MO 65897
honorscollege@missouristate.edu

# Editorial Statement

*LOGOS: A Journal of Undergraduate Research* is dedicated to the publication of outstanding scholarship and artistry by Missouri State University undergraduates in every discipline. Led by the Faculty Advisory Board and Honors College student editors, *LOGOS* conforms to the highest standards of scholastic integrity in a blind, peer-review process conducted by distinguished undergraduate students and faculty.

    *LOGOS* is directly governed by a managing editor, a chief editor, associate editor(s), and a small student editorial board.  Faculty oversight of the project is the responsibility of the director of the Honors College (Dr. Art Spisak) and the journal's cofounders (Dr. John F. Chuchiak and Dr. Mark Richter).

    The editorial board welcomes submissions from current and former undergraduate students of Missouri State University, particularly those who are engaged in departmental honors work, independent study, research assistance, or competitive summer fellowships. Prospective contributors may contact the editor and associate editors with specific questions about publication standards and the peer review process at Logos@missouristate.edu

Kyle Grothoff
Melissa Hastings
Nick Hoffman
Jay Howard
Cammie Jennings
Andrew Glen Keaster
Andrea Lewis
Matt Martin
Ashley Newton

Chelsea Pipitone
Erin Pridemore
Teresa Simpson
Courtney K. Smith
Joshua Daniel Snowden
Jessica Winters
Jessica Wooldrige
Sarah Wynn
Jennie Ziverk

# Table of Contents

# Going Home

## Wende Jones

### About the Author

Wende Jones is a senior at Missouri State University, majoring in English with a minor in music. She is the mother of five children and proud wife of a disabled veteran. She spends her days as a Title I paraprofessional for the Reeds Spring school district teaching kindergarteners the love of reading. "Going Home" was a creative writing assignment for class. Much of the information in the story is from her husband's time in the service. She did have one of her five children while he was deployed. He saw his daughter for the first time when she was ten months old. This story is dedicated to the men and women who serve our country and the families that anxiously wait for their return.

---

Private First Class Nelson wished the guy on the other end of the line was there so he could wrap the phone cord around his neck.

"Sorry, but there aren't any scheduled flights from Sicily to the States until tomorrow at O nine hundred," the voice on the line said.

Another day wasted at the Sigonella Air Force Base in Sicily. Nelson stomped out of the terminal building and across the street to the United Servicemen's Organization. His mind was racing. *Why did I stay in the hostel on the other side of the island? A real bed was nice but, how could I have slept in? I barely caught the last shuttle. How many flights did I miss?* He thought.

His 1st Sergeant had warned him to get to the terminal early, "Flying Space A is easy, just get there early, hand them your leave papers and have them put your name on the list and watch the board for the next flight stateside. Nothing to it," he had said.

He found himself inside a small dimly lit bar. The bar tender paused from drying glasses and nodded at him. He stood at the bar debating if it was too early to get a beer. On the overhead speakers the final notes of Kenny G finished playing "Have Yourself A Merry Little Christmas," and the announcer said, "only two days until Christmas and then say goodbye to 1994."

"Two days," he groaned as he thought, *I've got to get back to the States and see Lisa.*

The guy next to him dropped a large silver coin on the counter in front of him.

"You buyin' today?" the guy asked.

Nelson grumbled at his continued bad luck and bought the guy the beer he had thought about buying for himself. The unspoken military coin tradition was that if someone earned a coin from a commander for some kind of special service and then in a group placed the coin on the bar and the other guy doesn't have a coin then the guy without a coin buys the drinks. Nelson had had a coin given to him but lost it only minutes after receiving it.

The memory of its loss made his head ache. He absentmindedly rubbed his head because it still hurt from wearing his heavy Kevlar helmet twenty-four hours a day. He was grateful for

I

that helmet though, because it had saved his life. He shook his head, trying to shake out the memory of the last few days.

His final night in Bosnia had nearly been his final night alive. His commander had just given him his orders to his next duty station and a coin for his outstanding work. He was feeling pretty good about himself as he lumbered down the snow covered path back to his tent. After fifteen months in Bosnia, he still had trouble maneuvering in his "tux." His flak jacket and helmet were cumbersome at best, but they did help to keep out the bitter cold wind that was always blowing. The constant smell of sulfur mixed with the kerosene from the soldier's tent city burned his nose as he breathed in the cold air. He watched the sun set in the gray haze of the local town's smoke stacks, realizing that in a couple of days he would be watching the sun set behind the beautiful Rocky Mountains back home.

Without any warning, a shot came out of the dark and glanced off his helmet. Nelson dropped into the coal dusted snow, stunned from the impact of the bullet. He awoke a few hours later, his first sergeant staring down at him. His head was throbbing, but he was alive.

"You don't look so good," the 1st Sergeant said as he handed Nelson a helmet with some missing chunks, "but you look better than your helmet. We flushed out the guy, but he managed to slip away from us. Sorry we didn't get him for you."

When he went back to the path the next morning with hopes of finding his coin, he found that it had rolled out into the field of land mines, never to be retrieved. There were over six million land mines in Bosnia and only a few areas had been mapped. His heart raced at the thought of having to walk on the skinny paths because that was the only place that was free of land mines. If he had fallen in any direction other than the way he had fallen, he would be flying home in a big black box with a flag draped over it.

Nelson left the mine field and went to wait for the bus that would take him on a six-hour trip down a dusty pot-holed trail of a road to Hungary, where he could get on a plane that was hopefully going stateside. That afternoon found him clutching his duffle bags between his legs as he tried to stay on the wooden bench that was the make shift seat on the bus. Sitting next to him was Specialist Johnson, according to the name strip on his uniform; he was on his way to Germany. The noise of the motor and metal bouncing over the road made talking impossible. "Going home?" and "Yeah, me too," was the total of their conversation.

*Going home, back to Lisa*, he thought. His mind wandered as his body was pounded by the bus's slow crawl down the road. He stared off across the scarred land, trying to visualize how she looked. The last time he had seen her, she had a belly that was bigger than a basketball. Her long black hair flowed around her glowing face. That was over a year ago. He sighed, *I'll be home soon*. He thought.

Three hours into the trip, the bus suddenly swerved all over the road. They had a flat tire and had to stop. Nelson stood guard over the driver as the driver and Specialist Johnson tried to change the tire. Nelson could feel his heart pounding in his chest; a bird flew out of a tree making him jump. He was ready to shoot at the sniper that was only in his mind. It was soon discovered that the spare tire wasn't going to work. Someone had put a humvee tire on the bus for a spare and of course, it didn't fit. The driver cursing all the way back onto the bus, got on the radio and managed to get a humvee to bring them a tire but it would be dark before it

reached them. PFC Nelson, the driver and Specialist Johnson took turns standing guard outside the bus. The hours dragged by and the bitter cold made Nelson's body ache clear to his bones. The humvee's lights blinded Nelson as it bounced up the road. Nelson was pretty sure by the sound of the motor and the look of the lights that it was their rescue party, but he still was on guard for any tricks. He sighed with relief when he saw some friendly faces hop out of the vehicle and unload a bus tire. The rest of the journey to Hungary was bumpy but uneventful. He arrived at the airport in Hungary bruised, chilled to the bone, and exhausted. He got on the first plane he saw. He didn't care where it was going, as long as it wasn't going back to Bosnia.

A women's laughter brought Nelson back to the dim lit bar. Nelson watched the guy he'd just bought the beer for sit down next to a pretty blonde at the end of the bar. He couldn't help feeling envious because the guy had a girl here to share time with. Lisa was back in Utah with her parents. She was waiting for him to be stationed somewhere where she could join him.

His eyes focused on the mirror behind the bar. His baby face stared back at him, and his nearly bald head only emphasized his youthful appearance. *A father*, he thought, *I'm a father of a one year old and I haven't even seen her yet. Why am I sitting here? I've got to get home.*

He tried to forget about Bosnia and feeling sorry for himself and tried to concentrate on getting back home. He needed to get home, that's where he was needed right now and he wasn't going to let anything get in his way. He decided to go back to the terminal and ask some more questions about Space Available flights.

Nelson returned to the doorway of the small metal building that was used as the air terminal. *I've got to learn more about how this Space A thing works*, he thought.

A large brown counter served as a check-in where an Air Force enlisted man stood behind the counter shuffling through papers. Nelson passed the rows of orange plastic chairs and stood at the counter. "I'm trying to get to Hill Air Force Base, any flights going west any time soon?" he asked.

"There's a scheduled flight out of here tomorrow at O nine hundred."

"Yeah, I tried that this morning and I got bumped by some officer on emergency leave."

"Sorry, but that's how Space A works. Guys needing medical attention have priority, then people reporting to a new duty station go next, and then folks on leave get a chance if there's still room left. It also depends on how long ago you requested a flight. Some guys turn in their request weeks in advance, so they're at the top of the list when they get here. Oh yeah, then there's the Armed Forces bands and sports teams that bump everybody except Medal of Honor recipients. But course you know all that."

Nelson stood there stunned at the list that was being rattled off to him and tried his best to look like the information was old news, but his frustration burst through, "Great, isn't there any other flight besides the one tomorrow?"

"Well, there's nothing scheduled, but sometimes the Navy guys stop in unannounced, and they might have a spot, but you'd have to check with them."

Nelson's body tensed ready to spring at the opportunity, "Really, do you have a number where I can call them and ask?"

"Sure, hang on a minute, it's here somewhere." He rummaged around the counter for a couple of minutes before finding a small binder which he opened and copied a phone number down on a yellow Post-It note and handed over the counter to Nelson. "Good luck."

Nelson thanked the guy and made a beeline for the row of phones hanging on the wall. *This has got to work*, he thought.

He picked up the phone and dialed the six digit number. "Hello?"

"Hello, Naval Air Sea Lift Command Naples."

"Yes, I'm in Sicily, and I wanted to know if you had anything unscheduled coming here today or tomorrow morning that would be going stateside, maybe even to Hill Air Force Base?"

"Let me look."

Nelson hung on the line for what felt like hours. *Come on*, he thought, *there's got to be something.*

"Hello?" the voice said, "You still there?"

"Yeah, I'm still here."

"Ok, I just got off the radio with some of our guys that have to swing your way at about O five hundred tomorrow morning to pick up a propeller and then take it to Dover on the east coast. You should be able to get a flight from there to Scott Air Force base or maybe straight to Hill. But at least you'd be in the States. It's got two open seats so don't tell anyone it's coming in or the seats will all be taken before you get a chance."

"Don't worry, I won't say a word. Thanks." Nelson hung up the phone and went to sit on one of the orange plastic chairs. He was going to have to stay all night in the terminal. *If I go back to the hostel, I won't make it back in time because the shuttles don't start running until eight. No comfy bed for me tonight*, he thought. He prepared himself for what was promising to be a very uncomfortable night, but he'd had worse and tomorrow he would be going home.

He didn't sleep a wink. He kept going over the possibilities of someone else knowing about the unscheduled flight and showing up and bumping him. What if someone needed a Med-Evac flight? He surely would be bumped then. He had also heard some of the others waiting in the terminal say to be sure not to get on any flight to some island in the Atlantic because they always have Med-Evac patients, as they don't have a hospital on the base, but he didn't remember the name of the base or the island. The minutes seemed like hours as they passed by. Every time a car, truck, or bus went by his heart skipped a beat. With two seats, he was going to be extremely lucky to get this flight. Eventually, a rough looking guy in a blue jumpsuit came in with a flashlight in his hand to get some papers from the desk. It startled him and it took him a few minutes to get his voice.

"Do you know the time?" he asked the guy in the jumpsuit.

"O four hundred hours, there's the clocks on the wall. Why are you sittin' in here?" he responded, "The terminal's not open 'til O seven hundred hours."

He gathered his thoughts together and asked, "Do you know anything about the Navy flight scheduled for O five hundred hours?"

The man said, "Yeah, it just called in and is on approach. They have to service it, fuel it, and load any cargo before any passengers. Someone from the terminal should be here in a few minutes to check in the passengers."

The night sky was just turning grey and he could see Mount Etna on the skyline. Had he done it? He thought so, but he wasn't going to let his breath out until he was actually on the plane. Minutes moved like snails. Finally, an Air Force Senior Airman came to the counter.

"You been here all night?" The attendant asked.

"Yep," he responded. "I need this flight bad."

The man behind the counter looked at the list and at the empty waiting room and said, "Well, it looks like you're in luck." The attendant took a copy of his orders and leave papers as well as a copy of his military ID card and told him that he would come in a few minutes to take him to the plane through the door on the side of the desk. Within no time, he was walking through the door and climbing the steps to the plane. Finally, he was going home.

# Various Ceramics

## Joshua Bell

### Artist's Statement

I am passionate about working with clay; it is a medium that demands constant exploration and respect. It is a medium that has a long history, and I try to respect its traditions while furthering its possibilities. When I create functional ware I consider many aspects of utility, but I also try to push that single element of function into something more by experimenting with nontraditional forms and added sculptural elements. I believe this forces viewers to consider more than just the function of a piece by allowing them other visual outlets to explore.

Clay is a medium like most in that it demands a balance of technical skill and an eye for design. For my work to please me, I must create something that is engaging and visually satisfactory. Personal satisfaction is not achieved with just a good display of technical ability—it must also be more than just a good idea, it must be something that captures both of these qualities and at the same time invites an audience to spend some time investigating the piece. A lot of my work does not meet these qualifications; however, every piece is another step toward something satisfying. In attempting to achieve this, the concentration and construction is directed toward adding a personal touch to each piece, whether it be with a simple gestural line or an added humorous element to an otherwise stagnant form. These added parts are what entice the viewer to spend time exploring the piece.

My current work is a progression toward creating something that demonstrates that contemporary ceramics should be considered a higher form of art than it currently has a reputation for being. I hope to do this through the juxtaposition of utilitarian objects and sculptural anatomy. In some cases, this literally means combining pots with parts of the body, and at other times, it means giving the functional ware a base that actually raises it above wherever it would normally rest. One way that I've chosen to approach the figure is through the use of Kewpie parts, which has allowed me to explore the more humorous aspects of the figure. The Kewpie heads are also a bit of a parody on the kitsch quality that some contemporary crafters have used to entice buyers looking for something "cute." Aside from the instinctual laughter that the pieces invoke, I hope they will also bring to mind other questions about the role of ceramic sculpture versus the traditional role of functional pottery, and what place each has in the fine art world.

The nature of this art form requires an amazing amount of inquiry. It relies on a knowledge of chemistry and physics but most importantly on vision, form, and utility. An artist's focus must remain with the final product's interaction with the viewer. As a ceramicist, one must also respect the medium's history while expanding on it.

*Kewpies*
by Joshua Bell

# Bound by Biology: Harriet Ann Jacobs and the Plight of the Female Slave

## Heather Cook

### Abstract

The work *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl* by Harriet Ann Jacobs illustrates the ways in which biological sex was central to the experience of the female slave. Relating her account through alter ego Linda Brent, Jacobs discusses the exploitation of the bodies of female slaves, the often-sexual nature of a male master's demands, and the impact of such demands on a woman's emotional and psychological well-being. Further explored in Jacobs's work is the strained relationship between the author and her mistress, a direct result of her master's sexual exploits. When Jacobs's master attempts to force her into concubinage, she uses her seemingly disadvantageous position as a female to regain a measure of control over her body, engaging in an affair and becoming pregnant by another man. The language surrounding her description of this affair reveals a sense of personal ambivalence and demonstrates her awareness of the nineteenth century standards of "proper" female conduct. Finally, Jacobs's role as a mother and the prevailing societal attitudes about this role greatly influence her decisions. An examination of *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl* reveals how Jacobs's femaleness affected her slavery experience and can lend valuable insight about the plights of countless other female slaves.

---

The work *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl* by Harriet Ann Jacobs fits comfortably into the literary category "slave narrative," and numerous parallels can be drawn between Jacobs's experiences and those of her male contemporaries. For example, *Incidents* and *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass*, one of the most prominent narratives by a former slave, contain several corresponding elements. Douglass and Jacobs both chronicle their journeys from slavery to freedom, presenting themselves as heroic protagonists who must triumph over antagonistic masters. Both works are characterized by motion and various voyages. Another aspect shared by *Incidents* and *Narrative* is the emergence of figures who act as surrogate parents in the absence of the narrator's biological mother and father. Yet, for all their similarities, Jacobs's account stands distinct among the works by former male slaves. Her description of enslavement indicates an awareness of being doubly disadvantaged. Jacobs is not only a slave; she is a female slave, and her biological sex limits her options and opportunities while presenting a unique set of challenges. As her narrative reveals, Jacobs's femaleness was central to her experience as a slave.

Considering its autobiographical nature, one of the most notable facets of Jacobs's work is the use of alter ego Linda Brent to relate the author's personal history. Jacobs's decision to establish a narrator reflects her understanding of the potential social consequences of tying her name to actions deemed contemptible by the "polite" standards of nineteenth-century America. The

false name functions as a filtering screen, a partition offering Jacobs, an unmarried mother, a layer of protection from public scrutiny. Disclosing herself as a willing participant in a sexual relationship outside of marriage, Jacobs risked eliciting an adverse social reaction that could have undermined her cause as an abolitionist. Although a modern audience may readily forgive, condone, or identify with Brent's course of action, in the nineteenth century, the stigma surrounding a "fallen woman" could have easily been used to defame Jacobs's character had she chosen to attach her own name to her tale. The author's need to protect her identity reflects a social climate that held women to a stringent standard of virtue and demanded that they deny sensuality. Yet, as Jean Fagan Yellin points out, before Jacobs could discuss the issue of the "sexual exploitation of female slaves" with credibility, she would be forced to "expose her own sexual history" (2030). Ultimately, the use of a pseudonym afforded Jacobs the ability to recount her experiences without compromising the legitimacy of her story or her safety.

Central to the female slave experience was the exploitation of the body. Though both male and female slaves were valued for the ability to complete manual tasks, the latter were also prized for their reproductive capacities and sexualities. Brent's maternal grandmother, for example, acted as a "wet-nurse," a common role among female slaves. "My mother," Brent relates, "[was] weaned at three months old, that the babe of the mistress might obtain sufficient food" (2032). In fact, Brent's grandmother was the child of a white planter from South Carolina, an incidence that underscores the prevalence of sexual contact between slaves and their masters. Though the audience is not explicitly told that Brent's great-grandmother was an unwilling participant in the relationship, by examining the dynamics between Brent and her own master, Dr. Flint, readers may gain insight to the balance of power between male masters and female slaves.

Dr. Flint's frequent sexual advances are not only unwelcome, they are psychologically harmful to Brent, inspiring within her an omnipresent sense of fear and anxiety. Her master relentlessly solicits sexual intercourse, and Brent's repeated refusals would have been considered gestures of disobedience. Slave insubordination was typically punished with physical violence, and Brent remains painfully aware of this fact. Though Brent is never beaten, she lives in a state of constant bewilderment, wondering why her master does not lash out; her astonishment demonstrates the volatile and delicate nature of her situation. At any moment, it seems, Dr. Flint might move to harm her. "He threatened me with death, and worse than death," Brent conveys (2034). Since Brent is technically Dr. Flint's property, he appears to believe himself entitled to every aspect of her body, including its sexuality, which he considers a utilizable commodity.

Brent's precarious circumstances become more complex and troubling when she considers the implications of her master's persistent harassment. Dr. Flint is, after all, married; thus, the relationship between female slave and the wife of a male slaveholder becomes strained, creating an environment even more hostile to the young Brent. Mrs. Flint remains quite aware of the way that her husband treats his female slaves, watching the former "with unceasing vigilance" and regarding the latter with "constant suspicion and malevolence" (2034). She, too, is harmed emotionally and psychologically by Dr. Flint's exploits. According to Brent, several slaves have been the objects of her master's desire. Dr. Flint has, to the narrator's knowledge, fathered eleven children with his female slaves. Though the mothers of his children dare not disclose such information, Mrs. Flint would have certainly recognized the devastating likelihood of her

husband's paternity. Brent discusses the plight of the slaveholder's wife, relating, "Children of every shade of complexion play with her own fair babies, and too well she knows that they are born unto him of his own household" (2037). Recognizing that Mrs. Flint is also harmed by the slaveholder's frequent seduction endeavors, Brent feels sympathy for her master's wife—a sympathy that possibly reflects a shared sense of powerlessness by the narrator, since she is not the only woman injured by Dr. Flint's behavior.

Mrs. Flint, however, exhibits little compassion with regard to Brent's predicament, instead considering the young female slaves in her midst fierce rivals for her husband's affection. Demonstrating a tendency to fault those who have been victimized for their dire circumstances, Mrs. Flint begins to contribute to Brent's anguish. Though the true source of Mrs. Flint's frustration is her husband, she is unable to stop him and, therefore, shifts her anger to a fellow woman. Within the context of slavery, all women—black and white—appear to suffer from a certain degree of oppression. Female slaves are often incapable of defending themselves (or punished for attempting to do so), and the wives of slaveholders appear to hold little sway over their husbands' conduct. In turn, the mistresses grow jealous of their young female slaves, further oppressing them to exert some measure of control in situations where the mistresses, themselves, otherwise possess minimal influence.

When Brent's desperation peaks, she recognizes that her biological sex offers her a way of temporarily escaping Dr. Flint's relentless pursuit of her body. To avoid concubinage, Brent engages in a sexual relationship and becomes pregnant as a means of self-preservation. Nevertheless, the narrator expresses conflicting sentiments about this sexual involvement. As Yellin notes, the narrative's tone undergoes a considerable shift when Brent begins to discuss her affair (2030). Even though Brent is elsewhere quite specific and descriptive of her experiences, the explicit details of her sexual relationship with Mr. Sands are not addressed. Rather than unabashedly presenting her course of action as the most sensible option, Brent renders herself fallen and apologizes profusely. Conceding the immorality of her behavior, the penitent narrator implores that her audience forgive her transgressions. "Pity me, and pardon me, O virtuous reader!" she pleads (2039). "I know I did wrong. . . .  The painful and humiliating memory will haunt me to my dying day" (2039). Yet, Brent also expresses the sentiment, "I feel that the slave woman ought not to be judged by the same standard as others," which in effect acknowledges the limited nature of the opportunities available to all female slaves (2039).

The fact that Brent presents her sexual relationship and subsequent pregnancy as a choice is hardly trivial. Subverting her seemingly detrimental position as a female, she renders her body an advantageous instrument in eluding her master's attempt to coerce her into concubinage. The very body that Dr. Flint seeks to possess, Brent uses against him, essentially reclaiming a measure of power over her circumstances. Though Brent laments her decision as an unfortunate and necessary alternative to becoming a concubine, she also notes the satisfaction of giving herself to an individual who reciprocates romantic affection. "There is something akin to freedom in having a lover who has no control over you," Brent asserts (2039). She remains fully aware of the power she has regained as a consequence of her actions. Brent's greatest regret does not appear to be the actual decision to have an affair, for she describes the anticipation of revealing her future maternity to her master; it is the loss of respect that she will incur from her

family that most troubles Brent. The narrator's relatives (her grandmother, in particular) are, indeed, disappointed with her conduct—a disappointment that reflects their acceptance of the standards of virtue for women in the nineteenth century.

Social concepts about the role of a mother further affect Brent's slavery experience. Though Brent cares deeply for her children, their presence is a source of ambivalence, simultaneously tethering her to the institution of slavery and motivating her to seek freedom. Another shift in the narrative's tone underscores a change in Brent's primary focus, as the narrator's concern for personal safety becomes secondary to her concern for the welfare of her children. Speaking of her daughter, she relates, "I knew the doom that awaited my fair baby in slavery, and I determined to save her from it, or perish in the attempt" (2044). As a mother, one of Brent's greatest fears is that her children (especially her daughter) will eventually contend with the same hardships she has faced. Realizing that she cannot secure the liberty of her children while she remains in bondage, Brent resolves to run away. But before she flees, Brent's grandmother admonishes her for breaching an "inherent" motherly obligation, implying that Brent must continue to sacrifice freedom for the sake of her children. "Stand by your own children, and suffer with them till death. Nobody respects a mother who forsakes her children," her grandmother scolds (2045). Further demonstrating widely held beliefs about a mother's natural duty to her children, the Flints assume that bringing Brent's children to the plantation will "fetter [her] to the spot" (2046). Upon discovering their intentions, however, Brent finally moves to escape, reasoning that plantation life would harm her children more than her temporary absence; in this way, the narrator uses the children with which her master sought to entrap her as inspirational stepping stones to the acquisition of freedom.

*Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl* by Harriet Ann Jacobs reveals the challenges presented to female slaves in the nineteenth century. The author's sex poses potential dangers and limits her available options, thus shaping her choices. Nevertheless, if Jacobs is bound by biology, it is only temporarily so. Though she cannot alter her status as an African American female, she does find methods of using these seemingly unfavorable characteristics to her advantage. Jacobs's alter ego Linda Brent is far from a helpless and submissive victim, and Jacobs herself ultimately seizes the greatest power of all—the power to endure. Jacobs eventually gained her freedom, as did her children, and she was granted the satisfaction of outliving the master who subjected her to immeasurable degradation. Moreover, Jacobs's narrative continues to proclaim the evils of the institution of slavery while denouncing the actions of the individuals who supported that institution. Finally, *Incidents* has secured its author's place in history, forever lending a voice to the countless female slaves who were unable to personally relate their own tales of hardship.

**Works Cited**

Jacobs, Harriet Ann. "Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl." Lauter 2031–2054.

Lauter, Paul, ed. *The Heath Anthology of American Literature*. 5th ed. Vol. B Early Nineteenth Century: 1800–1865. New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2006.

Yellin, Jean Fagan. "Harriet Ann Jacobs 1813–1897." Lauter 2029–2031.

# Cream, Sugar, and Christianity:
## An Ethnographic Study of Religion and Coffeehouses in Springfield, Missouri

### Miles Adam Park

### Abstract

The sacred is often understood to be spatially, temporally, and categorically distinct from the pro-fane. However, recent studies in popular culture and modern spiritual movements have raised substantial doubts about such religious compartmentalization. This study adds a localized and particular viewing of how this conventional distinction is being unconventionally fused in Springfield, Missouri. Here, coffee is clearly a popular form of religious consumption. Business and religious entrepreneurs alike have recognized this demand. To investigate, I conducted several observations in three local coffee shops—a stylish downtown café with diverse clientele, a not-for-profit coffee bar across from Missouri State University's campus supported by the Church of Nazarene, and a Starbucks inside James River Assembly of God. This project seeks to under-stand the religious dynamics of each establishment and to demonstrate the relationship between modern coffee culture and contemporary religion. To do this, I employ ethnographic methods—I analyze the use of space and materials, and include nineteen interviews from employers, employees, and customers. This provides empirical evidence to the intended and actual function of each respective store. In so doing, I uncover a secular coffeehouse religious only by default, an intentionally ordinary but implicitly religious café, and a multinational corporation used for evangelical ends—all part of a new manifestation of java-flavored religiousness.

---

*Human beings project meaning into the places they inhabit.*
—*Conrad Ostwalt*, Secular Steeples

*"In times of great population shifts, occupational and geographic mobility, and rapid cul-tural changes, religion reinvents itself in response to its social circumstances."*
—*Wade Clark Roof*, Spiritual Marketplace

With a church building on nearly every street corner and the Assemblies of God National Head-quarters a mile from the town square, one does not have to look hard to find religion in Spring-field, Missouri. Not to underestimate the significance of religious institutions, but in this Bible Belt city, they are commonplace. If one wants to practice religion, be around religious people,

hear religious music, see religious art, and talk religious talk, one can simply go to church. How-ever, religion does not seem to be constrained behind the brick, wood, and mortar of traditional institutions. Religion has apparently found its way behind the walls of buildings not crowned with steeples in this average-sized Ozarks city. Evidently, the blessed walls of church have sprung a leak and religion is seeping out. But what are we to make of this boundary crossing, this slip-page of the sanctified? Has religion really wandered into places other than church? And if so, is this phenomenon indicative of the secularization of the sacred or the sacralization of the secular? Is the holy becoming more profane or is the mundane becoming more hallowed? What is the nature of this re-constructed, re-located religion?

By talking to owners, employees, and customers, and through observing the use of space in some potential boundary-crossing hotspots, I hope to answer such questions. I find the local cafés and baristas to be particularly fruitful in this respect. As Jenna Weissman Joselit, Wade Clark Roof, Dan Sack, and others have shown, religion and food share an intimate relationship.[1] Sack even lists coffee as one of the choice food items that facilitate communal activity for American Protestants, which is certainly relevant here.[2] After all, coffeehouses are some of the "great good places" between home and work that people often seek.[3] Clearly, coffee has become a popular form of consumption (Starbucks alone cleared $158 million net income in 2007)[4]; as a result, not only business, but also religious entrepreneurs have recognized this demand. My intentions are thus to shed some light on the religious nature and orientation of various coffeehouses in and around the Springfield, Missouri area. In so doing, I hope to add to the research on food and religion that scholars have recently undertaken. So, as one evangelical author put it, does "coffee talk make the best God talk"?[5] To investigate, I conducted several interviews and observations in three local stores—a stylish downtown café with diverse clien-tele, a not-for-profit coffee bar supported by the Church of Nazarene across from Missouri State University's campus, and a Starbucks inside James River Assembly of God.[6]

---

[1] See Jenna Weissman Joselit, "Kitchen Judaism," in *The Wonders of America* (New York: Henry Holt & Company, 1994); Colleen McDannell, "Lourdes Water and American Catholicism," in *Material Christianity: Religion and Popular Culture in America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995); Wade Clark Roof, "Blood in the Barbeque: Food and Faith in the American South," in *God in the Details* (New York: Routledge, 2001); Dan Sack, "On Deciphering a Potluck: The Social Meaning of Church Socials," in *Whitebread Protestants* (New York: Palgrave, 2000); Robert C. Fuller, *Religion and Wine: A Cultural History of Wine Drinking in the United States* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1996); Carole Counihan and Penny Van Estrik, eds., *Food and Culture: A Reader* (New York: Routledge, 1997); Etta M. Madden and Martha L. Finch, eds., *Eating in Eden: Food and American Utopias* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006). And for a comparative selection of primary sources, see Kerry S. Walters and Lisa Portmess, eds., *Religious Vegetarianism: From Hesiod to Dalai Lama* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2001).

[2] Sack, 61.

[3] Ray Oldenburg, *The Great Good Place: Cafes, Coffee Shops, Bookstores, Bars, Hair Salons and Other Hangouts at the Heart of a Community* (New York: Marlowe & Company, 1999).

[4] The Wall Street Journal Online, "Trouble Brewing at Starbucks (SBUX)," November 23, 2007, http://research.investopedia.com/news/IA/2007/Trouble_Brewing_At_Starbucks_SBUX.aspx (accessed December 4, 2007).

[5] Leonard Sweet, *The Gospel According to Starbucks: Living with a Grande Passion* (Colorado Springs, Colorado: Water-Brook Press, 2007), 3.

[6] The research and first draft of this essay was conducted and composed during the spring semester 2006. Please par-don any dated material.

## Semantic Issues

In many ways, discussion in this essay will largely revolve around dichotomized notions like "secular" and "sacred," or "holy" and "profane."[7] As such, there is a continuing theme throughout my project. This theme results from emphasizing a definitional curiosity raised by such polarized lexicon. Robert Orsi, R. Laurence Moore, Conrad Ostwalt, Heather Hendershot and many others have recognized this.[8] I intend to contribute to this discussion. Indeed, to posit "worldly" and "nonworldly" categories is questionable, and because of the common use of such religious/nonreligious rhetoric, this aspect of the essay merits some further elaboration and definitional caveats.

Terms such as *sacred*, *holy*, and *sacrosanct* are often used in an exclusive fashion. Items or events described with these religiously loaded notions are held as distinct from the *secular*, *profane*, and *mundane*. There is a traditional understanding of a religious-nonreligious dichotomy at work here. As Moore puts it, we often "conceptualize with binary minds."[9] Instead of an incrementally graded taxonomical scale or a recognition of ambiguity, there is a simple, polarized categorical system. With this Manichean-like worldview, there is a black-and-white distinction between the sacred and profane; however, this study will indicate some slippage into the grey. These definitional issues will be indirectly spearheaded.

## Project Description

With my intention being to examine the religious dynamics of various coffeehouses, I will here specify the procedures and methods used in this project. My inquiry involves two components:

---

[7] For earlier treatments of these thought-to-be mutually exclusive categories, see Mircea Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion*, trans. Willard R. Trask (New York: Harcourt, 1987), Peter Berger, *The Sacred Canopy: Elements of a Sociological Theory of Religion* (New York: Anchor Books, 1990), and Émile Durkheim, trans. by Carol Cosman *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

[8] See Robert Orsi: "2+2=5: Can we begin the think about unexplained religious experience in ways that acknowledge their existence?," in *The American Scholar* (Spring 2007), retrieved March 28, 2008, from http://www.theamericanscholar.org/archives/sp07/225-orsi.html; *Between Heaven and Earth: The Religious World's People Make and the Scholars Who Study Them* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005); "Everyday Miracles in Lived Religion: Toward a History of Practice* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997); *The Madonna of 115th Street: Faith and Community in Italian Harlem, 1880–1950* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985); *Thank You, St. Jude: Women's Devotion to the Patron Saint of Hopeless Causes* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996); and, ed., *Gods of the City: Religion and the American Urban Landscape* (Bloomington: Indian University Press, 1999). Also, R. Laurence Moore, *Selling God: American Religion in the Marketplace of Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994); Conrad Ostwalt, *Secular Steeples: Popular Culture and the Religious Imagination* (Harrisburg: Trinity Press International, 2003); Heather Hendershot, *Shaking the World for Jesus: Media and Conservative Evangelical Culture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004); Nancy T. Ammerman, ed., *Everyday Religion: Observing Modern Religious Lives* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); David Chidester, *Authentic Fakes: Religion and American Popular Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005); Talal Asad, "The Construction of Religion as an Anthropological Category," in *Genealogies of Religion: Discipline and Reasons of Power in Christianity and Islam* (London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993); Teresa L. Reed, *The Holy Profane: Religion in Black Popular Music* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2003); and Clifford Geertz, "Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture" and Religion as a Cultural System," in *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973).

[9] Moore, 8.

(1) an analysis of each location's observable attributes, and (2) interviews with the owners, managers, employees, and customers of these stores. The first is observational and the second is sociological. This two-dimensional approach will thus facilitate discerning the religiosity of each respective store through (1) considering the explicitly, perceptively available characteristics and (2) understanding the actual and intended function(s) of these stores.

By taking into account the tangible, tactile aspects of each store (e.g. music, literature, art, signs, décor, etc.) we may gain a better understanding of any overt religious orientation, for these aspects partly constitute the customer's experience. Ostensible religiousness reflects intentional religion. There may be perceivably religious qualities within these java-scented walls, but even if there are not, we are one step closer to the conclusion of our categorical quest. Therefore, I incorporate the experience each store offers as a means of understanding its particular religious dynamic.

What I hope to uncover in the sociological dimension of my inquiry is the function of each respective café, religious or not, through participant observation. Naturally, the purpose of these stores is determined by how individuals use them. As such, the second aspect of this project relies on the responses gathered from nineteen interviews.[10] At the Mudhouse, there were six participants: one owner, two employees, and three customers. The subjects, two of which were male and four female, ranged from 18 to 42 years of age. Participants from the James River Assembly Starbucks were five in total: two customers, two employees, and one manager. Of these participants, whose ages ranged from 18 to 23, two were female and three male. At the Potter's House, two employees, three volunteers, two customers, and one owner were interviewed, for a total of eight subjects. Of these eight, there were six males and two females whose ages ranged from 19 to 52. In all of the interviews, the subjects were asked their opinions about the purpose of the store as well as their personal use of it. The subjects were also asked their opinion of the religious or secular orientation of the store. Observation, opinion, and use are thus considered in determining the religious or secular nature of each cafe.[11] By these methods, I intend to reveal the religiosity or secularity of the coffeehouses in my study.

---

[10] This project is in compliance with stipulations set forth by the Institutional Review Board (IRB) for the Protection of Human Subjects. The project was subject to a full IRB review and given approval. I have completed the appropriate Human Participant Training. Each interviewee has read and signed an informed consent document. The necessary documentation for this project is accounted for.

[11] Not addressed here, however, is the theoretical problematic of ethnographic representation—of writing, authority and responsibility. For scholarly engagements of said issues, see James Clifford and George E. Marcus, eds., *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), especially Clifford, "On Ethnographic Allegory," Paul Rabinow, "Representations are Social Facts: Modernity and Post-Modernity in Anthropology," and Marcus, "Contemporary Problems of Ethnography in the Modern World System." Also, James V. Spickard, J. Shawn Landers, and Meredith B. McGuire, eds., *Personal Knowledge and Beyond: Reshaping the Ethnography of Religion* (New York: New York University Press, 2002); James Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988), especially "On Ethnographic Authority"; Michael Jackson, *Paths Toward a Clearing: Radical Empiricism and Ethnographic Inquiry* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989); Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln, eds., *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, 2nd ed, (London: Sage Publications, 2000); Joan W. Scott, "The Evidence of Experience," *Critical Inquiry* Vol. 17, No. 4, (Summer, 1991): 773–797; Judith Stacey, "Can There be a Feminist Ethnography?" *Women's Studies International Forum* Vol. 11, No. 1 (1988): 21–27; Margery Wolf, *A Thrice Told Tale: Feminism, Postmodernism and Ethnographic Responsibility* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992); Henry Louis Gates, Jr., ed., *"Race," Writing, and Difference* (Chicago: University of

### The Mudhouse: "Coffeehouses Don't Trivialize Religion . . . Religion Trivializes Coffeehouses"

Like a hound dawg on a trail, I follow the downtown sidewalk until I find the source of my attraction. As I open the door, I am bombarded with a bouquet of brewing coffee and baking pastries; my tail wags. This aromatic ambrosia overloads my olfactory system with unknown pleasures sending the saliva flowing like a broken levy. Artistic photographs cover the walls illuminated by serpentine-like fixtures suspended from the high-vaulted ceilings with thin but sturdy wires. The sounds of slow, cool brassy jazz quietly reverberate off the red brick walls. I am inclined to mark my territory. My eyes scan the long and narrow café. Many faces are intently buried in books, newspapers, and laptops. Others talk quietly. Searching for a suitable vantage point, I walk past a group of praying women, hands clasped and heads bowed, and find a cozy corner table dimly illuminated by a small lamp with an aesthetic personality all its own. Across from the plush leather couches is the house reading selection. "Orgasms Unlimited: How to Achieve a Feel-Good Explosion . . . and then Another . . . and Another," reads the May 2006 edition of *Cosmopolitan*. The junior-high-boy in me is intrigued, but I restrain myself. As I sit contently sipping on my piping-hot gourmet coffee, nibbling on a freshly made scone still oven-warm, the man next to me quietly but noticeably sings a church hymn to himself. My canine senses are confused—just what kind of house is the Mudhouse?

After sizing-up the welcoming café, I came to realize that religion in the Mudhouse resides only in its (occasional) function—the praying women, the singing man—some people use it for religious purposes. The art-covered walls had no discernible religious theme. The signs, posters, and menu lacked religious rhetoric. The music included the Beatles, jazz, Santana, and everything in between except for John Tesh, gospel, songs of praise, or even U2. The house literature talked of orgasms, fashion, the outdoors, science, technology, politics, and of course, movie stars, but not religion. There was no Bible next to the *National Geographic*. In the Mudhouse, religion is invoked not by the store but by the customers.

When asked about the intended purpose of his store, Brian was sure to emphasize the product. "Our food is kind of our ideology," Brian proudly responded. With all the fervor and confidence of a winemaker at his own vineyard, Brian reassured me, "We're really picky about our coffee here." At the Mudhouse, they roast their own coffee, blend their own smoothies, and bake their own pastries. Almost every product is dreamt up and painstakingly put together by the Mudhouse masterminds, under the Mudhouse roof. With the proof in the mug, Brian claimed, "We're here for the coffee . . . that's our main agenda."

Even though the coffee may be high atop Brian's priority list, he does not forget the customers. His aim is to accommodate "anybody and everybody." For Brian, there is no target demographic centered in the Mudhouse crosshairs. Here, diversity is catered and pluralism fostered.

Chicago Press, 1985), especially Gates "Writing 'Race' and the Difference it Makes"; Stephen Prothero, "Belief Unbracketed: A Case for the Religion Scholar to Reveal More of Where He or She is Coming From," *Harvard Divinity Bulletin*, retrieved March 28, 2008, from http://www.hds.harvard.edu/news/bulletin/articles/prothero.html; and Robert Orsi, David Chidester, Pamela E. Klassen, and R. Marie Griffith, "Four Responses to 'Belief Unbracketed,'" *Harvard Divinity Bulletin*, retrieved March 28, 2008, from http://www.hds.harvard.edu/news/bulletin/articles/orsi_et_al.html.

When asked who uses the Mudhouse, one employee succinctly said, a "diverse crowd," and another, with equally encompassing idiom, "all walks of life." Two 24-year-old, self-described Christian women even said they felt "more comfortable" at the Mudhouse than "Christian coffeehouses" because, here, there is a "bigger variety of people." Another woman praised (what she thought to be) this store's secular clientele. "Barnes & Noble is full of Christians," she claimed, "I will not go there." For her, the Mudhouse is a secular oasis in a desert of Christians. (Perhaps she did not see devout man reading his Bible three tables away.) Religious, nonreligious, or sacrilegious, apparently Brian's open-door policy works. Everyone is welcome and nearly everyone comes.

But what do all these people actually do at the Mudhouse? The piously praying women and the devoutly singing man were not the only ones who occupy their time here with religious endeavors. Even though the two 24-year-old women were just nostalgically reminiscing on this particular visit, one of them mentioned that she used to "disciple" to a girl here. In friendly spirits, one employee told of regular visitation from a group of Bible-toting regulars whom he referred to as the "god squad." But of course, religion is not the only thing that passes time for Mudhouse customers. One of the girls I interviewed was studiously studying Latin (until I interjected with my tedious inquiry). At one point, the cozy café was flooded with the blue and yellow uniforms of a peppy, high school cheerleading team. On occasion, Brian has even seen some MSU classes meet here. Almost anything goes: praying, web surfing, reminiscing, writing, disciplining, reading, studying, chatting, or just sitting. With ample acceptance, Brian claims, "people can do whatever they want here as long as they don't bug or infringe upon other people."

Religion is present in the Mudhouse not because it is religiously oriented but because it facilitates religious people. After all, this is the Bible Belt. Religion has seeped through these icon-less walls, but only because it was smuggled in. When asked if he thought coffeehouses being used for evangelical purposes trivialized religion, Brian responded in half jest, "No. I think it trivializes coffee actually." The only ideological themes I found at the Mudhouse were in the top-shelf coffee and (except for those with no shoes and no shirt) universal accommodation. Otherwise, in the words of Brian, the Mudhouse is "just a super laid back kind of place." As such, it may be said that the Mudhouse has a secular business approach with some religious function. And, if I may be a cheeky food critic, even though this may not be "god's house," the Mudhouse is a place of saintly scones, consecrated coffee, sanctified smoothies, and miraculous muffins.

## The Potter's House: "A Bar with a Different Drink"

With all the disappointment of an alcoholic inebriately staring into an empty whiskey bottle, I sat gazing into my recently voided glass, once full of fruity smoothie. Like all good things, my smoothie had come to an end. I cast my eyes around the brightly lit, window-filled room. Time to stretch my legs. I walk quietly through the house-like café. I feel as if I should be watching over my shoulder for a Minotaur as I make my way through the three-storied labyrinth including a patio, deck, and several small rooms and niches filled with inviting couches and homework-conducive tables. Classic rock softly emanates from the speakers, Neil Young, The Who, and my favorite, Led Zepplin. Could this be the "Stairway to Heaven"?

College-aged men and women talk amongst themselves. The more pragmatically minded tediously toil over homework. Others piously read their Bibles. "F" "A" "I" "T" "H," I read vertical-wise on the tattooed forearm of one backpack-toting customer. In the next room is a girl sporting some Bible quoting "witness wear."[12] Another girl wore a shirt that read, "Satan is a nerd." That's odd, I thought, nearly everyone was smiling warmly and interacting heavily—I had not seen that many smiles and good-spirited comradery since "Dead Day" last semester.

I notice on the television suspended high in the corner that the Cubs are down as usual. Nearby, next to the front door is a stack of *GO* magazines. "Sober? How to Pull it off in Springfield," read the cover.[13] I investigate. Bingo! Potter's House, it says, is one of a few local spots "to enjoy a bar-like atmosphere without being in an actual bar."[14] On the shelf nearby were conveniently bookmark-shaped advertisements for *Beyond the Gates of Splendor* and the *End of the Spear*—two Christian-oriented productions. Next to it was a "MSU Campus Ministers' Association" pamphlet. "Join us!" it encouragingly yet imperatively said. Occupying the row of another shelf, above the board games and cards, were some Christian inspiration books and an old pinkish Bible. I continue to case the joint. On several windows, I notice concert flyers for local Christian musicians taped up for the more curious and perceptive. Covering the walls were photographs taken of the Katrina disaster, each accompanied by an explanatory narrative. Sufficiently inspired, I knew it was time to sit and ponder. I find a table on the porch next to a friendly faced individual puffing away at a cigarette. "Sup," he says, lifting his chin. Next to him were three girls talking about beef jerky. Curiouser and curiouser, I thought.

Although I had to look for it, some overt aspects of religion were indeed present at "The Po Ho" (as the regulars call it). But this subtle presence is exactly what the owners and employees want. Courtney (23), the public relations director for the Potter's House, put it best: "We don't want people to see this as a Christian coffeehouse." For Courtney, a nonreligious identity is the gateway to Po Ho's success. Religion can often be a repellent, which is why Courtney wants the store to be a religiously "nonthreatening environment." Steve, the executive director of the store, chose the name the "Potter's House" because it lacked an explicitly religious message (even though it does reference a metaphor for Yahweh in Isaiah 64:8). He "didn't want the name to be a barrier" to nonchurchgoers. Both Steve and Courtney have sought to repackage the religious message to fit the times. Evidently, entrepreneurial evangelicals like Steve and Courtney must adopt secular rhetoric if they are to communicate with individuals outside of their religious traditions.

Although the name and building may appear secular, the underlying ideology is far from it. The mission statement devoutly asserts,

> The Potter's House exists to share the Gospel of Jesus Christ and the Christian faith with the university and college campus. Motivated by the Great Commandment [Matthew 22:37–38] and the Great Commission [Matthew 28:19–20], our purpose

---

[12] Hendershot, 17.

[13] *GO: Metro Springfield's Tee-Totaling Guide to Entertainment, Culture and Driving People Home*, ed. Matt Lemmon, Vol. 1, Issue 19 (April 26–May 9, 2006).

[14] Ibid., 19.

is to introduce college students to Jesus Christ; encourage the development of relationships in the Body of Christ; discipling [sic] them into spiritual maturity; equipping them for ministry; then sending them out to the world with a message of hope.

Nothing subtle there—the function of the Potter's House is to evangelize. Sounding like a modernized and simplified Nicene Creed, one passage that summed up Po Ho opinion read, "What We Believe: The one living God, who eternally exists in three persons: the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, loves everyone." Other opinion passages included details about the divine inspiration of the Bible, original sin, reconciliation, and, of course, repentance. On paper, the Po Ho philosophy and agenda clearly smack of Christianity.

In action, however, the religious ideology of the Potter's House is more about personal interaction than personal beliefs, more about practice than theory. The emphasis is on the development of relationships rather than on the spreading of correct religious belief. Evangelization is not done with doctrine, but with friendly action. Both Steve and Courtney were quick to couch their explanation of Po Ho's purpose in pragmatic, relational dictum rather than the religious rhetoric canonized in their mission statement. "Relationships are a lot more important than an agenda," Steve claimed. To ensure any potential relationships he and his like-minded coworkers might cultivate with the unchurched, and as a failsafe against stepping on any doubting-Thomas toes, Steve openly regulates convictional dialogue in his café; there are more isolated areas for this. Religious discourse is discouraged on the main floor of the Po Ho. The basement and small rooms in the uppermost floor are the designated areas for such religious expression. These are the preordained, plotted spaces where Bible studies, prayer meetings, and book study groups discussing abstinence or other college-aged Christian issues often take place. These are the places where the Po Ho Christian community can openly bond through their beliefs.

Courtney agreed on a like method as she expressed similar concern about scaring off the nonreligious. "We become friends," and, "develop relationships," she emphasized. Courtney often leads the discussion groups where the Po Ho bonds seem to be most nurtured. The idea is to teach religion less by word and more by action. Thus, in an attempt to bridge the divide between believers and nonbelievers, the Potter's House apostles shy away from more overt forms of Christian expression, or "Christianese" as one employee creatively put it. But in an attempt to facilitate the relationship between believers, these spiritual leaders are more than willing to talk religion in the right place. Religion is most certainly present at the Po Ho, but only for those who seek it.

The adopting of secular rhetoric and isolating of religious conversation that takes place here is due to an anticipated audience. The Po Ho's targeted social clientele is, as Steve put it, "college students," the "unchurched," and even, "people who got tired of the institution [i.e. the church]." Courtney concurred, saying, "Our target audience is people who are not Christian." It seems that Steve and Courtney both realize that "if religious traditions attempt to remain aloof from contemporary culture, they will cease to be dynamic and relevant."[15] Like animals, religions are subject to a Huxleyan survival of the fittest, and as a result, adaptation is key. By reaching out to those who feel alienated from established forms of faith, and by making religion

---

[15] Ostwalt, 24.

available at the risk of transgressing traditional religious structures, those who control the Potter's House reins are true storeowners in the "spiritual marketplace."[16] The Po Ho leaders know their clientele and are perfectly aware of religious supply and demand. As Wade Clark Roof put it, "religious and spiritual leaders are in positions to envision beliefs and practices appropriate to changing circumstances."[17] Potter's House itches the religious where they scratch, but does not chafe the unchurched.

Like all good leaders, Steve, Courtney, and the other Po Ho executives know their audience. They are aware of the "forging of new spiritual styles" and the growing mistrust toward institutional religion.[18] Steve put it this way: "at this stage of life, college students don't fit in the church setting."[19] Something more is needed. The problem: like a Biblical epiphany, Steve realized after a late night drive in and around the campus area several years ago that the only places accommodating student night life were bars. The solution: conscious of a vacuous niche in Springfield's social scene, Steve saw a perfect opportunity to provide.[20] Mirroring secular culture style, the Po Ho turned out to be, as the Assistant Director Sampson put it, a "bar with a different drink." Like the churches in nineteenth-century Chicago, Potter's House seeks to provide "alternatives to the city's tempting entertainment."[21] By all appearances, the Potter's House is intentionally a virgin daiquiri on the Springfield nightlife menu.

Clearly, spiritual suppliers at the Potter's House are mindful, as one scholar put it, that "an open, competitive religious economy makes possible an expanded spiritual marketplace which, like any marketplace, must be understood in terms both of 'demand' and 'supply.'"[22] A place like the Potter's House is what many people demand, and a place like the Potter's House is what Steve supplied. Good investment.

As one might expect, given the schism between the official Potter's House religious ideology and the unofficial Po Ho relational practice, the descriptive language referencing the café was equally varied. The president described it as an "oasis," a place "flavored with Christianity" where one can "get away from the world." But, he also explained, it's "just a coffeehouse." In the Potter's House newsletter, Courtney used the phrase "secret place" to intimately categorize her coffee-scented place of employment.[23] One volunteer called the Po Ho "a safe haven" with a "community feel." Two customers (college students) dubbed it a "religious setting." Sampson, who

---

[16] Wade Clark Roof, *Spiritual Marketplace: Baby Boomers and the Remaking of American Religion* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999).

[17] Ibid., 78.

[18] Ibid., 181.

[19] Steve qualified his position here by saying, in reference to the Potter's House, "I don't want it to be a replacement" for the church. Far from being in a competitive mood, Steve claimed, "I don't want to be an adversary to the church," and, "This by itself, the coffeehouse, is not enough to sustain spiritual growth."

[20] To clarify, Steve's opportunistic intentions as he related them to me, were not financial. At the time, he was just asked by his church to minister to the youth and this was his contribution. The "opportunity," for Steve, was a ministry.

[21] Daniel Sack, "On Deciphering a Potluck: The Meaning of Church Socials," *Material History of American Religion Project,* 1997, retrieved Mary 27, 2007, from http://www.materialreligion.org/journal/potluck.html.

[22] Roof, 78.

[23] "Personal Growth," *The Potter's House Newsletter*, Vol. 2, Issue 1 (March, 2006). In her descriptions, Courtney used quotation marks for when speaking of the Po Ho being a "secret place."

incidentally and ironically lacks hair, declared that the Potter's House was "like a business," but it is "a coffeehouse that is also a ministry." The Po Ho is a definitional curiosity that can only be described as both/and. On the lexical level, the coexistence of religious phrases with secular locutions reflects the "commodification" of religion with secular culture.[24] These dualistic descriptions also reflect the tension of trying to be fluid while being grounded[25]—the Po Ho is fluidly progressive in practice yet its beliefs are codified, canonized and grounded in a mission statement. Nevertheless, the Potter's House is the result of a religious adaptation of popular social trends. As such, the Po Ho can be seen through two lenses—one that reveals the holy and another that uncovers the profane.

Whatever religiousness the Potter's House lacks in appearance, it makes up for in its founding ideology and frequent religious function. In this way, the Po Ho brand of evangelism is a "resacralization of everyday life," and represents a reactive posture *with* modernity, not against it.[26] There is not a rejection, but an adaptation of secular style. There is a practical alteration of popular culture to religion and a modification of religion to popular culture. However, religion has not been necessarily trivialized; it has only been adapted in this survival of the fittest. The secular has been "religified" and the sacred has been secularized, but this synthesis does not automatically water down or reduce religion. I agree with Hendershot when she succinctly claims, "the assumption that the market in evangelical goods is a sign of shallow faith is simplistic."[27] If anything, Po Ho's progressive religiosity, being on newly developed and uncharted territory, is more convoluted and complex.

## *Starbucks at a Megachurch: "Get Involved in a Ministry!"*

I follow streams of cars as they empty into a sea-sized parking lot. Teams of smiling strangers in brightly colored vests kindly wave as I creep by. Pulling into an empty parking space, I notice an opinionated bumper sticker on the car next to me that piously professes, "ONLY REAL MEN LOVE JESUS!" My masculinity is already challenged and I have yet to get out of the car. Fortunately, I have plenty of time to swallow my pride as I make the long trek past the countless rows of cars to the Titan-sized church. Past the "River Fitness Center," the ATM, the bookstore, and just outside the main sanctuary in the voluminous atrium, I finally reach my destination—Starbucks.

In true Huckleberrian form, I skip service and indulge my own agenda—coffee. That's funny, I think to myself as I place my order, this Starbucks is perceptually indistinguishable from any other Starbucks: the pastries, the walls, the counter, the cups, the sugar packets, the little cylinder push-it-yourself coffee dispensers, all the same. How franchisey, I thought, the coffee even tastes the same. Luckily, everyone else had their heart set on service because I got to choose the pick-of-the-table litter. My eye drew me to a table across from "James River Kids"—the church's Discovery Zone-like childcare service. The entire outer wall was colorfully covered with

---

[24] Ostwalt, 29.

[25] Roof, chapter 4 "On Being Fluid and Grounded," 111.

[26] Ibid., 91.

[27] Hendershot, 29.

big-eyed animal caricatures, all painted in a very sanitized, Precious Moments kind of way.[28] Though I dared not venture in, I could see through the panes of glass that this particularly entertaining wing of the church had all the slides, hoops, bars, colored ball pits, and tunnels a kid could want, as well as all the padding, netting, and coffee a caring mother could require. It was a real-life Dr. Seuss wonderland where any Cindy Loo Who could swing on a parjunka, slide down a gaza-gallou, and jump on a flamfluka. Maybe this Starbucks *is* a little different.

Rescanning the Starbucks landscape, I notice a large sign at the end of the counter. "Are you involved in a ministry?" it asked me, "Sign up here! . . . and don't miss out on this opportunity to join the JRA café team and be a part of this exciting, growing ministry!" More curious than George, I go in for a closer look. Pamphlets and flyers abound. Jackpot. "A vital ministry at James River!," one said. It went on, "Get involved! in a JRA Church Operations Ministry as a . . . Coffee Bar . . . Volunteer." How unfranchisey, I thought. My eye catches another exception to the Starbuckian norm. Next to the Starbucks coffee menu hung the smoothie selection. Four in all: "John's Bronco Berry Banana," "Rock 'N' Randy's Pineapple Dream," "Scotty's Peach Party," "Chris' Northwest Berry Bliss." Pictures of four men in funny looking hats surrounded the menu. I inquired. "Those are our four pastors," a girl responded. How even more unfranchisey, I thought. But was this the churchification of Starbucks, or the Starbuckification of church?

When it is a question of who sways who, at first glance it seems Starbucks has the influential say-so. One of the customers opined, there is "nothing to distinguish this coffee shop from others." He was mostly right. Like I said before, this Starbucks is almost perceptually indistinguishable from any other. As one scholar appropriately claimed, "Our sacred places sometimes mimic our secular ones."[29] James River, with a more integrated identity, has been Starbuckified. However, *ipso facto*, "our secular spaces often take on sacred functions."[30] So has Starbucks been churchified? One employee addressed this definitional dilemma claiming, "Yes we're a business, but we're also a ministry"; and spoke of this Starbucks as a "gateway to Jesus Christ." To be a JRA Starbucks employee or volunteer, one must even be a member of the church and attend services regularly (similar to the Willow Creek employee requirements of being "born-again and members").[31] This barista dabbles in more than just the coffee business. Starbucks may not have the influential say-so after all.

Straying far, far from the expected Starbuckian way, the young manager claimed, "We're not here to make money." For what she lacked in capitalistic spirit and corporate aspiration she made up for in evangelistic sentiment. Even the store's chief goal was not monetary gain. This Starbucks is tax exempt; they are officially not-for-profit. As a result, the drinks are slightly cheaper than the normal Starbucks inflation. However, it may be more accurate to say that this Starbucks is not-for-*financial*-profit; for, here, spiritual profit is readily sought. This same innovatively spirited manager claimed, "We have a purpose; and that is to reach out and to represent Christ." One

---

[28] Aaron Ketchell, "The Precious Moments Chapel: Suffering, Salvation, and the World's Most Popular Collectible," *The Journal of American Culture*, Vol. 22 (Fall 1999): 27–33.

[29] Ostwalt, 43.

[30] Ibid.

[31] Sack, 93.

of the customers even described this Starbucks as "a tool for evangelism." The James River Assembly Starbucks mission statement reads: "To share to love of Christ through our service, actions, and words. To develop enthusiastically satisfied customers all the time. To contribute positively to all ministries in the church as well as the community. To recognize that profitability is essential to success." This is a religious institution that recognizes its secular ties, even borrowing directly from the Starbucks Corporation's official mission statement.[32] To evangelize well and conduct business successfully is, here, the Starbucks way. A successful business is a successful ministry, and a successful ministry is a successful business. As far as religion and business goes, one hand washes the other. For these individuals, much like the Christian retailers Colleen McDannell accounts for, "faith, commerce, and technology [are] not understood to be in conflict."[33] Financial gain and spiritual growth are not antithetical. Clearly, this emergent church embraces popular media to help its members *and* others find the supernatural in a relevant way.

So who are the "others" this ministry is targeting? The manager disappointedly claimed that it is "mostly Christians" who use this Starbucks, but only "by default" because it happens to be in a church. She very much wants this café "to be one more thing that can draw in people that need the Lord." Others spoke similarly. One customer described the JRA Starbucks as an "open door to the community." An employee told me that they were "seeker sensitive," and wanted people to experience this evangelized coffeehouse chain "without feeling overwhelmed by religion." This employee believed that for the unchurched, Starbucks was even more "initiative to come to church." And if one needed more reason, first-timers are given a coupon for a free JRA Starbucks. This exemplifies the marketing of Christianity in a consumer-oriented world. As one customer, and fan of the Starbucks mission method said, we "find things in culture that attract people." To him, relevance is key; and the success of a religion relies on its ability to attract adherents. This same customer likens the JRA café to Paul and his mission to Rome. Paul made use of Roman popular culture in Acts 17:23 when he claimed the statue inscribed as the "unknown god" was his God. According to this hermeneutically inclined customer, Paul made use of Roman culture for Roman benefit. I think this Bible-quoting customer would agree with Conrad Ostwalt when he says,

> So we can think in new ways about secularization. It need not destroy religion, nor is it necessarily antagonistic to religion. It might be a catalyst for change, but secularity can also be a partner with traditional religions and religious institutions in the process of making known the sacred.[34]

Modernity is a friend to the entrepreneurial evangelicals of the JRA Starbucks. In the words of one scholar, they are true "apostles of modernity."[35] The common spirit of proselytism

---

[32] This JRA Starbucks mission statement directly borrows from the official Starbucks mission statement with the phrases: "Develop enthusiastically satisfied customers all of the time," and, "Recognize that profitability is essential to our future success." See http://www.starbucks.com/aboutus/environment.asp.

[33] McDannell, 231.

[34] Ostwalt, 12.

[35] Roland Marchland, *Advertising the American Dream: Making Way for Modernity 1920–1940* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 9.

here is highly integrated and progressive. Like the employees and volunteers in Willow Creek's food court, these church members "see it as a ministry, not just work."[36] There is an ambiguous fusion of secular medium and sacred means, testifying not to the disappearance but to the commodification of religion.[37] The secular and the sacred are not compartmentalized here, but synthesized. To borrow a phrase, the religiosity of this "soulcafé" is less in its appearance and more in its intended function—"to represent Christ."[38] As the manager exegetically claimed, "Jesus never changed his message, but he did change his method." This Pauline-spirited barista makes use of America's Roman features. For this Starbuckified church/churchified Starbucks, adaptation and relevance are key.[39]

## Conclusion

In the Queen City of the Ozarks, the holy is not distinct from, but contingent upon the profane. A secular business is used for sacred ends. A religious coffeehouse is hidden in a nonreligious presentation. And, arguably, the number one corporate success story of the last quarter century, the Starbucks Coffee Company, is used as a "gateway to Christ." Unlike Peter Berger's claims, the religious enterprises of this city have not "dichotomized reality into sacred and profane spheres."[40] On the contrary, these local religious endeavors have confused any possibility for clear distinctions. What is clear, however, is that "food provides [these] Protestants with a popular religion."[41]

Much like chicken is said to be the "gospel bird" for U.S. African American churches, coffee is the "gospel drink" for these evangelical Protestants.[42] Indeed, coffee can be a substance that facilitates religious identities and promotes religious expression. In Springfield, coffee and communion wine are not like oil and water; they mix quite well. Coffee, and everything involved with it, can take on sacramental qualities. Sometimes coffee is just coffee, but in this city, coffee shares a very intimate relationship with religion. The Mudhouse, Po Ho, and JRA Starbucks possess and exhibit protean attributes—they are what we make of them; they serve what we take from them, coffee or communion wine.

The sacred and the secular are not two antithetically individual worlds that occasionally collide in these local coffeehouses; they are two ways of describing the same phenomenon,

---

[36] Sack, 93.

[37] Moore, 5.

[38] Sweet, 3.

[39] For more discussion of the religious, evangelical uses of Starbucks see, Sweet. Here, the Starbucks coffee culture and business philosophy is championed as a mimic-worthy model for practicing Christians. Much like Starbucks, Sweet argues, one's spiritual life should be EPIC—Experiential, Participatory, Image-rich, and Connecting. Sweet writes admiringly, "Starbucks knows that people live for engagement, connection, symbols, and meaningful experiences. If you read the Bible, you'll see that the people of God throughout history have known the same thing" (5). For Sweet, the Starbuckian way is not only applicable to the business world; the Starbuckian path is one Christians could benefit by taking as well.

[40] Berger, 26.

[41] Sack, 96.

[42] Jualynne E. Dodson and Cheryl Townsend Gilkes, "There's Nothing Like Church Food," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, Vol. 63, No. 3 (Autumn 1995): 523.

which is why they can be commodified. As is often the case, neatly polarized categories do not accurately reflect the ambiguous nature of reality. Physicists understand and describe light as both particle and wave much like the aforementioned coffee connoisseurs understand and describe these stores as both religious and secular. It is not that the sacred and the secular are false categories. But in the coffee culture of Springfield, Missouri, these poles are of little analytical use. We simply project meaning into the places we inhabit and the things we consume.[43] These coffeehouses are what we make of them—they are polysemous. Now, thanks to the "technophilic," or more specifically, javaphilic tendencies of engaging evangelicals, if one wants to practice religion, be around religious people, or talk religious talk, one can simply go to a coffeehouse.[44] A church house is not the only house where God dwells.

## Recommended Reading

Berger, Peter. *The Sacred Canopy: Elements of a Sociological Theory of Religion*. New York: Anchor Books, 1990.

Dodson, Jualynne E., and Cheryl Townsend Gilkes. "There's Nothing Like Church Food," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, Vol. 63, No. 3 (Autumn 1995): 519–538.

Hendershot, Heather. *Shaking the World for Jesus: Media and Conservative Evangelical Culture*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004.

Ketchell, Aaron. "The Precious Moments Chapel: Suffering, Salvation, and the World's Most Popular Collectible," *The Journal of American Culture*, Vol. 22 (Fall 1999): 27–33.

Marchland, Roland. *Advertising the American Dream: Making Way for Modernity 1920–1940*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985.

McDannell, Colleen. *Material Christianity: Religion and Popular Culture in America*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995.

Moore, Laurence R. *Selling God: American Religion in the Marketplace of Culture*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1994.

Oldenburg, Ray. *The Great Good Place: Cafes, Coffee Shops, Bookstores, Bars, Hair Salons and Other Hangouts at the Heart of a Community*. New York: Marlowe & Company, 1999.

Ostwalt, Conrad. *Secular Steeples: Popular Culture and the Religious Imagination*. Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 2003.

Roof, Wade Clark. *Spiritual Marketplace: Baby Boomers and the Remaking of American Religion*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999.

Sack, Daniel. *Whitebread Protestants: Food and Religion in American Culture*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000.

Sack, Daniel, "On Deciphering a Potluck: The Meaning of Church socials," *Material History of American Religion Project*, retrieved March 27, 2007, from http://www.materialreligion.org/journal/potluck.html

Sweet, Leonard. *The Gospel According to Starbucks: Living with a Grande Passion*. Colorado Springs, Colorado: WaterBrook Press, 2007.

---

[43] Ostwalt, 43.

[44] Hendershot, 28.

# Covet

## Jennifer Busch

### Artist's Statement

The charcoal drawing titled "Covet" is done with various charcoals on drawing paper. It represents the word *covet* as I covet being able to write and do daily tasks with my feet. The entire drawing was done completely with my feet. You can see how I held the various charcoals by the way I hold the charcoal pencil in the drawing.

*Covet*
by Jennifer Busch

# A Study of Framing Effects on the Perception of Crime

**Sarah Beckmann**

## Abstract

The present study explored the effects of framing on people's perceptions of crime. One hundred undergraduate college students (53 men, 47 women) examined an information sheet of crime statistics for City X containing either negatively framed statistics or positively framed statistics. As part of a two-way between-subjects design, participants rated their perceptions of safety and concern for crime regarding City X. The results showed that framing effects were prevalent in the group of students and that they tended to report a higher level of safety and a lower level of concern for crime when presented with the positively framed statistics as opposed to negatively framed statistics. Consistent with predictions, people who are presented with negatively worded crime information are more likely to have a higher concern for crime and a perceived lower safety level.

There is little doubt that ideas and information presented repeatedly will begin to have an effect on the audience's perception and attitude toward it. Through the tenacity of presentation, people begin to accept the information given as fact. This phenomenon can be applied to many different situations, including the perception of crime. Dowler, Fleming, and Muzzatti (2006) suggest that perceptions of crime can be obtained through various outlets, such as movies, television, and other mass media sources, in which crime may be a key component of entertainment and information. The audience to such information may not realize the motive of profit behind such programs. To make this profit, mass media companies sensationalize crime in their sources, seemingly living by the phrase *if it bleeds, it leads.* Dowler et al. (2006) also point out that, to create an audience appeal, news organizations may misrepresent and alter serious crime information. Does the way this information is presented by the media mislead consumers' perceptions of crime in their society?

Past research shows that a certain presentation of a situation or problem can affect people's opinions about the information and their reactions to it. Kahneman and Tversky's (2000) extensive research in the area of framing consistently shows that, when presented with a negatively framed situation as well as a positively framed situation, people more likely choose the positively framed situation. Framing issues in a positive light when compared with the same issue cast in a negative light leads people to choose the positive situation although both provide the exact same information. After conducting their Asian disease study, Kahneman and Tversky found that participants choose positive frame situations because they accentuate benefits whereas the negative frame situations stress risks (Gamliel & Peer, 2006). In Kahneman and

Tversky's research, an article was presented to the participants outlining U.S. preparations for an Asian disease outbreak in which an estimated 600 people will die. The positive frame condition allowed participants to choose one of two options: 200 people will be saved for certain or a one-third chance of everyone being saved and a two-thirds chance of no one being saved (2006). The negative frame condition had corresponding options: 400 people will die for certain or one-third chance of no one dying and two-thirds chance that everyone will die (2006). The participants in the positive frame condition more often chose 200 people to be saved for certain while the negative frame condition participants chose one-third of a chance that no one will die and two-thirds of a chance that everyone will die. These results indicate that participants consistently choose the positive frame situation over the negative frame situation.

Researchers have expanded the use of Kahneman and Tversky's (2000) framing effects to include examination in the areas of justice judgments (Gamliel & Peer, 2006), emotional responses (Gross & D'Ambrosio, 2004), and testing the public health model of reporting (Coleman & Thorson, 2002). Gamliel and Peer (2006) incorporated framing effects into their research concerning justice judgments in the hiring of employees and accepting students into higher educational institutions. Participants in the negative frame condition were asked to reject half of the applicants by one of three methods: rejection based on qualifications, rejection based on random draw, or rejection by a combination of the two. Participants in the positive frame condition were asked to accept half of the applicants by one of the same three methods. Although both conditions technically asked for the same outcome despite the wording, there was a significant difference in how participants responded to accepting or rejecting the applicants. Results showed that those within the positive frame reported a greater likelihood of accepting applicants based on qualification than did those within the negative frame condition (2006).

Although most framing research focuses on participants choosing one framed situation over another, it is also believed that framing can have a significant impact on emotional responses. Identifying a gap in the knowledge of these effects, Gross and D'Ambrosio (2004) conducted a study in which participants were given an article concerning the cause of the Los Angeles riots in 1992. One form of the article emphasized social conditions in the situational frame, and the other identified the rioters' irresponsibility as the cause in the dispositional frame. After questioning the participants about a series of emotions including fear, disgust, and anger, the researchers found that framing had an effect on the differences in individuals' rationalization for their emotions (2004).

Coleman and Thorson (2002) similarly believe that presentation can have an effect on emotional responses to information. They constructed an article as a positive frame situation with an overall theme of crime as a preventable phenomenon. In the negative frame situation, the researchers created a theme of crime as random and unpredictable. Coleman and Thorson (2002) found a significant effect in that participants given the negative frame situation reported more pessimism and despair toward crime than those presented with conditions of a positive frame situation.

To explore the effect of crime presentation on the audience's emotional responses to the crime, this study used framing to present participants with either positive framed crime statistics or negative framed crime statistics. They were then asked to rate various statements of

safety and concern for crime in City X, from which the statistics were derived. Consistent with previous research (Coleman & Thorson, 2002; Gross & D'Ambrosio, 2004; Kahneman & Tversky, 2000), it was expected that participants with positively stated crime information would report a higher perception of safety and a lower perception of concern than would participants presented with negatively framed crime statistics. Because a review of the literature indicated an absence of research concerning framing and types of statistic presentation, information in the present study was included either in the form of a fraction or in a percentage. However, no significant difference between the responses with different presentations was expected.

## Method

### Participants

Data were collected from 100 undergraduate students (53 men, 47 women) at Missouri State University. Participant volunteers ranged in age from 17 to 36 (M = 19.04 years). All participants were enrolled in an introductory psychology course. The participants were treated in accordance with the ethical principles of the American Psychological Association.

### Design and Procedure

A one-way ANOVA design with four levels was used to explore the effect of framing crime information on perceptions of crime. Students in introductory psychology courses were recruited to participate in an investigation exploring attitudes toward a city. Before the study, participants were given a consent form to read carefully and sign. During the experimental session, participants were told to read a crime statistic information sheet about "City X." They used this description to rate statements on a questionnaire concerning their perceptions of safety and concern about crime in this city. Each participant was randomly assigned to one of four experimental conditions and read a crime statistic information sheet containing either negatively framed percentages, positively framed percentages, negatively framed fractions, or positively framed fractions. Following the completion of the questionnaire and a demographic survey, the purpose of the study was explained to participants and they were asked to not discuss it with anyone.

### Materials

After obtaining the participants' informed consent, a three-page packet was randomly distributed to the participants containing a crime statistic information sheet, a perceived safety and concern questionnaire, and a demographic form.

Each crime statistic information sheet contained identical crime facts (e.g., "4 out of 5 crimes in City X are property crimes") and filler information (e.g., "This city has a population of 100,000 people"). While allowing all facts to be identical in content, we created a discrepancy between the negatively framed crime statistics and the positively framed statistics. To do this, we altered the corresponding fraction or percentage and substituted the negative or positive word involved (e.g., "32% of people have been raped"; "68% of people have not been raped"). We presented the positive and negative frames in both fraction and percentage form. Crime facts

included statistics concerning rape, sexual assault, property/violent crimes, and murder. Filler information regarding total crimes committed, city population, and city location was presented.

Following the crime statistic information sheet was the perceived safety and concern questionnaire. Specifically, participants rated their agreement to statements on 7-point scales with endpoints labeled at 1 (*strongly disagree*) and 7 (*strongly agree*): (a) "I would feel safe living in City X"; (b) "I would not feel safe raising my children in City X"; (c) "I would feel comfortable leaving my door unlocked at night in City X"; and finally (d) "I would not be concerned about crime while living in City X."

## Results

A one-way analysis of variance was performed to assess the perceptions of safety and crime toward the crime facts. An inspection of the means in Table 1 revealed a significant main effect of framing crime facts such that participants with the positive crime information rated higher perceptions of living safety in City X than did participants given negative crime information. However, the presentation of the crime information (percentage versus fraction) did not influence the perceptions of safety; participants with negatively framed percentages and negatively framed fractions reported similar ratings just as participants with positively framed percentages and positively framed fractions reported similar ratings.

Further analysis of the results in Table 1 indicates that similar effects were found in the perception of safely raising children in City X. Participants reported higher levels of safety perception concerning their children when presented with positive crime information than did those presented with negative crime information. Similarly, there was no effect with regard to how the crime information was presented (percentage versus fraction).

As seen in Table 1, there was also a main effect of framing the crime information as seen in the ratings of comfort leaving the door unlocked in City X. This is the weakest main effect, however, only being significant at the level of $p < .05$. Again, there is no indication of significance between presentations of crime information.

Participants with positively presented information also consistently rated lower levels of concern for crime than those presented with negative information. The means in Table 1 show that participants with negatively presented information rated a higher level of concern for crime. However, no effect was found between presentation with percentages and fractions.

## Discussion

The results of the present study support our hypothesis that participants with the positive frame would report higher levels of safety and lower levels of concern for crime than would those with the negative frame. Also, no significant difference was found between presenting the crime statistics in the form of fractions or percentages. These results are consistent with previous research on the effects of framing (Kahneman & Tversky, 2000). However, the current study differs from previous research conducted by Kahneman and Tversky (2000) in that participants were only subject to one independent variable. Kahneman and Tversky (2000) asked

**TABLE 1** *Mean and Standard Deviation (SD) Scores of Perception Questionnaire*

|  | % Positive | SD | Fraction Positive | SD | % Negative | SD | Fraction Negative | SD | F(3.96) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Safety | $4.36_1$ | 1.50 | $4.20_1$ | 1.68 | $2.60_2$ | 1.23 | $2.48_2$ | 1.45 | 11.72*** |
| Children | $4.48_1$ | 1.36 | $4.40_1$ | 1.71 | $5.60_0$ | 1.63 | $6.36_0$ | .81 | 10.98*** |
| Door | $2.04_1$ | 1.51 | $1.96_0$ | 1.34 | $1.40_0$ | 1.04 | $1.24_0$ | .52 | 2.93* |
| Concern | $2.92_1$ | 1.35 | $3.00_1$ | 1.58 | $1.92_0$ | 1.04 | $1.92_0$ | 1.00 | 5.65** |

*Note:* The means inside the cells represent the means rating on the 1–7 scale for each dependent variable. Means within the same row which share different letter subscripts are significantly different at the $p < .05$ level according to Tukey $t$-test.

* $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

*** $p < .001$

participants to specifically choose which situation they would prefer over another, whereas the current study emphasized overall perceptions after viewing only one independent variable.

The present study could be extended in several ways. For example, like Coleman and Thorson's (2002) research, the current study could be presented as a media story or newspaper article, with one report incorporating positive frames of the information and another with negatively framed crime information. It would be interesting to explore the differences in perception after reading crime facts in the form of a news story. Also, further studies might analyze the gender effect in responses. One might hypothesize that women may report higher levels of fear and concern for crime than men. Additional research needs to be performed on a broader scope of participants, such as populations in various geographical locations including rural areas and cities.

When testing the reliability of this study by re-conducting the survey, the question concerning comfort of leaving doors unlocked should be omitted and replaced. Although this statement yielded significant results, it may be irrelevant because in any condition, participants may not feel comfortable leaving doors unlocked. Also, the convenience sample of undergraduate college students in this study creates a limitation on the results. If possible, further analysis in this area should involve a randomly drawn representative sample of society.

In closing, the present study indicates that presentation of crime statistics has an effect on the participants' safety and concern for crime. According to these results, reports of crime and violence in the media may influence the way people perceive their environment and amount of crime saturation. The results of this research should be expanded to better understand the effects of mass media crime presentation on people's perception and emotional responses to crime.

## References

Coleman, R., & Thorson, E. (2002). The effects of news stories that put crime and violence into context: Testing the public health model of reporting. *Journal of Health Communication, 7*(5), 401–425.

Dowler, E., Fleming, T., & Muzzatti, S. L. (2006). Constructing crime: Media, crime, and popular culture. *Canadian Journal of Criminology and Criminal Justice, 48*(6), 837–850.

Gamliel, E., & Peer, E. (2006). Positive versus negative framing affects justice judgments. *Social Justice Research, 19*(3), 307–322.

Gross, K., & D'Ambrosio, L. (2004). Framing emotional response. *Political Psychology, 25*(1), 1–29.

Kahneman, D., & Tversky, A. (2000). *Choices, values, and frames.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

# Tell Them Who You Are: The History of Homosexuality on American Television

## Adam Waldowski

### Abstract

This is a concise, but comprehensive history of the representation of homosexuals on American television from the 1960s to present. From early news reports to occasional movies of the week to landmark sitcoms such as *Ellen*, the evolution of gay and lesbian representation on TV has been rapid and inconsistent. Examining the influence of the gay rights movement post-Stonewall, the HIV/AIDS epidemic, and gradual acceptance of regular gay and lesbian characters, it seems that accurate and diverse representation of these characters has only begun to take shape.

---

The Gay and Lesbian Alliance Against Defamation (GLAAD) has observed the scripted shows on television for eleven consecutive years. For the 2006–2007 season, GLAAD estimated how many characters were lesbian, gay, bisexual, or transgendered (LGBT) on the six broadcast networks: ABC, CBS, Fox, NBC, The CW, and MyNetworkTV. GLAAD concluded LGBT characters made up 1.3% of all regular characters on the announced primetime comedies and dramas. Fifteen lead, supporting, and recurring characters were named for broadcast television. Major cable networks contributed another twenty-five scripted representations (GLAAD, 2006).

GLAAD's disappointing 1.3% suggests little progress since the beginning of the gay rights movement, but the history of LGBT representation on television has come far. From frustratingly narrow-minded news coverage in the 1960s to increasing and diverse fictional depictions in the 1970s to today, LGBT representation has gone from invisibility to procuring some of television's most celebrated moments.

Homosexuality first appeared on television on network news during the 1960s. Long before CNN regularly showed men kissing at wedding ceremonies in Massachusetts, news programs featured homosexuality as a one-sided issue in interview formats. Specials on homosexuality were infrequent, but not unheard-of. The *CBS Reports* special from 1967 is now considered infamous, where Mike Wallace considers "the dilemma of the homosexual. Told by the medical profession he is sick, by the law that he's a criminal. Shunned by employers, rejected by heterosexual society. Incapable of a fulfilling relationship with a woman or, for that matter, with a man. At the center of his life, he remains anonymous . . ." The Stonewall riots in 1969 proved the turning point in the gay rights movement, but advancement on television came not through news coverage, but through fictional shows (Walters, 2001).

The first significant fictional portrayal of homosexuality was in *That Certain Summer*, a 1972 made-for-TV movie on ABC. The story is about a divorced father, Doug (Hal Holbrook),

whose teenage son, Nick, comes to visit one summer. His son wonders about Doug's intimate best friend, Gary (Martin Sheen), who always seems to be around seeking Nick's approval. When Nick finds Doug's watch with a personal inscription from Gary on the back, he runs away. His mother (Hope Lange) comes to help find him, leading to a tense discussion of family values, tolerance, and the nature of love. The sympathetic, intelligent drama won an Emmy and Golden Globe, but did not usher in a new era of gay-themed programming (Moritz, 1994).

What instead appeared was a succession of single episodes featuring gay characters on popular programs. Leading the pack was *All in the Family*, which aired an episode with a gay football player in 1971. *Marcus Welby, M.D.*'s title character once hoped to "cure" a homosexual patient. *Family, Police Woman, Hawaii Five-O,* and *Medical Center* each featured gay characters for an episode (Walters, 2001). Even *Mary Tyler Moore* had an episode where Rhoda fell for her neighbor Phyllis's gay brother, played by openly gay actor Bob Moore (Ehrenstein, 1996).

Sitcoms often used this mistaken identity plot device. *Alice, WKRP in Cincinnati,* and *Taxi* were 1970s shows that followed this blueprint for laughs. The notorious *Three's Company* was particularly cruel, basing the entire series on the ruse of a straight man playing gay to keep an apartment with two straight women. Frequently, sitcoms introduced gay characters as effeminate hairdressers or interior decorators. The wacky parody *Soap* delivered different kinds of gay characters and proved the standout among 1970s programs (Walters, 2001).

In his breakthrough role as Jodie Dallas, Billy Crystal played an epicene, but strangely atypical recurring gay character. *Soap*'s early episodes were boycotted by major advertisers, but the show proved an unlikely hit. A particularly poignant episode introduced a strong lesbian character who contemplated suicide when her family kicked her out because of her sexuality. She also became a series regular and later raised a child with Jodie (Walters, 2001).

Made-for-TV movies of the time focused mainly on homosexuals as tragic victims. One noteworthy film was NBC's *A Question of Love* from 1978. Gena Rowlands starred as a lesbian mother fighting to keep custody of her children. Jane Alexander co-starred as her girlfriend (Closs, 1994).

Things changed abruptly in the early 1980s. The nation's conservativeness prompted the Moral Majority's vehement campaign against sex and violence on television. Along with the cancellation of *Soap,* several other shows were hit hard. Special-interest groups convinced ABC and CBS to cancel plans for four separate gay-themed projects (Moritz, 1994).

Especially unlucky was *Love, Sidney*. Premiering in 1981, the show starred Tony Randall as a gay artist. It was the first show with a gay central lead, but public pressure forced producers to eliminate any reference to homosexuality, except a few coded hints. Sidney was kept in the closet for the show's forty episodes. *Love, Sidney* became a bittersweet footnote instead of a television milestone (Moritz, 1994).

Then the tide turned again. In August 1982, Dan Rather brusquely proclaimed on the *CBS Evening News* that the majority of people with AIDS were gay men. Although it is certainly regrettable, AIDS humanized gays on television again and restrained the Moral Majority's stranglehold on programming (Gross & Woods, 1999).

NBC was the first network with a made-for-TV movie about AIDS. *An Early Frost* aired in 1985, telling the story of a young lawyer who is forced out of the closet when he learns he has

AIDS. *An Early Frost* established the formula for future AIDS-related dramas where families and friends are forced to face the awful truth that their loved one is gay and dying. Lesbian critic Andrea Weiss said of the film, "We know he is gay because he tells his disbelieving parents so, but his lack of a gay sensibility, politics and a sense of community make him one of those homosexuals heterosexuals love" (Gross & Woods, 1999). Despite modern criticism, *An Early Frost* is undeniably significant. For the first time, television offered a sympathetic depiction of a gay man with AIDS. The film's fourteen Emmy nominations denote its social impact (Gross & Woods, 1999).

Following the success of *An Early Frost*, gay and lesbian characters reappeared, but not without incident. In the second half of the 1980s, *The Golden Girls, Kate & Allie, Hill Street Blues, Moonlighting, Heartbeat, Hotel,* and *Hunter* all featured lesbian characters. One episode of *Hunter* featured a millionaire's widow and her lesbian lover who helped kill the widow's husband. The Alliance of Gay and Lesbian Artists (AGLA), an activist group working to improve the image of homosexuals on television, considered the portrayal so negative that the group protested. AGLA saw results in a display of unprecedented influence. "The network realized why [we protested] and afterwards came to us and asked us to submit scripts [that would be acceptable]" said AGLA member Jill Balcher (Moritz, 1994).

Steven Carrington of *Dynasty* remains one of the most recognizable gay television characters. Blond, burly Steven's evolution as a regular character was considerable. Actor Al Corley took the part initially, excited to play the first gay main character on a broadcast network drama. However, he quit when producers caved to ABC's demands that Steven be "cured" of his homosexuality. Jack Coleman took over the role and went from a "cured" heterosexual husband to somewhat gay and proud over six years in the role (Walters, 2001).

Officer Zitelli on *Barney Miller* came out near the end of the series. A gorgeous gay next-door neighbor was eye candy for *Cagney & Lacey*'s Chris Cagney. The cast of *Hooperman* included a gay cop (Walters, 2001). Gay and lesbian characters were becoming something seemingly conventional, but the limits of tolerance stretched only so far.

In 1989, ABC witnessed this with its hit show *thirtysomething*. An episode opened with two gay men in bed sharing post-coital thoughts. This drew protests from viewers, but the real trouble came with the pullout of a million-dollar sponsor. This influenced ABC to pull the episode from syndication (Bruni, 1994).

Daytime drama took a break from tales of amnesia and evil twins when *All My Children* introduced a lesbian doctor to the ensemble. She was written off rather quickly, and soap operas remained one of the last television mediums to welcome regular gay characters (Walters, 2001).

The 1990s began relatively quietly, but progress was still being made. Gay characters locking lips became a particularly touchy subject for viewers. *L.A. Law* showed the first kiss between two women in a primetime series in early 1991 and though the controversy was not extensive, the storyline was ended soon after (Bruni, 1994).

Debuting in 1992, *Melrose Place* was particularly frustrating for gay audiences. The original cast included Matt, a gay twenty-something, who had relationships just like everyone else on the show. What set Matt apart was that his sexuality was never visible. In the supposedly gay '90s, Matt was not allowed to be kissed or caressed on camera, unlike his straight counterparts (Walters, 2001).

The first major controversy of the 1990s regarding LGBT programming came in 1994. The show responsible was *Roseanne,* which was no stranger to LGBT content before the episode, called "Don't Ask, Don't Tell," irked conservative organizations. The cast already included characters such as bisexual Nancy Bartlett, gay Leon Carp, and television's first lesbian grandma, Roseanne's mother Bev. Even before airing on March 1, everyone was talking about the episode in question. Executives at ABC, facing pressure from right-wing groups, asked Roseanne to edit a kiss in the episode with guest star Mariel Hemingway or cancel the entire episode. Roseanne refused, proclaiming she would switch networks if the episode was not aired as scheduled. The episode parodied homophobic assumptions and was well-received by critics (Walters, 2001).

The new sensation on NBC went comparatively unscathed. Ross discovered his ex-wife was a lesbian and soon after attended her wedding on *Friends*. She and her partner became series regulars and shared custody of their son (Ehrenstein, 1996).

Docudramas became increasingly popular. Cable network HBO was praised for its made-for-TV movie *And the Band Played On* about the discovery and spread of HIV/AIDS. Richard Gere was credited with helping assemble the film's all-star ensemble when he accepted a role early in production (Walters, 2001).

NBC had an even bigger star in its docudrama *Serving in Silence: The Margarethe Cammermeyer Story*. Glenn Close played the real-life colonel who was discharged from the army when she disclosed she was a lesbian. The Family Defense Council threatened an advertising boycott when they learned a same-sex kiss was featured, but the boycott never happened (Walters, 2001).

The 1990s began breaking the taboo of showing more gay ethnic minorities. The gay brother of Fox's *Roc* was one of the first gay African-American characters. Better known was Carter Heywood, a gay activist and the mayor's liaison to the gay community, on *Spin City* (Walters, 2001).

Reality television brought yet another dimension to the depiction of gays and lesbians. Pedro Zamora affected millions of teenagers on MTV's *The Real World*. The show, which chronicles the daily lives of seven youths sharing an apartment, aired its final episode of the season hours before Zamora died of an AIDS-related brain disease. Zamora spoke openly on the show about wearing condoms, the detriments of AIDS, and being gay and Latino (Gamson, 1995).

The importance of LGBT content on animated programming was seen in 1997. *The Simpsons* won an Emmy for Outstanding Animated Program for a celebrated episode titled "Homer's Phobia." John Waters guest starred as a gay antique dealer who made friends with the Simpson family after falling in love with their campy house. Homer is troubled when his son, Bart, begins idolizing Waters. To "straighten out" his son, Homer takes him hunting. In the end, Waters saves Bart and Homer from some angry reindeer and Homer promises he will be Waters's friend forever. GLAAD was impressed and said, "On a show that has always been overwhelmingly positive and admirably inclusive of lesbians and gay men, [the episode] stands out as a shining example of how to bring intelligent, fair and funny representations of our community onto television" (GLAAD, 1997).

*South Park*, beginning in 1997, is still running and seemingly courts controversy each week. The animated series on Comedy Central about four foul-mouthed elementary school students included their self-hating closet case teacher, Mr. Garrison. He became Mrs. Garrison later in the series. Also featured was the boys' scout leader, Big Gay Al. The show's episodes about tolerance and gay rights have been universally acclaimed (Walters, 2001).

Perhaps the most famous gay-themed television episode also appeared in 1997. Ellen DeGeneres and her co-writers won an Emmy for "The Puppy Episode" of *Ellen,* in which Ellen experiences a tumultuous sexual awakening and comes out of the closet. The detection of her lesbianism is sparked by two events. An old boyfriend shows up and has renewed interest in Ellen. She then meets his boss, Susan (Laura Dern), who becomes a fast friend. Ellen is horrified when Susan comes out to her as a lesbian. Susan assumed Ellen was a lesbian herself, but Ellen immediately denies it and accuses her of trying to recruit others. "I'll have to call National Headquarters," Susan explains, "and tell them I lost you. Damn! Just one more and I would have gotten that toaster oven!" After trying to rekindle her relationship with her ex-boyfriend, Ellen realizes she has a crush on Susan and comes out (Walters, 2001).

*Ellen* was revolutionary. On the same day "The Puppy Episode" aired, Ellen DeGeneres came out on *The Oprah Winfrey Show*. GLAAD hosted 1,500 coming out parties across the country. DeGeneres insisted her show had not become a gay sitcom, but the episodes suggest otherwise. She comes out to her parents, friends, and boss. She deals with being uncomfortable about public displays of affection. An entire episode was dedicated to lesbian "first time" sex. Ellen came out in the fourth season and cancellation came at the end of the fifth. "I'm gay, the character's gay, that's the problem everyone has with the show. It's just too controversial. Nobody wants to deal with it," Ellen said about the cancellation (Walters, 2001).

The 1998–1999 season was a momentous one. Series regular Jack McPhee was brought out of the closet on *Dawson's Creek*. The WB's teen drama had the only openly gay high school student on television at the time. The show made news again in May 2000 when Jack and his boyfriend, Ethan, became the first male characters on a series to share a romantic kiss on the show's season finale ( Johnson & Keith, 2001).

The cancellation of *Ellen* did not worry NBC, whose *Will & Grace* became one of the biggest shows of 1998. The show was about the title characters, a gay lawyer, his straight interior decorator roommate, and their eccentric friends. It ranked continually as the number one program among 18-to-49 year olds. Unlike with *Ellen,* protests were virtually nonexistent. Some reasons for its acceptance are obvious. Although *Will & Grace* had two openly gay characters and made some uninhibited references to gay sex, attempts to maintain a mainstream audience were noticeable. The series avoided same-sex physical intimacy and overtly political storylines (Becker, 2006).

At the end of the successful first season, *Will & Grace* won the coveted post-*Friends* spot on the Thursday night line-up. This was a vote of overwhelming confidence from NBC, who were careful to market the show as never being too gay (Becker, 2006). *Will & Grace*'s co-creator eloquently summed up a historic moment at the 2000 Emmys, where the show picked up Outstanding Comedy Series. "This gives new meaning to the phrase 'acceptance speech,'" he said (Walters, 2001).

Over the years, *Will & Grace* had more famous guest stars than perhaps any sitcom ever. Only two of these guest stars (Bobby Cannavale and Taye Diggs) appeared on more than one date with a gay character. Neither the effeminate Jack nor the more masculine Will had regular boyfriends. They went on dates, but Grace's relationships with her boyfriends were the developed ones. In the final three seasons, the show became more daring. The impact of the *thirtysomething* incident was considerable, as *Will & Grace* became the first show since 1989 to show two men in bed together in May 2003. Will finally found a steady boyfriend, Vince, in spring 2004. Their relationship lasted until spring of 2005. The show aired the first interracial gay kiss on a broadcast network in 2006 without incident. Will and Vince reunited in the series finale, which aired May 18, 2006. The show lasted a historic eight seasons (Lauerman, 2006).

The new millennium proved reality television was back in a big way with ratings juggernaut *Survivor*. Openly gay contestant Richard Hatch ended up winning the show's first season. *Big Brother, The Amazing Race,* and *The Mole* soon after included gay or lesbians as contestants (Becker, 2006). Cable network Bravo's *Queer Eye for the Straight Guy* was all the rage in 2003 and picked up an Outstanding Reality Program Emmy. The Fab Five, consisting of an interior decorator, chef, fashion expert, beauty stylist, and pop culture specialist, gave a makeover to a straight guy each week (Glitz, 2003).

Several other cable networks forged a new frontier for gay and lesbian characters. In the late 1990s, HBO premiered *Oz*, a male prison drama with passionate same-sex kisses, oral sex, and rape. If *Oz* was not shocking enough, Showtime erased whatever unspoken rules remained against depictions of explicit sexual behavior between men. The two-hour pilot of *Queer as Folk* included kissing, fondling, oral sex, and anal sex. Executive producer Tony Jonas said, "We pushed this as far as we could go" (Weinraub, 2000). The show dramatized the lives of five gay men and two lesbians, and each episode ended with a disclaimer that the characters are not meant to be representative of the entire gay community. Its depictions were controversial and faced criticism for reinforcing several negative stereotypes. The characters frequented a dance club aptly named Babylon, alluding to pagan decadence. There was anonymous sex in back rooms, drug use, and included an underage high school student sexually involved with a man ten years his senior (Keller, 2002).

The show did tackle some serious issues, including gay parenting. The first season's disturbing finale left one character's life in the balance when he was the victim of a vicious hate crime. *Queer as Folk* lasted an admirable five seasons and provided timely commentary on such issues as gay rights, HIV/AIDS, and marriage equality (Keller, 2002).

Two of television's most complex, groundbreaking characters appeared on HBO's *Six Feet Under*, which ran from 2001 to 2005. The funeral home-owning Fisher family included a gay son, David, and his African-American partner, Keith. Their sustained long-term relationship included frank discussion of religion, race, and monogamy (Romine, 2005).

The University of Michigan illustrated the importance of textured characters such as David and Keith. Researchers in 2005 measured the attitudes of 150 students regarding gay men. Students were then shown ten episodes of *Six Feet Under* and tested again. Their reported prejudice saw a significant reduction in an affecting display of the power of television (Romine, 2005).

HBO was praised again in late 2003 for its film adaptation of *Angels in America,* adapted by Tony Kushner from his plays. The fiercely political drama set in New York was mostly about gay men struggling with everything from Mormonism to AIDS. A host of Oscar winners signed on, including Mike Nichols as director and Meryl Streep, Al Pacino, and Emma Thompson in leading roles. Michael Bronski (2004) writes, "Perhaps what is most amazing is that . . . such overtly progressive political ideas have reached a wide audience."

With the success of *Queer as Folk*, Showtime introduced the lesbian-themed *The L-Word* in 2004. Starring Jennifer Beals and Pam Grier, the show faced immediate criticism that the lesbians were all "pretty, ultra-feminine characters." Still, even the harshest critics acknowledged the unprecedented visibility of the lesbian characters granted by the show (Martinac, 2004).

Recently, daytime dramas have made significant progress. *All My Children* has remained television's most progressive soap opera. Three characters came out in 1995, but all were eventually written off. Fall 2000 brought relief from the conspicuously absent continuing gay storylines when Bianca Montgomery, daughter of the glamorous Erica Kane, came out to family and friends (Walters, 2001).

*All My Children* partnered with GLAAD in 2006 to tell daytime's first transgendered storyline. Their radical character Zoe challenged audiences. Actor Jeffrey Carlson said he has received fan mail from people ranging "from an eleven-year-old girl to a woman in her eighties," whose misconceptions were confronted (GLAAD, 2007a).

The representation of LGBT individuals has come far in the forty years since Mike Wallace pondered the dilemma of the homosexual. The current television season includes a lesbian Latina anesthesiologist on *Nip/Tuck,* a bisexual 60-year-old businessman on *Brothers & Sisters,* and the recently married lesbian sister of *Simpsons* matriarch Marge (GLAAD, 2007b). Though *Will & Grace* and *Queer as Folk* have ended, the presence on television is not going away. Such popular shows as *The Office, Desperate Housewives, ER,* and *Ugly Betty* continue to give voice to an increasingly visible minority on television. Two new cable networks, Here! and LOGO, now air programming exclusively dealing with LGBT issues and characters (GLAAD, 2006). The history of homosexuality on television has been forged through stereotypes, diversity, and everything in between. This rich history has only begun to take shape.

## References

Becker, R. (2006). *Gay TV and straight America*. Piscataway, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Bronski, M. (2004). Angels in America (TV program). *Cineaste, 29* (4), 57–59. Retrieved April 1, 2007, from Academic Search Premier.

Bruni, F. (1994). Culture stays screen-shy of showing the gay kiss. In L. Gross & J. D. Woods (Eds.), *The Columbia reader on lesbians and gay men in media, society, and politics.* (pp. 327–329). New York: Columbia University Press.

Closs, L. (1994). I want my gay TV. In L. Gross & J. D. Woods (Eds.), *The Columbia reader on lesbians and gay men in media, society, and politics* (pp. 466–473). New York: Columbia University Press.

Ehrenstein, D. (1996). More than friends. In L. Gross & J. D. Woods (Eds.), *The Columbia reader on lesbians and gay men in media, society, and politics* (pp. 335–340). New York: Columbia University Press.

Gamson, J. (1995). Do ask, do tell: Freak talk on TV. In L. Gross & J. D. Woods (Eds.), *The Columbia reader on lesbians and gay men in media, society, and politics* (pp. 329–334). New York: Columbia University Press.

Gay and Lesbian Alliance Against Defamation. (1997, February 21). *Homer's phobia?* Retrieved April 1, 2007, from http://www.glaad.org/publications/archive_detail.php?id=2163

Gay and Lesbian Alliance Against Defamation. (2006, August 24). *Where we are on TV: GLAAD's 11th annual study examines diversity of the 2006–2007 primetime television season.* Retrieved April 1, 2007, from http://www.glaad.org/eye/ontv/06-07/overview.php

Gay and Lesbian Alliance Against Defamation. (2007a, March 1). *All My Children to air historic transgender-focused episode.* Retrieved April 1, 2007, from http://www.glaad.org/media/newspops_detail.php?id=3979

Gay and Lesbian Alliance Against Defamation. (2007b, September 24). *Where we are on TV: GLAAD's 12th annual study examines diversity of the 2007–2008 primetime scripted television season.* Retrieved April 4, 2008, from http://www.glaad.org/eye/ontv/07-08/overview2007.php

Glitz, M. (2003, September 2). Queer Eye confidential. *The Advocate, 897.* Retrieved April 4, 2008, from http://www.advocate.com/issue_story_ektid21766.asp

Gross, L., & Woods, J. D. (Eds.). (1999). *The Columbia reader on lesbians and gay men iin media, society, and politics.* New York: Columbia University Press.

Johnson, P. A. & Keith, M. C. (2001). *Queer airwaves: The story of gay and lesbian broadcasting.* New York: M. E. Sharpe.

Keller, J. R. (2002). *Queer (Un)friendly Film and Television.* Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland.

Lauerman, K. (2006, May 19). Series wrap up: Will & Grace [Electronic version]. *Salon.*

Martinac, P. (2004). Visibility is L-ementary. *Lesbian News, 29* (7), 26. Retrieved April 1, 2007, from Academic Search Premier.

Moritz, M. J. (1994). Old strategies for new texts: How American television is creating and treating lesbian characters. In L. Gross & J. D. Woods (Eds.), *The Columbia reader on lesbians and gay men in media, society, and politics* (pp. 316–327). New York: Columbia University Press.

Romine, D. (2005, August 10) *As gay networks arrive, Queer as Folk and Six Feet Under depart.* Retrieved April 1, 2007, from http://www.glaad.org/publications/op-ed_archive_detail.php?id=3830

Walters, S. D. (2001). *All the rage: The story of gay visibility in America.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Weinraub, B. (2000). Cable TV shatters another taboo. In *The New York Times Television Reviews 2000* (pp. 357–539). London: Routledge.

# Habitat Use and Body Posture of Mantled Howler Monkeys (*Alouatta palliata Palliata*) While Resting

**Amy Kathleen Doak**

## Abstract

I studied the tree preference of mantled howler monkeys (*Alouatta palliata palliata*) in Ometepe, Nicaragua. Tree height, diameter at breast height (DBH), and branch size were determined for each individual tree. Twenty-five scan samples were taken throughout a five-day period. Branch sizes that were occupied differed by age class, with juveniles choosing small branches, and adult males and females occupying medium-sized branches most of the time. When at rest, a majority of the howlers occupied the medium-sized trees, ranging from 5 to 10 meters in height, and the medium-sized branches (20–40 cm diameter), with adult males also frequently occupying tall and very tall trees. The howlers typically sat upright and used their tails and feet for support.

## Introduction

Mantled howler monkeys (*Alouatta palliata palliata*) range in location from southern Mexico through Central America to western South America (Reid, 1997). Mantled howlers possess a prehensile tail that aids them in locomotion and balance while resting. They primarily live in smaller social groups, developing a linear hierarchy (Jones, 1979). Because of the current pressures of humans, howlers have relocated to shaded coffee plantations (Estrada et al., 1999). All of the observations completed in this study were made in the Coffee Forest on the island of Ometepe, Nicaragua.

In my study, I addressed whether howlers preferentially occupy trees and branches of particular sizes. Park conducted research in Costa Rica on the sleeping habits of mantled howler monkeys (2001). He discovered that howlers preferred the upper and middle portions of canopies as resting sites. This study supports my hypothesis that howlers may favor certain trees over others. During preliminary observations, I noted that there may be a preference in branch and tree selection.

Based on my preliminary observations, I hypothesized that howlers favor taller trees to shorter ones and that they occupy thicker branches (compared with thin) when resting. I also examined behavior of individuals that are not moving, and hypothesized that (1) while at rest, howlers are prone more often than sitting, and (2) howlers use their tails, and possibly feet, more often on thinner branches than on thicker branches.

**TABLE 1**  *Height classes of trees, estimated by eye*

| Size class | Height (m) | Number (n) |
|---|:---:|:---:|
| Small | < 5 | 2 |
| Medium | 5–10 | 10 |
| Tall | 10–15 | 12 |
| Very tall | > 15 | 1 |

**TABLE 2**  *Diameter of branches, estimated by eye*

| Size class | Estimated diameter (cm) | Number (n) |
|---|:---:|:---:|
| Small | < 20 | 222 |
| Medium | 20–40 | 285 |
| Large | 40–60 | 123 |
| Very Large | > 60 | 3 |

## Methods

Data were collected in the Coffee Forest in Ometepe, Nicaragua, for five days from June 8 through June 12, 2007. Each morning at approximately 8 A.M., I located a group of howlers and spent 15 to 20 minutes identifying the sex and age of each individual in the group. Because habitat choice might be influenced by foraging activity, data were recorded only for groups that were at rest (no locomotion) for 20 minutes before the start of data collection; observations were aborted if individuals in the group began moving during the scan samples. Data were recorded only for groups of howlers that were located in the same tree, and a minimum of two howlers (range = 2–5) were required to be present to complete a scan sample. Twenty-minute scan samples were conducted with observations made at 2-minute intervals. After the observations, the diameter at breast height (DBH) and the height of the tree were recorded.

The DBH was measured with a measuring tape. The height was estimated and grouped into one of four categories (Table 1). Start time, sex, and age class (adult, juvenile) were recorded before beginning scan samples. At 2-minute intervals, observations were recorded for the branch size that the howler occupied, and branch size was categorized according to size classes (Table 2).

I also recorded whether each individual was out of sight (OS) or moving (MOVE) and the body position of the individuals. Postures recorded for howler monkeys that were at rest:

- Sit
- Sit with tail wrapped around branch
- Sit with tail and feet wrapped around branch
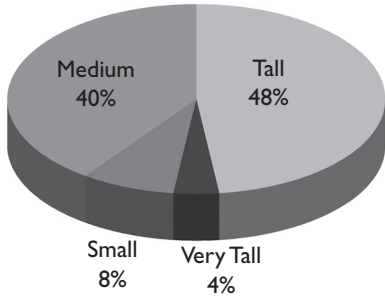
**Figure 1** Percent of observation (out of 250) of howlers occupying trees of different height classes (see Table 1)
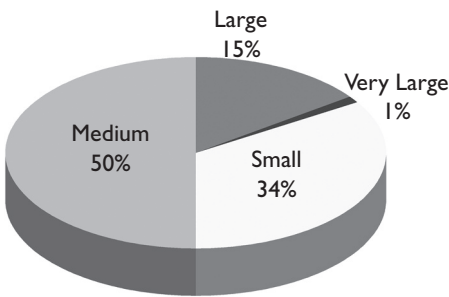
**Figure 2** Percent of observations (out of 250) howlers that occupied branches of different size classes (see Table 2)

+ Prone
+ Prone with tail wrapped around branch
+ Prone with tail and feet wrapped around branch

Four to six 20-minute scan samples (10 observations/sample) were completed per day for 5 days for a total of 25 scan samples and 250 observations. Seventy-one individual howlers were observed during the study.

Two separate transects were used to locate groups of howlers. Transect 1 was used 17 times, and Transect 2 was used 8 times. Groups were located in 25 trees during the study.

Because the monkeys were not marked, individuals could not be identified over successive days, so it was impossible to avoid pseudoreplication. Hurlbert (1984) defines pseudoreplication as "replicates that are not statistically independent." Therefore, interpretations for this study are based on qualitative rather than statistical analyses.

## Results

Howlers that were at rest occupied tall and medium-sized trees more often than they occupied shorter or very tall trees (Fig. 1). Howlers occupied medium-sized branches about half of the time, with smaller-sized branches also commonly used (Fig. 2).

DBH was somewhat related to tree height. Tall and very tall trees were wider than were smaller size classes. However, there was considerable overlap among size (Table 3).

**TABLE 3**  *Diameter at breast height (DBH) for each size class of tree (based on height of tree), means and standard deviation for trees measured*

| Size class | DBH (cm) | n | Mean | SD |
|------------|----------|-----|-------|------|
| Small | 40–54 | 2 | 47 | 9.9 |
| Medium | 32–205 | 10 | 101.6 | 67.6 |
| Tall | 77–352 | 12 | 222.6 | 73.6 |
| Very Tall | > 205 | 1 | 205 | — |

Adults, both males and females, most frequently occupied medium-sized branches. However, males were more common in tall and very tall trees than were either adult females or juveniles (Fig. 3), which is consistent with the findings of Gebo, who also found male howlers higher in the canopy than females (1992). Juveniles tended to occupy smaller branches, and were rarely observed in tall and very tall trees while at rest. All howlers spent approximately the same amount of time sitting and lying prone (Fig. 4). In both postures (sitting = 53% of observations; prone = 47% of observations), the howlers usually wrapped their tails/feet around branches.

## Discussion

Howlers most often occupied medium-sized and taller trees, and were rarely seen in short or very tall trees. This makes sense in relation to a 2000 study done by DiBitetti et al. that suggests that the threat of predation is a shaping force in primate sleep behavior, and taller trees should offer better protection against predatory threats. In another study, howlers were also found to prefer trees with more dense foliage, perhaps for the protection from rain and avian predators (Park, 2001). However, howlers did sometimes occupy shorter trees while foraging. There were very few trees along the transect that were over 15 meters in height, so relatively low numbers of observations in tall or very tall trees in comparison with medium-sized trees may be the result of the low abundance of the taller trees. In natural forests, taller trees are more abundant (personal observation) than on the coffee plantations. Because of deforestation of the regular forest, howlers are being forced to relocate to the smaller trees found on coffee plantation and this affects their choice of tree.

According to Tomblin (1994), howlers tend to occupy larger branches than most New World monkeys because their relatively larger body size requires stronger branch support than do the bodies of smaller monkeys. Despite being supported by this study, though, the hypothesis that howlers would preferentially occupy large-diameter branches over smaller branches was not correct. Instead, adults of both sexes were most often found on medium-diameter branches; however, this result may be caused by the relatively low abundance of larger trees on the coffee plantation rather than to a preference, per se. Adult males occupied large and very large branches more often than did females and small branches less often than females, perhaps because the
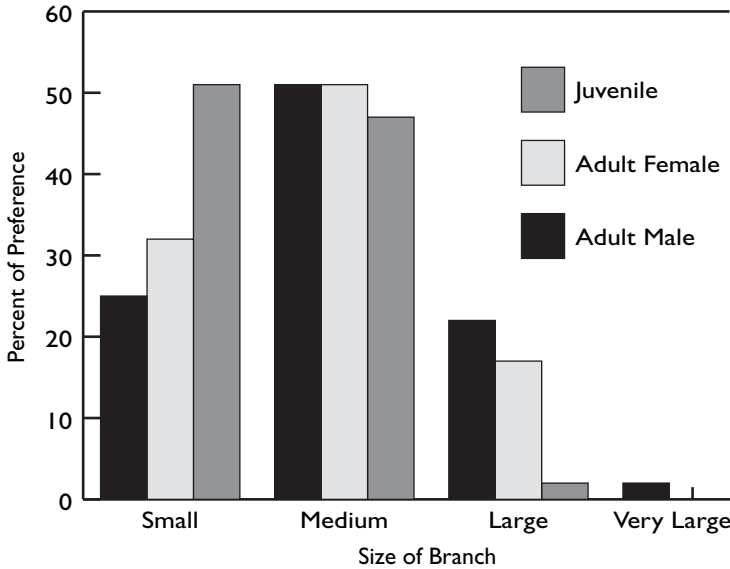
**FIGURE 3** Percent of observations of adult males, adult females, and juveniles occupying branches of different size classes (see Table 2)
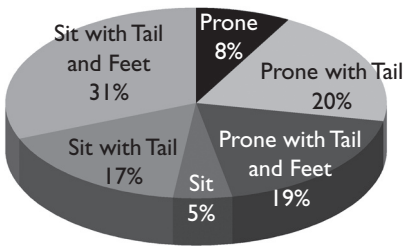


**Figure 4** Percent observations of howlers in different postures while at rest

larger body size of males requires stronger support. Juveniles occupied small and medium-sized branches about equally. Juveniles appeared to have a difficult time securing themselves to larger branches because it was difficult for them to wrap their tails around the larger limbs.

In contrast to this study's prediction, howlers spent approximately equal times sitting and lying prone. The original prediction expected that they would spend more time prone because this position might offer more stability or might be energetically less costly. The results suggest that either there is no difference in energy costs between the two postures or that the cost of sitting might be offset by benefits of more efficient vigilance behavior.

While sitting and lying prone on a branch, howlers usually wrapped their tails, their feet, or both around the branch or adjacent branches. When males and larger females were on smaller branches, they typically wrapped their tails around a larger branch above them for support. Juveniles tended to wrap their tails around smaller branches while resting on the larger branch-

es. Lawler and Stamps (2002) reported that howlers used their prehensile tails for stability, support, and balance across numerous positional behaviors. During my observations, I noticed the howlers using their tails in attempt to stabilize themselves. When the howlers were sitting between two smaller branches wedged together, they were less likely to use their feet and tails because the branch seemed to hold them in place.

Social interactions may have influenced habitat occupancy by howlers of different age and size classes. The more dominate males or females sometimes forced more subordinate monkeys to move, which may have affected the branch occupancy. In addition, the presence of humans may have had an effect on tree occupancy. The howlers may have perceived people as potential predators, therefore moving to higher trees.

It should be noted that data only indicated occupancy rates for trees and branches of different sizes and should not be interpreted to necessarily indicate "preferences." Habitat occupancy in this study may have reflected availability rather than preference, particularly considering the low abundance of taller trees. Future studies should take relative abundance of size classes into account.

This study may be useful to zoos or reserves where howlers are kept in captivity, especially in the design of their habitats. Estrada et al. (1999) discovered that because of forest destruction, mantled howlers are becoming endangered. Understanding habitat preferences can help managers and keepers better meet the needs of the captive howler population and help ensure the survival of this species.

## Acknowledgements

**Literature Cited**

DiBitetti, M. S., E. M. L. Vidal, M. C. Baldovino, and V. Benesovsky. 2000. Sleeping Site Preferences in Tufted Capuchin Monkeys (*Cebus paella nigritus*). *American Journal of Primatology* 50:257–274.

Estrada, A., A. Anzures, and R. Coates-Estrada. 1999. Tropical Rain Forest Fragmentation, Howler Monkeys (*Alouatta palliata*), and Dung Beetles at Los Tuxtlas, Mexico. *American Journal of Primatology* 48:253–262.

Gebo, D. 1992. Locomotor and Postural Behavior in *Alouatta palliata* and *Cebus capucinus*. *American Journal of Primatology* 26:277–290.

Hurlbert, S. H. 1984. Pseudoreplication and the Design of Ecological Field Experiments. *Ecological Monographs.* 54:187–211.

Jones, C. 1979. Grooming in the Mantled Howler Monkey, *Alouatta palliata* Gray. *Primates* 20:289–292.

Lawler, R. R., and C. Stamps. 2002. The Relationship Between Tail Use and Positional Behavior in *Alouatta palliata*. *Primates* 43:147–152.

Park J. S. 2001. Sleeping Habits of the Mantled Howler Monkey (Alouatta palliata palliata). *Journal of Undergraduate Study and Independent Research* 2:25–28.

Reid, F. 1997. *A Field Guide to the Mammals of Central America and Southeast Mexico.* New York: Oxford University Press, Inc.

Schovill, S. 2000. "Alouatta palliata" (On-line), Animal Diversity Web. Accessed December 2007, at http://animaldiversity.ummz.umich.edu/site/accounts/ information/Alouatta_palliata.html

Tomblin, D. C. 1994. Ecological Niche Differences Between *Alouatta palliata* and *Cebus capuchinus* Comparing Feeding Modes, Branch Use, and Diet. *Primates* 35:265–274.

# Is War In Our Self-Interest?

## Jessica Johnson

### Abstract

Although society has experienced substantial progress over time, humans are still confronted with many of the same dilemmas that ancient civilizations faced thousands of years ago. Among the dilemmas, survival in the face of an aggressor remains a top priority for humans. Despite attempts to prevent war from breaking out, war remains a reality because many nation-states view it as the option that best advances their self-interest. This seminar paper draws upon the thoughts of numerous political theorists to analyze how self-interest influences the calculations that nation-states make when they choose to wage war.

Despite its frequency, the loss of life still takes a substantial toll on society by leaving survivors mourning and society lacking that person's contributions. Because war represents one of the major causes of death, it seems as though people would actively work to avoid such strife, thus prolonging life in this world. Yet, even in the absence of a declared war, conflict is still a part of everyday life. Hobbes defined human nature as being caught in a "state of war" because there is always the potential for conflict to erupt (1999, p. 56). Even if aggressors are able to reconcile their differences, the possibility of another war erupting is always present. Why, then, do states continue to go to war? An examination of history provides support for the conclusion that self-interest is the governing factor in the decision-making process of states to use military force given an evaluation of human nature, the purpose of states, and the anarchic characteristics of the international system.

## Human Nature

It is necessary to evaluate how people make decisions because the choice to go to war is initiated by groups of individuals. Although people have their own unique thinking processes, individuals are united by human nature because they share certain characteristics that cause them to think and act in similar ways. Substantial theoretical analysis supports the idea that decisions made by individuals are motivated by self-interest and power. In arguing that democracy is impossible to achieve, Rousseau describes people as selfish because they seek more luxuries and try to gain an advantage over others without concerning themselves with what is best for the community (1999, p. 96–97). Additionally, Rousseau claims that self-interest often overwhelms collective interests when people work together in society. He illustrates this idea in his story of a group of hunters who must rely on each other if they wish to catch a male adult deer for a filling meal. During the hunt, there is a strong urge to defect from the group and hunt rab-

bits instead because they are much easier to catch. Even though defections harm the group's ability to catch anything, individuals will maximize their self-interest and choose what will guarantee them a little bit of food rather than take the chance of never catching the deer (1950, p. 238).

Although it may seem more reasonable for people to avoid risking their lives in a war than to participate in that war, people also use reason to make calculations about what they are owed, and they may resort to violence if this debt is not paid. Calculations are made to ensure the security of themselves and the things they care about. When people lack information or have misinformation while making decisions, there is a greater likelihood for war because they may perceive something as a threat when a threat does not actually exist. While searching to prescribe a meaning to "justice," Socrates pointed out, "Do not persons often err about good and evil: many who are not good seem to be so, and conversely?" (Plato, 2000, p. 2). Regardless of how one views human nature, the potential to make mistakes in interpreting the motivations and intentions of others is ever-present, which may cause a person to err on the side of caution and decide to use preventive force in self-defense.

Education and threats of force are means to persuade other people to act in ways that are contrary to human nature. Kant theorized that democratic politics could educate people so that they would develop reasoning based upon the public good, putting the community before their private interests (1993, p. 1–2). Yet, this does not change the decision calculus of people when their state is threatened because the population may decide that war is necessary to protect their society. Using force to change people's nature is also not likely to be successful because, when coerced, people will temporarily act as if they have changed and then return to their original state when the threat of force is removed. Locke noted that our understanding of the world is more innate than it is influenced by particular events. He wrote, "Such is the nature of the Understanding, that it cannot be compell'd to the belief of anything by outward force. Confiscation of Estate, Imprisonment, Torments, nothing of that nature can have any such Efficacy as to make Men change the inward Judgment that they have framed of things" (1999, p. 143).

## The Purpose of States

The composition of a nation-state also influences the way that humans make decisions. Even in a monarchy, rulers look to advisers and counselors to help them make decisions that are in the best interest of the state. One of a leader's main concerns is how to ensure the security of the state. Hobbes thought that people could escape the conflict pervasive in the state of nature by creating the Leviathan to resolve disputes. This power is able to create peace within a society but fails to address conflicts between societies. States are like individuals in the state of nature, acting to ensure their security because they exist in an environment lacking an unbiased body to govern their actions. First, states are competitive, and when two of them desire the same thing but cannot both have it, they will become enemies. States will strive to attain their desires and advance their interests, even if it necessitates violence. Additionally, states are diffident and act to ensure their survival, even if the threat of death is not real. Finally, as glory seekers, states strive for success to promote and protect their reputation. States are willing to fight to destroy

those who doubt their power and to prove their mightiness to others, establishing a deterrent for future conflict (1999, p. 12–13).

Even though some theorists claim that the purpose of the state is something other than to achieve security of such basic rights as liberty or justice, calculations regarding self-interest must be prioritized. Locke argued that people choose to enter society because natural law, the basic system of morality and rights that exist in nature, is not fully recognized and enforced in the state of nature. By consenting to the government's rule and relinquishing perfect freedom, people gain protection of their rights and property in return. If the state's security is jeopardized, it can no longer protect the rights and freedom of its citizens, and they are no better off than if they had chosen to stay in the state of nature. To ensure the protection of rights, the ideals of freedom, equality, and justice have to be sacrificed sometimes in the name of security. War raises many ethical questions because of the loss of rights and life, but Machiavelli stated that rulers have to consider, "There are some ways of behaving that are supposed to be virtuous, but would lead to your downfall, and others that are supposed to be wicked, but will lead to your welfare and peace of mind" (1995, p. 48–49).

History demonstrates this as well. When the Mitylenians rebelled against Athens, Cleon proposed to kill all of the men and enslave their women and children because he thought that it was the most just course of action. Diodotus disagreed, "We are not in a court of justice, but in a political assembly; and the question is not justice, but how to make the Mitylenians useful to Athens" (Thucydides, 2000b, p. 4). He persuaded people to resist the urge to inflict revenge on their aggressors in the name of justice and instead make an expedient decision because it was in the best interest of the community.

Although certain types of states may be less likely to begin a war, this does not mean they will never go to war. Democracies may be considered more peaceful because their decisions are made with the inclusion of public deliberation, which acts as a check on a ruler who may go to war out of personal vengeance. Pericles claimed that if the general population was empowered with the ability to influence laws in a democracy, population members would take this responsibility seriously and make decisions with the best interests of the community in mind (1999, p. 155). This does not make a democracy inherently more peaceful, for a nation can still go to war if the general population believes that it is in the community's interest. Decision makers can also reject the will of the people because they perceive themselves as being more knowledgeable about the situation. Regardless of the type of state, miscalculation can always cause war to break out. When arguing that states may enter war with unrealistic expectations, Thucydides observed, "All, states and individuals, are alike prone to err, and there is no law that will prevent them" (2000b, p. 5).

## The International System

Although individual states will act differently based upon their internal politics and external threats, all states are influenced by the anarchic nature of the international system. States will go to war in pursuit of their goals if the likelihood of success is high and if decision makers value those goals more than the benefits of peace. Hobbes argued that because there is no higher

power to judge their actions, states may use force at any time to achieve their goals without concern for other values. He stated, "Where there is no common power, there is no law; where no law, no justice" (1999, p. 14). If that state does not pursue preemptive war when it has the military advantage, it risks being attacked later when its adversaries have gained more power.

States have attempted to establish international laws in the form of norms and treaties, but these rules have failed to change the basic beliefs of states. International laws are created by states that are unwilling to give up the pursuit of their self-interest and, as a result, they lack strict verification and enforcement procedures. Most states act while keeping in mind Machiavelli's observation, "Because you cannot always win if you respect the rules, you must be prepared to break them" (1999, p. 54). If one state violates the agreed-upon norm, it undermines the trust of the entire regime. Because international laws have failed to achieve their goals, states would be better served to embrace the constraints of international anarchy and the potential for future war.

States that have accepted the limits of international norms have tried instead to influence threatening states through negotiation and diplomacy. For instance, the Melians used persuasion in an attempt to talk Athens out of invading their land. First, the Melians claimed that it was unjust to make them choose between being colonized or attacked, especially because Melos was a neutral country. The Athenians were not persuaded, for in the anarchical international system, "The strong do what they can and the weak suffer what they must" (Thucydides, 2000a, p. 2). The Athenians thought they would be perceived as weak if they did not invade Melos, because it would appear that they were afraid to challenge the Melians. Next, the Melians tried to convince the Athenians that it was better for their national security to resist invasion. They argued that the Athenians would make enemies of the other neutral countries and set a precedent for preemptive war if they invaded. Also, by showing the Melians mercy, Athens would gain more allies who would view Athens as a cooperative state, instead of an aggressor state. This did not persuade the Athenians. They were convinced that the neutral countries the Melians were referring to were not a threat and that Athens could form more alliances by proving how powerful they were instead of showing mercy. This debate also provides insight into the reasoning of an aggressor state and serves as an empirical example of how the anarchical nature of the international system forces states to evaluate concerns regarding their self-interest first.

This does not mean that states will always make the decision to go to war when the option is on the table; sometimes reason will guide them to spare lives instead of taking them. In the Mitylene Debate, Diodotus persuaded the Athenians to refrain from reacting with overwhelming force after they foiled a rebellion being planned by the Mitylenians. Cleon made appeals to the public's passions, because his impression was that people were fickle and could be persuaded by their emotions. Diodotus did not defend the actions of the Mitylenians, but he convinced people to spare the rebels' lives by arguing that this is the best course of action for the Athenians in the long term. Cleon was convinced that his proposal could help secure the state because by acting aggressively and expanding its power, Athens could deter future revolts. He said, "Punish them as they deserve, and teach your other allies by a striking example that the penalty of rebellion is death" (Thucydides, 2000b, p. 3). Diodotus pointed out that killing the Mitylenians

would not act as a deterrent because no state who revolted would expect to fail. He argued that by setting a precedent of punishing the aggressors, Athens would only serve to take away a state's incentive to surrender because they would face death either way.

## Conclusion

Although war comes at a large cost, measured mostly in lives, it seems to be a reality that cannot be escaped. States choose to go to war because self-interest is the governing factor in their decision making process. Even though the specific reasons for going to war may differ, several factors cause states to pursue war to protect their self-interest. First, human nature drives decision makers to look at their interests because survival is of paramount importance to people. Although the use of education and force may attempt to change a person's decision-making calculus, these are not likely to have long-term effects, and if they do, they are likely to be detrimental to a person. Next, states also act in their own self-interest because their purpose is to ensure the security of their people. Although the internal organization of states differs, they have to prioritize security to survive and uphold other values like justice and liberty. Finally, the lack of an external authority in international affairs means that states have no choice but to rely on their own capabilities to protect themselves. The creation of international laws has failed to create trust between states because it is impossible to be assured of others' peaceful intentions. Despite the conclusion about the persistence of war, this analysis should not lead to pessimism about the future. There is still hope that people will be able to pursue their self-interest in such a way that can minimize the need for armed conflict. A new approach to decision making would be more effective, though, if it includes considerations of human nature, the purpose of states, and the anarchical international system.

## Bibliography

Hobbes, T. (1999). The misery of the natural condition of mankind. In M. Rosen & J. Wolff (Eds.), *Political thought*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Kant, I. (1993). *An answer to the question: What is enlightenment?* Retrieved November 23, 2007, from http://philosophy.eserver.org/kant/what-is-enlightenment.txt

Locke, J. (1999). The futility of intolerance. In M. Rosen & J. Wolff (Eds.), *Political thought*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Machiavelli, N. (1995). *The prince*. Translated and Edited by D. Wootten. Indianapolis, IN: Hackett Publishing.

Machiavelli, N. (1999). The servility of the moderns. In M. Rosen & J. Wolff (Eds.), *Political thought*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Pericles. (1999). The democratic citizen. In M. Rosen & J. Wolff (Eds.), *Political thought*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Plato. (2000). *The Republic*. Translated by B. Jowett. The Internet Classics Archive. Retrieved November 22, 2007, from http://classics.mit.edu/Plato/republic.html

Rousseau, J. J. (1950). *The social contract and discourses*. Translated by G. D. H. Cole. Everyman's Library Edition. New York: E. P. Dutton.

Rousseau, J. J. (1999). The general will. In M. Rosen & J. Wolff (Eds.), *Political thought*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Thucydides. (2000a). The Melian dialogue. In Book V of *The History of the Peloponnesian War*. Translated by R. Crawley. Internet Classics Archive. Retrieved November 23, 2007, from http://classics.mit.edu/Thucydides/pelopwar.5.fifth.html

Thucydides. (2000b). The Mitylene debate. In Book III of *The History of the Peloponnesian War*. Translated by R. Crawley. Internet Classics Archive. Retrieved November 23, 2007, from http://classics.mit.edu/Thucydides/pelopwar.3.third.html

# *Poetry*

## Nick Orf

### *Why Did the Chicken Cross the Road?*

I find levity in the idea that I am here for no good reason.
I bask in such absurdity. I could never be certain
about what happens after, if there's an "other side."

My brother tells those stupid jokes
and I can't help but smile every time.
That's how I get through life. That kind of comfort.

Nothing too bad has happened to me,
but I know people with eyebrows
tilted inward like two opposing seesaws

we have grown too old to play with
shifting uncomfortably above stale colored eyes
that glare at giggles and babies,

with lips pursed tight like a sealed business envelope
that opens only to deliver reprimand and bad news.
Gravity only brings things down.

I wonder what it's like to forget how to laugh.
I have people I could have asked.
I watched a woman throw a tantrum at a waitress

and spit on her overcooked meat.
She got her Sunday meal for free.
I saw a man in a tie scream at a beggar.

I witnessed a stabbing on a day lit avenue.
The crescent spray of blood on the ground
Made me think of sidewalk chalk.

I have found it is only when people stop laughing
that I really need to worry,
so I'll tip well and give spare change

and draw smiley faces on the blacktop until I get cancer,
get knifed in the chest, until the punch line hits
me with a bus as I cross the road.

### *On the Undead and the Failed Conversion Techniques of the Lutheran Student Center*

During the week before Halloween,
they hung a banner—
*Jesus is the ULTIMATE zombie!*
*Do not fear, he came to save us.*
Now, I've heard some of my more blasphemous
acquaintances reference the Savior
in such a way, but was unaware
that the religious had embraced this comparison.

I know only what I've read of them in silly books,
seen in movies, but maybe zombies
are simply misunderstood disciples, risen
from tombs in efforts to become more like Christ,
engaged in a crusade to bring others to Him.
Their outstretched arms are actually imploring,
tilted heads distraught for sinners, their slow
jagged saunter sorrowful over thoughts of lost souls.

Wishing to convert, but unable to reason
or preach effectively with their decaying vocal chords,
they instead reach arms inside cracked car windows
or force through basement doors, seeking
to make the wayward become like them,
to tear away limbs and devour unbelieving brains—
for zombies cannot live by bread alone . . .

Personally, I don't believe much in the way of zombies,
but perhaps they've all already ascended into heaven,
or just don't perform such miracles anymore—
they may instead be simply standing on city street corners
wearing large yellow signs that quote bible verses,
handing out pamphlets to passers by.

 Or maybe they've given up on the whole ordeal
and stay resting inside their caskets
because we've taken so many baseball bats,
shotguns, chainsaws, flamethrowers,
and banner-hanging nails
to religion's tired, mangled corpse
that it just isn't worth the trouble anymore.

# The Impact of Tax Incentive Programs on Personal Savings and Economic Growth

## Ashley N. Newton

### Abstract

In an age of abundant personal financial uncertainty, it is unfortunate to find that American consumers' level of private savings is dangerously low. In an effort to combat this trend, the U.S. government has established several programs that use the provision of tax incentives to encourage savings. Strategic plans such as the Individual Retirement Account (IRA) and Health Savings Account (HSA) are examples of how our government is attempting to provide for personal financial security and promote national productivity expansion and economic growth. As the baby boom generation grows older and begins to draw from an already struggling Social Security Trust Fund, one cannot help but wonder if these attempts to encourage savings will be enough to counteract a quickly dissolving supply of government aid. The purpose of this paper is to analyze the theory behind our country's public savings programs for taxpayers. It will also present performance-based evidence on how these efforts' past, present, and future collective impact can potentially promote financial prosperity both on an individual and aggregate level. As the reader will find, IRAs and HSAs encourage long-run economic growth by increasing aggregate savings and decreasing long-term interest rates; this combination leads to a lesser cost of borrowing and a greater incentive to invest.

### Introduction

While individuals search for means to establish long-run financial stability, much of the U.S. governing body recognizes that the creation of tax-favored savings accounts can come at a considerable cost to the aggregate economy. If national savings is to increase, lost tax revenue must be offset by a significant hike in the level of personal savings. From a macroeconomic standpoint, it is widely known that the level of personal savings has continued to decline during the last 20 years (see Figure 1).

Although the future of the U.S. Social Security system is unknown, much evidence indicates that financial crisis may befall it in the coming years. The system's pay-as-you-go nature will not suffice if current projections calling for retirement levels in excess of employment levels do come true (Findley & Caliendo, 2007). In 2005, the ratio of retirees to workers was approximately 3:1. However, it is anticipated that this ratio will fall to nearly 2:1 during the next 25 years (Goss, 2005/2006, p. 48). If the Social Security system is to remain solvent, either increased taxes or decreased benefits will likely prevail. To compensate for these potential finan-

## Disposition of Personal Income, 1959–2005
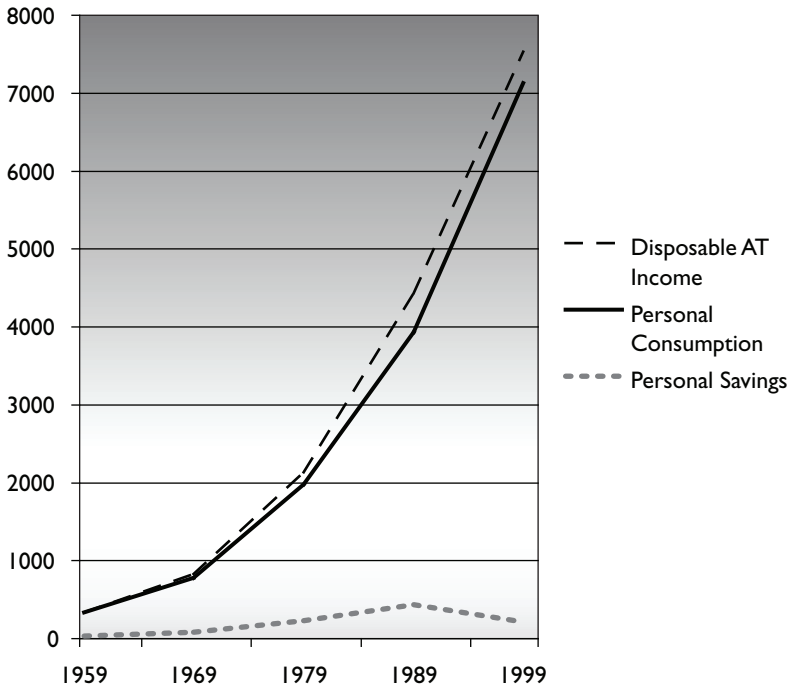


**Figure 1.** Although the levels of disposable after-tax income and personal consumption have proportionately increased over the years, the level of personal savings has remained virtually stagnant.

Council of Economic Advisors. (2006). Economics Report of the President.
http://www.gpoaccess.gov/eop/2006/2006_erp.pdf

cial inadequacies, it is absolutely critical that individuals think about methods by which they can combat this trend.

One possible solution to this problem is investing in tax-favored savings accounts. However, a recurring problem plaguing research on the effectiveness of tax incentives is the influence of highly varying consumer tastes and preferences. Therefore, a necessary assumption is that any change in an individual's saving behavior is solely a result of the tax legislation under study. An additional fundamental assumption is that, although the type of financial instrument, level of risk, and subsequent rate of return accompanying any given savings account are very important to its effectiveness, these attributes are considered constant and inconsequential within the boundaries of this paper's analysis. Instead, the primary focus shall remain on the programs themselves and their respective impacts only. This paper is intended to present an in-depth analysis of two of our nation's most popular tax-favored savings programs: the Individual Retirement Account (IRA) and Health Savings Account (HSA). This analysis will include an

overview of each program's history and major provisions, detailed discussions of policy implications, comprehensive coverage of fundamental research findings, and a summary of predictions for each program's future.

## Historical Highlights and Program Provisions

The IRA has been in existence for more than two decades, but the HSA is relatively new. Although each program was established for different purposes, both provide for similar tax savings. The following passages present an overview of the programs' history and key principles.

### The Individual Retirement Account (IRA)

The IRA was first introduced to the United States by the Employee Retirement Income Security Act of 1974. The IRA was initially only made available to those without access to a pension or an employment-based retirement plan; however, by 1981, virtually all people were eligible to open an IRA. An IRA is a personal savings account that receives favorable tax treatment through the accrual of tax-exempt interest and sometimes deductible contributions or tax-free withdrawals, depending on the specific type of IRA being discussed.

A notable interference to the IRA's popularity growth was the Tax Reform Act of 1986 (TRA 86). According to Orazio Attanasio and Thomas Deleire, TRA 86 imposed new restrictions such as adjusted gross income (AGI) limits, phase-outs of deductible contributions, and lower marginal tax rates. Coupled with an appealing investment alternative found in the 401(k) Plan, it was no surprise to see IRA contributions fall from $50 billion in 1986 to $12 billion in 1987 as depicted in Figure 2 (Attanasio & Deleire, 2002, p. 504–505). As of 2002, an IRS report issued by Victoria Bryant and Peter Sailer explained that total nationwide contributions to IRA accounts amounted to $42.3 billion, up 18.3% from the prior year. Of the $2.5 trillion invested in IRAs at the end of 2002, nearly 92% ($2.3 trillion) was invested in traditional IRA accounts (Bryant & Sailer, 2006, p. 233). The oldest type of IRA is the Traditional IRA. From IRS Publication 590: Individual Retirement Arrangements (IRAs), it can be gathered that as a general rule, any taxpayer not covered by a retirement plan at work and who is less than 70.5 years of age is able to make a deductible contribution to a Traditional IRA account, although the deduction may be limited. For tax year 2006, contributions to Traditional IRA accounts are deductible up to $4,000 annually for a single qualifying taxpayer (or $8,000 for spousal IRAs). To qualify for the full deduction, the taxpayer cannot be covered by an employer-provided retirement plan; if the taxpayer is a recipient of such a plan, the deduction is phased out over a range of income levels (a range of $10,000 beginning at an AGI of $50,000 for individuals and $75,000 for joint filers). In addition, any taxpayer age 50 or older is eligible to make an extra $1,000 nondeductible contribution to Traditional IRAs. Withdrawals from Traditional IRAs are taxable, but all invested funds accrue interest tax-free. An alternative option to the Traditional IRA is a Roth IRA. The main advantage of investing in a Roth IRA rather than a Traditional IRA is that qualified distributions from a Roth IRA are exempt from taxation. For a distribution to be considered "qualified," it must meet two criteria: first, it must occur at least 5 years after the account was created; second, it must occur on or after the taxpayer reaches age

**Contributions to Individual Retirement Accounts (IRAs), 1975–1997**
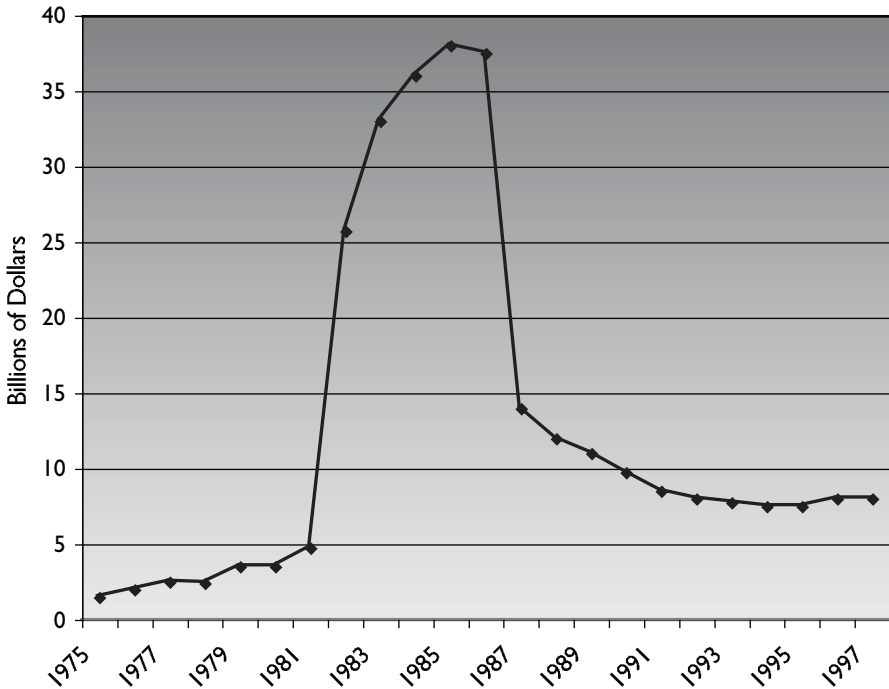


**Figure 2.** Contributions to Traditional IRAs fell from $50 billion in 1986 to $12 billion in 1987 because of the newly imposed restrictions provided by the Tax Reform Act of 1986.

Internal Revenue Service. (various years). *Statistics of Income Bulletin.*

59.5, because of disability, as a transfer to a beneficiary or estate after the taxpayer's death, or be in compliance with the "first home" exception which essentially provides favorable tax treatment for first home buyers (U.S. Department of the Treasury, Internal Revenue Service, 2006a). Because the Roth IRA's provisions bring very different economic consequences than the Traditional IRA, this paper will focus solely on Traditional IRAs.

**The Health Savings Account (HSA)**

The HSA was born from the Medicare Modernization Act of 2003. HSAs are medical savings accounts comprising pre-tax monetary contributions that accrue interest tax-free. These funds are to be used to cover the cost of current and future health expenditures. HSAs are created and maintained independent of any specific employer and will remain intact following any change in employment. Relevant legislation presently requires all HSAs to be accompanied by a high-deductible health plan (HDHP). A HDHP requires the consumer to incur higher than average out-of-pocket expenses before any insurance coverage will kick in. However, premiums

**HSA/HDHP Enrollment: Individual Market, 2005–2007**
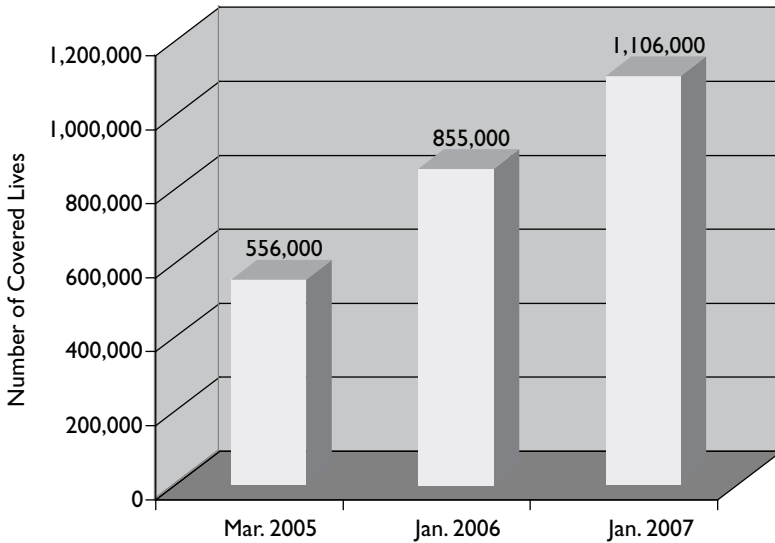


**Figure 3.** The number of active HSA/HDHP individual market participants nearly doubled in less than 2 years.

America's Health Insurance Plans, Center for Policy and Research. (2007, April). January 2007 Census Shows 4.5 Million People Covered by HSA/High-Deductible Health Plans. https://cbiz.com/benefits-gzh/pdfs/jan%202007%20census%20ahip.pdf

for an HDHP are generally lower than a traditional fee-for-service plan such as one provided by a participating provider organization (PPO) or health maintenance organization (HMO).

According to IRS Publication 969: Health Savings Accounts and Other Tax-Favored Health Plans, year 2006 regulations include minimum deductibles ($1,050 for individuals or $2,100 for families), maximum annual out-of-pocket (OOP) expense limits ($5,250 for individuals or $10,500 for families), and maximum annual contribution limits (the lesser of the deductible or $2,700 for individuals or $5,450 for families). Beginning in tax filing year 2007, contributions are no longer limited to the deductible. For taxpayers age 55 and older, contribution limits are increased by $700. Account balances that go unspent for any given year can accumulate to future years and be used for qualified medical expenses. Once the taxpayer reaches age 65, any remaining account balance may be withdrawn penalty-free regardless of how the funds will be used (U.S. Department of the Treasury, Internal Revenue Service, 2006b). Also, HSAs can be bequeathed at the account owner's request.

A report released by Deloitte & Touche, LLP in January 2007 states that the number of active HSA accounts tripled to more than 1 million during 2006 (depicted in Figure 3), with total nationwide asset balances at approximately $1 billion. Current projections call for more than 10 million active accounts valued at more than $24 billion by 2010. If proposals to expand

the program are passed in Washington, 2010 estimates skyrocket to 15 million active accounts valued at over $64 billion (Deloitte & Touche, 2006). As a prominent component of the movement toward consumer-driven health care (CDHC), HSAs represent an excellent example of the government's attempt to empower the American taxpayer.

## Policy Implications for the Individual Retirement Account (IRA)

Some themes that must be considered when it comes to the IRA include the supply of labor, the potential for long-term economic growth, methods by which IRA contributions are financed, and how a tax preparer's influence can make a significant impact on participation levels.

### Encouraging Aggregate Long-Run Economic Growth

When an individual initially contributes to a Traditional IRA, that person realizes monetary savings via a tax deduction that lessens taxable income. This increase in the level of aggregate savings promotes lower real interest rates (cost of borrowing) and a greater incentive for increased investment spending. From a macroeconomic standpoint, increased investment is an excellent way to foster long-term growth. In consideration of the current stimulus package being rolled out, taxpayers will soon have the opportunity to use tax rebate checks as a means to either save or consume. Although the direct benefit of consumption and increased consumer spending is its ability to stimulate the economy, there is no guarantee that taxpayers will fulfill this intention. According to one forecast published in the March 10, 2008, edition of *Business Week*, it is predicted that a total decline of 0.4% will befall U.S. GDP growth during the first two quarters of 2008 before realizing a 3.2% rebound in the third quarter and subsequent 2.6% growth in the following three quarters (Wyss, 2008). These immediate tax incentive payouts follow the same basic theory of an IRA deductible contribution: The government puts more money in the hands of the consumer with the hope that he or she will return the favor by increasing consumption levels, inducing gross domestic product (GDP) growth, and subsequently stimulating the economy. Even if these rebates are put back into tax-favored savings accounts such as the IRA, the taxpayer has still increased his or her level of savings, which, as previously stated, encourages decreased interest rates, increases investment levels, and represents a potential for long-term economic growth.

### The Balance Between Labor Supply and After-Tax Income

The conventional theory of labor supply as it relates to the IRA is rather perplexing. According to a theoretical model presented by researchers Eric Engen, William Gale, and John Karl Scholz, laborers view after-tax income as a good and hours spent working as a bad. Thus, examining a case in which all laborers receive an hourly wage, utility can be increased by either (1) working fewer hours or (2) accruing more after-tax income. By contributing to an IRA, a qualifying taxpayer may take a deduction for the computation of his or her adjusted gross income (Engen, Gale, & Scholz, 1996, p. 113–114). As outlined in Figure 4, this deduction reduces the individual's taxable income and in effect increases total after-tax income. Following this basic theory, an IRA has the potential to increase a laborer's utility by lowering the tax burden. When

| Labor Supply as a Function of IRA Contributions | | |
|---|---|---|
| **Formula** | **Contributor** | **Non-Contributor** |
| Wages | $40,000 | $40,000 |
| + Interest | $1,000 | $1,000 |
| **Total Income** | **$41,000** | **$41,000** |
| – IRA Deduction | ($4,000) | $0 |
| **AGI** | **$37,000** | **$41,000** |
| – Std Deduction | ($5,150) | ($5,150) |
| – Exemption | ($3,300) | ($3,300) |
| **Taxable Income** | **$28,550** | **$32,550** |
| **Tax** | **$3,909** | **$4,701** |

**Figure 4.** Deductible IRA contributions increase after-tax income and labor utility.

Author's original work; references data from: U.S. Department of the Treasury, Internal Revenue Service. (2006a). Publication 590: Individual Retirement Arrangements (IRAs).

utility is increased, laborers enjoy greater satisfaction in their current employment situation and may develop a willingness to increase their labor supply. Any taxpayer that finances contributions with an increase in labor supply has in effect raised his or her level of personal savings.

### Financing IRA Investments with the Reshuffling of Assets

If IRAs are to increase the level of personal savings, they must be funded with resources not originally intended to be saved. If the IRA investment is simply a reshuffling of existing assets, then no increase in personal savings ever occurs. Economists Gale and Scholz state that an important factor in determining whether such transfers are possible is the individual's asset holdings. Even if total assets are small, an investor may still choose to transfer funds into an IRA as a saving or tax planning strategy (Gale & Scholz, 1994, p. 1234). Although the transfer of funds into an IRA account might result in a given amount of tax savings, the major issue remains the method by which contributions to an IRA are financed. It is certainly possible that IRA participants could reshuffle money from existing resources, thus bringing no real increase in total private savings.

### The Influence of Tax Preparers and Public Opinion

Exposure to IRAs and other tax-favored savings accounts is largely the result of the tax preparer's influence. When a taxpayer consults with an accountant or tax advisor, there exists an inher-

ent sense of trust that the individual will be informed of any investment opportunity that would provide for a more favorable situation tax-wise. Considering the numerous tax advantages provided by each type of IRA—from the employer-based SEP- and SIMPLE-IRAs to the individual-based Traditional and Roth IRAs—it stands to reason that one of the most commonly discussed opportunities is some form or IRA. According to a publication issued by Warren Hrung of the Office of Tax Analysis, a component that is also very important to some prospective participants is public opinion. If an individual discovers through the media, or even by word of mouth, that both IRA enrollment and participant satisfaction are high, some individuals will develop a greater tendency to invest in an IRA (Hrung, 2004, p. 1). These influences are excellent examples of how trust-based relationships and behavioral tendencies can play a significant role in aggregate economic conditions.

## Policy Implications for the Health Savings Account (HSA)

Some themes to consider when it comes to the HSA include discretionary spending practices, the continuing battle to encourage transparency in health care services, and the possibility that a "savings program" could bring harm to the less fortunate.

### Discretionary Health Care Spending

While real income levels in the United States continue their sluggish growth, Sara Collins of the Commonwealth Fund states that Americans incur more out-of-pocket health care expenses than do residents of any other industrialized country (Collins, 2006, p. 6). It should be no surprise, then, that the HSA program is a welcomed attempt to combat the rising cost of health care. Because HSA participants pay for medical expenses out of a personal savings account, there exists a significant financial incentive to spend funds wisely and exercise a fiscally frugal nature when appropriate.

As Collins discussed (2006), evidence has consistently shown that high out-of-pocket expenses pose a significant threat to a patient's decision about whether to seek medical treatment or not. For an HSA participant who has not accumulated the funds necessary to cover such expenses, it is certainly not unheard of for the patient to avoid treatment altogether (p. 10). On the one hand, this idea can be advantageous when it comes to discouraging patients from seeking unnecessary treatment; in other cases—when medical care is an absolute necessity—this financial insufficiency can bring seriously negative health consequences. A meaningful way to manage and perhaps prevent unreasonable out-of-pocket expenses is to better anticipate health needs and seek appropriate preventative care whenever possible.

### The Lack of Transparency and Its Consequences

The HSA program requires that each participant be responsible and uphold a high degree of discretion when deciding whether to seek medical treatment. In consideration of this inherent sense of prudence, providers will be more competitive when it comes to the prices for their services. In theory, this situation would provide financial incentives that are a direct result of the HSA and accompanying HDHP program.

As much as this theoretical approach seems like a reasonable method to decrease health care costs, critics argue that patients are in a very weak position to demand more affordable services. Moreover, services are not commodities—each is differentiated in some manner and to a certain degree. Because of this lack of uniformity, detecting quality differences and their significance when evaluating multiple health care providers' services is virtually impossible. Economists Dahlia Remler and Sherry Glied of the Commonwealth Fund claim that no matter what deviations in price or quality may occur, HDHPs will always present a tendency to increase providers' level of bad debt, especially when combined with HSAs. Medical charges below the deductible are more likely to go unpaid and a higher deductible will expectantly only exaggerate this problem (Remler & Glied, 2006). If HSAs are not adequately funded, a patient's chance of defaulting on a payment would logically increase. The most notable impact will be felt on hospital profits and investment interests, as well as by medical professionals who provide routine, less expensive services that cost much less than hospitalization and are thus more likely to go unpaid.

### The Influence of Income and Age

On the surface, it can be shown that a high-income taxpayer will find the most financial savings in an HSA. For a program that allows the individual to withdraw funds and accrue interest tax-free, those taxpayers in the highest marginal tax brackets will most certainly reap significant benefits (see Figure 5). Furthermore, high-income taxpayers are likely to have the resources to cover the potentially expensive out-of-pocket costs incurred before meeting a high deductible. Remler and Glied (2006) also indicate that if any HSA enrollee younger than age 65 wants to use HSA funds for a nonmedical purpose, that person is required to pay income tax on such distributions and will incur a 10% penalty on the balance being withdrawn. A wealthy individual will be much more likely to have the means to cover such charges if a withdrawal must be made. For these reasons, an HSA account would be a wise investment for wealthy individuals.

Any HSA participant younger than age 65 must follow strict guidelines if he or she wants to avoid tax penalties and other consequences. Basically, all funds held in an HSA account must be used for medical purposes alone until the individual reaches age 65. Upon reaching this age, participants may use any remaining account balance to purchase anything they choose without penalty; the only catch to this privilege is that any funds used for nonqualified purposes are considered income and are subject to taxation as such. Even this consequence is often rather insignificant because most elderly and retired taxpayers fall into lower marginal tax brackets as they accrue less earned income and more tax-favored payments such as pensions and Social Security.

### The Potential to Promote Inequality in Wealth and Sickness

Critics of the HSA program often argue that the plan's provisions favor the young and healthy over the elderly and ill. The often-applicable Pareto principle explains it best: According to Remler and Glied (2006), approximately 20% of medically insured individuals account for 80% of total health care costs. This group is highly likely to incur the same or similar costs even under a high-deductible plan; thus, there is no reason to believe that health care costs will actually decline. The young and healthy are enrolled in HSAs and accompanying HDHPs, but the

Tax Benefit as a Function of Income

| Formula T/P | Lower-Income T/P | Higher-Income T/P |
|---|---|---|
| Wages | $40,000 | $80,000 |
| Total Income | $40,000 | $80,000 |
| – HSA Deduction | ($2,700) | ($2,700) |
| AGI | $37,300 | $77,300 |
| – Std Deduction | ($5,150) | ($5,150) |
| – Exemption | ($3,300) | ($3,300) |
| Taxable Income | $28,850 | $68,850 |
| Tax Bracket | 15% | 25% |
| x HSA Deduction | $2,700 | $2,700 |
| Tax Benefit | $405 | $675 |

**Figure 5.** The greater a taxpayer's income, the greater tax benefit he or she reaps from making contributions to an HSA.

Author's original work; references data from: U.S. Department of the Treasury, Internal Revenue Service. (2006b). Publication 969: Health Savings Accounts and Other Tax-Favored Health Plans.

elderly and ill could be forced to sign on with a conventional insurance plan. With only the most expensive patients enrolled, these insurers are likely to raise the prices of coverage. Unfortunately, this scenario could bring an increase in the number of uninsured.

Even for those enrolled in an HSA, it can be extremely tempting to avoid medical services that are not critical to a patient's well-being because of the high deductible and out-of-pocket expenses. This behavior can result in expensive interventions when preventive care is avoided and medical crises follow. The HSA program's mixed messages about whether it is better to save or spend are certain to complicate financial planning efforts, not to mention jeopardize a patient's health. Under these conditions, there exists a very real possibility that the sick and poor will only be hurt further by the influence of the HSA and accompanying HDHP.

## The IRA: Major Research Findings

After evaluating the IRA's major themes, evidence has shown that (1) TRA 86 and other reform measures can negatively influence labor supply, (2) exposure and encouragement to the

IRA's offerings are key, and (3) much debate remains about how most IRAs are funded and what impact these investment practices bring to personal and aggregate national savings.

### Tax Reform Can Hinder Growth in the Supply of Labor

TRA 86 is often referenced as the most extensive overhaul of the U.S. income tax system since World War II. One piece of this legislation imposed significant restrictions on who is eligible to participate in an IRA. Barry Bosworth and Gary Burtless of the Brookings Institution reported that to qualify for a deduction on IRA contributions, the taxpayer must either report income below certain thresholds or not be the recipient of an employer-based pension (Bosworth & Burtless, 1992, p. 5). Under the conventional economic approach that a laborer's utility is decreased upon accruing less after-tax income, then the new restrictions imposed by TRA 86 tell the story of how tax policies can have a negative effect on labor supply. For example, if an IRA participant is no longer able to fully deduct IRA contributions because he or she is the recipient of an employer-based pension, then that individual will accrue less after-tax income, ceteris paribus. Less after-tax income is sufficient reason for many workers to feel that their labor is less valuable in its compensatory returns. This decrease in worker utility will only further aggravate any efforts to increase the supply of labor.

During the 1980s, the U.S. aggregate level of labor supply actually increased. However, most of this increase was attributed to poor households who were unaffected by tax changes. Thus, it can be said that the surge in the supply of labor was not a result of newly implemented tax legislation.

### Exposure and Encouragement Are Key

The use of a tax preparer's services is a choice—not a necessity. However, this choice plays a significant role in a taxpayer's awareness and interest in tax planning strategies such as IRAs. In December 2004, Hrung described a test of this significance: IRA participation can be increased by hiring a tax preparer. Furthermore, the exposure to the highly advertised introduction of the Roth IRA in 1998 positively increased both participation levels and contribution amounts. Hrung also concluded that with more advertising and exposure efforts, participation and contributions have the potential to increase even more (p. 13). With these findings in mind, the impact of a tax preparer becomes very clear. Figure 6 provides a detailed listing of the most common sources sought for advisement.

Peer pressure and social trends have a place in investing decisions just as much as they do in any school playground or popular hangout. Esther Duflo and Emmanuel Saez, professors of economics at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, conducted a randomized experiment to determine if social networks affect the potential participant's investment decisions. Duflo and Saez' results are consistent with a common notion: "Social network effects definitely cause some people to take steps which ultimately [lead] them to change their Tax Deferred Account (TDA) participation decision" (Duflo & Saez, 2003, p. 839). These findings serve as a reminder that investors are both highly influential and sometimes easily influenced at the same time. A piece of advice from a trusted individual can mean more to some investors than any fact or figure ever will.
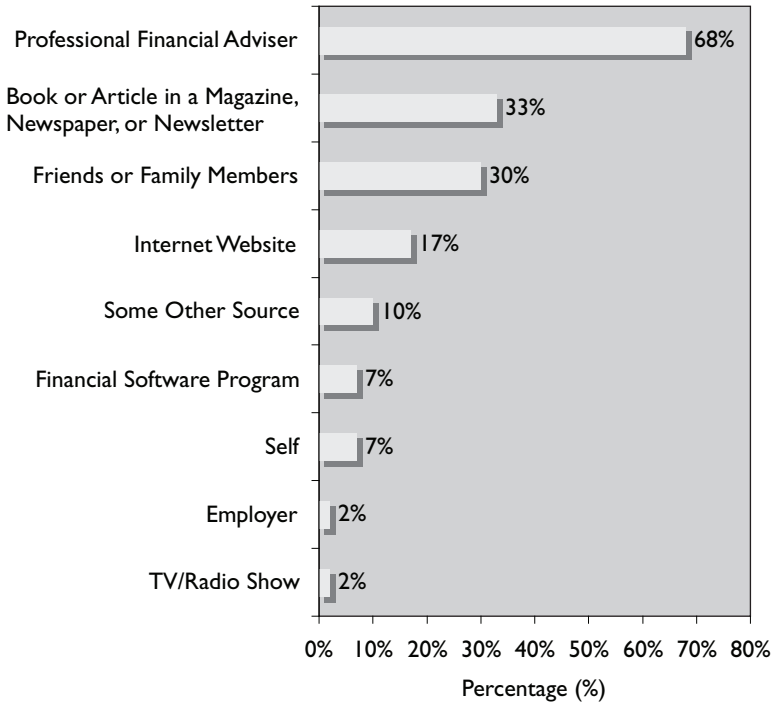
**Figure 6.** 68% of IRA owners seek strategic advice from a professional financial advisor.

### The Methods Used to Finance Contributions

A variety of experiments have been used to address the heated debate regarding how participants finance their contributions to an IRA. Does an IRA actually represent new personal savings? According to the within-group comparisons performed by James Poterba, Steven Venti, and David Wise for the National Bureau of Economic Research, the majority of participants increase their level of savings because they do not allow contributions to an IRA interfere with prior savings practices or total asset holdings. Moreover, this research has revealed that IRA contributors increase personal savings more than noncontributors do (Poterba, Venti, & Wise, 1996, p. 93–95).

Engen, Gale, and Scholz (1996) refute the effectiveness of IRAs and instead propose that most contributions are financed with existing assets, and thus do not generate any new savings. These researchers emphasize the importance of eliminating heterogeneity by comparing the savings levels of IRA contributors only rather than contributors with that of noncontributors. For participants who view the IRA as a good substitute for taxable assets, contributions are usually financed through the simple transfer of funds from preexisting savings to an IRA account. The

work of Engen, Gale, and Scholz provides sufficient evidence that most IRA participants choose to contribute because of the tax benefit, thus making the reshuffling of assets a popular financing method (p. 114–115). Although no definitive conclusions have been declared, it seems likely that IRA contributions represent little to no net increase in an individual's level of personal savings.

## The HSA: Major Research Findings

After evaluating the HSA's major themes, evidence has shown that (1) the participant's wealth and his or her profitability on the HSA are positively correlated, (2) HSAs have the potential to increase long-run national savings, and (3) a successful initiative to manage the rising costs of health care requires an equally great amount of effort and dedication from participants, providers, and institutions alike.

### A Healthy Option for the Wealthy

By definition, HDHPs are more attractive to the healthy because such plans are an affordable and reasonable option for any individual who does not have a history of, or intention to incur, significant health care costs. It just so happens that the wealthy also have the resources to meet a high deductible if necessary. Furthermore, wealthy taxpayers usually fall into a higher marginal tax bracket and will therefore receive a proportionately greater tax benefit from an HSA deduction than will any individual in a lower tax bracket. As depicted in Figure 7, the U.S. Government Accountability Office revealed that for the tax year ended December 31, 2004, more than 50% of HDHP/HSA plan participants had annual incomes of $75,000 or more (U.S. Government Accountability Office, 2006). In a report issued by Paul Fronstin and Sara Collins, survey results provided by the Commonwealth Fund were used to conclude that HSA participants were "slightly more likely to be in excellent or very good health than those with more comprehensive insurance" as of December 2005 (Fronstin & Collins, 2006).

Unfortunately, these statistics do not fair well for the poor and very ill who cannot afford to be insured. Even though HSA accounts are technically available to all people, their benefits and relevance only extend so far. It seems that the HSA is not the solution for our most disadvantaged patients' needs.

### The Potential to Increase National Savings in the Long Run

A major requirement to being a cost-conscious HSA participant is to seek medical treatment only when it is truly necessary. This determination is by no means easy. However, most economists believe that once the HSA program becomes more popular and its account owners learn to spend funds wisely, significant aggregate savings on health care costs are certainly possible. According to Katherine Baicker and colleagues of the Council of Economic Advisors, the most important component to the HSA's potential to increase savings is cost-reducing technological changes in the form of product innovations and lower cost store-based clinics. If national health care expenditures grew at 6.5% per year rather than the projected 7%, aggregate expenditures would be 5% less by the 10th year. This reduction would amount to approximately $160 billion in 2006 dollars (Baicker, Dow, & Wolfson, 2006, p. 471). Considering that the overspending
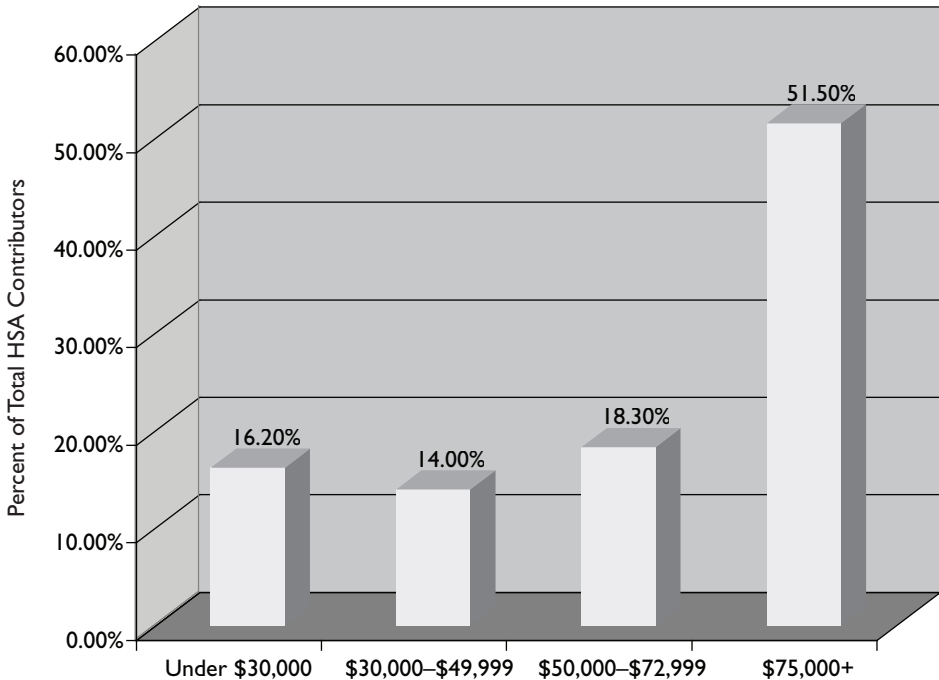
**Figure 7.** More than 50% of active HSA participants reported adjusted gross income (AGI) of $75,000 or greater for tax year 2004.

U.S. Government Accountability Office. (2006, August). Consumer-Directed Health Plans: Early Enrollee Experiences with Health Plans. Highlights of GAO-06-798. http://www.gao.gov/new.items/d06798.pdf

crisis is plaguing our country on both a micro- and macro-economic scale, it is absolutely crucial to strive to increase public and private savings however possible.

**The Need for a Cooperative and Committed Joint Effort**

We have already recognized the need for HSA participants to spend funds wisely when seeking medical treatment. However, a patient cannot assess the cost of a service if providers do not openly offer such information to the health insurer. But who is the patient to make such a demand? The government, accredited organizations, and professional societies are in the best position to make these requests. To make the most reasoned decisions, patients should also have access to reports on the quality of providers' services. According to the aforementioned testimony provided by Sara Collins (2006), the National Committee for Quality Assurance has found that physicians are more likely to improve any shortcomings if they are identified in a widely published quality report (p. 12). If providers are not willing to volunteer information on the price and quality of their services, government agencies should demand it.

Furthermore, reporting agencies should show a strong commitment to gathering data thoroughly and carefully in an effort to ensure the greatest possible accuracy. With these resources,

health insurance agencies can aid in searching for and selecting affordable and quality services. With the potential significant amount of monetary savings to be realized by limited unnecessary medical expenses, a patient's physical and financial well-being can be preserved.

## Predictions

Looking to the future of tax incentive saving accounts such as the IRA and HSA, there are many variables to consider. For the IRA, future influences include the relevancy of Roth-type IRAs, as well as the impact that proposed taxation policies would bring if they were implemented. As for HSAs, an examination of current and past consumer behavior as well as corresponding responses from health care providers and other entities should prove helpful in predicting the program's future.

### The Future of the IRA

The future of the IRA is most notably summarized through the emergence of its counterpart, the Roth IRA. As previously discussed, although contributions to Roth IRAs are not tax deductible, the savings account's qualified distributions are exempt from taxation. This benefit is, understandably, a critical reason why the Roth IRA has gained so much recent popularity. As advisable as the Roth IRA may presently be, skeptics have expressed concern that as the baby boom generation goes into retirement, Congress will be overcome with such an urgency to raise revenues that legislators may decide to impose a tax on the previously tax exempt withdrawals from Roth IRAs. However, when considering similar historical decisions, it stands to reason that any such change in taxation policy would be implemented through a generous transition so that current participants will be protected from significant or sudden financial harm. A graph of Traditional and Roth IRA participation over recent years is depicted in Figure 8.

Modern proposals such as the flat tax and sales tax are alternatives that would result in the abolishment of the income tax and all its provisions as they are known today. As reasonable and logical as some of these proposals might seem, it is critical to take a step back to examine if the explanations are oversimplified. In most cases, oversimplification is a frequently used method to encourage the belief that these proposals would be good for our economy. However, the income tax and all its complexities are established for specific reasons, not the least of which is the use of a progressive system that ensures taxpayers are taxed at an increasingly higher rate in proportion to taxable income. Both the flat tax and sales tax calls to impose "equitable rates" that would in effect tax the poor at the same amount as the wealthy. Nonetheless, it is difficult to imagine that either of these proposals could promote greater savings or equitable growth if the aggregate distribution of earnings is not equitable in terms of a taxpayer's wealth.

### The Future of the HSA

Whether it is a HSA or any other consumer-directed program, statistics have consistently shown that more and more Americans want to take charge of their health care. The HSA is a program that requires the participant to exercise discretionary spending practices. In consideration of this needed discretion, the program works best when transparency exists in regard to the
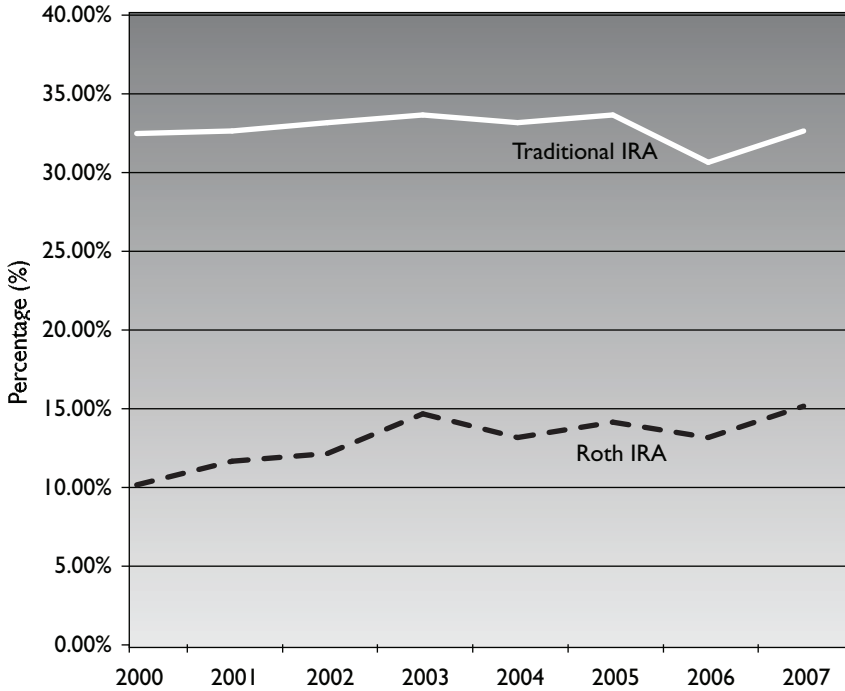
**Figure 8.** The impact of exposure and encouragement played a significant role in the Roth IRA's popularity growth over recent years.

price and quality of health care services. While health care insurers make increasingly frequent requests for this information, both public and private organizations are making remarkable strides to comply with these demands. A graph of both historical and projected levels of health care expenditures is depicted in Figure 9.

A testament to the relevance of consumer-directed health plans in today's society is the attention they are receiving from our nation's executive leaders. A primary example is the recent signing of an Executive Order (EO) by President George W. Bush. Robin Downey, the head of product development at Aetna, one of the nation's premier health care disclosure agencies, explains that the order requires any federal agency tied to health insurance programs to "increase transparency in pricing and quality, encourage adoption of health information technology standards, and provide options that promote quality and efficiency" (Downey, 2007, p. 54). In coordination with this directive, the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services has invited some of the nation's largest employers to make a voluntary commitment to provide company employees health care on the basis of price and quality. By most accounts, consumer-directed health plans—including the HSA—will become more relevant and popular in the future.
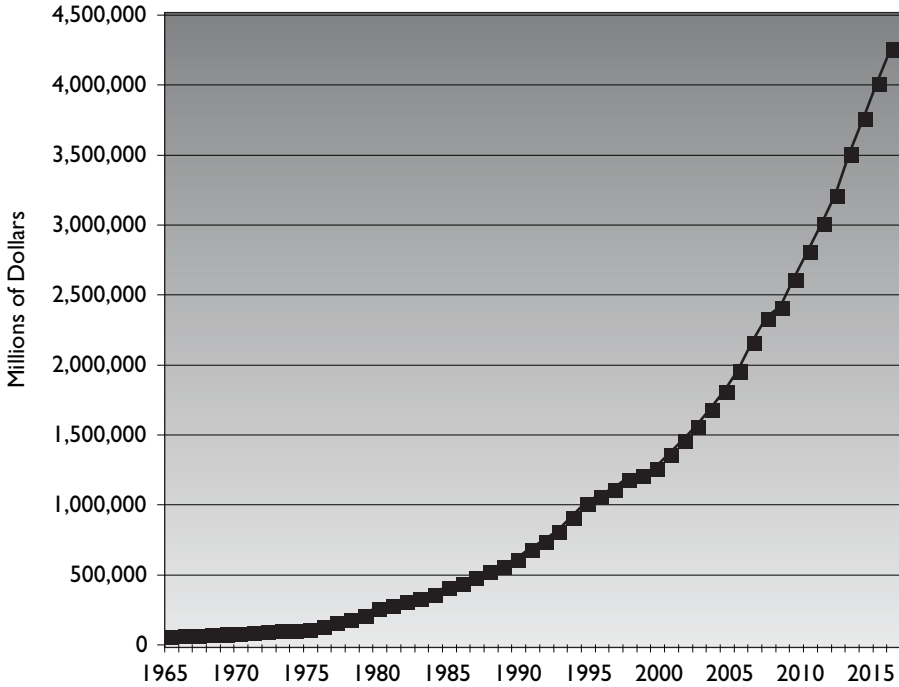
**Figure 9.** National health care expenditures have steadily increased over time and are projected to further increase by 7% each year over the next decade.

U.S. Department of Health & Human Services. Office of the Actuary. (2008). NHE Historical and Projections, 1965-2017. CMS Research, Statistics, Data and Systems.
http://www.cms.hhs.gov/nationalhealthexpenddata/03_nationalhealthaccountsprojected.asp

## Concluding Remarks

Resources and revenues can essentially be used for three purposes: (1) to consume, (2) to save, and (3) to pay taxes. These behaviors are intertwined and present various advantages and disadvantages at both the individual and aggregate level. Consumption represents a transfer of resources in exchange for goods or services. This behavior stimulates the aggregate economy and represents the exact scenario the U.S. government hopes to achieve through its 2008 stimulus package. A great example of a program that encourages discretionary spending is the HSA. The HSA functions best when participants use funds wisely and only seek medical treatment when it is absolutely necessary.

In consideration of our current social structure, taxes are essential to the welfare of this nation's citizens and its economy. However, when it comes to the income tax, there is much debate about "how much is too much"; in other words, trying to determine rates, credits, and deductible limits is not a perfect science. The Traditional IRA is one long-standing strategy to put more money back into the hands of the taxpayers through tax-deductible contributions and

tax-exempt earnings. Upon realizing this increase in savings, real interest rates will fall, levels of investment will rise, the economy will be stimulated, and the hope for long-term economic growth will take a huge leap toward reality.

The IRA and HSA are two tax-favored savings accounts that are certainly just as relevant today as ever before. Personal financial security and macroeconomic stability are two forces that must be satisfied to preserve the welfare of this nation and its people. Through the reasoned distribution and allocation of resources as achieved by programs such as the IRA and HSA, we are all provided hope for greater long-run prosperity both on a micro- and macro-economic scale.

## References

America's Health Insurance Plans, Center for Policy and Research. (2007, April). January 2007 Census Shows 4.5 Million People Covered by HSA/High-Deductible Health Plans. Retrieved February 6, 2008, from http://cbiz.com/benefits-gzh/pdfs/jan%202007%20census%20ahip.pdf

Attanasio, O., & Deleire, T. (2002). The Effect of Individual Retirement Accounts on Household Consumption and National Saving. *Economic Journal, 112*( July), 504–538. Retrieved June 10, 2007, from Business Source Premier database.

Baicker, K., Dow, W., & Wolfson, J. (2006). Health Savings Accounts: Implications for Health Spending. *National Tax Journal, 59*(3) 463–475. Retrieved June 5, 2007, from Business Source Premier database.

Bosworth, B., & Burtless, G. (1992). Effects of Tax Reform on Labor, Supply, Investment, and Saving. *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 6(1), 3–25. Retrieved May 28, 2007, from JSTOR database.

Bryant, V., & Sailer, P. (2006). Accumulation and Distribution on Individual Retirement Arrangements, 2001–2002. Internal Revenue Service, Statistics of Income Division. Retrieved June 12, 2007, from http://www.irs.gov/taxstats

Collins, S. (2006). Health Savings Accounts: Why They Won't Cure What Ails U.S. Health Care. The Commonwealth Fund Publications, 1–35. Retrieved May 28, 2007, from http://www.cmwf.org/publications/publications_show.htm?doc_id=379042

Council of Economic Advisors. (2006). Economics Report of the President. Retrieved June 1, 2007, from http://www.gpoaccess.gov/eop/2006/2006_erp.pdf

Deloitte & Touche, LLP. (2006). Financial Foresight: The Blooming Business of Health Savings Accounts. Deloitte & Touche USA LLP webcast, June 27, 2006. Retrieved June 5, 2007, from http://www.deloitte.com/dtt/cda/doc/content/us_fsi_HSAs%20financial%20foresight_jan07.pdf

Downey, R. (2007). The Future of Consumer-Directed Health Care in 2007: Creating Transparency in an Opaque Marketplace. CDHC Solutions Publications, Forecast 2007, 54. Retrieved August 15, 2007, from www.cdhcsolutionsmag.com/archives/2007/07-outlook/cdhc_outlook07-aetna.pdf

Duflo, E. & Saez, E. (2003). The Role of Information and Social Interactions in Retirement Plan Decisions: Evidence from a Randomized Experiment. *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 118(3), 815–841. Retrieved June 10, 2007, from Business Source Premier database.

Engen, E., Gale, W. & Scholz, J. (1996). The Illusory Effects of Saving Incentives on Saving. *Journal of Economic Perspectives, 10*(4), 113–138. Retrieved May 28, 2007, from JSTOR database.

Findley, T. & Caliendo, F. (2007). OutSMarTing the Social Security Crisis. *Public Finance Review, 34*(6), 647–669. Retrieved March 18, 2008, from Business Source Premier database.

Fronstin, P., & Collins, S. (2006). Early Experience with High-Deductible and Consumer-Driven Health Plans: Findings from the ERBI/Commonwealth Fund Consumerism in Health Care Survey. The Commonwealth Fund Publications. Retrieved June 5, 2007, from http://www.cmwf.org/publications/publications_show.htm?doc_id=326359

Gale, W., & Scholz, J. (1994). IRAs and Household Saving. *American Economic Review, 84*(5), 1233–1260. Retrieved May 28, 2007, from JSTOR database.

Goss, Stephen C. (2005/2006). The Financial Outlook for the Social Security Disability Insurance Program. *Social Security Bulletin 66*(3), 47–52. Retrieved March 20, 2008, from Business Source Premier database.

Hrung, W. (2004). Information, the Introduction of Roths, and IRA Participation. Office of Tax Analysis. Working Paper 91, 1–14. Retrieved June 5, 2007, from http://www.treas.gov/offices/tax-policy/library/ota91.pdf

Internal Revenue Service. (various years). *Statistics of Income Bulletin.*

Investment Company Institute. (2008, January). The Role of IRAs in U.S. Households' Saving for Retirement. *ICI Research Fundamentals 17*(1A). Retrieved March 3, 2008, from http://www.ici.org/home/fm-v17n1.pdf

Investment Company Institute. (2006, January). IGI Research Fundamentals 15(1A). Retrieved June 29, 2007, from http://www.ici.org/issues/ret/fm-v17n1.pdf

Poterba, J., Venti, S., & Wise, D. (1996). How Retirement Saving Programs Increase Saving. *Journal of Economic Perspectives, 10*(4), 91–112. Retrieved May 28, 2007, from JSTOR database.

Remler, D. & Glied, S. (2006). How Much More Cost-Sharing Will Health Savings Accounts Bring? The Commonwealth Fund Publications. Retrieved June 10, 2007, from http://content.healthaffairs.org/cgi/content/full/25/4/1070?ijkey=ady/rg2fcvwzy&keytype=ref&siteid=healthaff

U.S. Department of Health & Human Services. Office of the Actuary. (2008). NHE Historical and Projections, 1965-2017. CMS Research, Statistics, Data and Systems. Retrieved February 4, 2008, from http://www.cms.hhs.gov/nationalhealthexpenddata/03_national healthaccountsprojected.asp

U.S. Department of the Treasury. Internal Revenue Service. (2006a). Publication 590: Individual Retirement Arrangements (IRAs).

U.S. Department of the Treasury. Internal Revenue Service. (2006b). Publication 969: Health Savings Accounts and Other Tax-Favored Health Plans.

U.S. Government Accountability Office. (2006, August). Consumer-Directed Health Plans: Early Enrollee Experiences with Health Plans. Highlights of GAO-06-798. Retrieved May 31, 2007, from http://www.gao.gov/new.items/d06798.pdf

Wyss, D. (2008, March 10). What Can Go Worse – or Better? *Business Week Online*. Retrieved March 21, 2008, from Business Source Premier database.

# You and I

## Zachary Tate

### Artist Statement

I don't know what any of these are about when I'm doing them. I don't question them. I just do it. If I do it, it's got to be ok. I only do what seems right for me at the time. I can do only what I know. I know only what I have experienced, sometimes subconsciously. This is just the personification of what has been stirring inside me my whole life. None of it is good or bad. Good or bad is a question of right or wrong. This is an expression of self. This is a view of the inside of me. This is a view of the absurd.

Art has been a serious thing to me for so long. I hated to see people taking it so lightly. This is a return to the absurd for me. This is the inner child in me coming out to play in the mud. It is innocently and brutally true of who and what I am. These straightforward landscape scenes topped with this sometimes Zen-like representation of me and people in my life. These are figments of my imagination that are a personification of the world around me. Only children are this honest.

These figures started out as something fun and meaningless. They had no purpose, just silly fun. No place for these in art. But I couldn't leave them alone. I kept going back to them and thinking about them. I told myself they were silly and were not art, just playing. They were from molds. They are tacky and empty. They didn't belong in "good art." But they are me. There is a spirit of me that has a hand in each of these. A spirit and experience to a viewpoint or happening in my life dwells inside each of these figures.

Throughout life we all can feel child-like or out of place in situations. Some of us feel like that all the time no matter who we are with or whatever situation we are in. It's the absurd in life we ignore and tend to cast aside. But it's the absurd in life that is all around us. It's the absurd that most of us are. That is why we ignore it. We want to the "norm" or "main stream." My art is bringing that element out in the foreground. They are taking the seriousness of self-enlightenment and bringing it back to its roots—childlike realization, honesty, and fun. Something that we all say we should grow out of. We should all grow up, be serious, stern, and look at life like a serious series of events. Not now. Not anymore. Life needs to be fun. We need to be able to smile and laugh at even serious and hard times in our life and in the world.

Ceramics can be seen like this: stern, unbending, utilitarian, and serious. Porcelain, earthenware, stoneware, high fire, low fire, and so forth, all carry certain baggage with them. I am trying to use all techniques of clay to extenuate these feelings in our own lives. Why not make the same clay carry our baggage?

# Woodrow Wilson and Alexander Kerensky: The Costs of Waging War for Democracy

## Samantha Rohaus

### Abstract

During World War I, Woodrow Wilson's goal was to promote democracy in the world. At the same time, the imperial regime in Russia had been overthrown, and Alexander Kerensky emerged as a popular leader in their new Provisional Government. This paper brings together the struggles of Wilson and Kerensky, who dedicated their lives to promoting democracy yet promoted it in two very different ways. This paper draws heavily on primary source documents from both Wilson and the Provisional Government, and includes newspaper articles from the period as well. These sources reveal the similar ideologies of two great men, and bring to light how Wilson's struggle for democracy greatly affected Kerensky's struggle.

*The world must be made safe for democracy. Its peace must be planted upon the tested foundations of political liberty.*
**Woodrow Wilson, April 2, 1917**

*Democracy, finding its strength in reason, does not fear to wage combat in a fair and open fight.*
**Alexander Kerensky, August 5, 1917**

## Introduction

In March 1917, revolution broke out in Russia. The revolutionaries, led by Alexander Kerensky, overthrew the monarchy and catapulted Kerensky into the leadership of a fledgling democracy, the short-lived Russian Provisional Government. As Russia was in the throes of revolution, President Woodrow Wilson led America into the First World War. His crusade was to make the world safe for democracy. Worlds apart, Wilson and Kerensky shared in the struggle for democracy. They both dedicated their lives to promoting democracy, yet they promoted it in very different ways. By comparing their private struggles in this global war, the differences become glaringly obvious, and Wilson's neglect in helping the struggling Russian democracy is apparent. Unfortunately, by November 1917, Kerensky's attempt at democracy had failed, and as the Bolsheviks rose to power, he quietly left his homeland. He would eventually settle in the democracy of his contemporary, Woodrow Wilson.

## Provisional Government in Russia

After the overthrow of the tsarist regime of Nicholas II, a democracy emerged in Russia. The Russian Provisional Government lasted from the February Revolution of March 1917 until the radical Bolshevik Revolution in November of the same year.[1] Because of the extreme nature of the Bolshevik takeover, the Provisional Government is often forgotten in history, even though it was the first attempt at democracy in Russia. After the demise of Nicholas II, the revolutionaries formed a temporary committee to select the members of the first Provisional Government. This committee worked quickly to select the men who became the leaders of the first democratic government in Russia. By March 1, the cabinet members of the Provisional Government had been chosen.[2] Prince George E. L'vov sat at the head of this cabinet. He headed the cabinet because of an agreement made before the revolution that the new leader would be appointed according to the position that he had held in the Russian *zemstvo*.[3] Other members of the cabinet included Paul N. Miliukov, Alexander I. Guchkov, Nikolai V. Nekrasov, and Mikhail I. Tereschenko.[4]

There were two spaces left open for members of the socialist parties, and these were offered to Nikolay S. Chkheidze and Alexander F. Kerensky, the leaders of the Soviet of Workers' Deputies.[5] The former opted to continue his position as the president of the Soviet, but Kerensky accepted the position of minister of justice of the Provisional Government only after much deliberation, because the Soviet had passed a resolution prohibiting its leaders from joining the new government.[6]

After accepting the cabinet membership, Kerensky made a moving statement to the members of the Soviet of Workers' Deputies. He explained to them that he had accepted this position without waiting for the formal approval of the Soviet, and went on to say

> In view of the fact that I assumed the duties of the Minister of Justice prior to receiving your formal authorization for this, I resign from the office of Vice-President of the Soviet of Workers' Deputies. But I am ready to accept this title from you once again, if you find this necessary.[7]

---

[1] This revolution is also called the "October Revolution" because it occurred during October 1917 according to the Julian calendar, which Russia continued to use at that time. The Julian calendar lagged about 12 days behind the dates of countries, such as the United States, that had adopted the more accurate Gregorian calendar.

[2] "The Selection of the Members of the First Provisional Government," as cited in Robert Paul Browder  and Alexander F. Kerensky, eds. *The Russian Provisional Government 1917*. Vol. 1, *Documents* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1961), 125.

[3] The zemstvo was a Russian elective assembly in which all classes were to some extent represented. Browder and Kerensky, 477.

[4] "The Selection of the Members of the First Provisional Government," as cited in Browder and Kerensky, 125.

[5] Soviets were organized starting in 1905 in Russia and were generally councils of workers formed to practice direct democracy. The Soviet of Workers' Deputies was the leading soviet at this time. These soviets would become the essential way for the Bolsheviks to gain political power, and would ultimately result in the demise of the Provisional Government.

[6] "The Selection of the Members of the First Provisional Government," as cited in Browder and Kerensky, 125.

[7] "A. F. Kerensky's Statement in the Soviet of Worker's Deputies," March 3, 1917, as cited in ibid, 129.

The members of the Soviet overwhelmingly agreed with an enthusiastic standing ovation to allow Kerensky to uphold this dual-role of minister of justice in the Provisional Government and vice-president of the Soviet. Although there were a few voices of protest at this pivotal meeting, they went unheard in the excitement that Kerensky's speech had created.[8]

The naming of the cabinet members of the fledgling Provisional Government was a big step toward establishing and legitimizing democracy in Russia. The Provisional Government's aim was to promote democracy and freedom in a country that had suffered from oppression for centuries. This government was to be an interim government that would last only until a Constituent Assembly could be established.[9] Before establishing a more democratic government, the new cabinet members had many responsibilities to carry out. These included restoring and maintaining internal order, introducing fundamental reforms, prosecuting the war, and preparing for the elections to the Constituent Assembly.[10]

According to Prince L'vov on March 1, 1917, the Provisional Government's program "of liberating the people from all the bonds which enchained it and of giving it [the opportunity] to demonstrate all its spiritual forces" was "clear and obvious to everyone."[11] L'vov also stated that the preparation for the Constituent Assembly remained the essential, sacred task of the Provisional Government.[12] The interim government's main goal then focused on providing the Russian people with a stable framework on which they could build their own democracy. Unfortunately, this goal remained unattainable because the more radical Bolsheviks would overthrow the Provisional Government before democracy could be established.

## *Woodrow Wilson and the War for Democracy*

While the Russian Provisional Government emerged as a political power in Russia, the United States, led by President Woodrow Wilson, emerged from the belligerent neutrality that dominated U.S. policy before a full declaration of war. The United States employed the policy of belligerent neutrality to keep the Americans out of the war. Wilson stated in his War Message of April 2, 1917, that he had

> thought that it would suffice to assert our neutral rights with arms, our right to use the seas against unlawful interference, our right to keep our people safe against unlawful violence. But armed neutrality, it now appears, is impracticable.[13]

---

[8] Ibid.

[9] Browder and Kerensky, 153.

[10] Ibid.

[11] "Prince L'vov States the Aims and Hopes of the New Government," March 8, 1917, as cited in ibid, 159.

[12] Ibid.

[13] President Wilson was referring to an earlier address he had delivered in a Joint Session of the House on February 26, 1917. The World War I Document Archives, "President Woodrow Wilson's War Message of April 2, 1917" (Brigham Young University Library: LIB.BYU, revised 2002), http://wwi.lib.byu.edu/index.php/Wilson%27s_War_Message_to_Congress (accessed November 17, 2006).

Wilson reasoned that the Germans had made the First World War a "war against all nations," and that "the present German submarine warfare against commerce is a warfare against mankind."[14] When he urged Congress to declare war on Germany, Wilson made it clear that they would be fighting to make the world safe for democracy.

This address and plea urging Congress to declare war came after two months of German attacks on the lives of innocent civilians. President Wilson would not stand for the loss of innocents. He believed that the German citizens had nothing to do with these attacks, and he insisted in his address to Congress that the United States must only feel sympathy and friendship toward the German citizens because the German autocracy had been behind the attacks of the previous two months.[15] Wilson believed that democratic and autocratic governments were mutually exclusive, so he argued that the United States could never be friends with the Prussian autocracy—since "the very outset of the present war it [the Prussian autocracy] has filled our unsuspecting communities and even our offices of government with spies and set criminal intrigues everywhere afoot against our national unity of counsel, our peace within and without our industries and our commerce."[16]

In his address to Congress on April 2, Wilson asserted that the principles of peace and justice must be vindicated against autocratic powers such as the Prussian Empire, and that a concert of purpose and action among the "really free and self-governed peoples of the world" must be set up to observe those principles.[17] The president also asserted that neutrality, even belligerent neutrality, would "no longer be feasible or desirable where the peace of the world is involved and the freedom of its peoples, and the menace to that peace and freedom lies in the existence of autocratic governments backed by organized force which is controlled wholly by their will, not by the will of the people."[18] This address meant that Wilson was no longer willing to stand by as monarchical rulers led their innocent citizens into war for mundane reasons. He felt that there was nothing for the United States to do but enter the war because world peace was at stake.

Wilson was unwavering in his assertion that the purpose of the war was to keep the world safe for democracy; this became his crusade. The president adamantly opposed autocratic governments, and he made this opposition quite clear as the war progressed. In his famous Fourteen Points address on January 8, 1918, Wilson reasoned that the United States entered the war because violations of right[s] had occurred.[19] He was referring to the German autocracy's submarine attacks on American merchant ships that resulted in the deaths of innocent civilians in 1917. Wilson believed that unless the world rid itself of the autocratic menace, democracy would never be safe. He went on in the address to state

---

[14] Ibid.

[15] Ibid.

[16] Ibid.

[17] Ibid.

[18] Ibid.

[19] The World War I Document Archives, "President Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points" (Brigham Young University Library: LIB.BYU, revised 1996.), http://www.lib.byu.edu/~rdh/wwi/1918/14points.html (accessed November 17, 2006).

> What we demand in this war, therefore, is nothing peculiar to ourselves. It is that the world be made fit and safe to live in; and particularly that it be made safe for every peace-loving nation which, like our own, wishes to live its own life, determine its own institutions, be assured of justice and fair dealing by the other peoples of the world as against force and selfish aggression.[20]

In this address, Wilson asserted his central belief in the superiority of democracy as a political institution.

## Wilson's Concept of the Superiority of Democracy and the Russian Provisional Government

Wilson held democracy in high regard, so it is not surprising that he became openly supportive of the Russian Provisional Government and its goals. He made it clear in his address to Congress on April 2 that he supported the new government in Russia, and the Russian citizens who had rid themselves of the tsarist rule. He referred to the February Revolution as "wonderful and heartening," and indicated that it was an assurance that had added hope to the future peace of the world.[21] Wilson declared in this address that he believed the Russian people had always been democratic at heart, and that the Russian monarchy was not Russian in origin, character, or purpose. He indicated that he felt happy that the Russians had added their strength to the forces fighting to make the world safe for democracy and called them "a fit partner for a league of honour."[22]

Wilson had many hopes for the Provisional Government and the Russian people. Nevertheless, he pragmatically feared that the Russians would sign a separate treaty with the Germans so they could leave the war early to solve their internal problems. The withdrawal of the Russian Army from the war and the collapse of the Eastern Front would put a heavy strain on armies in the west. Therefore, it was imperative for the strategic purposes of the United States that the Provisional Government successfully implement a democracy in Russia.[23] On January 22, 1917, in an address to the Senate, Wilson happened to utter some phrases, including "peace without victory," and he promoted his idea of "no annexations no indemnities," which the socialists in Russia misconstrued and began using for propagandistic purposes.[24] This misleading notion was unfortunate for Wilson's cause because the socialists were scheming to "win over the Russian people to the idea of a separate peace."[25]

---

[20] Ibid.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Ibid.

[3] Unfortunately, the Russians did sign a separate peace with Germany at Brest-Litovsk after the October Revolution and the Bolshevik takeover.

[24] "Letter from Robert Lansing to Woodrow Wilson concerning problems in Russia," May 17, 1917, as cited in Arthur S. Link, ed., *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson*. Vol. 42, *April 7, 1917–June 25, 1917* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), 318.

[25] Ibid, 318.

When the radical socialists in Russia started using the president's words to advance their cause, Wilson and many of his advisors began to worry that the Provisional Government would not be able to establish a democracy in Russia, and the Provisional Government would be forced to withdraw the army and make a separate peace with Germany. As a result of these worries, Wilson's advisors began recommending how he should proceed with the situation in Russia. On April 11, 1917, Secretary of State Robert Lansing received a dispatch from the ambassador to Russia, David Rowland Francis, urging that "everything possible be promptly done to strengthen the situation [in Russia]."[26] Robert Lansing seemed greatly concerned about the ambassador's message and quickly contacted the president. In his memo to the president, Lansing also expressed the concern that the socialists in Russia were plotting to destroy the efficiency of the Allied Powers.[27] He, too, appeared concerned that the Russian socialists would agree to a separate peace with Germany, and feared their early exit from the war. A Russian treaty with the German forces would place an especially heavy strain upon the Allied forces on the Western Front.

The secretary of state's advice at the time was to send a commission of three men to Russia. He specifically requested that one of the three be Samuel Gompers, the founder of the American Federation of Labor and a well-known American labor leader. Lansing believed that Gompers "would have a very decided influence with the labor element in Russia and prevent in a large measure . . . the tendency of the socialists toward a separate peace with Germany."[28]

Nine days later on April 20, Lansing sent another memo to the president. In this memo, Lansing advised Wilson to send the Provisional Government a message that would double as an address to the Russian people.[29] The content of the message expressed "the confidence of the American people in the success of the democratic government which they [the Russian people] have established and of our very sincere desire to aid them in their struggle against Germany."[30] Lansing believed the message would be helpful if published throughout Russia because the United States of America was held in high regard by the liberal Russians. He advised Wilson to send this message at once because he felt that the Provisional Government needed immediate assistance with a serious situation.[31]

Wilson had yet to send the Provisional Government a message by May 17, and on this day Lansing sent the president a third memo insisting that a message be sent in support of the Russian people. Lansing was very insistent in his letter that every day that the president waited to send a message of encouragement increased the peril of the situation in Russia.[32] The three

---

[26] "Dispatch from Ambassador Francis concerning the social situation in Russia," April 10, 1917. ibid, 37.

[27] "Memo from Robert Lansing to Woodrow Wilson concerning correspondence from the Russian ambassador," April 11, 1917, as cited in ibid, 36.

[28] Ibid, 36.

[29] "Letter from Robert Lansing to Woodrow Wilson concerning the necessity for sending a message to the Russian people," April 20, 1917, as cited in ibid, 109–110.

[30] Ibid, 110.

[31] Ibid.

[32] "Letter with enclosures from Robert Lansing to Woodrow Wilson concerning problems in Russia," May 17, 1917, as cited in ibid, 318.

messages Lansing passed to the president along with his memo fueled the president's anxiety about the situation in Russia. One message came from William English Walling, an American labor reformer and socialist, and two other urgent pleas came from Ambassador Francis.[33]

Walling's note expressed his belief that a communication from the president might be the only thing that could save Russia.[34] Francis' messages, one on May 11 and a second one on May 14, both indicated the need for the president to send immediate word to Russia. The second message stated that the *Moscow Morning Daily*, the most influential Russian journal with a circulation of 1.2 million people, desired a statement from President Wilson on his objects of war, his ideas on peace without annexations or contributions, and if he believed it would be possible to treat with the German Government.[35]

These three letters, and Lansing's obvious anxiety about the situation in Russia, must have struck a chord with the president. The next day, May 18, he indicated in a letter to George Creel, the head of the U.S. Committee on Public Information, that he was going to attempt to "correct the misapprehension apparently existing in Russia."[36] Wilson also indicated in the letter to Creel that he would send the statement directly to Ambassador Francis in Russia and let him distribute it there. On May 22, Wilson approved a statement addressed to the Provisional Government, and cleared Secretary of State Lansing to send it through a diplomatic pouch to Ambassador Francis.[37]

On May 18, the same day that Wilson had decided to try to fix the Russian situation, Secretary of State Lansing was finalizing his plans to send a High Commission to Russia. This commission was "primarily to manifest to the Russian Government and people the deep sympathetic feeling which exists among all classes in America for the adherence of Russia to the principle of democracy."[38] The commissioners were to express greetings from the United States to "the new and powerful member which has joined the great family of democratic nations."[39] Lansing, with Wilson's approval, sent Ambassador Francis a message for the Provisional Government before the arrival of the commissioners in Russia; it was sent on May 22 along with the message from the president.[40]

Lansing's message to the Provisional Government about the High Commission served as an attempt to quickly establish a partnership between Russia and the United States. One of the purposes of the High Commission focused on proving by example that despite differences of opinion there can be unity among democratic peoples. The message made this purpose appar-

---

[33] Ibid, 318.

[34] "Short message concerning the Russian situation from William English Walling," May 16, 1917, as cited in ibid, 319.

[35] "Memo from Ambassador Francis requesting response to the Moscow morning daily," May 14, 1917, as cited in ibid, 320.

[36] "Response to George Creel from Woodrow Wilson concerning the need for a statement to the Russian people," May 18, 1917, as cited in ibid, 326.

[37] "Woodrow Wilson's approval of the message for the Provisional Government," May 22, 1917, as cited in ibid, 368.

[38] "Woodrow Wilson's message to the Provisional Government," May 18, 1917, as cited in ibid.

[39] Ibid.

[40] Ibid, 369.

ent when Lansing stated, "The Commission is not chosen from one political group but from the various groups into which the American electorate is divided. United, they represent the Republic."[41]

It would seem that the High Commission had a twofold purpose: One, to establish a political alliance to the advantage of the United States with Russia, and two, to prove to the Russian people that democracy remained possible despite differences of opinion, or even because of them. By approving this communication and the High Commission, it is clear that Wilson thought an alliance could be of mutual benefit to both Russia and the United States. These hopes became apparent in his statement, "To stand side by side, shoulder to shoulder, against autocracy will unite the American and Russian peoples in a friendship for the ages."[42]

By May 28, it seemed that Wilson had, at least temporarily, secured hopes for a democratic Russia. Lansing received a memorandum via William Phillips, Assistant Secretary of State, from the Provisional Government. The Provisional Government declared in this memo "that it [the government] will bring into decisive play the ideas of liberty, equality and fraternity that have been inscribed on the banner of the Russian Revolution."[43] The memo also declared that the Provisional Government would in no way sign a treaty for a separate peace, stating that they aimed for a "universal peace that would imply neither the enslaving of other peoples, nor the taking away of their national patrimony nor the forcible occupation of foreign territories," and that the Provisional Government was "of the strong belief that the Russian Revolutionary Army will not let the German forces crush our allies on the Western Front and then fall upon us with the full strength of their armies."[44] The last sentence of this memorandum indicated that these aims would be met with "the unswerving support of all to whom the freedom of Russia is dear."[45]

Apparently, the memorandum from the Provisional Government impressed Wilson. On June 1, he wrote to his secretary of state that he had read the Provisional Government's statement and that he hoped that "the new forces in Russia may be guided by the principles and objects it [had] set forth."[46] There are few instances in which Wilson directly supported or complimented the Provisional Government. One instance occurred a few days later on June 9 in a dispatch Lansing sent to Ambassador Francis after Wilson's message to the Russian people had been published across Russia. In the dispatch Lansing stated, "The President desires me to express to the Provisional Government of Russia his gratification at the way it has received his communication and he is especially pleased that the Russian authorities appreciate the spirit which inspired it."[47] Another instance of Wilson's support of the Provisional Government

---

[41] Ibid.

[42] Ibid.

[43] "Memo from the Provisional Government of Russia to Woodrow Wilson," May 21, 1917, as cited in ibid, 422.

[44] Ibid.

[45] Ibid, 423.

[46] "Message from Woodrow Wilson to Robert Lansing concerning his hope for the new government in Russia," June 1, 1917, as cited in ibid, 434.

[47] "Message from Robert Lansing to American Embassy, Petrograd communicating his gratification to the Provisional Government," June 9, 1917, as cited in ibid, 467.

occurred several weeks later on July 5, when the *New York Times* published his greeting to the new Russian ambassador. In this greeting, Wilson again expressed his sympathy, blessings, and faith in the new Russian Government.[48] Wilson's support for the Provisional Government continued through mid-July 1917, even after Prince L'vov, the leader of the Provisional Government, resigned.[49]

The *New York Times* reported L'vov's resignation on July 21 and stated that the Provisional Government had appointed Alexander F. Kerensky premier.[50] The leaders of this government hoped that Kerensky would be able to unify the Russian people and finish democratizing the Russian government. Kerensky believed that his government's fundamental task was "the defense of the country from ruin and anarchy."[51] To achieve this task, Kerensky would rely on the Russian people and the army.[52] The *New York Times* on July 25 quoted Kerensky as stating, "My Government will save Russia, and if its motive of reason, honor and conscience prove insufficient it will beat her into unity with blood and iron."[53] He went on to say that no one would take advantage of his situation and that talk of a counter-revolution under his leadership was ridiculous.[54]

## *Kerensky and His Struggle for Democracy in Russia (March–November, 1917)*

Kerensky remained a key player in the Russian Provisional Government throughout its short-lived existence. A moderate socialist, his lifelong goal focused on creating a Western-style constitutional government in Russia, and he saw in the Provisional Government the realization of his goal. Although the position he initially accepted, minister of justice, did not give him direct command of the government, he used his charisma and talent for rhetoric to keep the Provisional Government a viable political entity.

With his oratorical skills, it seems that Kerensky could have been a demagogue. He had an amazing knack for seizing the moment and channeling the energy of the masses.[55] Vladimir Zenzinov, an elected member of the Constituent Assembly, wrote of these skills. After Kerensky's moving speech in the Soviet meeting of March 3, Zenzinov stated,

> In terms of the strength of the impression that the speech created at this emotional moment, I can compare it to no other speech of A. F. Kerensky that I later had the occasion to hear. We were all gripped by one feeling, by one impulse. . . . I remember

---

[48] "Woodrow Wilson's greeting to the new Russian ambassador in the New York Times," July 5, 1917, as cited in Link, Vol. 43, *June 25, 1917–August 20, 1917,*  101.

[49] Ibid.

[50] *New York Times.* Saturday, July 21, 1917.

[51] *New York Times.* Wednesday, July 25, 1917.

[52] Ibid.

[53] Ibid.

[54] Ibid.

[55] Bernard Butcher, "A Doomed Democracy," *Stanford Magazine,*
http://www.stanfordalumni.org/news/magazine/2001/janfeb/features... (accessed October 17, 2006).

that when I myself returned to my senses after all that had happened, I noticed with surprise that my face was covered with tears.[56]

According to Robert Paul Browder, who worked intimately with Kerensky after his escape to America, "Kerensky's emergence as a popular leader in the first days of the February Revolution was phenomenal. He was everywhere, in the halls of the Duma, on the streets, in the barracks, voicing with impassioned eloquence the hopes and aspirations of the people."[57] Because of his popularity, it was obvious that he would have a part in the new government.

As the voice of the Russian people, Kerensky was not afraid to be vocal about his views for the new government. He envisioned a true democracy for Russia and hoped that the Provisional Government could provide it for the Russian people. He believed that "freedom [did] not mean the supremacy of individual interests over the interests of the Commonwealth."[58] He also believed it had been the will of the people that had granted him his newfound position and power.[59]

Kerensky worked hard to convince the Russian people of the superiority of democracy over autocratic governments. He spoke to soldiers and civilians, trying to initiate many reforms, but his efforts were in vain. Ten years after the Russian Revolution, Kerensky wrote an article in the *New York Times* stating, "The Russian Revolution . . . had to demonstrate in unmistakable gesture and in a manner clear to all that it rejected all the features of absolutism, that true liberty was incompatible with bloodshed and violence."[60]

Kerensky's "unmistakable gesture that rejected the features of absolutism" was the abolition of capital punishment only two weeks after the establishment of the Provisional Government.[61] This is only one of many fundamental reforms initiated by Kerensky. As minister of justice, he quickly established universal suffrage, freedoms of speech, press, assembly, religion, and he reestablished trial by jury.[62] According to the Bernard Bucher of the *Stanford Magazine*, Kerensky would later argue that for a few months Russia had been the freest country in the world.[63]

The turning point of Kerensky's leadership occurred, ironically, as he reached the pinnacle of his political career. In July, when Prince L'vov stepped down from leadership of the Provisional Government, Kerensky took command. By this time, the so-called July Days, soldiers' and workers' riots in response to Kerensky's failed offensive against the Austro-Hungarian forces, had already transpired.[64] These riots marked the beginning of the end for the Provisional Government.

---

[56] "A. F. Kerensky's Statement in the Soviet of Workers' Deputies," March 3, 1917, as cited in Browderand Kerensky, 125.

[57] Browder, Robert Paul. "Alexander Fedorovich Kerensky (1881–1970)," *Russian Review.* Vol. 29, No. 4 (October, 1970), 485.

[58] *New York Times.* Sunday, August 5, 1917.

[59] Ibid.

[60] *New York Times.* Sunday, May 15, 1927.

[61] Ibid.

[62] Browder, 485.

[63] Butcher.

[64] Ibid, 486.

Just before being named premier, Kerensky had taken the position of minister of war. As such, he toured the front to boost the already-falling morale of the Russian troops. The *New York Times* reported on August 5 that when he was with the soldiers on the front his presence acted "like magic in suppressing mutiny and arousing the fighting spirit."[65] The problem he would face as premier, however, was one that could not simply be overcome by his presence or personal charisma. The problem focused on the simple fact that the citizens and soldiers of Russia were ready to make their exit from the war. They were ready to establish a separate peace with the Germans.

Kerensky believed that if a separate peace with Germany were to occur, democracy would never prevail in Russia. He did everything he could to save the Provisional Government and the fledgling Russian democracy. Not only had he established a Constituent Assembly, but he had also boosted the spirits of Russian citizens and soldiers, and tried to persuade them that it was democracy rather than autocracy that they wanted. He seemed to think that if he could just keep their spirits up for a while longer, he could convince them of the superiority of democracy.

An example of Kerensky's attempts at persuading and boosting the morale of the soldiers and citizens is found in an emotional speech he gave on the eastern front. In this speech, Kerensky pleaded,

> We must be strong, if we wish to command the respect and fear of the enemy. By refusing to do your duty, you will not bring the war to an end; you will merely strengthen the reactionary factions in Germany, which declare that, thanks to the revolution, the enemy on the eastern front has been completely disarmed. These factions stand for the triumph and rule of the privileged classes in Germany. Comrades, they say that the Russian people were strong only when they were ruled by the Czar; pointing to the demoralization caused by the revolution, they say that what this country needs is a club.[66]

It is evident that Kerensky hoped he could convince the soldiers to prevail, even for a short while longer, so that he might be able to fully establish democracy in Russia before his lifelong goal crumbled around his feet.

The evidence of Kerensky's hopes can also be found in an address he gave before the July Days on May 14, 1917, when he stated, "I am sorry I did not die two months ago, when the dream of a new life was growing in the hearts of the Russian people, when I was sure the country could govern itself without the whip."[67] Kerensky used guilt to persuade his constituency to believe in the democratic ideals he had tried so hard to achieve for them. Later in this address, he indicated that the process of democratizing Russia, "the process of the change from slavery to freedom," was not exactly going according to plan.[68] He believed that this was because the

---

[65] *New York Times Magazine.* August 5, 1917.

[66] *New York Times.* Sunday, August 5, 1917.

[67] First World War.com, "Primary Documents: Alexander Kerenski on Military and Civil Unrest in Russia, 14 May 1917" (revised January 2004), http://www.firstworldwar.com/source/russia_kerenski.htm (accessed October 17, 2006).

[68] Ibid.

Russian people had "tasted freedom and [were] slightly intoxicated." He indicated that what he needed from them was "sobriety and discipline."[69] Unfortunately, after the initial establishment of the Provisional Government, Kerensky remained unable to persuade the people of the superiority of democracy.

After the events of the July Days, and because Kerensky found himself incapable of convincing the people that democracy was what they desired, it became apparent that his dreams of a true democracy for Russia were not going to be realized. Kerensky struggled with the leadership of his fledgling government for a few months more after the July Days, but radical Bolsheviks led by Vladimir Lenin emerged as a power in Russia. On October 25, the Bolsheviks seized power and Kerensky went into hiding. The radical Bolshevik Revolution swiftly ended the government and democracy that Kerensky had so adamantly protected and defended.[70]

Kerensky eventually fled to Paris where he wrote three books justifying and defending his short-lived period of influence in Russia.[71] He was again forced to flee, this time to the United States, where until the end of his life, he continued to hope that democracy would triumph in Russia. According to Browder, even more than forty years after his hopes for the Provisional Government had been crushed, Kerensky's "memory of the events was remarkably clear, and he spoke as if they had transpired only yesterday."[72] Browder also stated, "Despite [Kerensky's] advancing age and long ordeal in exile, his spirits remained high and his faith in his cause undiminished."[73] Kerensky never gave up hope. He believed, even after his attempt for democracy in Russia had been crushed, "that his beloved homeland would eventually find its way back to freedom."[74]

## Conclusion

Woodrow Wilson and Alexander Kerensky were contemporaries living worlds apart. During the First World War, however, they clearly shared the same crusade. Wilson's struggle was of a larger scale, a war to make the world safe for democracy. However, Wilson's hesitation in supporting the new democratic government in Russia left Kerensky unable to fulfill his lifelong goal, a Russian democracy. Kerensky was a true soldier in the war for democracy.

It would not have been possible for Kerensky to wage his war on a global scale, but with Wilson's complete support Kerensky could have brought democracy in its truest form to a country that knew nothing of it. Kerensky's battle, though on a smaller scale, was by far a greater struggle. His attempt to democratize a nation of people who had been enslaved for generations by tyrannical autocrats was by far a more magnanimous crusade, one that could have benefited from Wilson's unhesitating support, a support that Kerensky did not receive.

---

[69] Ibid.

[70] Butcher.

[71] Browder, 487.

[72] Ibid.

[73] Ibid.

[74] Ibid, 484.

After being urged by his secretary of state to send a message to the Russian people, Wilson waited a month before sending such an address, and he only sent it after heavy urging from other advisors. Wilson could have done much more to help the fledgling democracy in Russian, but failed in this global struggle. Wilson's war was surely for the good of the world, but his central focus was for the good of his country, a country that had been freed from the chains of autocracy for decades. When faced with helping another country break free from those chains, Wilson fell short. His main concern involved seeing that the United States remained secure for the future, and in the case of the fledgling democracy in Russia, he was willing to make sacrifices. Unfortunately for Kerensky, and the First Provisional government, their own national goals of democracy did not fit well into Wilson's future plans for the United States.

## Bibliography

Abraham, Richard. *Alexander Kerensky: The First Love of the Revolution.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1987.

Browder, Robert Paul. Alexander Fedorovich Kerensky (1881–1970), *Russian Review,* Vol. 29, No. 4. October, 1970.

Browder, Robert Paul, and Alexander F. Kerensky, eds. *The Russian Provisional Government 1917.* Vol. 1, *Documents.* Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1961.

Butcher, Bernard. "A Doomed Democracy," *Stanford Magazine*, http://www.stanfordalumni .org/news/magazine/2001/janfeb/features... (accessed October 17, 2006).

Carroll, James Robert. *The Real Woodrow Wilson: An Interview with Arthur S. Link, Editor of the Wilson Papers.* Bennington, Vermont: Images from the Past, 2001.

First World War.com. Primary Documents: Alexander Kerenski on Military and Civil Unrest in Russia, 14 May 1917, revised January 2004.http://www.firstworldwar.com/source/russia_kerenski.htm (accessed October 17, 2006).

Link, Arthur S., ed. *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson.* Vol. 42, *April 7, 1917–June 23, 1917.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983.

———, ed. *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson.* Vol. 43, *June 25,1917–August 20, 1917.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983.

———, ed. *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson.* Vol. 44, *August 21, 1917–November 10, 1917.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983.

———, ed. *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson.* Vol. 45, *November 1, 1917–January 15, 1917.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983.

———. *Woodrow Wilson and a Revolutionary World, 1913–1921.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982.

———. *Woodrow Wilson: Revolution, War, and Peace.* Arlington Heights: Harlan Davidson, Inc., 1979.

*New York Times.* 1917. 8 April–9 November.

*New York Times.* 1927. 27 April–15 May.

*New York Times Magazine.* 1917. 5 August.

Thompson, John M. *Revolutionary Russia, 1917.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1981.

The World War I Archives. President Woodrow Wilson's War Message of April 2, 1917, Brigham Young University Library: LIB.BYU, revised 2002. http://www.lib.byu.edu/~rdh/wwi/1917/wilswarm.htm (accessed November 17, 2006).

The World War I Archives. President Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points, Brigham Young University Library: LIB.BYU, revised 1996. http://www.lib.byu.edu/~rdh /wwi/1918/14points.html (accessed November 17, 2006).

Blank Page