University of Wisconsin Oshkosh
Oshkosh Scholar

Volume X, 2015

UNIVERSITY OF
WISCONSIN
OSHKOSH
osscap

If you are interested in submitting a manuscript to *Oshkosh Scholar*, please
see the guidelines at *www.uwosh.edu/oshkoshscholar*.

Reflection on Ten Years

Congratulations to UW Oshkosh and the editorial/managerial staff of *Oshkosh Scholar*, the authors, and their faculty mentors. A ten-year anniversary is indeed something to celebrate. When we embarked on this adventure a decade ago, campus undergraduate research journals were uncommon, and there were many naysayers along the way. But it was a labor of love. And it was tied to our determination to provide as many venues as possible to showcase undergraduate research and to engage all disciplines.

Over the years, this journal has increased in impact and participation. UW Oshkosh students who submit to *Oshkosh Scholar* have already benefited from an intense research collaboration with a faculty mentor. Subsequently, they experience the rigors of academic editing and the rewards of publishing professional-quality papers that make us all proud of our association with this institution and its vibrant undergraduate research culture.

Again, congratulations on a successful ten years!

Linda S. Freed
Director Emerita, UW Oshkosh Office of Grants and Faculty Development
Director, Texas Christian University Office of Sponsored Programs
Executive Board Secretary and Councilor, Council on Undergraduate Research

Preface

I am proud to present the tenth issue of *Oshkosh Scholar*, the undergraduate research journal of the University of Wisconsin Oshkosh. This volume showcases the best original research from our campus. Students here have learned the tools of their discipline and worked within their methodologies to ask original questions about the world, research the answers, and synthesize their findings.

Each article has gone through a double-blind review and an intense revision process. Over the past ten years, the acceptance rate at *Oshkosh Scholar* has hovered around 50%. This competitive endeavor gives students a chance to have a professional writing experience and display their work outside the classroom. Our journal is one of the many ways UW Oshkosh distinguishes itself from other regional comprehensives in Wisconsin.

In this volume, seven students from six disciplines investigate important aspects of the human condition. Amanda Roberts draws on interdisciplinary theories to classify types of memory. Mitchell Schultz and Andrew Mannenbach both study football, but from different angles. Schultz determines the statistical importance of a good quarterback, while Mannenbach delves into the origins of the game to show how it resolved a nineteenth-century crisis of manhood.

Hallie Turnbull applies utilitarian philosophy to find out if increased welfare states lead to increased happiness. From marketing, Kirsten M. Fohrman tests the way social technology can best be used to increase sales. Michael Lahti navigates the embodied appraisal theory of emotion from philosopher Jesse J. Prinz and concludes that lust is an emotion. Finally, Zachary Thede develops an innovative way to explore Ralph Ellison's classic novel, *Invisible Man*. He combines analytical research with creative pieces to highlight the echoes of World War II in Ellison's work.

The elusive nature of memory, the bruising glory of football, happiness, money, lust—this volume shows our UW Oshkosh Titans exploring new ways to think about the past, maximize life in the present, and prepare for success in the future.

Enjoy.

Dr. Michelle Kuhl
Associate Professor, History Department
Faculty Adviser, *Oshkosh Scholar*

Dr. Michelle Mouton
History

John M. Muraski
Information Systems

Dr. Caryn Murphy
Radio-TV-Film

Jeffrey W. Pickron
History

Dr. Ron Rindo
English

Stephanie Rolain-Jacobs
Communication Studies

Dr. Thomas Rowland
History

Dr. Catherine Schmitt
Nursing

Dr. Tracy H. Slagter
Political Science

Dr. Bryan M. Vandevender
Theatre

Dr. Lee Van Scyoc
Economics

Selection Committee

Dr. Margaret Hostetler
English

Dr. William Mode
Geology

Dr. David Penniston
Mathematics

Dr. Erin Winterrowd
Psychology

Cover Design

Cover logo designed by Design III student Kari Ley.
Cover image designed by Design III student Laura Coates.
Karina Cutler-Lake, M.F.A., Associate Professor.

"To illustrate the different areas of study included in *Oshkosh Scholar*, I used images from textbooks and reference materials for several disciplines. Lines of text form connections, representing the collaboration between faculty and student. The final composition communicates information coming together as a full body of knowledge and finished work."—Laura Coates

Layout

Julie Thyssen
Learning Technologies

Production

Patricia Adkins
Document Services

Special Thanks

Dr. Lane Earns
Provost and Vice Chancellor

Robert Roberts
Director, Office of Grants and Faculty Development

Contents

Everything in Its Place: Six Encompassing Theories of Memory with Regard to Object Triggers

Amanda Roberts, author
Dr. Kimberly Rivers, History, faculty mentor

Amanda Roberts is a senior at UW Oshkosh. She is pursuing a history and math double major and will be attending graduate school after graduation to pursue a master's degree in museum studies.

Dr. Kimberly Rivers is a professor of history at UW Oshkosh. She teaches courses on early civilizations, medieval history, the Crusades, and the Reformation, and is the author of *Preaching the Memory of Virtue and Vice: Memory, Images, and Preaching in the Later Middle Ages*.

Abstract

While there exist numerous sets of theories relating to objects and memory, none attempt to categorize all evoked memories into useful classifications. After examining the work of a multitude of historians, art historians, mnemohistorians, psychologists, and sociologists—including Elisabeth Van Houts, Maurice Halbwachs, Barbara Hagerty, Christopher Bollas, Richard Crownshaw, and Esben Kjeldbæk—I have created six categories. Each of these six categories of memory—transmissional, purposeful, autobiographical, biographical, associative, and negative—is distinct and uniquely useful on its own and in applications including neuroscience and museum studies. Every memory triggered by an object, either directly or indirectly, falls into at least one of these categories.

Introduction

A locket may trigger memories of a deceased grandmother. A snatch of song might remind the listener of idyllic summer days. The empty hole where another toothbrush once sat is reminiscent of another failed relationship. Each of these is an example of a memory evoked by an object. Our lives are full of these kinds of memory triggers, yet we still do not have a universal framework for discussing or examining these memories. Various mnemohistorians—historians focused on the fields of memory, mnemonics, or remembrance—have attempted to categorize memories, but their results have yielded piecemeal theories best applied to the specific situations for which they were invented. Psychologists, sociologists, and experts in a multitude of fields including art history, neuroscience, and museum studies have likewise contributed to their corners of memory studies. However, there does not yet exist a system of memory categories that is broad enough to encompass existing research but still structured enough to remain useful.

The field of memory studies has been growing rapidly over the past 40 years. Though modern memory studies truly began in the 1920s with sociologist Maurice Halbwachs's exploration of collective memory, most work on memory has been done since the 1970s.[1] The initial boom may be fading, but its relevance is not. In fact, the theories and "many of the analytical frameworks with which scholars have

approached the issues . . . represent the outlines of an increasingly important paradigm that unifies diverse interests across numerous disciplines, and consolidates long-standing perspectives within them."[2] It is within this interdisciplinary spirit that further research into the classification of memory and the theoretical systems by which we can understand it should and must be undertaken, if any future progress is to be made.

Though some work has been done in this field concerning objects and memory, there are still gaps in the scholarship. When discussing objects and memory, most authors focus on what or how specific memories are evoked by certain objects. They might go so far as to explain how objects are physical manifestations of memory, as Elisabeth Van Houts has done, or restrict themselves to specifically discussing memory theory, as in Jan Assmann's case. Some, such as Pierre Nora, talk about objects as locations of memory (called *lieux de mémoire*), but focus on their importance in regard to symbolism instead of in regard to memory in general. Historians and mnemohistorians have yet to put forth a complete theory describing the kinds of memories that objects evoke and the ways in which they are triggered. A few, such as Christopher Bollas, have written from a psychological perspective, positing that the evocation of memory and the Freudian ideas of free association are invariably linked. There may be truth in his argument, but there is surely room for improvement.

Taking this into account, I have familiarized myself with memory theories from a variety of fields and have created my own system of memory classification. I invented or borrowed concepts and carefully threaded them together to create a system of six categories of memory. Every memory evoked by an object falls into one of these six categories: transmissional, purposeful, autobiographical, biographical, associative, or negative memory. What follows is an explanation of each category and the scholarship related to it, along with examples and applications of this new framework for evaluating object-based memories.

Prior to discussing my categories of memory, I must note that while association (discussed here as "associative memory") is a strong trigger of memory, there is more to it. An object's absence can spark recall ("negative memory") just as well as its presence can. Furthermore, the idea of associative memory is too broad of an umbrella to include all triggered memories and retain its utility. Historians and theorists can be much better served by separating out various useful categories of memory from associative. Memories that fall into one of these other four categories—transmissional, purposeful, autobiographical, or biographical—share similarities that make viewing each category separately more useful than viewing them as a collective whole.

I must also make explicit what is meant by the term "object." The objects discussed here are not limited only to physical artifacts. These theories can be applied to all manner of concepts, including poems, material objects, books, rituals, and art, each of which shall be discussed at various points with regard to the application of theory. There is no end to the usage of these memory categories, as they can be applied with various degrees of accuracy to a multitude of things, including thoughts, memories themselves, and abstract ideas. For my purposes, we shall restrain ourselves to examples of tangible objects, as these are the intended targets of the theories.

As a point of clarification of terminology, it is useful to note that various forms of memory can be "nested" together. For example, an associative memory might spark biographical memories, while purposeful memories might evoke transmissional. In

this way, all memories triggered by objects can be assigned at least one combination of memory types responsible for the recollection. I shall refer to memories sparked directly from the object as "primary" memories, the memories triggered by these as "secondary," and so on in similar fashion. While this thread of memories can theoretically stretch on for an infinite length, it is most useful to consider the primary and secondary memories only, with perhaps some minor deviations into tertiary memories.

It is important to note that a single memory can have several descriptions and categories into which it falls. Looking at a radio and remembering listening to it could be described as purposeful or autobiographical. Walking across a wood floor and recalling the days it took to install can be called transmissional as well as autobiographical or biographical, depending on who in particular helped with laying the boards. Through examples such as these it becomes apparent that all classifications of memory are subjective. What one person might call a purposeful memory, another might label associative. Nevertheless, these remain useful categories, in part because of the differences brought to light by these discrepancies. In this way, these flexible labels can be used as tools for mnemohistorians attempting to better classify object-triggered memories.

Transmissional Memory

The first category of memory I shall discuss is transmissional. Transmissional memory refers to the memories sparked by recalling from where or from whom an object was acquired. Objects evoking transmissional memory might be anything from family heirlooms to priceless paintings. In these cases, it is the provenance of the object that matters more than the object itself. An antique radio inherited after an uncle's death sparks transmissional memory when it reminds the recipient of the lost family member. Similarly, a souvenir might elicit transmissional memories of the small Parisian boutique it was purchased in and the stern-eyed shopkeeper who sold it. In this way, transmissional memory keeps alive the memory of those who have come before.

This idea was heavily borrowed from Elisabeth Van Houts's discussion in her book *Memory and Gender in Medieval Europe*. Here she details various ways in which a person's memory is kept alive by the items they leave behind, whether through tombstones they fund or mementos they bequeath. In ancient Scandinavia, one common way of using transmissional memory was through the dedication of memorial bridges. Each stone or bridge had carved on it an inscription of the form "X made this monument in memory of Y."[3] In such a manner, it became easy to recall "Ginnlaug, Holmgaeir's daughter, Sigraud and Gaut's sister, [who] had this bridge made and this stone set up," "Sigrid, Alrik's mother, Orm's daughter [who] had this bridge built," and "Gunnvor, Thrydrik's daughter, [who] made the bridge."[4] These stones were used as memorials to the dead, but now they also serve as monuments to the donors through transmissional memory.

Van Houts also remarks on the use of jewelry to pass on memory, specifically transmissional memory. It is easiest to see the passing of wealth in wills, and this is especially true in early medieval Anglo-Saxon wills, where various items of jewelry can be seen transmitted through the generations. It is useful to note here that the engraved bracelet bequeathed by Ealhhelm to her daughter Aethelflaed can still be

a trigger of transmissional memory for us, even if we are not currently possessing or beholding the bracelet.[5] The point of transmissional memory is that it reminds the viewer of the people an object has been owned by and places it has been before. In this manner, the bracelet still reminds us of Ealhhelm and Aethelflaed simply by virtue of having been possessed by them at some point. We do not even need to have seen the bracelet, since Van Houts's book (and, indirectly, this paper) reminds us of it through purposeful memory. Curiously, the objects in question do not even need to exist anymore to evoke transmissional memory. Van Houts remarks on this when she mentions a twelfth-century "charter listing the gifts [bequeathed to] Sainte-Trinité [which] served as a record . . . keeping alive the memory of Matilda [I of England] as the founder of the nunnery long after the actual objects had perished or been lost."[6] This charter is a good example of transmissional memory because it shows the almost ridiculous lengths to which this form of memory can be stretched. Even though the items left to the nunnery have vanished, the record of the bequeathment remains and with it the memory of Matilda's existence and her role as benefactor that is triggered by the charter.

The idea of transmissional memory is also somewhat based on Jan Assmann's theory of communicative memory. Though he focuses more on memories than objects, Assmann's thoughts do carry over well to the idea of transmissional memory. Communicative memory is comprised of the everyday conversations and transfers of memory that take place between people. This can be as formal as passing on an oral history or as casual as sharing laughs over a joke. In either case, the memory has spread, increasing its odds of surviving the ever-encroaching "temporal horizon," the arrival of which will signal the deaths of everyone who had remembered it.[7] The same idea can be linked to objects. If the provenance has been lost, as is often the case with older artifacts, the list of memories that can be triggered transmissionally dwindles terribly. Van Houts remarks on this phenomenon, noting "that oral tradition does not forever record stories associated with objects unless some form of identification of the original owner is attached to it in written form."[8] If memories are constantly passed down through communicative memory or recorded in writing, this provenance—and thus a robust transmissional memory—can yet be preserved.

Purposeful Memory

As we just explored, objects can evoke memories related to provenance and origin. These are not the only memories that objects can trigger. Items can also be reminiscent of their purpose—that is, why they were created. Purposeful memory consists of the memories evoked by the object's purpose. Thoughts about mathematical calculations provoked by seeing a calculator are contained within purposeful memory. Ideas conveyed by the words on a page do so through purposeful memory, though this does not mean all thoughts triggered by reading something such as a book or poem are entirely purposeful. Memories evoked by the physical object fall into their respective categories as normal, but memories triggered by the contents of the book are all secondary to purposeful, as the intent of the book was to convey those words. Purposeful memory embodies the recollections of why an object was created and for what it was used. This differs from transmissional memory, since transmissional includes the memory of who made it, not why, though the two are likely closely connected.

Purposeful memory was wholly developed by me, as it is not something that has as of yet been specifically examined by historians. Most scholarship that looks at the purpose of objects is similar to that of Jules Prown. Unsatisfied with the lack of material culture categorization prevalent in the field of art history, Prown put forth six categories of objects: art, diversions, adornment, modifications of the landscape, applied arts, and devices.[9] Still in use today, Prown's categories serve only to identify the object in question, not to classify the memories attached to it. This is a gap in the scholarship. Used in museums, there is a similar system of nomenclature designed to precisely name an object according to its design and purpose, but there is no corresponding system or theory to explore the memories tied to objects through that purpose.[10]

While it is apparent that this is not something that has heretofore been explored, it is also evident that such study is necessary. When art historian Flora Dennis examined a sixteenth-century handbell, she found that its purpose revealed a lot of information about the people who used it. The purposeful memory found in the Latin inscription gives a strong indication of the kind of person who originally owned the bell: "[With] my ring I call your servants, o Lippomano."[11] This shows the "original owner had servants [and] occupied an elevated social status."[12] There is also purposeful memory in the object itself. The heavy metal bell would have rung loudly, indicating that the house it was used in was likely large and the user disinclined to raise his voice.[13] While the master ringing the bell might fall into biographical memory (as it relates to the man himself), all of these other memories have no other category to fall into but purposeful. As such, it is a necessary category and must be included and examined further.

Autobiographical Memory

Transmissional memory relates to an object's origin and purposeful memory to an object's design, but autobiographical memory is related to an object's personal connections. This collection of memories contains every conscious thought or experience a person has undergone. If Lincoln's top hat triggers recollections of sitting in American history classes or taking a family trip to the Smithsonian, it has triggered autobiographical memories. It is difficult to know where to draw the line when it comes to the boundaries of autobiographical memory, especially with regard to the intake of factual information. Are all facts part of autobiographical memory since they were all learned at some point? While there is a place for facts and learning in autobiographical memory, the facts themselves do not belong here. Just as sitting in American history class is an autobiographical memory, the memory of learning anything is autobiographical. The facts themselves, however, do not fall into this category. Instead, they might be part of transmissional (if they relate to the origin or previous owners of the object), purposeful (if they relate to the object's function), or associative (for other facts relating to the object in question).

This theory is an amalgamation of Halbwachs's autobiographical memory and the idea of biographical objects used in psychology. Maurice Halbwachs briefly discusses the division between what he calls autobiographical and historical memory, defining autobiographical memory as "the events of one's own life that one remembers because they were experienced directly, though it also includes reference to events which one did not experience directly but around which one's memory is oriented."[14] This is in

opposition to his theory of historical memory, which is "the residues of events by virtue of which groups claim a continuous identity through time."[15] By these definitions, events from within someone's lifetime that they personally recall, whether they be firsthand or secondhand accounts, fall into autobiographical memory, while other knowledge, such as facts learned about a country's history, are contained in historical memory. This historical memory includes events such as the Civil War, which "is part of what it means to *be* an American" and is thus part of the American identity.[16] In my system, however, the Civil War would not be included in such a way. Memories of the Civil War would only be part of my system of theories if someone were remembering where the bayonet on the wall came from (a memento from the war, so transmissional memory), how boring their American history class had been (autobiographical memory), or who Abraham Lincoln was (associative memory).

My theory of autobiographical memory is most closely related to Halbwachs's autobiographical memory. Both definitions include the memory of where someone might have been during 9/11. The difference is that Halbwachs's version focuses on autobiographical (juxtaposed with historical memory) in relation to his theories of the framework of collective memory. He remarks that "you are likely to remember what you were doing when an event designated historical by the group took place . . . even if these events did not affect you directly in your individuality rather than in terms of the group of which you are a member."[17] Memories may be termed autobiographical by Halbwachs even if the event had no significance to the rememberer. Conversely, my theory of autobiographical memory has nothing to do with *how* the memory is recalled (within a social framework or not), but rather with what to *call* the memory now that it is evoked. Every memory triggered by a person that contains that person is an autobiographical memory.

My version of autobiographical memory is also closely related to the psychological idea of "biographical objects"—that is, objects "entangled in the events of a person's life and used as a vehicle for a sense of selfhood."[18] In other words, autobiographical objects help form part of someone's identity. Christina Buse and Julia Twigg looked at this more closely, examining the relationship between women with dementia and their purses. What these psychologists found was that purses served as loci of identity for these women. The handbags embodied the women's pasts, reminding them of who they had been and what had happened to them:

> Handbags brought back associations with happier times: large bags
> for family holidays or day trips; small, glamorous bags for weddings,
> occasions and nights out. . . . The stories they [the handbags] told
> not only revealed differences in their biographies, but in how
> they negotiated their current situation. For women who had been
> housewives, handbags embodied their investment in the domestic
> sphere, and the literal "carrying" of family responsibilities.[19]

Barbara Hagerty echoes this, pointing out that "understanding handbags as an extension of identity, women often consciously employ them to enhance—or decrease—individuality, to make themselves stand out or disappear, as desired."[20] In these cases, the handbags remind their owners of who they were and events that transpired, whether it be a "bat mitzvah or sweet sixteen, debutante party, wedding, . . . divorce, . . . raise or bonus, anniversary, . . . exotic trip, [or] summer in Italy."[21] Therefore, the handbags are perfect examples of items teeming with autobiographical memories.

Biographical Memory

Closely related to autobiographical memory, biographical memory is an expansion of autobiographical in order to incorporate people beyond the self. Biographical memory includes triggered memories that relate to other people. A picture of the Grand Canyon might spark a memory of a cousin's honeymoon there. In this example, the Grand Canyon was evoked primarily purposefully (by the photograph), but the recollection of the cousin and his honeymoon was secondary, triggered by biographical memory of the cousin. A crucifix inherited from an aunt could evoke memories of her praying with it. Biographical memory can be primary or secondary.[22] Abraham Lincoln's top hat is most likely to trigger primary biographical memories of America's tallest president, while biographical memories of Betsy Ross evoked by the American flag are usually going to be secondary to transmissional memory of how the flag was acquired.

The close connection between biographical and autobiographical memory reveals itself in the contemplation of perspective. For example, a memoir would purposefully trigger biographical memories for the casual reader, as it evokes events and images from the author's life. Note that if the reader in question were not previously aware of the author, there would be no memories to trigger. There would instead be new memories formed and new facts learned that would then become memories that could later be evoked. If that same memoir were to be read by its author, it would trigger autobiographical memories primarily and secondarily. The primary autobiographical memories would be memories of writing the book itself and the trials of publication. The secondary autobiographical memories would be primarily purposeful, the same as for the casual reader. The difference here is that the triggered memories are autobiographical instead of biographical in nature. Instead of constructing the events of someone else's life, these pages have triggered recollections of the author's own life and the events contained therein.

Another example of the difference between biographical and autobiographical memory comes back to the earlier handbag discussion. As objects closely related to women's identities, purses are strong triggers of autobiographical memory; this connection carries over to biographical memory. Hagerty describes how "handbags can powerfully summon the essence of the person who once carried it," leading to strong biographical memories of the item's previous owner.[23] If the bag had belonged to a woman's mother, the woman would connect the purse to her mother through multiple kinds of memory—including transmissional and associative—but the strongest of these by far would be biographical memory. The handbag and the woman's mother would become irrevocably linked in the woman's mind and could not be parted. Hagerty notes,

> So strongly associated are handbags with people or memories that many a woman has difficulty parting with them, even if the bags are so dumpy or damaged that she knows she'll never use them again. She *cannot* bring herself to call the Salvation Army or Goodwill. Somehow, those bags *are* Mother, and to throw them out is unthinkable![24]

In order to keep hold of the remnants of missing parents, women may retain items for which they have long since lost use, simply because of the strength of that biographical memory. The depth of this connection cannot be explained simply through association;

therefore, biographical memory is important enough to separate from the remaining categories of memory.

Many authors would group biographical memory together with autobiographical when discussing memory. I have chosen to separate the two ideas because there is a personal connection in autobiographical memory that is missing in many biographical memories. While it is true that all memories—and thus, by extension, all biographical memories—have been experienced personally at some point—and are therefore autobiographical in nature—there is a dividing line between memories that relate directly to a person and memories that relate to others. Keep in mind that the location of this division is fluid and depends on the distinctions that recallers have made in their own minds between what is personal and what is external.

Associative Memory

Associative memory is the broadest and most all-encompassing of the six memory categories. It refers to memories and thoughts sparked by the comparison of an object to similar objects or to connected ideas. It is associative memory that is responsible for someone looking at a plaid couch and arriving at musings on genealogy because of a similarity between the couch and an ancestor's tartan. Some memories sparked by associative memory will be common throughout a group of people, while some will be different. For example, the association of a conifer with Christmas is shared by most of the Western world, while the association of the color of a hat with a paramour's eyes is much more likely to be a personal one.[25] Associative memory is the broadest and, perhaps, one of the more difficult categories to explain. It is best seen in relation to other categories of memory, as shown in previous examples. Without associative memory, there are a finite number of memories that can be triggered by a single object. With associative memory, however, it is quite simple to quickly switch tracks to another set of memories altogether.

This theory draws heavily on Sigmund Freud's ideas of free association, which are not new to the field of museum studies. Annie Coombes asserts that each museum is designed to guide the "public through its collections in a specific though not always linear narrative, encouraging implicit, if not explicit, associations."[26] There is a difference between how museums have been using association as described by Coombes and how I will be discussing it, however. The system described by Coombes uses association to string objects and exhibits together into a narrative. While practical, my usage of associative memory is much more focused on the memories attached and evoked by each individual object. Coombes is speaking on a larger scale, focusing on the placement of exhibits within a museum instead of objects within an exhibit, though similarities exist between the two processes, to be sure.

For my purposes, though, I shall focus more on associative memory as related to objects and as inherited from Freud. Christopher Bollas describes Freud's ideas in his book *The Evocative Object World*, explaining how architecture and buildings as well as more everyday objects can evoke memories and associations, which in turn can be analyzed through Freud's theories to provide insight into the unconscious and psychic profile of the viewer. While I shall not delve quite so deeply into psychoanalysis, Bollas's overarching ideas are similar to mine. Concepts and memories are linked in the mind through associations, and objects can trigger these associations, but that does not

mean that these objects must be tangible. Bollas points out that "for the unconscious there is no difference between a material and a non-material evocative object; both are equally capable of putting the self through a complex inner experience."[27] This is why thoughts of unicorns and dragons, memories of a long-ago childhood, or missing items listed on charters can spark other memories in turn even though these entities do not physically exist. One of the most interesting and applicable parts of his book is when Bollas describes his walk through Central Park in terms of associations. The Great Lawn reminded him of playing baseball, while Turtle Pond brought back memories of lakes in Massachusetts.[28] This journey illustrates the true power of associative memory. Every place, object, and thought can be associated with another. In many cases, each item can be connected to a multitude of memories. Bollas explains that he associates a hunting knife with several things, including "skinning a deer . . . Daniel Boone [and] cutting up carrots," among others.[29] This is what gives associative memory its versatility and importance in the six categories laid out here; without associative, every trail of memories would eventually end. It is through associations that these become the infinite threads that weave our everyday experiences with memories and objects.

The strength of associative memory is what makes mnemonics work. Mnemonics is the art of remembering and the most common practice in mnemonics is to mentally create a setting from an everyday location and place an item, or "locus," connected to the fact or memory that we are attempting to remember somewhere memorable on the setting. Then, to recall the memory, we simply stroll through our setting and pick up the objects that we had previously left.[30] This is an ancient technique and only works because of associative memory. Aristotle said that "every memory . . . has a visual likeness and an affected quality, and this enables its recall."[31] The objects chosen might have been selected for other, more personal, meanings that could fall into other categories, but it is the association of the object with the memory that makes this mnemonic device function.

Negative Memory

One of the interesting commonalities of the above memory theories is that they all revolve around beholding an object, whether firsthand or through a series of memory links. Negative memory, however, is unique in that it is triggered by the absence of an object, rather than its presence. The gap caused by a lost tooth is a reminder of that tooth. The empty chair across the table recalls a missing friend. The echoing vastness of an empty house right before a move is a reminder that a family was once happy here and filled the rooms to bursting. Negative memory is sharply distinct from other forms of memory and is thus one of the easiest to identify. It most commonly appears as a primary memory, the absence triggering other associative and autobiographical memories.

There are a few ways in which historians have approached the idea of negative memory. Some, like Daniel Miller, focus on these missing "im-material objects" in the context of loss and absence, such as after a death or other tragedy.[32] Other scholars, like Glenn Adamson, concentrate instead on what he calls "absent artifacts"—items one might expect to find in the objects collected from a culture, but happen to be missing.[33] He sees these objects as central to understanding history: "If we want the study of material culture to unlock the secrets of history, then surely we should be analyzing

what people of the past did *not* make, and what they did *not* do, with as much care as we examine their surviving material traces."[34] An example of this is looking at the lack of wheels in Aztecan and Mayan society and deducing from that the poor repair of their roads.[35] Viccy Coltman, however, believes that the best way to approach missing objects is through "a concept of immaterial culture which pursues artifacts that are lost in their material incarnation . . . but that survive through their representation as phantom objects."[36] In other words, historians should not be focusing on objects representative of loss or objects we had expected to find. Instead, we should look most closely at gaps where we know something once existed, such as the masonry in old walls where doorways have been bricked up. In fact, the most important part of the item's disappearance is "how [it] came to disappear, whether by accident or design," as this informs a large part of the object's life cycle.[37]

My theory of negative memory is also closely tied to the idea of counter-memorials. Mnemohistorian Richard Crownshaw explains that counter-memorials are those designed around absences. These monuments are characterized by "the traumatic structure of the architecture [which] is designed to provoke remembrance."[38] These monuments, such as the sunken pools where the World Trade Center towers once stood in New York, are specifically created to be antithetical to traditional, imposing memorials. Instead of grand structures designed around the event remembered, counter-memorials appear unfinished at first glance:

> The consequent incompleteness of these monuments—their architectural articulation of the wound and their refusal to complete the representation of those they remember—creates space for the visitor's continuation of the memory-work that cannot be concluded by the monument. . . . Architecture ruptured by loss—or designed around a series of voids—suggests the belated intrusion of the past . . . upon the present.[39]

A complete monument isn't necessary for the remembrance. Jochen Gerz argues that "the best monument . . . may be no monument at all, but only the memory of an absent monument."[40] It is this lack of memorialization that ultimately succeeds in the overall goal of remembrance—no memorial necessary. It is the negative memory an object leaves behind that sparks remembrance of its existence. Similarly, it is the unfinished or absent monument that truly reminds visitors of the traumatic event in question.

Symbolism

Symbols, including national and religious symbols, are a family of related objects and ideas that become slightly convoluted when discussed in the context of these memory categories. Symbols exist somewhere in the hazy boundaries between classifications because there are several ways memories triggered by symbols can be sorted. Keep in mind that all classifications, including whether or not something counts as a symbol or what the meaning of the symbol is, are subjective; the correct answers lie within the mind of the person contemplating them. The simplest way to deal with symbolic objects is to break up the memories evoked between purposeful and associative memory (with exceptions possible for memories to be admitted to other categories).

Take, for example, the Declaration of Independence. The purpose of this document was to declare the independence of the United States from Great Britain.

Thus, thoughts about the contents of the Declaration are part of purposeful memory. Feelings and thoughts of nationalism and patriotism from the Declaration are then associative (though could also fall into another category depending on the nature of the thoughts in question). If the Declaration sparks memories of the American Revolution, it has triggered secondary associations from the primary purposeful memory. It is the symbolic nature of the Declaration and its contents that evoke memories of the Revolutionary War, so the memories are sparked by the purposeful memory surrounding the document. The associations and connections triggered by nationalistic objects like the Declaration of Independence are not always equally important to the viewer. When assessing the symbolism of the French tricolor using Pierre Nora's theories of *lieux de mémoire* (or "objects of memory"), Raoul Giradet discovered that "in the minds of contemporaries, the symbolic significance of the tricolor undeniably outweighed its political significance."[41] In other words, nationalistic associations stirred up by the flag were more important to the French people than the initial purposeful intent of the flag—that is, to be the representation of the union of the three orders of France.[42]

Similar to these nationalistic examples, the Christian cross can trigger a multitude of memories. The purposeful memory of this symbol is the image of the cross itself. Purposefully, a cross may be meant to resemble the cross upon which Jesus of Nazareth was crucified. Therefore, remembering this secondarily biographical memory when looking at a cross is an example of purposeful memory. Any memories then sparked fall into various other secondary categories, such as Jesus's life and death, which is also part of the secondary biographical memory. Not all memories sparked by a cross are secondary to purposeful, however. Memories triggered by a cross can fall into a host of other categories, such as other Christian symbols (associative), Christianity in general (associative), or the presence of crosses during other life events (autobiographical). As with other items of religious importance, crosses are focal points of ritual. The sight of a cross triggering a recollection of a ritual is an example of associative memory. If the image of the cross brings back memories of personally participating in these rituals, the memories evoked fall into autobiographical memory.

Object Application

As the previous examples show, it is very common for objects to spark memories from a wide variety of categories; often items even trigger memories from every category. One such item is the Bayeux Tapestry. Embroidered shortly after the Norman Conquest, the tapestry depicts the events of 1066 as they unfolded. Transmissional memories connected to the tapestry will primarily be of Bishop Odo of Bayeux, the commissioner of the piece.[43] The purpose of the embroidered cloth is to show the happenings of the Conquest, so memories of those events would be sparked through purposeful memory. Other memories of the Conquest not shown on the cloth would be secondary associative memories evoked by this primary purposeful memory. Primary associative memories, on the other hand, would be thoughts of other tapestries or items that have somehow become tied to the tapestry. Autobiographical memories sparked by the tapestry might be of a trip to Bayeux where it currently hangs (primary) or of hearing the story of the Norman Conquest (secondary). Biographical memories of the tapestry would be primary if they revolved around the stitching done by the Kentish

women who sewed it and secondary if they related more to the events of the lives of William the Conqueror or Harold Godwinson. Close examination of the tapestry will reveal that the last section of it is missing. This absence evoking a memory that the last segment was once a part—or intended to be a part—of the finished product is a primary negative memory. A tertiary negative memory connected to the tapestry might revolve around the lack of concrete data historians have about the true events of the Norman Conquest (this would be primarily purposeful and secondarily associative).[44]

Theory Applications

Establishing a working system of memory categories is all well and good, but there is little use for them outside of esoteric, academic thought experiments if it has no application. Fortunately, two applications spring to mind, though I am sure that many more exist. One of the strengths of this system is that it is broad and adaptable, after all. Of the two applications I have mentioned, one has more of a psychological bent and the other a historical one.

This first psychological application is in the field of neuroscience. Neuroscientists have created a map of the brain, dividing it into lobes based on its function. Some of these lobes have purposes directly linked to memory, such as the amygdala, connected to emotional memories; the mamillary bodies, associated with episodic memory; and the temporal lobe, charged with housing general knowledge.[45] Neuroscientists have also broken memory into five categories based on how the brain accesses knowledge. Many of these categories I will discard as irrelevant for various reasons, but the most important—and the one I will be discussing further—is episodic memory.[46] Episodic memory contains "reconstructions of past experiences, including sensations and emotions. . . . [They] usually unfold like a movie and are experienced from one's own point of view."[47] It would then seem that all of episodic memory is also autobiographical. This is not the case. The memory of an aunt praying with a crucifix was gained through personal experience, so a neuroscientist would consider it an episodic memory. However, the memory evoked by the crucifix relates more closely to the aunt and is thus a biographical memory for my purposes.

This distinction is the driving force behind the application of my categories to the field of neuroscience. Take, for example, a subject. Ask him to recall memories from each of my six categories and take note of what lobes of the brain are activated as he remembers. All autobiographical memories should be episodic and use the mamillary bodies, but is this always the case? Do negative memories consistently activate the amygdala? Or is the connection between these memories and loss not emotional in nature? What is the difference between biographical memories that do use the temporal lobe and those that do not? If two different people are asked to recall transmissional memories, will they activate the same parts of their brains? What are the differences and what do they mean? In this way, my six categories of memory serve as an extra layer of classification and complexity that can be used to further unearth the secrets of the human brain.

On the other hand, these categories can be used externally as well, in a field far removed from neuroscience: museum studies. While most memories evoked by objects are unique to each individual, there are some shared evocations that large groups of people can agree on. It is these shared memories that make objects useful

parts of museum exhibits. Each category of memory has a different role and strength in the museum setting. Objects which spark transmissional memory should only be included in a museum exhibit if their original owners were important in the context of the museum's purpose. The reason Abraham Lincoln's top hat is in the Smithsonian National Museum of American History is not because it is a splendid model of American haberdashery, but rather because it was once owned by Lincoln. An object evoking purposeful memory should be used to convey to visitors the ideas and steps of some crafts, trades, or creative processes: spinning wheels should be used to trigger memories of spinning, typewriters of secretarial work, and tiny microphones of espionage. If an object triggers only autobiographical memory, it has no significance in the museum setting unless the beholders are themselves significant, in which case the item should be considered biographically. Similar to transmissional, biographical objects should only be displayed in a museum if they are related to a person of importance. This can also be used on a broader, less personal scale. A collection of looms might be in a museum not only to evoke the purposeful memory of weaving, but also to trigger the biographical memory of the weavers themselves.

Objects with associative memory are not very special on their own, but combined with other objects they can be used to great purpose to create context for exhibits. After all, "objects . . . cannot be shown in isolation."[48] In addition to simply making artifacts look "more at home," associative memory can also be used to depict events or people, topics where the object itself cannot be on display. An exhibit of the Danish resistance movement during World War II, for example, would be able to include a bullet hole–riddled topcoat, a ticket used by a Jewish Dane to flee German persecution, and the coat of a sedentary German officer stationed in Denmark to give a sense of what the movement had been about, since a physical representation of the movement would be impossible to include.[49] This context is especially important when negative memory is used. The very idea of negative memory revolves around the lack of an object, so it is up to the surrounding exhibit (and its associative context) to provide visitors with an impression of what is missing. This negative memory is best used with traumatic events, as these events "are usually object-poor because the people, whose plight is exhibited, were dispossessed and the traces of their existence . . . eradicated."[50] Negative memory itself naturally incorporates a sense of loss, and using it in this fashion utilizes this strength to its fullest extent. Even in nontraumatic situations negative and associative memory can be used in conjunction in this way. After all, "one of the problems of the use of objects to document historical events is that these events do not necessarily reproduce themselves in objects in proportion to the importance we later attach to them."[51] In these cases, negative memory is used to stimulate the memory of the "absent objects" most suited to telling the story of what happened.

Conclusion

Despite the fact that memories surround our everyday lives and shape the way we view the world, we still lack a complete vocabulary to discuss them. This is especially true of the memories evoked by objects. Mnemohistorians, psychologists, sociologists, neuroscientists, and historians have each attempted to solve this problem in their own way, but none has been successful. Their attempts have instead yielded partial systems that do not cover all memories and systems that explain other aspects of memory

instead of classifying object-triggered memories. I examined the existing scholarship in all of these areas and crafted a series of six overlapping but distinct categories of memory: transmissional, purposeful, autobiographical, biographical, associative, and negative. Some, like associative and negative, were heavily borrowed from the theories of other authors. Others, such as transmissional and autobiographical, were an amalgamation of various ideas. Still others, like purposeful and biographical, were entirely of my own invention. Used together, this system encapsulates all memories evoked by objects. Though on its own theoretically intriguing, these theories do have some viable applications in the fields of neuroscience and museum studies. Objects and the memories they evoke have a powerful impact on how we live our lives. The least we can do is attempt to clearly classify and label them. This is but a small step in understanding these memories and their effects on our perceptions of the world.

Notes

1. Jeffrey K. Olick, Vered Vinitzky-Seroussi, and Daniel Levy, "Introduction," in *The Collective Memory Reader*, ed. Jeffrey K. Olick, Vered Vinitzky-Seroussi, and Daniel Levy (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 5, 3.
2. Ibid., 5.
3. Elisabeth M. C. Van Houts, *Memory and Gender in Medieval Europe, 900–1200* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 99.
4. Ibid., 98, 98, 99.
5. Ibid., 108.
6. Ibid., 115.
7. Jan Assmann, "From 'Collective Memory and Cultural Identity,'" in *The Collective Memory Reader*, ed. Jeffrey K. Olick, Vered Vinitzky-Seroussi, and Daniel Levy (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 213.
8. Van Houts, *Memory and Gender*, 119.
9. Viccy Coltman, "Material Culture and the History of Art(efacts)," in *Writing Material Culture History*, ed. Anne Gerritsen and Giorgio Riello, Writing History series (London: Bloomsbury, 2015), 20.
10. Paul Bourcier, Ruby Rogers, and the Nomenclature Committee, *Nomenclature 3.0 for Museum Cataloging*, 3rd ed. (Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press, 2010).
11. Flora Dennis, "Material Culture and Sound: A Sixteenth-Century Handbell," in *Writing Material Culture History*, ed. Anne Gerritsen and Giorgio Riello, Writing History series (London: Bloomsbury, 2015), 153.
12. Ibid.
13. Ibid.
14. Olick, Vinitzky-Seroussi, and Levy, "Introduction," 19.
15. Ibid.
16. Ibid. (emphasis mine).
17. Ibid.
18. Janet Hoskins, *Biographical Objects: How Things Tell the Stories of People's Lives* (New York: Routledge, 1998), 2.
19. Christina Buse and Julia Twigg, "Women with Dementia and Their Handbags: Negotiating Identity, Privacy and 'Home' through Material Culture," *Journal of Aging Studies 30* (August 2014): 17.
20. Barbara G. S. Hagerty, *Handbags: A Peek Inside a Woman's Most Trusted Accessory* (Philadelphia: Running Press, 2002), 20.
21. Ibid., 64.
22. Recall that primary memories are those triggered directly from the object, while secondary memories are evoked by primary memories.

23. Hagerty, *Handbags*, 61.

24. Ibid., 63.

25. The peculiarity of a shared associative memory is similar to—if not the same as—
    other ideas of memory, such as cultural or collected memory, with which modern
    mnemohistorians seem so taken, though this is not the space for such a discussion. Cultural
    memory is referenced here: Assmann, "From 'Collective Memory and Cultural Identity,'"
    212–15. Collected memory is referred to here: Jeffrey K. Olick, "From 'Collective Memory:
    The Two Cultures,'" in *The Collective Memory Reader*, ed. Jeffrey K. Olick, Vered
    Vinitzky-Seroussi, and Daniel Levy (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011). Recall that
    mnemohistorians are historians who focus their studies on memory and remembrance.

26. Annie E. Coombes, "Museums and the Formation of National and Cultural Identities," in
    Grasping the World: The Idea of the Museum, ed. Donald Preziosi and Claire J. Farago
    (Aldershot, Hants, England: Ashgate Publishing, 2004), 280.

27. Christopher Bollas, *The Evocative Object World* (London: Routledge, 2009), 79.

28. Ibid., 62–63.

29. Ibid., 93.

30. Jennifer Richards, "Introduction," in *Theories of Memory: A Reader*, ed. Michael
    Rossington and Anne Whitehead (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007), 22.

31. Ibid., 21.

32. Coltman, "Material Culture," 26. For more information, see Daniel Miller, ed., *Materiality*
    (London: Duke University Press, 2005).

33. Ibid., 26–27. For more information, see Glenn Adamson, "The Case of the Missing
    Footstool: Reading the Absent Object," in *History and Material Culture: A Student's Guide
    to Approaching Alternative Sources*, ed. Karen Harvey (London: Routledge, 2009).

34. Adamson, "The Case of the Missing Footstool," quoted in Coltman, "Material Culture," 26
    (emphasis original; spelling edited from "analysing").

35. *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Economic History*, s.v. "American Indian Economies."

36. Coltman, "Material Culture," 26–27 (spelling edited from "artefacts").

37. Ibid., 27.

38. Richard Crownshaw, "History and Memorialization," in *Writing the History of Memory*, ed.
    Stefan Berger and Bill Niven, Writing History series (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), 226–27.

39. Ibid.

40. Ibid., 227.

41. Raoul Girardet, "The Three Colors: Neither White nor Red," in *Realms of Memory: The
    Construction of the French Past*, ed. Pierre Nora and Lawrence Kritzman, trans. Arthur
    Goldhammer, vol. 3, *Symbols* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 7.

42. Ibid., 6.

43. *Brewer's Dictionary of Phrase and Fable*, 19th ed., s.v. "Bayeux Tapestry."

44. Ibid.; *A Dictionary of World History*, 2nd ed., s.v. "Bayeux Tapestry."

45. Rita Carter et al., *The Human Brain Book* (London: Dorling Kindersley, 2009), 154.

46. The five categories of memory are episodic, semantic, working, procedural, and implicit.
    Semantic memory is factual memory and has already been discussed in the history class
    example I used when explaining autobiographical memory. Working memory is everyday
    short-term memory and is too fleeting to be useful here. Procedural memory consists of
    "learned actions" and these muscle memories are a completely different species of memory
    entirely, focusing more on how something specific is done rather than on the recollections
    triggered by the objects involved. Implicit memory consists of the subconscious associations
    made by the brain and has no bearing on a conversation involving conscious memories
    evoked by objects. Ibid., 155.

47. Ibid.

48. Esben Kjeldbæk, "Introduction," in *The Power of the Object: Museums and World War II*,
    ed. Esben Kjeldbæk (Edinburgh: MuseumsEtc, 2009), 18.

49. Esben Kjeldbæk, "What Is the Power of the Object?" in *The Power of the Object: Museums and World War II*, ed. Esben Kjeldbæk (Edinburgh: MuseumsEtc, 2009), 27–30, 34, 23–24.
50. Silke Arnold-de Simine, *Mediating Memory in the Museum: Trauma, Empathy, Nostalgia* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, England: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 10.
51. Kjeldbæk, "What Is the Power of the Object?" 32.

Bibliography

Adamson, Glenn. "The Case of the Missing Footstool: Reading the Absent Object." In *History and Material Culture: A Student's Guide to Approaching Alternative Sources*, edited by Karen Harvey, 192–207. London: Routledge, 2009.

Arnold-de Simine, Silke. *Mediating Memory in the Museum: Trauma, Empathy, Nostalgia*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, England: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.

Assmann, Jan. "From 'Collective Memory and Cultural Identity.'" In *The Collective Memory Reader*. Edited by Jeffrey K. Olick, Vered Vinitzky-Seroussi, and Daniel Levy, 212–15. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.

Bal, Mieke. "Telling Objects: A Narrative Perspective on Collecting." In *Grasping the World: The Idea of the Museum*. Edited by Donald Preziosi and Claire J. Farago, 84–102. Aldershot, Hants, England: Ashgate Publishing, 2004.

Bán, Zsófia. "Memory and/or Construction: Family Images in W. G. Sebald's Austerlitz." In *Exposed Memories: Family Pictures in Private and Collective Memory*. Edited by Zsófia Bán and Hedvig Turai. Translated by Zsolt Kozma, 67–73. Budapest: AICA International Association of Art Critics, Hungarian Section, 2010.

Baumann, Ulrich. "The Object's Memory: Remembering Rural Jews in Southern Germany." In *Restitution and Memory: Material Restoration in Europe*. Edited by Dan Diner and Gotthard Wunberg, 114–39. New York: Berghahn Books, 2007.

Bollas, Christopher. *The Evocative Object World*. London: Routledge, 2009.

Bourcier, Paul, Ruby Rogers, and the Nomenclature Committee. *Nomenclature 3.0 for Museum Cataloging*. 3rd ed. Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press, 2010.

Buse, Christina, and Julia Twigg. "Women with Dementia and Their Handbags: Negotiating Identity, Privacy and 'Home' through Material Culture." *Journal of Aging Studies* 30 (August 2014): 14–22.

Carter, Rita, Susan Aldridge, Martyn Page, and Steve Parker. *The Human Brain Book*. London: Dorling Kindersley, 2009.

Coltman, Viccy. "Material Culture and the History of Art(efacts)." In *Writing Material Culture History*. Edited by Anne Gerritsen and Giorgio Riello, 17–31. Writing History series. London: Bloomsbury, 2015.

Coombes, Annie E. "Museums and the Formation of National and Cultural Identities." In *Grasping the World: The Idea of the Museum*. Edited by Donald Preziosi and Claire J. Farago, 278–97. Aldershot, Hants, England: Ashgate Publishing, 2004.

Crownshaw, Richard. "History and Memorialization." In *Writing the History of Memory*. Edited by Stefan Berger and Bill Niven, 219–37. Writing History series. London: Bloomsbury, 2014.

Dennis, Flora. "Material Culture and Sound: A Sixteenth-Century Handbell." In *Writing Material Culture History*. Edited by Anne Gerritsen and Giorgio Riello, 151–55. Writing History series. London: Bloomsbury, 2015.

Feuchtwang, Stephan. "Ritual and Memory." In *Memory: Histories, Theories, Debates*. Edited by Susannah Radstone and Bill Schwarz, 281–98. New York: Fordham University Press, 2010.

Gerritsen, Anne, and Giorgio Riello. "Introduction." In *Writing Material Culture History*. Edited by Anne Gerritsen and Giorgio Riello, 1–13. Writing History series. London: Bloomsbury, 2015.

Girardet, Raoul. "The Three Colors: Neither White nor Red." In *Realms of Memory: The Construction of the French Past*. Vol. 3, *Symbols*. Edited by Pierre Nora and Lawrence Kritzman. Translated by Arthur Goldhammer, 3–26. New York: Columbia University Press, 1998.

Hagerty, Barbara G. S. *Handbags: A Peek Inside a Woman's Most Trusted Accessory*. Philadelphia: Running Press, 2002.

Horel, Catherine. "Restitution and Reconstructed Identity: Jewish Property and Collective Self-Awareness in Central Europe." In *Restitution and Memory: Material Restoration in Europe*. Edited by Dan Diner and Gotthard Wunberg, 189–216. New York: Berghahn Books, 2007.

Hoskins, Janet. *Biographical Objects: How Things Tell the Stories of People's Lives*. New York: Routledge, 1998.

Kjeldbæk, Esben. "Introduction." In *The Power of the Object: Museums and World War II*. Edited by Esben Kjeldbæk, 9–20. Edinburgh: MuseumsEtc, 2009.

———. "What Is the Power of the Object?" In *The Power of the Object: Museums and World War II*. Edited by Esben Kjeldbæk, 22–51. Edinburgh: MuseumsEtc, 2009.

Majerus, Benoît. "*Lieux de mémoire* – A European Transfer Story." In *Writing the History of Memory*. Edited by Stefan Berger and Bill Niven, 157–71. Writing History series. London: Bloomsbury, 2014.

Malraux, André. "Introduction to Museum Without Walls." In *Grasping the World: The Idea of the Museum*. Edited by Donald Preziosi and Claire J. Farago, 368–71. Aldershot, Hants, England: Ashgate Publishing, 2004.

Miller, Daniel, ed. *Materiality*. London: Duke University Press, 2005.

Miller, Lesley Ellis. "Europe 1600–1800 in a Thousand Objects." In *Writing Material Culture History*. Edited by Anne Gerritsen and Giorgio Riello, 241–48. Writing History series. London: Bloomsbury, 2015.

Nora, Pierre. "Introduction." In *Realms of Memory: The Construction of the French Past*. Vol. 3, *Symbols*. Edited by Pierre Nora and Lawrence Kritzman. Translated by Arthur Goldhammer, ix–xii. New York: Columbia University Press, 1998.

Olick, Jeffrey K. "From 'Collective Memory: The Two Cultures.'" In *The Collective Memory Reader*. Edited by Jeffrey K. Olick, Vered Vinitzky-Seroussi, and Daniel Levy, 225–28. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.

Olick, Jeffrey K., Vered Vinitzky-Seroussi, and Daniel Levy. "Introduction." In *The Collective Memory Reader*. Edited by Jeffrey K. Olick, Vered Vinitzky-Seroussi, and Daniel Levy, 3–62. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.

Richards, Jennifer. "Introduction." In *Theories of Memory: A Reader*. Edited by Michael Rossington and Anne Whitehead, 20–24. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007.

Van Houts, Elisabeth M. C. *Memory and Gender in Medieval Europe, 900–1200*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999.

Muscles, Morals, and Culture Wars: Masculinity and Football at the Turn of the Nineteenth Century

Andrew Mannenbach, author
Dr. Michelle Kuhl, History, faculty mentor

Andrew Mannenbach received a competitive Undergraduate Student/Faculty Collaborative Research program grant in 2014 to research masculinity and football history. In April 2015 he presented his research in Spokane, Washington, at the National Conference on Undergraduate Research. The next week his submission at the UW Oshkosh Celebration of Scholarship won the Clow Social Science Undergraduate Award. A Green Bay native, Andrew is a senior graduating with a history degree.

Dr. Michelle Kuhl received her Ph.D. in U.S. history from Binghamton University in 2004. She teaches courses at UW Oshkosh on African American history, women's history, and the history of pirates. Her research focuses on gender and race in southern violence and activism.

Abstract

Following the Civil War, political, economic, and technological advances aligned to lay the groundwork for a brave new social world across the United States, particularly amongst middle- and upper-class men in New England and the South. In both regions, old definitions of manhood were becoming less tenable, although each region had different masculinity issues to resolve. Men turned to football to help remedy their masculine ills. In the North and the South, football acted as a bridge between the male's desired ideal and the changing reality of his life. In this way, football was both a preserving and reconstructing agent.

Introduction

By 1910 football was fully entrenched as an addition to U.S. colleges in every region,[1] so much so that Cornell University's president asserted that the sport was "too valuable a branch of athletics for our colleges and universities to do away with" and its loss would have been "a calamity" for these institutions.[2] However, this sport provided no real academic function, nor was it an activity which was available for all students to participate in. Still, it was seen as a necessary fixture within the university. Football's popularity indicated that the sport was broadly accepted. The values transposed onto the sport reflected and resonated with the general public as well as the players. These values intersected with masculinity. According to historian Jeffrey Hantover, masculinity is a cultural construct, or series of constructs, which create normative male behavior(s) and, if performed well, will affirm a male as a man.[3] This frame of analysis was originally deployed in regard to women and their gender roles by scholars of women's studies. However, in the past few decades, others have begun to apply these concepts to explore men and their gender identity.

The culture surrounding the Northeast and its definitions of manhood are well documented. Historian Anthony Rotundo's seminal work *American Manhood* explores the transformations from colonial New England's "Communal Manhood" to the

Early Republic's definition of "Self-Made Manhood" to "Passionate Manhood" in the late nineteenth century and beyond. Rotundo argues that although regional variation existed, the Northeast's cultural hegemony—its ability to dictate mores and values to the rest of the nation—gave it the greatest influence in shaping American definitions of masculinity. In a similar fashion, sociologist Michael Kimmel examines post–Civil War masculinity in his book *Manhood in America*, which includes analysis of the South, race, and gender.[4] Despite this regional difference, both scholars agree that men during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries defined masculinity in the context of "Passionate Manhood," in which the ideal male was one who was competitive, aggressive, and sexually potent. Both authors also agree that men were not confident that they met this standard. Other scholars have not strayed far from these conclusions, though some, such as Gail Bederman and Toby Ditz, debate the severity of masculine unease during the late nineteenth century.[5]

Some gender scholars have used sports as a means to demonstrate the redefining of manhood in the New England region during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, yet there is no work that demonstrates how the values transposed onto football allowed participants to associate themselves with the new definition of masculinity. Though Kimmel and Rotundo have produced groundbreaking work in the field of male gender, neither has written sufficiently on the intersection of sports and gender, and both have also largely ignored football. Kimmel focuses primarily on literature and the rhetoric of figures such as Teddy Roosevelt. Unlike Kimmel, Rotundo uses sports as a means to demonstrate how late nineteenth-century masculinity had undergone changes. However, sports is a minor topic in the development of Rotundo's larger argument and football a mere subpoint within his exploration of sports as a bastion of activities that helped relieve masculine unease. Still, the work on Northern masculinity is well developed and is essential to exploring how masculinity and football interacted in the region.

In regard to football, there are books which analyze the sport's early years. *The Rise of Gridiron University: Higher Education's Uneasy Alliance with Big-Time Football* by Brian Ingrassia shows how football became a part of American universities. *Reading Football: How the Popular Press Created an American Spectacle* by Michael Oriard demonstrates the way press coverage of the sport made football a cultural fixture in the United States. However, there are many histories of football, such as Jay Dunn's *The Tigers of Princeton: Old Nassau Football* or Allison Danzig's *Oh, How They Played the Game: The Early Days of Football and the Heroes Who Made It Great*, that are largely celebratory retellings of events and offer little analytical insight. There appears to be little in the way of scholarship that uses gender as its primary lens for examining turn-of-the-century football. By making football an end in itself, my work is better able to explore how old and emerging definitions of masculinity played out in the sport and in the lives of the men who participated in it.

In sharp contrast to the wealth of work on Northern masculinity, there is little research on masculinity in the New South. However, historians Patrick Miller and Andrew Doyle have touched on the topic. Doyle's essay "Turning the Tide: College Football and Southern Progressivism" explores the cultural meaning surrounding Alabama's 1926 and 1927 Rose Bowl appearances. Miller's "The Manly, the Moral, and the Proficient: College Sports in the New South," argues that sports in the

post-Reconstruction South represented cultural assimilation to Northern ideas. However, Miller's analysis fails to fully consider the South's unique cultural and political history. The abject backwardness of the region, as well as its defeat during the Civil War, caused some Southerners to seek to, in the words of Henry Watterson, "out Yankee the Yankees":[6] to defeat them and recoup the South's lost honor by besting the North at its own game. A different interpretation is in order: one which places greater emphasis on the fact that the people of the New South imported football from the North and imbued it with the values of the Old South as a means to redeem lost honor. Moreover, aside from a handful of essays in *Southern Masculinity* and Ted Ownsby's *Subduing Satan*, there is little in the way of scholarship on the topic of Southern masculinity in the wake of Reconstruction. My work represents a departure from previous scholarship on masculinity and football in the New South by creating an analysis of postbellum Southern masculinity. Here, I explore the perpetuation of the antebellum Southern male ideal, as explained by Stephanie McCurry and Bertram Wyatt-Brown: one who can respond effectively to insult as well as command others. I look at how this ideal founders in an environment where these definitions of manhood were less practical than they were during the prewar period.

In order to effectively examine football in both the Northeast and the South, it will be necessary to examine the gender history of both regions. In the Northeast, I will build on the findings of Rotundo and show that at the turn of the nineteenth century, men in the Northeast were merging old definitions of masculinity with newer ones in response to economic, social, and technological changes. Next I show, through the use of sources such as Walter Camp's 1894 book *Football Facts and Figures* and Bill Reid's *Big-Time Football at Harvard 1905: The Diary of Coach Bill Reid*, that football was an avenue men used to secure their identities in a changing social world.

Following this, I examine the South and its gender history to show that, although the Civil War put an end to the antebellum era, the gender construct of that era remained intact throughout the nineteenth century. Using sources such as Fuzzy Woodruff's 1928 book, *A History of Southern Football*, I will show how the New South, a school of thought which arose during the last 20 years of the 1900s and advocated for the modernization of Southern society, interplayed with the antebellum male gender roles of honor and mastery within the context of college football.

In this way I will show that in both regions masculinity was in a transitional phase and football was a tool which served to bridge the gap between earlier conceptions of manhood and emerging definitions of masculinity. These definitions varied regionally, which in turn altered the way football eased this transition.

Self-Made Manhood and Its Decay

The earliest notions of New England's "Communal Manhood" were rooted in men's abilities to fulfill their roles within their communities. This meant heading a household, guiding children, and acting as the family's moral compass. This form of manhood lasted into the first decades of the nineteenth century, giving way to what Rotundo dubbed "Self-Made Manhood." Self-Made Manhood emphasized the individual male who went out into the world and made a name for himself while working independently at a rigorous occupation. This pulled him from his role as the moral head of the house and passed it to his wife, creating the institution of Separate

Spheres, a concept which ascribes masculine and feminine qualities to the public and private worlds, respectively. The concept of Separate Spheres dictated that it was women, not men, who possessed greater virtue and thus they were the moral glue which held society together. Yet as the nineteenth century waned, Self-Made Manhood waned with it. This created unease and anxiety amongst men and led to the creation of a new definition of American Manhood.[7]

The decay of Self-Made Manhood was inseparable from the economic consequences of the Civil War. The post-Civil War years proved to be a huge economic boon for the North, particularly in the New England region. By the 1880s there was a shift in the way Northern society functioned. The industrial fire, sparked in the late antebellum period, had grown to consume much of the region and was heavily concentrated there.[8] The effect this had on men was profound. They no longer lived in relatively isolated rural towns. Rather, their physical living space became densely populated cities with 66% of the Northeast's population living in urban settings by 1900.[9] This demographic shift, while important in its own right, was indicative of a more critical shift in the way white, middle-class men of the North labored. Prior to the post-Civil War expansion of the industrial economy in the Northeast, about 90% of men were self-employed, but by 1910 fewer than one-third were in control of their work.[10] Men were forced to work sedentary, salaried jobs in the employ of another;[11] were living in urban confines, which had been considered effeminate since the Jeffersonian era;[12] and subsequently began to bemoan the "Feminizing of Culture."[13]

In the last two decades of the nineteenth century, American women gained unprecedented access to formerly male institutions and activities, rejected their Victorian roles, and moved into the public sphere.[14] By 1900 coverture, a long-standing legal practice that subsumed women under their male relatives, had undergone significant mutation and, at least in the eyes of the law, women were a separate entity from their husbands. They could own property, file suit, and lay claim to their own wages, all with limited regard for their husbands or other male associates.[15] This change in the balance of power between men and women led some to theorize, as Robert Grant, a best-selling author, did, that if women obtained suffrage they would question why they could not "control . . . the money markets of the world, administer trusts, manage corporations, sit in Congress, and be president of the United States."[16] This did not sit well with many. In an 1879 issue of the *North American Review*, author Francis Parkman wrote that the man was the "political representative of the rest [of the family]" and to "give suffrage to women would be to reject the principle which ha[d] governed thus far the basis of civilized government."[17] To agitate for the vote was to not only question the authority of men but also debase American civilization. At stake then was not just manhood, but nationhood. If men could not regain hegemonic control of the public sphere then they would become not just lesser men, but a lesser sort of people.

These fears played out in the realm of sports. Women's adoption of athletic pursuits concerned men, as physical, competitive pursuits were increasingly tethered to male identity. So when Doctor Mary Bissell noted in *Popular Science Monthly* that "the spirit for physical recreation has invaded the atmosphere of the girl's life . . . and demands consideration from her standpoint," [18] she was observing a social phenomenon which was highly disequilibrating to men. Women began to take up golf, fencing, cycling, and even tennis, a sport recommended for football players.[19]

Amidst this female invasion there were also harsh critiques leveled against men. Feminist writer Sarah Grand pulled no punches in her critique of men as she asserted that they "could not be relied upon" and that "idleness and luxury [were] making men flabby," which in turn meant that men needed to be "cured of their effeminacy."[20] Other critics, like Grant, depicted men as ignorant children who allowed "themselves on the slightest provocation to be worked up into a fervor by the aspirations of women," pounding their hands on tables "to express their views on the subject," which were "old fashioned and out of date."[21] Regardless of how emasculation was depicted, males still felt the sting of the increasingly harsh critiques of their prowess as men. These could be reduced to the common denominator that at the close of the nineteenth century, society began to feel, as period, Pulitzer Prize–winning historian Henry Adams noted, that the "American man [was] a failure."[22] As a result, men attempted to rectify their shortcomings by removing women from their position of moral authority.

By the 1890s New England's women were firmly entrenched as society's moral authority. As the second wave of industrialization overtook much of the Northeast in the mid-1800s, men left their homes to work. Prior to this change, men had been seen as more virtuous than women. However, because the male was forced to leave the house to provide for the family, women took up the burden of moral authority. Yet as men became preoccupied with their manliness, they began to worry that morals could not be transmitted from women to boys without corrupting the man the boy would become. Thus, not only were cities responsible for the moral decay of men,[23] but so too were women. Social Gospel advocate Josiah Strong noted this when he examined the composition of the American church in 1901, asserting that "the elimination of heroism from religion" and large female population had made American Protestantism "weak and effeminate."[24] To help remedy this problem, Strong believed that the church needed to alter its message to draw more men into the fold.[25] In a similar vein, Earl Barnes observed in 1910 that the "school curriculum . . . [was] moving rapidly in the direction of . . . feminization," which had resulted in a reduction in boys' access to "aggressive, direct, violent, contests," which were appropriate for the development of manly character in male youth.[26] Men saw these phenomena as a reason to intervene in the upbringing of boys, and all-male organizations were created so that men could ensure that boys would have proper manly influences.[27] Still, the ability to assert control over the future manliness of boys was only a partial step in easing the masculine anxieties aroused at the close of the nineteenth century. There would need to be something which addressed the anxieties of adult males.

This was the "strenuous life," a philosophy of living which was extolled by Teddy Roosevelt and others, who stated that they did not "admire the man of timid peace. [They] admire[d] the man of who embodies virtuous effort . . . who has those virile qualities necessary to win in the stern strife of actual life."[28] These stern qualities required cultivation and men could not be true men if they led a "cloistered life which saps the hardy virtues of . . . the individual."[29] At the turn of the century, "real men" were expected to leave their sedentary desk jobs and take part in competitive outdoor exercise. This was seen as one of the best ways to combat an increasingly feminine culture. Football served this purpose well. The sport allowed men to retain their manhood, particularly because it used elements that drew from older definitions of manhood to address their contemporary concerns and also helped to reflect the realities

they faced in their middle-class lives. Football integrated older masculine values with new cultural realities. Football became, above all else, a hybridization of old and new forms of manhood, making the sport an important part of the cult of masculinity.

The Emergence of Football

One of the appealing aspects of football was the way the sport interacted with women. Women's physiology acted as a sort of deterrent from the sport. On average, human males have a tendency to be taller, heavier, and faster than females. The nature of football as played on the East Coast favored bodies equipped to slam into and run over other similarly equipped bodies. Men felt secure that football was a manly game since women found it difficult to compete directly against men.[30] However, biology is not the sole determining factor in the physical development of an individual. The social world of 1880–1910 also helped to preclude women from football. Despite the strides women were beginning to make by the close of the nineteenth century, the expectations for women were still domestic. According to Robert Grant, author of *The Art of Living*, women were "the keeper of hearth and home, the protector and trainer of her children."[31] Her role did not allow for excursions to the fields to engage in strenuous, competitive endeavors.[32] Football was largely inaccessible to women since it was improper for a young lady to participate in a warlike activity.[33] This guaranteed that social pressures served to deter women from participating in the sport.[34]

In addition to the forces that pushed women away, there were avenues that invited them in, but in a capacity that kept them securely on the perimeter. The *New York World* reported that "pretty young women" sported the colors of Princeton and Yale leading up to the 1891 Thanksgiving Day game.[35] Women could be interested spectators and practice their traditional role of caregiver. For example, Harvard players had roughed up Princeton's Luther Price during a game, and Price "wasn't pretty to look at." Female spectators from Wesley College offered him their handkerchiefs to help mend his broken face.[36] Women were allowed to participate by demonstrating their support for the male players and affirming the game's masculine nature by remaining on the perimeter: offering assistance and support, but never actually playing on the field.

Kimmel observes that at the end of the nineteenth century, men sought to "create islands of untainted masculinity and purified pockets of virility in separate institutions that socialized young men" in male-to-male relationships.[37] With women secured in a tertiary position, football was certainly "a purified pocket of virility." The sport allowed males to become men under the tutelage and direction of other men. Prior to the 1905 season, Harvard's head football coach, Bill Reid, sought to take a group of players to Penobscot, Maine, so the team could bond.[38] His request was denied. However, his desire to make the trip indicates that he was attempting to create an isolated male unit, free of feminine influence in either the form of human women or the urban poison of nearby Boston. The way that teams functioned could also be seen in a similar light. Teams in the Northeast inundated their players with all-male environments. Most eastern teams had a training table that served only the football players. After breakfast, the players practiced ball handling and then they were off to class. After class they went to practice, had an evening meal with the team, and then went back to their rooms.[39] Football was a manly game and as such, its participants needed to be free of

female influences. This resulted in a schedule that kept men occupied and gave them few opportunities to venture outside the confines of their all-male sphere.[40]

With a thoroughly virile atmosphere attained, football players and coaches could focus on creating muscular, strenuous men in an optimized environment. Teddy Roosevelt openly condemned "the timid man, the lazy man . . . the over-civilized man, who had lost the great . . . fighting virtues."[41] Roosevelt believed football could remedy these ills by "developing young men . . . physically" and building them toward "physical perfection."[42] Moreover, he believed the sport stimulated "out of door exercise" as well as physical courage.[43] According to C. T. Wood, the headmaster of Princeton boarding school, football was "too noble a game for weaklings."[44] This meant that if a man participated in football he would surely be made into a manly man, as football was "a manly game"[45] and ensured that its participants were steeped in the "rougher manlier virtues . . . of personal courage."[46]

These beliefs then shaped the way in which eastern football was played. The introduction of the forward pass in 1906 was the result of public outcry over the violence of football and was supposed to open up the game so as to avoid the death and mangling of the game's participants.[47] However, three years later, football at Ivy League schools had changed very little. Walter Camp, often credited as the father of American football, noted that in 1909, football teams in the East had a tendency to be far more conservative than their counterparts in the West and that "Western organizations can exhibit today a far more varied form of attack than anything displayed in the East."[48] Indeed, Camp had not misspoken; in 1885, Princeton had eight plays at its disposal,[49] whereas the 1905 Harvard squad had only six.[50] Of equal importance was the belief amongst many eastern players, coaches, and observers that the forward pass "was for sissies."[51] This sort of strategic conservatism reflected the East's concern with cultivating strenuous masculinity. The lack of variation in plays meant that there was a greater emphasis placed on physical strength and directly overpowering one's opponent through the use of mass plays in which "the line pushed straight ahead."[52]

Alongside the physical development of men, football was also supposed to cultivate morality in the players. Leading men of the time argued that, above all else, the masculinity crisis of the late nineteenth century was really a crisis about the morality of men in America.[53] Football, the manliest of games, was supposed to address this problem. By associating football with moral development, football minds believed that the only way to instruct men in morality was through lessons which were full of vigor. Camp said, "Football is essentially a game of severe moral standards," one which allowed players to avoid vice.[54] Along these same lines, Woodrow Wilson, then president of Princeton University and later of the United States, said that football "developed more moral qualities than any other game of athletics."[55] Reid used the sexual dalliances of an opposing player as an explanation for the low quality and poor sportsmanship of the Penn team Harvard was going to play.[56] U.S. Admiral A. T. Mahan, the man responsible for envisioning the United States Navy as a global power, equated the "relaxing of moral muscles" with the valuing of material property, comfort, and softness,[57] which he and others believed were warping and emasculating East Coast men. These beliefs then led those involved in football to attempt to keep "the disease of professionalism" out of the game,[58] equate moral looseness with profits, and seek to keep the corrupting influence of money away from the masculinizing sport.

While football was helping to build strong, moral men, free from the feminizing influence of women, it also helped men cope with the lives they were going to live by reflecting the nature of the industrial economy while also integrating older aspects of masculinity. This began with the divisions of labor within the sport. Camp almost immediately recognized the correlation, observing, "The idea of a division of labor by the assignment of particular duties to each individual player has been greatly emphasized."[59] This practice within football corresponded to the working world of the college men who participated in the game. They were likely to undertake specialized managerial jobs. The game they played helped prepare them for a workplace with narrow roles. In much the same way, football reflected the complex business supply chain present amongst late nineteenth-century firms. Originally the rules dictated that "the ball must touch a third player before any attempt can be made to advance it."[60] This rule ensured that the ball was at least three degrees removed from its starting point before it could be put into play as a sort of metaphorical "final product." The scoring of the game was also indicative of the changing workplace that placed great skill at a premium. In 1883, a touchdown, scored by simply running and crossing a line, was worth only two points, and any man on the team was capable of scoring in this fashion. However, the point after, which could be a complicated affair involving a "kick-out,"[61] was worth four points, and a field goal was worth five.[62] These kicks were performed by a selective few on the team, usually by two or three of the backs, who practiced the skill on a daily basis. The value placed on highly skilled players reflected the value market forces place on individuals with valuable skills.

Along these same lines, football's hierarchal structure reflected the nature of work in the corporate world. Reid asserted that football was "a game of teamwork and teamwork" was "in turn dependent on the subordination of the individual."[63] In much the same way, Camp instructed players that they should "do exactly as [the coach] tells you to do" because he believed that "strict obedience is the first requirement of a player."[64] This submission to the will of the collective was increasingly necessary in the corporate world and also represented an attempt to revive Communal Manhood. This older definition of manhood made men the predominate unit of society. The emphasis on togetherness appealed to men because it alleviated the anxieties being brought about by women, the perceived corrupting nature of urban environments, and changes in work.[65] However, football tempered its call for collectivism with an appeal to the individual. Reid encouraged his team to remember they were part of the Harvard community, smaller parts bound to a whole, but he also told his players, "Outplay your opponent individually."[66] Camp gave similar instructions to players, extolling them not to "be an automaton,"[67] but to think as an individual as they played the game. Both of these statements show that football was a way for men in urban environments to construct communities and male relationships, which helped combat the isolating, feminine influence of cities in a context that reflected the nature of their work away from the football field.

However, the sport also served as a means to ease the passing of Self-Made Manhood, as it allowed for a limited individualism within the performance of one's duties to the team. It helped affirm that a man could still be a single, manly unit, despite his submission to the commands of another. Moreover, individualism, particularly the type espoused by Camp, encouraged men to act independently and not to be machines.

Thus, a limited sense of Self-Made Manhood was kept alive within football as means to ensure that men did not degrade themselves to the state of machines, which were radically transforming work in the late twentieth century.[68]

In the North, football helped soothe male anxieties over the increasing power of women by creating a male-exclusive activity that forced women to the perimeter. In addition, it provided strenuous exercise and helped men develop their bodies so as to avoid the feminine flabbiness brought about by sedentary, overcivilized work. The game also cultivated morals, which were thought to be corroding in the wake of the industrial economy. Football did these things in a context that assimilated Self-Made Manhood with the realities of the male middle-class experience of the day and allowed men to pass from a more rural, autonomous sort of existence into an urban, industrial world, which required a reduction in a male's autonomy.

Football in the South similarly bridged the gap between an old and a new society. However, the social context in which this occurred and the subsequent meanings attached to the game were very different. The South's "peculiar institution" had informed Southern gender norms since the beginning of the antebellum era, if not earlier.[69] White men had defined themselves in contrast to African Americans, and when these former slaves were emancipated and empowered, it hurled Southern manhood into a state of turmoil.

Southern Manhood and the Humiliation of Defeat

Throughout the antebellum era, manhood in the South was defined by two characteristics: mastery and honor. Although providing disproportionate advantages to the antebellum planter elite, the depiction of an ideal man as a master of dependents was deeply embedded in all social classes throughout the antebellum South.[70] This conception of manhood enabled white men to define themselves in sharp contrast to slaves,[71] which in turn justified the almost complete control the white heads of household wielded. Indeed, the individual heads of household held such a great deal of power and commanded such deference that the state was reluctant to impose any sort of authority over them on their property.[72] Yet this was only half of what made a man in the antebellum South.

Men were also held to a code of personal honor, one which stressed that a man's identity was not intrinsic but was constructed and obtained in reference to other males.[73] This meant that in the South one's manliness was a matter of public concern that was "always on display."[74] The public nature of manhood in the South usually required that men respond to insults made toward themselves or their dependents in a physically aggressive fashion.[75] White elites preferred the more genteel duel to the less refined gouging matches of the lower classes.[76] Still, both were different expressions of the same cultural ethos. Simply put, in the words of Wyatt-Brown, Southern males enjoyed "any event that promised the excitement of deciding the inequalities of prowess amongst men."[77] This meant that Southern manhood was always in a position of insecurity, and because gender was so pivotal to the broader construction of antebellum slave society, it was necessary to create and uplift an institution that could insulate Southern manhood from its competitive nature and ensure that all white men were in an elevated position. Local authorities did this by creating militias, which set white men apart through their uniforms and the respect and attention they got during

parades and musters. Blacks and women, excluded from the militia, participated by cheering at these displays. [78] With minorities and white women forced to the periphery, these events displayed white men's mastery by associating white men with military competency and showing their potency and ability to respond to attacks on their honor. Thus, when the Civil War broke out, many men felt that military service was a test of their manhood.[79]

If the Civil War was indeed a war for manhood, then the victor was more virile and the loser was effeminate. Unsurprisingly, Southern men depicted their Northern brethren in sharp contrast to themselves at the outbreak of the war. They told themselves they possessed the traits of great warriors, whereas their opposition from the North was soft, lacking masculine virility.[80] This propaganda helped embolden the Confederacy. However, this blade cut both ways, for if the Confederacy were to lose, it would mean thorough emasculation. Confederate officer James Griffin predicted that if the Confederacy were defeated, its people would be "worse than a slave"; they would be slaves "to a Yankee master[,] . . . downtrodden and disgraced."[81] Griffin's association of military emasculation with a loss of mastery is unsurprising. In Griffin's world, a man was only a man if he could publicly respond to insults to his honor. A military defeat meant that the collective South was not capable of defending its honor and had lost its mastery. Thus, when Lee surrendered at Appomattox, he was not only giving up the Confederacy but also the manhood of each and every Southern white male. As historian LeeAnn Whites notes, Lee's surrender "presented [men] with an overwhelming threat to the deepest level of their masculine identity."[82] However, the end of the war was only the beginning of Southern emasculation, for Reconstruction unleashed greater insult upon the former "masters of small worlds."[83]

After the Civil War, many Northerners viewed the South as "the Sodom of America,"[84] which had reaped the fruits of its evil sowing. They believed that the Southern Cavaliers of old had been laid low and that the South could be "held as a conquered province or [restored] at once to the full communion of the sisterhood of states" at the whim of the victorious North.[85] This sentiment emanated in part because of the North's victory, but also because the South's wounds were festering. As the *New York Times* observed, in 1865 the South's "mercantile capital and bank and insurance stock were consumed as in a furnace."[86] This, along with the emancipation of slaves, left many Southerners in dire economic straits. Samuel Harrison, a doctor in Maryland, noted in his diary the troubles confronting the aristocratic family of General Tench Tilgham. Tilgham was without servants and his daughters were forced to partake in tasks once reserved for slaves.[87] In Georgia, landowner Paul Verdery wrote to his sister, stating, "It is pretty humiliating for parlor gentlemen like myself to be seen stripping fodder in the field and doing all sorts of rough work about the farm."[88] However, another plantation owner, George Munford of Virginia, put it most succinctly when he wrote that he worked "from morn till dark [like] a nigger," felling trees and cutting ditches in an effort to maintain possession of his property.[89] The work white Southerners were forced to perform after the Civil War was that which had been considered slave work, and by laboring with their hands Southern men could no longer be secure in their identity as masters.[90] In addition, verbose calls for confiscation and redistribution from influential Radicals, such as Thaddeus Stevens, certainly caused further unease amongst Southern landholders.[91] However, these insults would prove easier to swallow than the empowerment of the once-emasculated slave class.

The prewar discourse in the South involved a criticism of the North's free-labor ideology. Southerners believed that the free-labor North sought to create a surreal hell in which masters were ruled by their former slaves.[92] As Reconstruction took off, this fear became reality. This shift in the South's power dynamic began prior to the occupation of Union troops, and when they arrived it did nothing to abate the situation. In Louisiana, on the Pugh Plantation, the arrival of Union troops caused the plantation's slaves to first cease working and then, when provoked, to attack the overseers and the plantation's owner, William Pugh.[93] This inability of white men to exercise their prerogatives as masters was not isolated to Louisiana. In Maryland, black soldiers arrested a white rabble-rouser and black units patrolled the streets of Baltimore.[94] In an incident in South Carolina, armed African American men patrolled a neighborhood and rounded up the area's white men, holding them under guard against their will.[95] These occurrences demonstrate that African Americans were assaulting the mastery and honor of whites, who in turn could not respond. This inability of men to defend their status as masters of African Americans meant that slaves had robbed them of this part of their identity and had emasculated them. However, greater humiliation was yet to come.

Revealing the struggle for masculinity in the post-war South, the *Savannah Weekly Republican* stated that "when Southern people willingly surrender to the cruel humiliating terms of universal suffrage . . . they barter all their manhood."[96] White Southerners recognized that suffrage and political control were part of the mastery component of manhood and sought to maintain exclusive control over the government and thus control over people. Ultimately though, they would fail, surrendering the state house to African Americans along with their masculinity. In South Carolina, over half the men elected to office from 1867 to 1876 were African Americans. These black officials were the most influential group of politicians within the state's government, passing more legislation than their white counterparts, Democrat or Republican.[97] Indeed, the predominance of African Americans in the South Carolina legislature led one observer to state that "he [African Americans] was the servant of South Carolina; now he has become her master."[98] However, South Carolina was not an extraordinary exception.[99]

In Georgia, a black legislator accused a group of white legislators of extramarital affairs[100] and black Bishop Henry McNeal Turner boomed that he would "hurl thunderbolts at the men who dare[d] cross the threshold of [his] manhood."[101] John Roy Lynch, a black legislator in Mississippi, was functioning as what amounted to a majority leader in the Mississippi state house.[102] Meanwhile in Louisiana, blacks were able to make their presence felt by 1870 in spite of their numerical inferiority, and two African Americans attained the position of lieutenant governor. One of these men, P. B. S. Pinchback, ascended to the office of governor before the end of Reconstruction.[103] These vocal and empowered blacks were an affront to the mastery of whites, both poor and elite. Yet such a state of affairs was only possible with the presence of Northern Troops. The depression of 1873 wreaked havoc on the U.S. economy and, combined with waning enthusiasm for Reconstruction, resulted in the withdrawal of troops and home rule returning to the South by 1877.

Weathering the Storm
Despite the challenge to their master status and honor that lasted nearly two decades, the planter elite of the South weathered Reconstruction quite well. In counties

of Virginia and Texas, planter families held on to their land and socioeconomic status at the same or greater rates than during the antebellum era,[104] while the elite in other Southern states acquired more wealth than they had before the war.[105] This resulted in the perpetuation of the plantation system, albeit by different means.[106] While slavery had ended, the planter elite had managed to maintain control of their land and use legislation to reestablish themselves as masters, manipulating African Americans through the use of money rather than through slavery. Indeed, in the words of Atlanta journalist Henry Grady, "the planter princes of old time, [were] still lords of acres, though not of slaves."[107] However, these princes' control could not be fully established until African Americans were removed from positions of power within the government. The white planter elite asserted its return to power with legislation such as the Walton Act in Virginia, which made literacy a necessity in order for an individual to cast a ballot. This had the consequence of disenfranchising blacks, as many of them were illiterate, and allowed the planter elite to exert a disproportionate influence on political affairs.[108] This continuation of the Old South into the new was not isolated to politics. It also impacted the culture of the New South. In fact, one might say that the continued predominance of planter families in the political and economic realm also allowed for their continued predominance culturally, perpetuating the values of the Old South for more than a century after the Civil War.

Even proponents of the New South ideology could not escape the influence of the planter class and the Old South. Grady, perhaps the New South's biggest supporter, appealed to the Old South, stating that "the unmistakable danger that threatens free government in America is the increasing tendency to concentrate in the Federal Government powers and privileges that should be left with the states."[109] In his quest to secure capital for the South, Grady relied on the same states' rights platform created and espoused by politician John C. Calhoun in the antebellum era. However, Grady's was not the only message being preached. Journalist Henry Watterson saw that "native worth was being ignored" and that the South should not "disturb its foundations, . . . alter its architecture, or even change its furniture." If it did so, it ran the risk of experiencing "a descent in real manhood."[110] Indeed, the expectation of the postbellum generation was that they would carry on the traditions of their forefathers. For some, the habit of young men to ignore "the elevating heroic impulse" of the Old South was disturbing because it was thought that young men must have the values of the Old South transmitted to them so as to ensure that they were able to act as "the guardians" of Southern culture, creating a bulwark against the carpetbaggers and Yankee culture.[111]

Changes amidst Continuity

Despite the continuation of the planter class's power, the South was changing. The South was building railroads at a higher rate than anywhere else in the United States.[112] This created, in the words of the *St. Landry Democrat*, "a very great change," which saw people "casting aside their old, rustic country ways and . . . [becoming] more metropolitan like in appearance and deportment."[113] Railways then helped create and spread industrialism throughout the South. Mark Twain found that in Natchez, Mississippi, the Rosaline Yarn mill was employing 250 men who helped the company process 5,000 bales of cotton as well as producing "the best standard quality of brown string and sheetings."[114] However, the economy was not the only thing that

changed. Power relations also shifted. In order to regain control of Southern states, the planter class created a fracture in the Old South's racial hierarchy. The new literacy requirements for voting prevented blacks from gaining representation, but it also barred lower-class whites.[115] What's more, such laws forced poor whites into the same class as blacks.[116] This fissure in intrawhite race relations made lower-class whites more receptive to changes brought by the New South movement, such as populism and football. Still, the voice of the Old South spoke into the new century, acting as a "rebuke to the New South."[117] This voice had a tangible impact on Southern society and the United States as a whole well after the Old South had ended, reverberating across time and shaping U.S. history in profound ways. Football in the late nineteenth-century South could not have been an exception because it was so close to the epicenter of the resounding voice.

Old Ways and a New Game

The echoes of the Old South could be heard everywhere in the new. James Eleazer, a grandson of a Confederate veteran, confessed in his autobiography, *A Dutch Fork Farm Boy*, that he had not known that the Confederacy had lost the Civil War until he reached 12 years of age.[118] Football was a violent game, which resonated with the violent nature of manhood in the Old South. This aspect of the game befitted its participants quite well. The men who played it were descendants of laborers and small landowners who had been of fighting age during the Civil War.[119] The absence of genteel expectations amongst these families is highly probable and helps explain why these males so easily adopted a game that was often depicted as brutish and uncivilized in the press. While it did not become the son of a planter to participate, a lower-status family would have no qualms about allowing their son to engage in this new age rough-and-tumble. Of equal importance was the sport's ability to delineate whites from African Americans. The University of Auburn team had an African American named Dabie as their mascot, whose participation was not allowed. Aside from providing amusement, he was both a water boy and equipment manager.[120] Southern whites also forced blacks into a peripheral role via segregation and by attacking African Americans who played the game themselves.[121] However, the use of violence against blacks was not only a form of repression and coercion; it was also a natural outgrowth of the martial character Southerners placed on football.

The militia experience of the Old South was reflected in the New South's football. It uniformed men as a way to set them apart from nonparticipating males, women, and African Americans. Moreover, it did so by referencing the Confederacy and the Old South. The University of Virginia initially borrowed the gray and red of the Confederacy.[122] The Louisiana State's nickname, the Tigers, was adopted due in part to a popular trend, but also as a way to pay homage to a Civil War artillery brigade.[123] Yet the names and colors of Southern teams represent only a part of the Old South militia virtues ascribed to Southern football. The cheers of spectators were equated with the Civil War rebel yell[124] and boosters explained their team's prowess not as a result of playing a more "scientific game," but because the players were "the sons of men who fought at Gettysburg" alongside Lee.[125]

This connection to the Confederacy and the Lost Cause did not end with the explanations for success; it permeated Southern football tactics, strategy, and

scheduling as well. Southern teams were more innovative and revolutionary in their style of play than teams in the Northeast. In 1896, Georgia's football team was the first to utilize a huddle,[126] and by 1903 Southern teams were far more evolved in their offenses than their Northeastern peers. Harvard was still running an unsophisticated offense "featuring runs through the middle and an occasional dash off tackle," whereas teams in the South utilized "a varied attack and a number of peculiar formations."[127] When the forward pass was legalized three years later in 1906, Georgia used it often enough in a loss to Davidson for newspapers to declare that the Bulldogs had relied on the play too much.[128] However, this did not deter other Southern teams. In 1907, Vanderbilt unleashed its passing attack on Alabama and drubbed the Crimson Tide 78–0 and later in the season used it to defeat Georgia Tech.[129] Alabama learned its lesson and brought the forward pass to Cincinnati to secure a 16–0 victory in 1908.[130] In addition, games such as the Cincinnati/Alabama contest spoke to another aspect of Southern football. Despite the long-distance travel and usual defeats, Southern schools consistently ventured north in a fashion reminiscent of Robert E. Lee's forays into Maryland and Pennsylvania: full of vigor but ultimately ending in defeat. Still, these defeats, combined with the South's more liberal playing philosophy, are telling. For Southern men, it was the redemption of something lost—namely, their honor—that was important. It was not about demonstrating their vigor through strenuous contests that mattered. Rather, it was winning that truly counted, and victory could be achieved by any means. If this meant more deception and complexity at the expense of allowing players the opportunity to smash their bodies together, so be it. After all, in the South, manhood was obtained and secured by victories in public settings.[131] Amongst these witnesses, women were particularly important. In 1893, "Lucy Cobb [school] was out in full force"[132] to support Georgia Tech in a relegated position similar to that which women occupied during antebellum militia musters. Although football represented elements of the Old South, it also served to connect the region to an emerging national culture.

The South's ability to adopt football was indicative of the new influences on the region. Steven Reis notes, in his book *City Games*, that modern sports are not possible without an increased urban population.[133] The South, while still lagging behind the North in its industrial productivity and general modernity, was acquiring urban industrial centers that could support sports.[134] More importantly, these pockets of urban life allowed for the emergence of individuals who could understand and appreciate a game that was not pastoral but industrial in nature. The changes this type of society brought were the same as in the North. Men who attended Southern universities and played football were preparing themselves to work under the command of another.[135] This meant that submission must be learned, and although the violence of football could be equated with backwoods brawling, it was tempered by the order of the sport, which in turn derived its structure from the rationalizing forces of urban industrial economies in the era of progressive reform. Perhaps most importantly, Southern teams imported coaches, such as John Heisman, Pop Warner, Dan McGuin, and others from the North. Thus, these men could emphasize a limited kind of order and restraint in a time and a place in which Southern males could accept such sentiments. However, the economic changes that occurred in the 1890s did not have the same impact on masculinity that they did in the North. The balance of cultural power tilted in the

direction of the South. This is best exemplified by a pregame speech delivered by Michigan alumnus Dan McGuin to his Vanderbilt team right before they took on his alma mater in 1922. McGuin, an Iowa native, motivated his team by reminding them that "they were going against Yankees, some of whose grandfathers killed your grandfathers in the Civil War."[136] This demonstrates that in spite of economic changes and cultural influences of coaches, the best way to reach southern men and galvanize them was not through appeals to morals or representing their university, but through appeals to lost honor. Coaches, desiring victory, were beholden to this standard of Southern masculinity. This meant that the values surrounding Southern football and masculinity were derivatives of the Old South.

Closing Thoughts

While the late nineteenth century saw the rise of football as a national game, the country itself retained some of its regionalism, which shaped the way men used the sport to define themselves. In both the South and the Northeast, football players and coaches blended aspects of earlier forms of masculinity with more modern incarnations, which allowed men in both regions to maintain their forebears' masculinity while integrating more useful and practical definitions of manhood.

In the Northeast, men used football as a means to combat a culture they believed was coming under the sway of feminizing forces. As a result, football placed an emphasis on cultivation of a male community, physicality, and toughness. The strategies used by teams in the region were far more conservative and bland, with an emphasis on outmuscling opponents rather than outwitting them.

Conversely, in the South, football was less about combating feminization and more about taking back one's manhood. As a result, the way football was played and the language and customs surrounding the game were about achieving victory. It did not matter how victory was achieved, so long as it was. This meant that teams in the region were more willing to embrace changes and variety in their schemes, with innovations such as the forward pass becoming accepted far more quickly than in the Northeast.

Yet as time progressed, such strong regional variations in strategy were lost. In many ways, football and other sports were the first vehicles by which mass culture was transmitted in America. Before radio and TV, the movement of people and the diffusion of the ideas they brought with them laid the foundation for a national culture. Football in particular did this by transmitting a game to the Southern states, which allowed the South as a whole to deal with some of the issues brought about by the Confederacy's defeat during the Civil War and the humiliation of Reconstruction. This is perhaps why football is more popular in the South today. Football provided the South an arena to exorcise the demons of a collective cognitive dissonance. The ability to excel at a Northern game represented a kind of surrender to the political and economic realities of the day, while the trappings of the Old South served to ease said concessions. This could then make football a space of tantamount importance in Southern culture, and as time has progressed this importance has not faded. Football has carried on either as a vestigial organ of the past or as a psychological salve, as it did at the turn of the century.

Notes

1. Except for in the West, where, as Brian Ingrassia notes in *Gridiron University*, the game was more open to change and for a time was replaced by rugby. See Brian M. Ingrassia, *The Rise of Gridiron University: Higher Education's Uneasy Alliance with Big-Time Football* (Lawrence: Kansas University Press, 2012).

2. Caspar Whitney,"Is Football Worthwhile?" *Collier's*, December 18, 1909, 25.

3. Jeffrey P. Hantover, "The Boy Scouts and the Validation of Masculinity," *The Journal of Social Issues* 34, no. 1 (1978): 185.

4. Michael Kimmel, *Manhood in America: A Cultural History* (New York: Free Press, 1996).

5. Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880–1917* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995); Toby L. Ditz, "The New Men's History and the Peculiar Absence of Gendered Power: Some Remedies from Early American Gender History," *Gender and History* 16, no. 1 (2004).

6. Henry Watterson, *The Compromises of Life* (New York: Duffield, 1906).

7. Anthony Rotundo, *American Manhood: Transformation in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era* (New York: Basic Books, 1994), 2. Also see chapter 2 for a further discussion; ibid., 222. Rotundo and Kimmel both decide that this is a time of masculine crises; however, I disagree, as men draw on old elements of manhood and rework them to fit their present conditions. If there had been a true gender crisis, then drastic recalculations would have to have been made in creating masculine identity. Still, the general framework of both Rotundo and Kimmel is instrumental to understanding masculinity in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. See Michael Kimmel, "Men's Response to Feminism at the Turn of the Century," *Gender and Society* 1, no. 3 (1987).

8. Samuel Hayes, *Response to Industrialism, 1885–1914* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 21.

9. Ibid., 47.

10. Kimmel, "Response to Feminism," 263.

11. Rotundo, *American Manhood*, 248. Rotundo found that the number of salaried workers had increased eightfold from 1870 to 1910 and that by 1910, 20% of all working males in the United States were employed in white-collar positions, most of these undoubtedly concentrated in the Northeast.

12. T. J. Jackson Lears, *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880–1920* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 28.

13. Earl Barnes, "The Feminizing of Culture," *Atlantic Monthly*, June 1912, 770, http://www.unz.org/Pub/AtlanticMonthly-1912jun-00770.

14. Margaret Marsh, "Suburban Men and Masculine Domesticity, 1870–1915," *American Quarterly* 40, no. 2 (1988): 167.

15. Hendrik Hartog, *Man and Wife in America: A History* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002), 287–90; Hayes, *Response to Industrialism*, 34.

16. Robert Grant, *The Art of Living* (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1889), 472.

17. Francis Parkman, "The Women Question," *North American Review*, October 1879, 312, https://archive.org/details/jstor-25100797. It is also appropriate to note that sociologist William Goode, in an effort to explain male reactions to feminism in our own time, has stated that "men view even small losses of deference, advantages, or opportunities as large threats." See "Why Men Resist," in *Rethinking the Family: Some Feminist Questions*, ed. Barie Thorneand (New York: Longman, 1986), 137. While this analysis is adept and supports my general argument, I also feel Goode's concern with gender has limited his focus and prevented him from applying this theory to all majorities.

18. Mary Taylor Bissell, "Athletics for City Girls," *Popular Science Monthly*, December 1894.

19. Bill Reid, *Big-Time Football at Harvard 1905: The Diary of Coach Bill Reid*, ed. Ronald Smith (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 52.

20. Sarah Grand, "The Man of the Moment," in *A New Women Reader: Fiction, Articles, and Drama from the 1890s*, ed. Carolyn Christensen Nelson (New York: Broadview Press, 2000), 147, 150.

21. Grant, *The Art of Living*, 468.

22. Henry Adams, *The Education of Henry Adams* (New York: Wilder Publications, 2009), 442.

23. Lears, *No Place of Grace*, 28.

24. Josiah Strong, *The Times and Young Men* (New York: Baker and Taylor, 1901), 179–80.

25. Ibid., 183.

26. Ibid., 774.

27. Sports were important in this manner; however, in this regard the Boy Scouts were also a key organization. For a discussion of late nineteenth-century masculinity and Boy Scouts see Jeffrey Hantover's "The Boy Scouts and the Validation of Masculinity." In "Masculine Domesticity," Marsh notes that some men were increasingly taking on domestic responsibilities in the home during this time and that not every man was swept up in the testosterone-fueled concerns with "manliness." Perhaps these men stayed in the home to help remedy what they saw as the feminization of boys by making themselves present in the world of their sons.

28. Theodore Roosevelt, "The Strenuous Life" (address, Hamilton Club, Chicago, IL, April 10, 1899), http://www.theodore-roosevelt.com/images/research/speeches/trstrenlife.pdf.

29. Ibid.

30. Interestingly enough, football was not as exclusively male as men of the late nineteenth century would have liked it to be. By the early twentieth century, women's football games were being played in California, New York, Massachusetts, and other states. See Susan Reyburn, *Football Nation: Four Hundred Years of America's Game* (New York: Abrams, 2013), 52.

31. Grant, *The Art of Living*, 471.

32. While there were surely women who desired to do such things and a number of those who did, people cannot escape the social expectations a society places on them. Social pressure undoubtedly forced many women into shying away from activities they desired to participate in.

33. For war-like qualities, see Ira Hollis, "Intercollegiate Athletics," *Atlantic Monthly*, October 1902, 540, http://www.unz.org/Pub/AtlanticMonthly-1902oct-00534.

34. Whitney, "Is Football Worthwhile?"

35. "Students Take the Town: The Colors of Yale and Princeton Spread All Over the Tenderloin," *New York World*, November 26, 1891.

36. Jay Dunn, *The Tigers of Princeton: Old Nassau Football* (New York: Strode Publishers, 1977), 46.

37. Kimmel, "Response to Feminism," 262.

38. Reid, *Big-Time Football at Harvard*, 31.

39. Ibid., 79.

40. Some might argue that such a schedule was needed to ensure success, but that much time with the team was hardly necessary. Meals could be taken on one's own time and Reid himself admitted that in 1909 Harvard only had six plays (Reid, *Big-Time Football at Harvard*, 237–38). In 1885 Princeton only had eight plays (Dunn, *Tigers of Princeton*, 41). These playbooks would not have been difficult to learn and things covered in the morning practice could easily have been fit into the afternoon. Something else was at work.

41. Theodore Roosevelt, *The Strenuous Life: Essays and Addresses* (New York: Dover Publications, 2009), 7.

42. Rev. A. E. Colton, "What Football Does," *Independent*, September 12, 1904, 607.

43. Hollis, "Intercollegiate Athletics," 539–40.

44. Walter Camp, *Football Facts and Figures* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1894), 94.

45. D. W. Abercrombie, quoted in Camp, *Football Facts and Figures*, 101.

46. Theodore Roosevelt, *American Ideals* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1906), 46.

47. Ingrassia, *Gridiron University*, 59.

48. Walter Camp, "The All-American Football Team," *Collier's*, December 1, 1909.

49. Dunn, *Tigers of Princeton*, 41.

50. Reid, *Big-Time Football at Harvard*, 238.

51. Quoted in Arthur Ashe, *A Hard Road to Glory: The African American Athlete in Football* (New York: Harper Collins, 1993), 6.

52. Amos Alonzo Stagg, Papers, 1866–1964, book one, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library.

53. I make this statement because women were beginning to leave the wholesome domestic sphere and were entering the corrupting public one, thus creating a void in who was supposed to be responsible for ensuring the morality of American society. Moreover, urban society was detached and cities were places of moral corruption that were in need of reform. However, women were reforming the cities, and by doing so they were entering the seedy world of politics. Thus, men's concerns with their bodies, their sons, and, for some, the domestic sphere were linked to the "masculinizing" of women. Multiple ideologues assert that men, by developing their bodies, were also developing their virtues/morals, and adopting a strenuous life allowed them to do the same thing. In short, women were entering the public sphere, which reduced the moral impact they had on men, and what we see is a sort of masculinization of American morals through "manly" activities.

54. Walter Camp, *Football* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1896), 46.

55. "Football Discussion before the Contemporary Club of Philadelphia," *Cornell Daily Sun*, February 19, 1894, http://cdsun.library.cornell.edu/cgi-bin/cornell?a=d&d=CDS18940219.2.5&e=--------20--1---------#.

56. Reid, *Big-Time Football at Harvard*, 276.

57. A. T. Mahan, *The Interest of America in Sea Power: Present and Future* (Boston: Little Brown, 1898), 120–21.

58. Walter Camp, "College Athletics," *Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine* 46 (November 1911): 207, http://www.unz.org/Pub/Century-1893jun-00204.

59. Camp, *Football*, 74.

60. Ibid., 23.

61. A kick-out occurred when a runner scored near the corner of the end zone. This forced the ball to be spotted on the extreme edge of the field and created a poor angle to kick from, which resulted in a rule that allowed for the offensive team to "kick-out." This meant punting the ball toward the middle of the field and having one of the offensive players signal for a fair catch. After catching the ball, the player performed a free kick in an attempt to score four points.

62. Amos Alonzo Stagg, Papers, 1866–1964, folder 2, box 24, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library.

63. Reid, *Big-Time Football at Harvard*, 85.

64. Camp, *Football*, 181.

65. Communal Manhood emphasized men as better than women on nearly all fronts. It considered them to be superior physically, intellectually, and morally. Communal Manhood could act as a "silver bullet," addressing all of the masculine anxieties that existed at the turn of the century. This definition of manhood robbed women of moral authority, affirmed men's physical capacity as innate, and removed concerns over the nature of work (because Communal Manhood was about male utility, so if it was a man's job to write in a book and he did it well, then he was manly).

66. Reid, *Big-Time Football at Harvard*, 162.

67. Camp, *Football*, 183.

68. Camp's use of the term *automaton* is not coincidental. According to the Oxford English Dictionary an automaton is "a moving device having a concealed mechanism, so it appears

to operate spontaneously." This definition originally denoted "various functional instruments including clocks, watches, etc., as well as moving mechanical devices made in imitation of human beings; later (from the early nineteenth century) usually restricted to figures simulating the action of living beings." Camp worked for a company that manufactured watches, so this was a term familiar to him and he used it at a time when jobs were being mechanized. Thus, it was important for men to be unlike machines so as to remain men.

69. The "peculiar institution" refers to the practice of slavery in the southern United States. Kenneth Stampp coined the phrase in his 1956 book *The Peculiar Institution: Slavery in the Antebellum South*.

70. Stephanie McCurry, *Masters of Small Worlds: Yeoman Households, Gender Relations, and the Political Culture of the Antebellum South Carolina Low Country* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 17–72.

71. Jennifer Green, "Stout Chaps Who Can Bear the Distress: Young Men in Antebellum Military Academies," in *Southern Manhood: Perspectives on Masculinity in the Old South*, ed. Craig Thompson Friend and Lorri Glover (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2004), 174.

72. McCurry, *Masters of Small Worlds*, 86.

73. Bertram Wyatt-Brown, *Honor and Violence in the Old South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 15.

74. John Mayfield, "Being Shifty in a New Country: Southern Humor and the Masculine Ideal," in *Southern Manhood: Perspectives on Masculinity in the Old South*, ed. Craig Thompson Friend and Lorri Glover (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2004), 125.

75. Green, "Stout Chaps Who Can Bear the Distress," 176.

76. Jack Williams, *Dueling in the Old South: Vignettes of Social History* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2000); Elliott Gorn, "'Gouge and Bite, Pull Hair and Scratch': The Social Significance of Fighting in the Southern Backcountry," *American Historical Review* 90, no. 1 (1985): 22.

77. Wyatt-Brown, *Honor and Violence in the Old South*, 131. For the significance of boasting, see Gorn, "'Gouge and Bite, Pull Hair and Scratch,'" 28. Lower-class men boasted in a very verbose, direct, and oral sense, whereas the planter elite boasted with gentility, displaying their wealth and superiority through displays, such as wagering large sums or holding barbecues.

78. Harry Laver, "Refuge of Manhood: Masculinity and the Militia Experience in Kentucky," in *Southern Manhood: Perspectives on Masculinity in the Old South*, ed. Craig Thompson Friend and Lorri Glover (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2004): 2, 5.

79. Wyatt-Brown, *Honor and Violence in the Old South*, 28.

80. Nina Silber, "Intemperate Men, Spiteful Women, and Jefferson Davis: Northern Views of the Defeated South," *American Quarterly* 41, no. 4 (1989): 620.

81. James Griffin, *A Gentleman and an Officer: A Military and Social History of James B. Griffin's Civil War*, ed. Judith McArthur and Orville Burton (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 163.

82. LeeAnn Whites, *The Civil War as a Crisis in Gender: Augusta, Georgia, 1860–1890* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2000), 134.

83. McCurry, *Masters of Small Worlds*.

84. Charles Sterns, *The Black Men of the South, and the Rebels; or, The Characteristics of the Former, and the Recent Outrage of the Latter* (New York: American News Company, 1872), 18.

85. Sidney Andrews, *The South since the War: As Shown by Fourteen Weeks of Travel and Observation in Georgia and the Carolinas* (Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1866), 37.

86. "The Era of Peace," *New York Times*, September 13, 1865, ProQuest Historical.

87. Charles Wagandt, "The Civil War Journal of Dr. Samuel A. Harrison," *Civil War History* 13, no. 2 (1967): 134.

88. Whites, *The Civil War as a Crisis in Gender*, 144.

89. George W. Munford to Thomas T. Munford, August 21, 1869, and July 2, 1870, Munford-Ellis Family Papers, Duke University, quoted in James Roark, *Masters without Slaves: Southern Planters in the Civil War Reconstruction* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1977), 176.

90. Although the above examples focus on planters and the planter elite, it is important to note that if the upper class was hurting so too were the yeomen and landless white lower classes. As McCurry makes it abundantly clear in *Masters of Small Worlds*, these lower classes relied on the patronage of planters. Emancipation and Reconstruction may have been even more difficult for these lower classes to swallow, as there was now very little that distinguished them from slaves.

91. Eric Foner, "Thad Stevens: Confiscation and Reconstruction," in *The Hofstadter Aegis: A Memorial*, ed. Stanley Elkins and Eric McKitrick (New York: Random House, 1974). See page 158 for more information regarding Stevens's influence in the House of Representatives and page 162 for more information regarding his position on redistribution of Southern lands.

92. McCurry, *Masters of Small Worlds*, 233.

93. Barnes Lathrop, "The Pugh Plantation: A Study of Life in Lower Louisiana" (Ph.D. diss., University of Texas at Austin, 1945), 200.

94. Wagandt, "The Civil War Journal of Dr. Samuel A. Harrison," 136.

95. John William De Forest, *A Union Officer in the Reconstruction*, ed. Ames H. Croushore and David Morris Potte (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1948), 127–28.

96. "Alabama's Probable Redemption," *Savannah Weekly Republican*, February 15, 1868, quoted in Karen Taylor, "Reconstructing Men in Savannah, Georgia," in *Southern Masculinity: Perspectives on Manhood in the South since Reconstruction*, ed. Craig Thompson Friend (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2009), 9.

97. For a further discussion of African American legislators during Reconstruction, see Thomas Holt, *Black over White: Negro Political Leadership in South Carolina during Reconstruction* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1977), 1, 100.

98. James Pike, *The Prostrate State: South Carolina under Negro Government*, ed. Robert Durden (New York: Harper and Row, 1968), 69.

99. It should be noted though that South Carolina did have the strongest and most influential group of African Americans in the South.

100. Edmund Drago, *Black Politicians and Reconstruction in Georgia: A Splendid Failure* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1992), 42.

101. Bishop Henry McNeal Turner, "I Claim the Rights of a Man" (speech, Georgia State Legislature, September 3, 1868), http://www.blackpast.org/1868-reverend-henry-mcneal-turner-i-claim-rights-man.

102. John Hope Franklin, "John Roy Lynch: Republican Stalwart from Mississippi," in *Southern Black Leaders of the Reconstruction Era*, ed. Howard N. Rabinowitz (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1982), 40.

103. Charles Vincent, *Black Legislators in Louisiana during Reconstruction* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1976), 85, 220. It should be noted that Pinchback was only governor for about a month.

104. Randolph B. Campbell, "Population Persistence and Social Change in Nineteenth-Century Texas: Harrison County, 1850–1880," *Journal of Southern History* 48, no. 2 (1982); A. Jane Townes, "The Effect of Emancipation on Large Landholdings, Nelson and Goochland Counties, Virginia," *Journal of Southern History* 45, no. 3 (1979).

105. Jonathan M. Wiener, "Planter-Merchant Conflict in Reconstruction Alabama," *Past and Present*, no. 68 (1975): 76.

106. Both James Roark and Roger Shugg come to this conclusion in *Masters without Slaves* and "Survival of the Plantation System in Louisiana," *Journal of Southern History* 3, no. 3 (1937), respectively.

107. Joel Chandler Harris, ed., *Joel Chandler Harris' Life of Henry W. Grady, Including His Writings and Speeches* (New York: Cassel, 1890), 266.

108. Edward L. Ayers states that it took "decades for [planter] power to fade," in *The Promise of the New South: Life after Reconstruction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 458.

109. Harris, *Joel Chandler Harris' Life of Henry W. Grady*, 55.

110. Henry Watterson, *The Compromise of Life* (New York: Duffield, 1906), 263–64.

111. Charles Jones, "Sons of Confederate Veterans," *Southern Historical Society Papers* 18 (1890), 96–97.

112. Ayers, *Promise of the New South*, 9.

113. *St. Landry Democrat*, October 23, 1880, quoted in Donald J. Millet, "Southwest Louisiana Enters the Railroad Age," *Louisiana History* 24, no. 2 (1983): 174.

114. Mark Twain, *Life on the Mississippi* (New York: Penguin Books, 1984), 327.

115. C. Vann Woodward, *Origins of the New South, 1877–1913* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1951), 275.

116. Richard Bailey, "Black Legislators during the Reconstruction of Alabama: 1867–1878" (Ph.D. diss., Kansas State University, 1984), 5.

117. Timothy Curtis Jackson, "Tradition and Change in the New South" (Ph.D. diss., Vanderbilt University, 1974), 3.

118. James Eleazer, *A Dutch Fork Farm Boy* (Columbia: South Carolina University Press, 1952), 10–11.

119. This conclusion is drawn from a small sample size using census records tracing the lineage of football players from LSU, Georgia, and Tulane, with most coming from LSU and Georgia. This conclusion is limited, as institutions such as Vanderbilt, Trinity (Duke), and Virginia were not examined and could possess a greater proportion of planter descendants than here recognized.

120. John Stegeman, *The Ghosts of Herty Field: Early Days on a Southern Gridiron* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1997), 11.

121. "Negros Riot at Football," *New York Times*, November 26, 1897, ProQuest Historical.

122. Patrick B. Miller, "The Manly, the Moral, and the Proficient: College Sports in the New South," in *The Sporting World of the Modern South*, ed. Patrick B. Miller (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2002), 30.

123. Peter Finney, *The Fighting Tigers II: LSU Football, 1893–1980* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana University Press, 1980), 13.

124. Fuzzy Woodruff, vol. 1 of *A History of Southern Football, 1890–1928* (New York: Walter W. Brown Publishing, 1928), 9.

125. John Franklin Crowell, *Personal Recollections of Trinity College* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1939), 230.

126. Woodruff, *A History of Southern Football*, 64.

127 Ibid., 70.

128. Stegeman, *Ghosts of Herty Field*, 77.

129. Woodruff, *A History of Southern Football*, 208.

130. Ibid., 215.

131. Stegeman, *Ghosts of Herty Field*, 31–34.

132. Woodruff, *A History of Southern Football*, 15–16.

133. Steven Riess, *City Games: The Evolution of American Urban Society and the Rise of Sports* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991), 47.

134. Ayers, *Promise of the New South*, 22.

135. Most Southern universities with football teams were land grant colleges whose focus was more practical than intellectual and whose graduates were equipped to work middle-class jobs as cogs in a large machine.

136. Reyburn, *Football Nation*, 3.

Bibliography

Adams, Henry. *The Education of Henry Adams*. New York: Wilder Publications, 2009.

Andrews, Sidney. *The South since the War: As Shown by Fourteen Weeks of Travel and Observation in Georgia and the Carolinas*. Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1866.

Ashe, Arthur. *A Hard Road to Glory: The African American Athlete in Football*. New York: Harper Collins, 1993.

Ayers, Edward L. *The Promise of the New South: Life after Reconstruction*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2007.

Bailey, Richard. "Black Legislators during the Reconstruction of Alabama: 1867–1878." Ph.D. diss., Kansas State University, 1984.

Barnes, Earl. "The Feminizing of Culture." *Atlantic Monthly*, June 1912, 770–76. http://www.unz.org/Pub/AtlanticMonthly-1912jun-00770.

Bederman, Gail. *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880–1917*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995.

Bissell, Mary Taylor. "Athletics for City Girls." *Popular Science Monthly*, December 1894.

Camp, Walter. "The All-American Football Team." *Collier's*, December 1, 1909.

———. "College Athletics." *Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine* 46 (June 1893): 204–10. http://www.unz.org/Pub/Century-1893jun-00204.

———. *Football*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1896.

———. *Football Facts and Figures*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1894.

Campbell, Randolph B. "Population Persistence and Social Change in Nineteenth-Century Texas: Harrison County, 1850–1880." *Journal of Southern History* 48, no. 2 (1982): 185–204.

Colton, Rev. A. E. "What Football Does." *Independent*, September 12, 1904.

Cornell Daily Sun. "Football Discussion before the Contemporary Club of Philadelphia." February 19, 1894. http://cdsun.library.cornell.edu/cgi-bin/cornell?a=d&d=CDS18940219.2.5&e=--------20--1---------#.

Crowell, John Franklin. *Personal Recollections of Trinity College*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1939.

Danzig, Allison. *Oh, How They Played the Game: The Early Days of Football and the Heroes Who Made It Great*. New York: Macmillan, 1971.

De Forest, John William. *A Union Officer in the Reconstruction*. Edited by Ames H. Croushore and David Morris Potte. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1948.

Ditz, Toby L. "The New Men's History and the Peculiar Absence of Gendered Power: Some Remedies from Early American Gender History." *Gender and History* 16, no. 1 (2004): 1–35.

Doyle, Andrew. "Turning the Tide: College Football and Southern Progressivism." In *The Sporting World of the Modern South*, edited by Patrick B. Miller, 101–25. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2002.

Drago, Edmund. *Black Politicians and Reconstruction in Georgia: A Splendid Failure*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1992.

Dunn, Jay. *The Tigers of Princeton: Old Nassau Football*. New York: Strode Publishers, 1977.

Eleazer, James. *A Dutch Fork Farm Boy*. Columbia: South Carolina University Press, 1952.

Finney, Peter. *The Fighting Tigers II: LSU Football, 1893–1980*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana University Press, 1980.

Foner, Eric. "Thad Stevens: Confiscation and Reconstruction." In *The Hofstadter Aegis: A Memorial*, edited by Stanley Elkins and Eric McKitrick, 154–83. New York: Random House, 1974.

Franklin, John Hope. "John Roy Lynch: Republican Stalwart from Mississippi." In *Southern Black Leaders of the Reconstruction Era*, edited by Howard N, 39–58. Rabinowitz. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1982.

Goode, William. "Why Men Resist." In *Rethinking the Family: Some Feminist Questions*, edited by Barie Thorneand, 131–50. New York: Longman, 1986.

Gorn, Elliott. "'Gouge and Bite, Pull Hair and Scratch': The Social Significance of Fighting in the Southern Backcountry." *American Historical Review* 90, no. 1 (1985): 18–44.

Grand, Sarah. "The Man of the Moment." In *A New Women Reader: Fiction, Articles, and Drama from the 1890s*, edited by Carolyn Christensen Nelson, 146–51. New York: Broadview Press, 2000.

Grant, Robert. *The Art of Living*. New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1889.

Green, Jennifer. "Stout Chaps Who Can Bear the Distress: Young Men in Antebellum Military Academies." In *Southern Manhood: Perspectives on Masculinity in the Old South*, edited by Craig Thompson Friend and Lorri Glover, 174–96. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2004.

Griffin, James. *A Gentleman and an Officer: A Military and Social History of James B. Griffin's Civil War*. Edited by Judith McArthur and Orville Burton. New York: Oxford University Press, 1996.

Hantover, Jeffrey P. "The Boy Scouts and the Validation of Masculinity." *Journal of Social Issues* 34, no. 1 (1978): 184–95.

Harris, Joel Chandler, ed. *Joel Chandler Harris' Life of Henry W. Grady, Including His Writings and Speeches*. New York: Cassel, 1890.

Hartog, Hendrik. *Man and Wife in America: A History*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002.

Hayes, Samuel. *Response to Industrialism, 1885–1914*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995.

Hollis, Ira. "Intercollegiate Athletics." *Atlantic Monthly*, October 1902. http://www.unz.org/Pub/AtlanticMonthly-1902oct-00534.

Holt, Thomas. *Black over White: Negro Political Leadership in South Carolina during Reconstruction*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1977.

Ingrassia, Brian M. *The Rise of Gridiron University: Higher Education's Uneasy Alliance with Big-Time Football*. Lawrence: Kansas University Press, 2012.

Jackson, Timothy Curtis. "Tradition and Change in the New South." Ph.D. diss., Vanderbilt University, 1974.

Jones, Charles. "Sons of Confederate Veterans." *Southern Historical Society Papers* 18 (1890): 96–97.

Kimmel, Michael. *Manhood in America: A Cultural History*. New York: Free Press, 1996.

———. "Men's Response to Feminism at the Turn of the Century." *Gender and Society* 1, no. 3 (1987): 261–83.

Lathrop, Barnes. "The Pugh Plantation: A Study of Life in Lower Louisiana." Ph.D. diss., University of Texas at Austin, 1945.

Laver, Harry. "Refuge of Manhood: Masculinity and the Militia Experience in Kentucky." In *Southern Manhood: Perspectives on Masculinity in the Old South*, edited by Craig Thompson Friend and Lorri Glover, 1–21. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2004.

Lears, T. J. Jackson. *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880–1920*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994.

Mahan, A. T. *The Interest of America in Sea Power: Present and Future*. Boston: Little Brown, 1898.

Marsh, Margaret. "Suburban Men and Masculine Domesticity, 1870–1915." *American Quarterly* 40, no. 2 (1988): 165–86.

Mayfield, John. "Being Shifty in a New Country: Southern Humor and the Masculine Ideal." In *Southern Manhood: Perspectives on Masculinity in the Old South*, edited by Craig Thompson Friend and Lorri Glover, 113–35. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2004.

McCurry, Stephanie. *Masters of Small Worlds: Yeoman Households, Gender Relations, and the Political Culture of the Antebellum South Carolina Low Country*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.

Miller, Patrick B. "The Manly, the Moral, and the Proficient: College Sports in the New South." In *The Sporting World of the Modern South*, edited by Patrick B. Miller, 17–51. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2002.

Millet, Donald J. "Southwest Louisiana Enters the Railroad Age." *Louisiana History* 24, no. 2 (1983): 165–83.

New York Times. "The Era of Peace." September 13, 1865. ProQuest Historical.

———. "Negros Riot at Football." *New York Times*. November 26, 1897. ProQuest Historical.

New York World. "Students Take the Town: The Colors of Yale and Princeton Spread All Over the Tenderloin." November 26, 1891.

Oriard, Michael. *Reading Football: How the Popular Press Created an American Spectacle*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998.

Ownsby, Ted. *Subduing Satan: Religion, Recreation, and Manhood in the Rural South, 1865–1920*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993.

Parkman, Francis. "The Women Question." *North American Review*, October 1879. https://archive.org/details/jstor-25100797.

Pike, James. *The Prostrate State: South Carolina under Negro Government*. Edited by Robert Durden. New York: Harper and Row, 1968.

Reid, Bill. *Big-Time Football at Harvard 1905: The Diary of Coach Bill Reid*. Edited by Ronald Smith. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994.

Reyburn, Susan. *Football Nation: Four Hundred Years of America's Game*. New York: Abrams, 2013.

Riess, Steven. *City Games: The Evolution of American Urban Society and the Rise of Sports*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991.

Roark, James. *Masters without Slaves: Southern Planters in the Civil War Reconstruction*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1977.

Roosevelt, Theodore. *American Ideals*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1906.

———. "The Strenuous Life." Address given at the Hamilton Club, Chicago, IL, April 10, 1899. http://www.theodore-roosevelt.com/images/research/speeches/trstrenlife.pdf.

———. *The Strenuous Life: Essays and Addresses*. New York: Dover Publications, 2009.

Rotundo, Anthony. *American Manhood: Transformation in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era*. New York: Basic Books, 1994.

Shugg, Roger. "Survival of the Plantation System in Louisiana." *Journal of Southern History* 3, no. 3 (1937): 311–25.

Silber, Nina. "Intemperate Men, Spiteful Women, and Jefferson Davis: Northern Views of the Defeated South." *American Quarterly* 41, no. 4 (1989): 614–35.

Stagg, Amos Alonzo. Papers. Special Collections Research Center. University of Chicago Library.

Stegeman, John. *The Ghosts of Herty Field: Early Days on a Southern Gridiron*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1997.

Sterns, Charles. *The Black Men of the South, and the Rebels; or, The Characteristics of the Former, and the Recent Outrage of the Latter*. New York: American News Company, 1872.

Strong, Josiah. *The Times and Young Men*. New York: Baker and Taylor, 1901.

Taylor, Karen. "Reconstructing Men in Savannah, Georgia." In *Southern Masculinity: Perspectives on Manhood in the South since Reconstruction*, edited by Craig Thompson Friend, 1–24. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2009.

Townes, A. Jane. "The Effect of Emancipation on Large Landholdings, Nelson and Goochland Counties, Virginia." *Journal of Southern History* 45, no. 3 (1979): 403–12.

Turner, Bishop Henry McNeal. "I Claim the Rights of a Man." Speech before the Georgia State Legislature, September 3, 1868. http://www.blackpast.org/1868-reverend-henry-mcneal-turner-i-claim-rights-man.

Twain, Mark. *Life on the Mississippi*. New York: Penguin Books, 1984.

Vincent, Charles. *Black Legislators in Louisiana during Reconstruction*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1976.

Wagandt, Charles. "The Civil War Journal of Dr. Samuel A. Harrison." *Civil War History* 13, no. 2 (1967): 131–46.

Watterson, Henry. *The Compromises of Life*. New York: Duffield, 1906.

Whites, LeeAnn. *The Civil War as a Crisis in Gender: Augusta, Georgia, 1860–1890*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2000.

Whitney, Caspar. "Is Football Worthwhile?" *Collier's*, December 18, 1909.

Wiener, Jonathan M. "Planter-Merchant Conflict in Reconstruction Alabama." *Past and Present*, no. 68 (1975): 73–94.

Williams, Jack. *Dueling in the Old South: Vignettes of Social History*. College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2000.

Woodward, C. Vann. *Origins of the New South, 1877–1913*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1951.

Woodruff, Fuzzy. Vol. 1 of *A History of Southern Football, 1890–1928*. New York: Walter W. Brown Publishing, 1928.

Wyatt-Brown, Bertram. *Honor and Violence in the Old South*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1986.

"It's the Only Thing": Winning Percentage in College Football

Mitchell Schultz, author
Dr. Marianne Johnson, Economics, faculty mentor

Mitchell Schultz just completed his undergraduate degree in economics and is pursuing a Graduate Certificate in Athletics Program Leadership at UW Oshkosh. He hopes to become a professional scout or to coach football in the future.

Dr. Marianne Johnson is a professor of economics at UW Oshkosh, where she very much enjoys teaching econometrics.

Abstract

What factors are associated with higher winning percentages in the Division I Football Bowl Subdivision (FBS)? This paper examines the 2014 college football season to determine why some teams won and others lost. I compiled cross-sectional data on 120 FBS schools from the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA), National Football League (NFL), and Entertainment and Sports Programming Network (ESPN). I use regression analysis to see how factors such as recruiting, coaches ranking, quarterback (QB) play, turnovers, future NFL talent, and major conferences—Atlantic Coast Conference (ACC), Big Ten, Big 12, Pac-12, and Southeastern Conference (SEC)—relate to winning percentage. My regression results show that these six variables explain 70% of the variation of winning percentage during the year 2014 and that if teams want to win in the game of college football, they need to find a good quarterback.

Introduction

Until recently, the use of data analytics as a means of a competitive advantage in college football has been quite limited, especially compared to the number-crazed game of baseball. Increasingly, however, the game is changing from the old "put your hand in the dirt and let's see who's tougher" mentality to a more informed decision-making approach. Part of the explanation is undoubtedly the fact that college football is a multibillion-dollar industry in which the CEOs (or head coaches) are always in the hot seat. One constant, purportedly summarized by Vincent T. Lombardi, remains: "Winning isn't everything; it's the only thing." In this study, *winning percentage* is the dependent variable. Using regression analysis, I attempt to determine what factors contribute to a better winning percentage in the Division I Football Bowl Subdivision (FBS).

My goal for this study is to better understand how to build team success so that time and resources can be allocated properly. I believe that asking what contributes to winning percentage is important because it can give competitors in any sport an advantage. Applying data and analysis to this topic can be useful to anyone involved with athletics—decision-makers can be better informed, teams can win more games, and fans can have a little bit more pride at the end of the day.

Literature Review

While there is extensive literature on coaching salaries and collegiate football recruiting, few studies focus on winning percentage. However, studies of coaching and recruiting can be useful in identifying the factors that might also contribute to on-field success. Caro (2012) examines the relationship between recruiting and on-field success at the Division I (FBS) level during the years 2004–2010. He examines how the average number of star prospects a program signs each year (independent variable) is related to a team's conference winning percentage (dependent variable). Through the use of regression analysis, Caro finds that 63%–80% of a team's on-field success can be attributed to its success in recruiting star high school football prospects. His results vary somewhat by conference, as the coefficients for the Big Ten, Big 12, and SEC were 0.63, 0.72, and 0.80 respectively. Thus, Caro concludes that recruiting does have a significant impact on winning percentage. Caro also considers other measures of on-field success, including alumni giving, university contributions to football budgets, quality of coaching, player development, and the impact of traditional powerhouses. However, he does not quantitatively take any of these into consideration. Caro concludes that success in recruiting is the best direct measure of on-field success. However, since the conclusion is based on results that include only the three individually statistically significant conferences, I do not believe the data is conclusive enough to confirm Caro's statement.

DuMond, Lynch, and Platania (2008) also examine recruiting in their analysis but focus on the choices made by recruits. They examine three models that might explain a recruit's decision to attend a particular university and test their findings by attempting to predict which schools the top 100 recruits in 2005 would select. The model correctly predicts 71% of the top 100. DuMond, Lynch, and Platania's sample size includes all Division I schools and suggests that recruits' choices depend on multiple factors, such as opportunity for individual success, exposure, team's recent success, and distance from hometown. This study is unique because it really examines two sides: schools select which players to recruit and recruits select their schools (economists call this a matching problem). The findings suggest each recruit will select his school based on which school will make him best off in the long run by helping him either reach the NFL or attain a degree that propels him into a career. Interestingly enough, DuMond, Lynch, and Platania find that the number of previous NFL players, the graduation rates of past players, and whether the school has recently won a national championship do not have a statistically significant impact on recruit decision-making. In fact, the article states that if a school has recently won a national championship, prospective recruits are 2.48% less likely to choose it over the other contending schools (13). Official visits to the school result in a 23% increase in the likelihood that the school will be chosen (14). Proximity to home is also statistically significant, with recruits preferring to stay in state. All else equal, a recruit is 7.6% more likely to select an in-state school than an out-of-state school (14).

Holmes (2011) considers the factors that contribute to a coach being fired (but not the factors that may lead a coach to voluntarily change jobs). In his study, Holmes includes everything from conference winning percentage to length of coaching tenure. He also considers variables that are not often studied, such as whether the coaches are alumni of the schools—which was found to be statistically significant—and whether

the coach is black or not—which was found to be statistically insignificant. Holmes concludes that "coaches are constantly being evaluated against expectations that change over time" (171), and this makes their lives tricky. However, for Division I schools, the most important variable for coaches is winning. Thus, I leverage the results of these studies to build a model that might explain the factors that contribute to higher winning percentages in college football.

Data and Methodology

Winning percentage in college football is a function of team play, coaching, athleticism and skill of the players, quality of the competitors, and sometimes luck. I attempt to capture these relationships with the following linear regression specification. Linear regression is a statistical tool that attempts to weigh how much correlation there is between an explanatory variable and the dependent variable, holding the other factors of the model constant. While such models cannot say that a better quarterback (QB) causes more wins, they do help to isolate factors that are important from factors that are not.

$$\text{Winning \%} = \alpha + \beta 1 \text{recruitingrank} + \beta 2 \text{coachrank} + \beta 3 \text{QBrating} + \beta 4 \text{turnoverdifferential} + \beta 5 \text{NFLtalent} + \beta 6 \text{Power5}$$

The variables I use in the model are defined as follows:

Winning Percentage: The 2014 season winning percentage is my dependent variable. It should be noted that winning percentage figures do include postseason and bowl-game wins and losses. Data is from the NCAA.com statistics database under the 2014–2015 season. I filtered for Division FBS through games 1/12/2015 and viewed team statistics (NCAA.com, "Winning Percentage," 2015). I chose *winning percentage* as my dependent variable because determining how to win games is the ultimate goal of any player, coach, and athletic administrator. As Herm Edwards said, "You play to win the game!"

Independent (Explanatory) Variables

Recruiting Ranking: *Recruiting ranking* is defined as the team's average overall recruiting class ranking from 2010 to 2014. Since the best recruiting classes will have a lower rank, I speculate that the estimated coefficient on this variable will be negative. I use data from rivals.com (2015), which is a recruiting service that ranks high school athletes. I have chosen to use recruiting rankings from 2010 to 2014, as those five years of recruiting will, for the most part, account for all players that played during the 2014 season. One unobservable (a variable not accounted for in this study) that I cannot control for is the quantity and quality of players transferring to and from respective programs. However, if transfers ended up making a significant impact on the winning percentage of these programs, their impact should be captured by the variable *NFL Talent*.

NFL Talent: Each team's NFL talent is measured by the number of players the team drafted in the spring 2015 NFL draft. A full list of the 2015 NFL draft can be found on NFL.com's "Draft Tracker" (NFL.com 2015). Data can be sorted with this software by each school to see how many players in each school were selected in the draft. It should be noted that Florida State and Louisville could be considered outliers in this data, as they produced 11 and 10 NFL players respectively during 2015, while the next closest school produced 7 draft picks. Additionally, more than one-third (42 out of 120) had no draft picks, so the data is skewed to the left.

Coach Rank: This variable comes from an *Athlon Sports* ranking of all 128 football coaches for the 2014 season. Editor for *Athlon Sports*, Steven Lassen, ranks the quality of every FBS coach, holding constant factors such as the quality of the program the coach steps into and the amount of resources he has available (Lassen 2015). For example, a coach winning at a high level with poor facilities and a limited budget would generate a higher rating than a coach winning at a high level with excellent facilities and a large budget. The article was published immediately prior to the 2014 season, so it reflects the quality of the coach independent of 2014 performance. I believe this ranking system is a better measure of quality than a coach's salary because there can be really good coaches at lesser programs who have not been given their shot at a top school yet and coaches who are highly overpaid due to a number of factors, such as tenure.

Quarterback Rating: Quarterback Rating (QBR) is used by the NCAA and is a measure of completion percentage, yards per attempt, and touchdown to interception ratio. I chose QBR to apply a quantitative measure to the overall quality of a team's quarterback. While teams need quality players in all positions, most football enthusiasts agree that the quarterback position is the most important on the field. In this study, I measure the total QBR for each team. The average QBR for 2014 was 130.19 with a standard deviation of 17.9. Oregon had by far the highest QBR with a score of 180.8. This makes sense considering that they produced the number two overall 2015 NFL draft pick, quarterback Marcus Mariota, and have a highly efficient offense. Ohio State, the 2014–2015 National Champions, had the second highest rating, with a score of 167.7 (NCAA.com, "Team Passing Efficiency," 2015).

Turnover Differential per Game: The *turnover (TO) differential* is defined as the number of turnovers the team's defense has forced, minus how many turnovers the team's offense has committed, divided by the number of games played. For example, if a team creates two turnovers per game on defense and turns the ball over one time per game on offense, then their differential would be +1. If the defense creates one turnover per game and the offense turns it over twice per game, then their differential is −1. The turnover data is from the NCAA's database (NCAA.com, "Turnover Margin," 2015). I expect a positive relationship between *TO differential* and *winning percentage*. Anecdotal evidence supports my expectation. Specifically, Eastern Michigan had the worst TO differential, at −1.5 per game, and had a poor winning percentage of 16%, while Oregon had the highest TO differential, at 1.53 per game, and won 87% of its games.

Power 5 Conference: Lastly, I include a categorical, or dummy, variable indicating whether a team is in a Power 5 conference. Teams that are in a Power 5 conference receive a 1, while all others receive a 0. Power 5 conferences include the ACC, Big Ten, Big 12, Pac-12, and SEC. To record this data, I marked down every school in a Power 5 conference, as listed on NCAA.com. As you can see in the table below, 55% of FBS schools are from the Power 5 conferences. I find that, all else equal, teams from a Power 5 conference will have a more difficult schedule (or higher strength of schedule). Thus, we would expect them to not win as many games, all else constant.

I initially examined several additional variables, but I determined that they either were not statistically significantly related to winning percentage or were problematic in other ways. This included strength of schedule and whether or not the program was under NCAA sanctions during the 2014 season. Strength of schedule had a correlation coefficient of 0.83 with *Power 5 conference*, suggesting it would have a very similar impact on *winning percentage* (multicollinearity). The NCAA sanctions were not significant because they are rarely harsh enough to have any real impact. For example, the 2014–2015 national champion, Ohio State, had been under NCAA sanctions during the 2014 season.

Table 1 provides a summary of the variables, their expected sign, and the summary statistics. While my observations are meant to account for all FBS schools, there were five schools that have not been Division I FBS schools since 2010. Therefore, I eliminated them from the study because I could not generate recruiting rank for them. The five current FBS schools that were left out of this study are Georgia State, Massachusetts, University of Texas at San Antonio, South Alabama, and Texas State.

Table 1. Summary statistics.

Variable	Definition	Sign	Mean or Frequency	SD
Winning %	Percent of games won vs. games lost during 2014 season	N/A	52%	0.21
Avg Recruiting Rank	Five-year average of team recruiting class ranks	Negative	60.97	33.38
Coach Rank	Overall ranking of quality of coach	Negative	60.00	37
QB Rating	Measure of team's quarterback production	Positive	130.19	17.9
TO Differential/game	Measure of team's turnovers forced/lost per game	Positive	0.04	0.63
NFL Talent	Total number of players selected in the 2015 NFL draft	Positive	1.95	2.25
Power 5 conference	Team plays in ACC, Big Ten, Big 12, Pac-12, SEC	Negative	55% in *Power 5 conference*	N/A

Analysis of Regression Results

My regression accounted for approximately 70% of the variation in winning percentage and produced four individually statistically significant variables at the 95% confidence level with 113 degrees of freedom. The statistically significant variables are *coach rank*, *QB rating*, *TO differential per game*, and *Power 5 conference*. Table 2 shows the results of my best regression (based on adjusted R-squared, including the estimated coefficients, standard errors, t-statistics, and p-values for each variable).

Table 2. Regression results.

	Variable	Estimated Coefficient (β)	Standard Error	t - Statistic	p-Value (95% CI)
	Constant	0.089	0.114	0.08	−0.22
	Avg Recruiting Rank	−0.001	0.001	−1.53	0.13
*	Coach Rank	−0.002	0.001	−3.58	0
*	QB Rating	0.005	0.001	7.96	0
*	TO Differential/game	0.114	0.019	6.05	0
	NFL Talen	0.011	0.007	1.35	0.18
*	Power 5 conference	−0.1	0.036	−2.76	0.01
	* = Statistically Significant				120 Observations

While Caro's (2012) study claims that 63%–80% of winning percentage can be attributed to recruiting star players, I find the evidence much less conclusive. For each improvement of 10 in recruiting rank (e.g., rank goes from 30th in the country to 20th in the country), winning percentage is expected to rise by only one percentage point (*Δ winning % = β Δ rank *100*). The relationship is not statistically significant, though the p-value suggests there is a relationship between the two variables. A study by *Five Thirty Eight Sports* (2015) similarly found that almost no team performed to the level its recruiting indicated it would.

Like *recruiting ranking*, *coach rank* is counterintuitive because the data is a ranking rather than a point system. The negative coefficient for *coach rank* actually means that the better the coach, the more games a team will win. I find the coefficient on *coach rank* to be negative and statistically significant at the 1% level, which indicates that teams with a worse (lower ranked) coach have significantly lower winning percentages. For example, if a coach rises by 10 in the rankings (from 20th in the country to 10th in the country), we would predict winning percentage to rise by 2 percentage points.

Quarterback rating had the highest correlation to *winning percentage* out of all the variables. This reinforces the argument that having a highly efficient quarterback is key to winning football games. I find that the coefficient to *QB rating* is positive and statistically significant, meaning that teams with better quarterback play have significantly higher winning percentages. This means going from a mean QB rating of 130.19 to a QB rating of 140.19 would increase the winning percentage by 5 percentage points. Thus, the data suggests that quarterback play is a huge factor in

winning games. This is interesting because as data analysis becomes more prevalent in college and professional football, more offensive coordinators design offenses for highly efficient quarterback play.

I also find that the coefficient on *TO differential* is positive and statistically significant. Specifically, a team that experiences an increase of one turnover per game is expected to have an 11.4 percentage point increase in winning percentage, which is a huge increase. However, it is important to remember that the range of TO differential values is rather small. In fact, the highest value was 1.53 by Oregon, so it has a relatively similar or slightly smaller impact on winning percentage than quarterback play.

The number of NFL draft picks selected from a college team was not statistically significant with a t-statistic of 1.35. However, with a p-value of 0.18, the draft picks still contribute to the overall explanatory power of my regression. NFL draft picks selected had a positive linear relationship and I concluded that one more player selected into the NFL draft would increase winning percentage by 0.1 percentage points. In other words, elite level talent helps to win games. These are two possible reasons this variable achieved a p-value of only 0.18. One aspect of this variable that I was particularly interested in was how *NFL talent* correlated with *recruiting ranking*. I found that the correlation coefficient between the two is 0.66, or moderately positive. Logically, this makes sense because of the countless unobservables that might influence whether top players coming out of high school can make the pros. For example, do the highly ranked prospects have enough determination to make it through the rigorous training it takes to compete at the Division I level? Do some programs develop players better than others? Do the teams that prospects play for have playing styles that better translate to the pros? Louisville had an average recruiting rank of 42.2 against the mean of 60, yet they had the second highest number of NFL draft picks, which suggests that Louisville does a good job of developing its players. This is something the Louisville staff could take note of and use as a recruiting pitch to land more top high school prospects that aspire to play in the NFL.

Lastly, the coefficient on the *Power 5 conference* variable is negative and statistically significant at the 1% level. Therefore, teams in a Power 5 conference typically have a winning percentage that is one percentage point less than teams in other conferences. This negative relationship went against my intuition but is perhaps because, with other factors held equal, it is tougher to play in a Power 5 conference.

Conclusion

What contributes to winning percentage in Division I FBS college football? Using regression analysis, I find that schools with higher quality coaching, more efficient quarterback play, and a higher turnover margin are much more likely to win. However, I find that, all else equal, teams in a Power 5 conference are expected to win fewer games. My data suggests that QBR had the most significant impact on winning percentage during the 2014 season compared to any other variable (t-statistic of 7.96—see table 2). This makes sense because teams in college football are continually trying to build offenses that make it easy for the quarterback to be successful. For example, the offense Chip Kelly designed at Oregon during his tenure was largely created for efficient quarterback play and contributed to the recent success the program has

enjoyed. In the future, I suspect more teams will adopt similar philosophies. To be successful, teams must find ways to create turnovers and limit their own, as well as find the most talented coaches for their programs. One variable that was not explored in this study is the number of experienced players the team has returning prior to the season. I would expect this to have a significant positive relationship on winning percentage, and it could be investigated in future studies.

Bibliography

Baker, J., J. Cote, and B. Abernethy. "Sport-Specific Practice and the Development of Expert Decision-Making in Team Ball Sports." *Journal of Applied Sport Psychology* 15, no. 1 (2003): 12–25.

Budig, G. A. "An Athletic Arms Race." *Phi Delta Kappan* 89, no. 4 (2007): 283–84.

Cannon-Bowers, J. A., and C. Bowers. "Applying Work Team Results to Sports Teams: Opportunities and Cautions." *International Journal of Sport and Exercise Psychology* 4, no. 4 (2006): 447–62.

Caro, C. A. "College Football Success: The Relationship between Recruiting and Winning." *International Journal of Sports Science and Coaching* 7, no. 1 (2012): 139–52.

DuMond, J. M., A. K. Lynch, and J. Platania. "An Economic Model of the College Football Recruiting Process." *Journal of Sports Economics* 9, no. 1 (2008): 67–87.

Eckard, E. W. "The NCAA Cartel and Competitive Balance in College Football." *Review of Industrial Organization* 13, no. 3 (1998): 347–69.

Farmer, A., and P. Pecorino. "Is the Coach Paid Too Much? Coaching Salaries and the NCAA Cartel." *Journal of Economics & Management Strategy* 19, no. 3 (2010): 841–62.

Holmes, P. "Win or Go Home: Why College Football Coaches Get Fired." *Journal of Sports Economics* 12, no. 2 (2011): 157–78.

Kahn, L. M. "Markets: Cartel Behavior and Amateurism in College Sports." *The Journal of Economic Perspectives* 21, no. 1 (2007): 209–26.

Knoppers, A., B. B. Meyer, M. Ewing, and L. Forrest. "Opportunity and Work Behavior in College Coaching." *Journal of Sport & Social Issues* 15, no. 1 (1991): 1–20.

Lassen, Steven. "Ranking All 128 College Football Head Coaches for 2015." *Athlon Sports & Life*, June 10, 2015. http://athlonsports.com/college-football/ranking-all-128-college-football-head-coaches-2015.

Mondello, M., and J. Maxcy. "The Impact of Salary Dispersion and Performance Bonuses in NFL Organizations." In "Taking Sport Seriously," edited by Andy Adcroft and Jon Teckman. Special issue, *Management Decision* 47, no. 1 (2009): 110–23.

NCAA.com. "NCAA® Football Division FBS Team Passing Efficiency through Games 01/12/2015." Accessed November 12, 2015. http://web1.ncaa.org/stats/StatsSrv/rankings?doWhat=archive&sportCode=MFB.

———. "NCAA® Football Division FBS Turnover Margin through Games 01/12/2015."
    Accessed November 12, 2015. http://web1.ncaa.org/stats/StatsSrv/rankings?doWhat=archiv
    e&sportCode=MFB.

———. "NCAA® Football Division FBS Winning Percentage through Games 01/12/2015."
    Accessed November 12, 2015. http://web1.ncaa.org/stats/StatsSrv/rankings?doWhat=archiv
    e&sportCode=MFB.

NFL.com. "Draft Tracker." Accessed May 2015. http://www.nfl.com/draft/2015/tracker#dt-
    tabs:dt-by-college.

Pigskin Nerd. "Power 5 Conference Comparison for 2014–15 Bowl Games – UPDATED,"
    January 8, 2015. http://www.pigskinnerd.com/power-5-conference-comparison-for-2014-15-
    bowl-games-updated/.

Rivals.com. "2014 Team Rankings." Accessed March 2015. http://sports.yahoo.com/
    footballrecruiting/football/recruiting/teamrank/2014/all/all.

Stephen Pettigrew. "After Signing Day, Wisconsin Makes the Best of Its Recruits."
    FiveThirtyEight, February 4, 2015. http://fivethirtyeight.com/datalab/after-signing-day-
    wisconsin-makes-the-best-of-its-recruits/.

The Welfare Debate: Social Protection and Happiness in the European Union

Hallie Turnbull, author
Dr. James Krueger, Political Science, faculty mentor

Raised in Madison, Wisconsin, Hallie Turnbull graduated cum laude in May 2015 with a degree in political science and minors in music and French. She is currently taking a year off to travel the world before going to law school. Her research began as a project for her Political Methodology class, but the relevance of the issue drove her to delve deeper. She is especially interested in work concerning the European Union and social policy.

Dr. James Krueger studies political behavior and public opinion in the United States. His recent work focuses on the relationship between group identity and support for military intervention.

Abstract

American society has become entrenched in a debate about welfare; it seems that society is entirely unable to agree on welfare's purpose, utility, or role in our society. While those in favor seem to hail it as the savior of our country, opponents miss no opportunity to proclaim welfare a communistic scheme. In their extremity, both declarations ignore the essential questions that could shed light on the usefulness of welfare. One way to evaluate welfare as a policy is through utilitarian philosophy, which suggests that happiness is the ultimate goal and that allowing people to live as they please leads to greater overall happiness. This philosophy can be extended to argue that happiness is the most useful motivator of public policy and that governments should seek guidance from happiness data to achieve their goals. This study measures governments' welfare expenditures against the happiness levels of their populations to determine whether extensive welfare states tend to make people happier. Through analysis of European data, this study examines whether welfare increases happiness, other possible predictors of happiness, and the future of the welfare debate.

The Welfare State and Happiness: Five Persuasions

Modern theorists and public figures questioning the current direction of society and public policy seem lost in an infinite battle between incompatible goals. Utilitarian philosophy suggests that the ultimate goal of humanity is happiness, or overall life satisfaction. If we accept this philosophy, individuals' unique measures of their own happiness offer an ideal representation of society's success. Thus, this study employs happiness as a measure of societal success. Some scholars have posited that social welfare increases levels of life satisfaction. Five schools of thought have arisen pertaining to the relationship between the welfare state and happiness levels. *Welfare-Rooted Satisfaction* posits that people are happier as welfare generosity increases, while *Equality-Rooted Happiness* posits that people are happier as equality increases. In contrast, *Mobile Happiness* suggests that economic factors are distinct from overall happiness levels. Lastly, *Utilitarian Policy Formation* argues that public

policy formation should rely heavily on happiness data for guidance, while *Happiness Skepticism* asserts that happiness data is too subjective for use in academic study.

Welfare-Rooted Satisfaction embodies the idea that life satisfaction levels are directly proportional to the generosity of the welfare state—meaning that people are more satisfied with their lives when the welfare state is larger. This theory suggests that while many factors can contribute to life satisfaction levels, expansive welfare states consistently improve quality of life. While expanding welfare programs tends to be expensive and controversial, this school of thought reveals findings that suggest welfare programs improve life satisfaction, regardless of perceived negatives. Pacek and Radcliff (2008) find that life satisfaction increases with the generosity of the welfare state (267). Similarly, Radcliff (2001), in his independent work, finds that programs that "insulate citizens against the worst forms of market dependence" improve life satisfaction (939). Research in this school of thought thoroughly evaluates the negatives of welfare programs and variables affecting happiness; however, the research operates on the premise that terms such as *happiness* and *life satisfaction* are interchangeable. While these terms appear synonymous, it is useful to consider the possibility of varying connotations and nuances between them. Additionally, scholars have been able to study this subject primarily through quantitative means, although there is significant theoretical understanding in the analysis of the term *happiness*.

Equality-Rooted Happiness suggests that inequality levels are indirectly proportional to happiness levels. This idea focuses mainly on monetary disparity between citizens as a measure of inequality. Because social programs can be utilized to correct monetary inequality across a society, this school of thought addresses the relationship between welfare and happiness. Alesina et al. (2004) find that inequality and happiness are inversely related. Likewise, Belička's (2012) study of why certain groups are excluded from happiness points out that happiness is affected by factors outside of average monetary well-being (6). This school of thought pertains to the relationship between the welfare state and happiness because of the ability for the welfare state to affect levels of inequality; however, the studies call for pause in that they do not necessarily rule out all other variables. For example, Alesina et al. (2004) acknowledge that cultural differences play a significant role in the prevalence and perception of inequality.

In contrast to Welfare-Rooted Satisfaction and Equality-Rooted Happiness, Mobile Happiness suggests that economic factors do not influence overall happiness in developed nations. The reasoning offered by Easterlin (1994) in "Will Raising the Incomes of All Increase the Happiness of All?" is that raising income does not automatically raise happiness; it shifts material norms that govern perceptions of well-being (35). As Easterlin is a foundational scholar in a substantial amount of literature pertaining to happiness and economics, his theory holds weight in its well-reasoned rhetoric and economic perspective. Similarly, Oswald (1997) finds that an increase in economic prosperity does not affect happiness across a society. While this school of thought contains studies from an economic perspective, it cautions against using economic well-being too heavily in studying happiness.

The central idea in Utilitarian Policy Formation is that happiness studies should be used to form public policy because happiness is a better measurement of success than economic factors. With the philosopher Jeremy Bentham's conception of the

principle of *utilitarianism*, the idea of using happiness as a motivator in nearly every aspect of life became a conceivable discussion (Veenhoven 2004). Veenhoven suggests that utilitarianism is a useful philosophy and should be considered in policy formation today. His work is largely qualitative and aims to discredit the notion that happiness is too subjective to be a trustworthy element in policy formation. Oswald (1997) also suggests that happiness data should be used in public policy. This school of thought aims to show the utility of happiness in creating public policy.

Lastly, Happiness Skepticism is the idea that happiness studies provide highly subjective data and are not necessarily trustworthy for use in serious studies. Ferrer-i-Carbonell and Frijters (2004) find that although fixed individual traits, or the differences in characteristics among individuals, can dramatically alter the interpretation of a dataset, studies often ignore or dismiss the need to account for them (655). This school of thought cautions against using happiness data without properly accounting for fixed individual traits. While this theory is reasonable, it may be overestimating the significance of fixed individual traits across all circumstances.

The five schools of thought provide insights pertaining to the study of social welfare and happiness. It is valuable to note opposition to the use of happiness in study (such as that expressed by Happiness Skepticism); however, the argument for the need to consider the effects of policy on overall life satisfaction is more convincing because happiness is a superior measure of success than economic factors (Utilitarian Policy Formation). The idea that well-being of a population should be a goal in public policy is convincing, yet qualitative in nature. Overall, Welfare-Rooted Satisfaction is the most convincing school of thought because it addresses the relationship between the welfare state and happiness with logic and understanding based on statistical findings. Equality-Rooted Happiness relates to Welfare-Rooted Satisfaction, and its base in economic prosperity has been questioned. In answering the question of the effect of the welfare state on happiness levels, Welfare-Rooted Satisfaction is the most convincing school of thought.

Analyzing Welfare and Happiness

Welfare-Rooted Satisfaction suggests a direct relationship between the extent of the welfare state and the happiness of the population. This relationship is interesting to explore because it indicates that people are happier when government welfare programs are more generous, which has been implied by extant research from today's most highly developed countries. Progress in the most highly developed countries can create an equality gap that leaves some citizens with unmet basic needs. Additionally, as technology has advanced over the past century, basic needs have expanded. Risks are higher, healthcare is more expensive, and maintaining employment sufficient to support oneself is a time-consuming and expensive process. The goal of welfare programs is to provide people with the assistance they need to support their lives. This theory suggests that greater welfare provisions increase happiness because they ease the burden of advancements in today's society. While citizens may pay significantly higher taxes in exchange for these services, welfare programs provide the security people crave in a society with ever-greater risks.

Extensive data on 29 European Union (EU) member and candidate countries (see appendix A) offer an opportunity to study this theory. Composed of highly developed

countries with varying welfare provisions, the European Union functions as a unique laboratory for studying how welfare affects happiness. Welfare-Rooted Satisfaction posits that the welfare state addresses the factors that most influence happiness levels; thus, the welfare state itself is a predictor of happiness. This can be understood through the following diagram:

Extent of Welfare State → Happiness

As the extent of the welfare state grows, the overall level of happiness rises.

The welfare state affects happiness levels by influencing the population's sense of well-being. Many elements of the welfare state contribute to this perception, including its redistributive properties and social programs. Redistribution of wealth increases overall equality, which reduces the negative effects of perceived inequality. Social programs increase standards of living and allow opportunities to transcend socioeconomic boundaries. By studying happiness levels across Europe, I aim to determine whether states with the most extensive welfare programs have happier citizens and whether the two variables are significantly correlated.

To study this question, I investigate data from 29 European Union member and candidate countries over a three-year period, from 2010 to 2012. While the countries have common ties to the EU, they retain national sovereignty and have varying preferences for welfare programs. This diversity allows for a comprehensive analysis of the relationship between welfare states and happiness across Europe.

The concepts I am studying are *the extent of the welfare state* and *happiness levels*. The extent of the welfare state refers to the respective country's system of programs aimed at improving quality of life. Welfare programs can provide financial assistance, add benefits to already existing programs, or create entirely new programs. Healthcare, education, and unemployment benefits are examples of welfare in some states. While these programs aim to improve quality of life, fiscally speaking, they are extremely expensive. Since government funds come primarily from taxes, populations often feel opposed to the tax increases necessary to support new welfare programs. Though these programs have many other notable advantages and disadvantages that are widely discussed issues, I focus on whether people living with extensive welfare states are happier on average. In this article, happiness refers to feelings of life satisfaction and overall well-being as measured through survey questions about respondents' satisfaction with different areas of their lives.

The data I am using to evaluate my hypothesis are collected by the European Commission and World Bank. For my independent variable measuring the extent of the welfare state, I use expenditures on social protection in percent gross domestic product (GDP) as collected by the European Commission. My dependent variable comes from the qualitative Eurobarometer survey data, provided by the European Commission, which asks about life conditions and satisfaction across all 29 member and candidate countries included in this study. I have recoded this variable to show only the percentage of the population that is "very satisfied with life," compared to all other answers (such as "fairly satisfied with life"). My control variables include GDP per capita in current U.S. dollars as recorded by the World Bank, equality in gini coefficient as recorded by the European Commission, and level of freedom as measured

and recorded by Freedom House. Because zero is considered perfect equality for the gini coefficient, it was necessary to recode the variable inversely to reflect the direction of the other variables. This was completed by subtracting the gini coefficient from 100. For the same reason, it was also necessary to recode the Freedom House rating. The rating is divided into political rights and civil liberties, so I created a new variable summing the two in order to account for both categories. Finally, because the rating is inverted, I produced the final variable by subtracting the combined variable from 10.

I evaluated my argument by determining whether extensive welfare states and happiness levels are likely related by causation. I ran bivariate correlations between each independent or control variable and the dependent variable to determine the strength of the relationship. Then, I ran an ordinary least squares (OLS) regression to determine statistical significance and which variable is the strongest predictor. The strengths of this methodology include comprehensive data, ease of access from the European Commission and World Bank, and straightforward tests of significance. Weaknesses may be perceived in the subjectivity of the collection of happiness data and the comparison between countries across Europe because of either their considerable differences or their considerable similarities.

In this study, I posit that more extensive welfare states yield higher overall happiness levels. Through analysis of data from the European Commission, I evaluate whether there is statistical significance and a strong relationship between the two variables.

Statistical Assessment of Welfare and Happiness

Through analysis of data from 29 European states across three years, we gain a more complete understanding of the relationship between welfare and happiness. By comparing how expenditure on social protection, GDP per capita, the gini coefficient, and the Freedom House rating affect the percentage of people who are very satisfied with life, we can determine whether government spending on social protection is a predictor of happiness. The data show that while a strong positive relationship exists between expenditure on social protection and the percentage of people who are very satisfied with life, the relationship is not statistically significant when compared with GDP per capita and the gini coefficient. Based on ordinary least squares regression, we can reject the hypothesis that government spending on welfare is positively related to life satisfaction levels.

By running bivariate correlations, I assessed the strength of each relationship between the independent or control variables and the percentage of the population that is very satisfied with life (dependent variable). The following table combines the results of the bivariate correlation tests:

Table 1. Bivariate correlations between independent/control variables and percentage of population very satisfied with life.

Percent GDP expenditure on social protection	.518**
GDP per capita in current USD	.691**
Gini coefficient (inverse)	.555**
Freedom House rating (inverse)	.467**

Note: Values are Pearson's correlation coefficients. Dependent variable is % population very satisfied with life. ** Correlation is significant at the .01 level (2-tailed). Data are from the Eurostat, World Bank, and European Commission. Available at: epp.eurostat. ec.europa.eu, data.worldbank.org, and ec.europa.eu/public_opinion.

For Pearson's correlation coefficient, an absolute value between 0.5 and 1 indicates a strong relationship. Thus, the tests show the strongest relationship between GDP per capita and the dependent variable. GDP per capita and gini coefficient also show strong relationships with the dependent variable, while the Freedom House rating exhibits a weaker relationship.

The bivariate correlation tests, however, do not allow for an assessment of the statistical significance of the variables as compared to one another. An OLS regression test addresses the significance and allows a comparison between the effects of each independent or control variable on the dependent variable.

Because each independent or control variable shows a relationship to the dependent variable, the independent and control variables are all included in the OLS regression. The following table shows the unstandardized coefficients and standard errors of each independent or control variable; asterisks indicate significance.

Table 2. OLS regression of factors affecting states' happiness levels.

Percent GDP expenditure on social protection	.367
	(.264)
GDP per capita in current USD	.000*
	(.000)
Gini coefficient (inverse)	1.428*
	(.402)
Freedom House rating (inverse)	1.789
	(2.302)
Constant	-113.102*
	(25.713)
Adjusted R^2	.569
N	87

Note: Values are unstandardized regression coefficients. Values in parentheses are standard errors. * $p < 0.05$. Data are from the Eurostat, World Bank, and European Commission. Available at: epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu, data.worldbank.org, and ec.europa.eu/public_opinion.

We find that only GDP per capita and the gini coefficient have statistically significant relationships with the percentage of the population that is very satisfied with life. This test challenges the hypothesized positive relationship between expenditure on social protection and the percentage of the population that is very satisfied with life. While this finding contradicts the expected result, it leaves room for future research. Happiness data is limited; however, survey data is continually improving in its ability to measure such qualitative concepts. Additionally, the definition of social protection spending can be further explored to more fully understand how welfare impacts life satisfaction.

Conclusions and Future Directions

This test of state welfare generosity on citizen happiness does not support my hypothesis. Based on the utilitarian idea that happiness should be a prime motivator of public policy, I asked whether social welfare increases a population's overall levels of life satisfaction. While my hypothesis was not confirmed, it is important to note that the sole inclusion of European data may have affected the relationship between happiness and welfare in the study. There is significant variation in European social policy; however, the standard threshold for European social policy could mean that people's basic needs are met to the point where variation no longer influences happiness. It is possible that the threshold is the reason the relationship was not found statistically significant. As strategies for accurate measurement of qualitative data continually improve and the definitions of welfare and social protection shift, studies regarding life satisfaction and welfare will become increasingly relevant. As the welfare debate grows, utilitarianism may become more prevalent in its use as a method for evaluating and developing policy.

Statistical findings pertaining to the relationship between happiness and welfare could differ with data collected over an expanded time period and geographical area. While this study used only European countries across three recent years, a study across the world over a much larger time period could yield more representative results. Through this research, we see that no one factor causes happiness; rather, a combination of many factors yields the greatest life satisfaction. While economic factors evidently play a significant role, the possibilities yet unexplored by world data could revolutionize the ways we evaluate happiness.

Bibliography

Alesina, A., R. Di Tella, and R. MacCulloch. "Inequality and Happiness: Are Europeans and Americans Different?" *Journal of Public Economics* 88, no. 9–10 (2004): 2009–42.

Belička, I. "Happiness in Europe: Subjective Well-Being and Exclusion in the European Union." *Contemporary Sociology: A Journal of Reviews* 40, no. 5 (2012): 1–15.

Easterlin, R. A. "Will Raising the Incomes of All Increase the Happiness of All?" *Journal of Economic Behavior & Organization* 27, no. 1 (1995): 35–47.

European Commission. "Public Opinion." 2013. http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/cf/showtable. cfm?keyID=1&nationID=11,1,27,28,17,2,18,13,32,6,3,4,22,33,7,8,20,21,9,23,34,24,12,19,3 5,29,26,25,5,14,10,30,15,&startdate=2012.05&enddate=2012.05.

Eurostat. "Expenditure on Social Protection." 2013. http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/tgm/table.do?tab
=table&init=1&language=en&pcode=tps00098&plugin=1.

———. "Gini Coefficient of Equivalised Disposable Income." 2013. http://appsso.eurostat.
ec.europa.eu/nui/show.do?dataset=ilc_di12&lang=en.

Ferrer-i-Carbonell, A., and P. Frijters. "How Important Is Methodology for the Estimates of the
Determinants of Happiness?" *Economic Journal* 114, no. 497 (2004): 641–59.

Freedom House. "Freedom House Rating." 2013. https://www.freedomhouse.org/sites/default/
files/Map%20of%20Freedom%202013%2C%20final.pdf.

Oswald, A. J. "Happiness and Economic Performance." *Economic Journal* 107, no. 445 (1997):
1815–31.

Pacek, A., and B. Radcliff. "Assessing the Welfare State: The Politics of Happiness."
Perspectives on Politics 6, no. 2 (2008): 267–77.

Radcliff, B. "Politics, Markets, and Life Satisfaction: The Political Economy of Human
Happiness." *American Political Science Review* 95, no. 4 (2001): 939–52.

Veenhoven, R. "Happiness as a Public Policy Aim: The Greatest Happiness Principle." In
Positive Psychology in Practice. Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, 2004.

World Bank. "GDP per Capita (Current US$)." 2013. http://databank.worldbank.org/data/home.
aspx.

Appendix A
The 29 European Union Member Countries in This Study

Austria (AT)
Belgium (BE)
Bulgaria (BG)
Croatia (HR)
Cyprus (CY)
Czech Republic (CZ)
Denmark (DK)
Estonia (EE)
Finland (FI)
France (FR)
Germany (DE)
Greece (GR)
Hungary (HU)
Iceland (IS)
Ireland (IE)
Italy (IT)
Latvia (LV)
Lithuania (LT)
Luxembourg (LU)
Malta (MT)
Netherlands (NL)
Poland (PL)
Portugal (PT)
Romania (RO)
Slovakia (SK)
Slovenia (SI)
Spain (ES)
Sweden (SE)
UK (GB)

Appendix B
Life Satisfaction and Social Protection Spending by Country
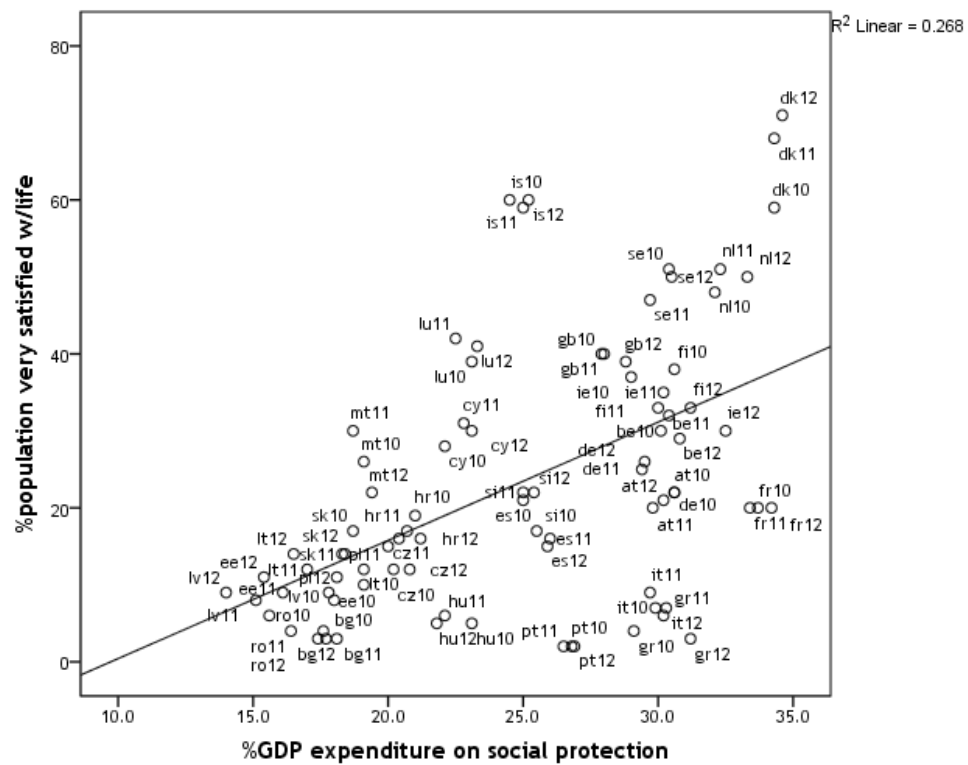
Note: Data are from the Eurostat and European Commission. Available at: epp.eurostat.
ec.europa.eu and ec.europa.eu/public_opinion.

Technology-Mediated Communications and Sales: The Effects on the Workplace

Kirsten M. Fohrman, author
Dr. Melissa G. Bublitz, Marketing and Supply Chain Management, faculty mentor

Kirsten M. Fohrman graduated from UW Oshkosh with a B.B.A. in marketing with concentrations in sales and legal studies. Fohrman has a keen interest in project management and her research focuses on ways to leverage technology in order to foster a more effective and efficient workplace through the use of social technology business tools.

Dr. Melissa G. Bublitz is an assistant professor of marketing at UW Oshkosh. Her research focuses on the intersection of marketing and public policy, investigating topics such as food decision-making, financial decision-making, health and well-being, sustainability, social marketing, and nonprofit marketing. Her work seeks to leverage marketing science to empower consumers and organizations to make choices that advance the well-being of individuals and communities.

Abstract

Electronic communications and social media are increasingly used by businesses to attract an audience, engage consumers, and communicate with customers. While these forms of business communication are convenient and cost effective, less is known about how technology-mediated communications influence important personal dimensions of business relationships. In professional selling, trust, commitment, and loyalty are developed through the relationship selling process, a form of selling that focuses on personal components. This research explores (1) how electronic communications and social media interactions are being used at various steps in the sales process and (2) perceptions of how replacing personal forms of sales interactions with technology-mediated communications influence a salesperson's effectiveness. Our research team, composed of Kirsten M. Fohrman and Dr. Melissa G. Bublitz, found that, contrary to common belief, electronic communications may not be replacing traditional forms of communication, but may in fact have an additive effect. In some situations, this actually may hurt, rather than help, productivity. We found that while respondents perceive social technology to be a valuable, effective, and efficient tool for selling, they see it as a significantly less personal form of communication. According to the sample, social technology is most effective in helping sales professionals to reach their goals and objectives in the following three stages in the sales process: knowledge acquisition, lead generation, and customer follow-up. We explore other differences in how social technology is being used in the workplace and make recommendations for future research.

Introduction

Many jobs have transitioned to using more electronic forms of communication such as e-mail, text messages, Skype, and social media versus traditional forms of

communication such as face-to-face meetings, typed memos, and personal phone calls. The field of marketing and sales is no exception. For example, generating a lead for a potential new customer may be done via LinkedIn instead of a traditional tradeshow. A sales presentation for a new piece of software or machine equipment may be delivered using WebEx or other technology-mediated applications rather than an in-person sales visit. Research indicates that electronically mediated communications have a negative impact on various social components in the workplace because they "filter out personal and social cues" (Markus 1994, 119). Understanding how sales professionals perceive these forms of communication is the first step in understanding how to leverage technology to make a more effective and efficient workplace. This research explores the *salesperson's* perception of the effectiveness of using various electronic communication technologies. However, individual salespeople's perceptions of their own performance is only one piece of understanding the influences of technology-mediated communications in the workplace. Future research should also explore customers' and managers' perceptions together with measures of actual efficiency and effectiveness.

Statement of Problem

Electronic communications and social media are increasingly used by businesses to attract an audience, engage consumers, and communicate with customers. While this form of business communication is often assumed to be convenient and cost effective, less is known about how workers believe these newer communication media influence their effectiveness and relationships with customers. It is likely that different categories of jobs as well as different generations may view the effectiveness of technology-mediated communications differently. Therefore, this research investigates the job category of sales professionals across different generations. To complete their primary job responsibilities, sales professionals frequently communicate with customers before, during, and after a sale. Relationship selling conducted by sales professionals is often a multiple-step process anchored in communications with the customer. By way of primary and secondary research, this study will explore (1) how electronic communications and social media interactions are being used in the various steps of the sales process and (2) perceptions of how replacing personal forms of sales interactions with technology-mediated communications influences how the salesperson perceives communication effectiveness.

Literature Review

Research suggests that technology can enhance the effectiveness and efficiency of the sales process. However, the impact is not all positive, as Greg W. Marshall et al. (2012) point out in their study titled "Revolution in Sales: The Impact of Social Media and Related Technology on the Selling Environment." Our research seeks to expand our understanding of how technology influences personal/relational dimensions of relationship selling. Specifically, our research team, composed of Kirsten M. Fohrman and Dr. Melissa G. Bublitz, examine the question posed by Marshall et al.—"where in the sales process does social media have the most potential impact (positive or negative)" (361)—and investigate in more detail the salesperson's perceptions of that impact.

Prior research reveals six themes in the revolution of social media and sales: connectivity, relationships, selling tools, generation, global, and the sales/marketing interface (Marshall et al. 2012). This research explores more fully the elements most closely related to the theme of relationships—connectivity, relationships, and generational influences—in technology acceptance and usage.

Marshall et al. define the first element, connectivity, as "the level at which salespeople are connected or available to their employers and their clients" (2012, 351). Marshall et al.'s research shows that demand for connectivity is increasing from both the employer and client perspective. Two main concepts emerge in relation to attitudes toward this change. The first is that individuals embrace connectivity and it becomes a part of their daily routine. This concept captures "the positive sentiment expressed by participants toward the impact of technology. Here, connectivity through social media technology is viewed not only as a helpful and convenient facilitator but also very much as a fundamental and integrated part of the sales planning role" (352). Marshall et al. identify how workers integrate technology into their workday routine. Workers expressed how technology can help them "get ahead in planning for the next day," and one stated, "The first thing I do every morning is log into my computer to check sales" (352).

The other concept that emerges illuminates how salespeople feel that "there is no place to hide." As Marshall et al. observe, "Connectivity through technology is viewed as something that reduces efficiency and effectiveness." An individual from this group stated, "'I feel a need to be "plugged in" and constantly going all day. I can't turn the phone off because there's an expectation for total access. Ten minutes of free time is a luxury'" (2012, 353). This element of connectivity transforming the job of a salesperson provides us with insight into the ugly side of technology in sales: the expectation that salespeople are always available. In this research we examine in more detail the tension between the positive and negative effects electronic communications can have at different stages of the sales process.

The second element of Marshall et al.'s (2012) research we explore is how technology influences the salesperson-to-customer relationship, including socialness, personal contact, and buyer preference. *Socialness* is defined by Marshall et al. as "the degree to which social networking is utilized in business situations" (353). This may differ depending on individual preferences, industry type, and the stage in the sales process. *Personal contact* is the "amount of face-to-face contact in sales networks," which we believe is heavily contingent on which step in the sales process is being referred to (353). Finally, *buyer preference* is described as "the degree to which a buyer utilizes SM [social media] technology in their relationship with sellers" (353). Often, factors such as company culture, regional culture, and generational differences play a role in both salesperson usage and buyer communication preferences. Overall, exploring this element of relationship in our research will provide us with the background to delve further into our study, which focuses on how the influences of technology-mediated communications on sales interactions may differ based on the beliefs individuals involved in the communication exchange hold.

The final element discussed in "Revolution in Sales" is "generational differences":

A perception exists among participants that younger people are more likely to use, and feel more comfortable using, social media.

> The comments collected suggest that younger buyers and sellers are
> likely to prefer virtual, social media technology–based relationships,
> as opposed to the face-to-face relationships favored by their older
> colleagues. Older participants suggested that this trend works to
> the detriment of relationships in general, but it is clear from the
> data collected that there are situations where positive outcomes had
> occurred through removing the face-to-face element. (Marshall et al.
> 2012, 356)

When analyzing where in the sales process social media has the most potential impact we aim to help managers and sales professionals better understand how to leverage technology-mediated communications to enhance efficiency and effectiveness.

Raj Agnihotri et al.'s (2012) article titled "Bringing 'Social' into Sales" provided a foundation for our research with their framework for how social media adds value to an organization's achievement of market strategy. Agnihotri et al. also discuss what criteria are needed for a strong social media strategy, such as social activeness, relationship marketing, and various social media mechanisms. They explain that "value is a multidimensional concept that is context specific" (336), which makes it difficult to study. However, researchers have agreed that in its simplest form, value comes from resources, services, and experiences, and those should be embedded in the sales and marketing strategies. The idea of value creation is essential in this research, as we explore perceptions of salespeople's effectiveness.

A basis of this study is that electronically mediated forms of communication have a negative impact on social components in the workplace and are perceived as "less personal." In order to build a foundation for this, we turned to M. L. Markus (1994) and his research in "Finding a Happy Medium: Explaining the Negative Effects of Electronic Communication on Social Life at Work." This article details that "negative social effects of electronic communications technology are often attributed to the characteristics of the technology itself" (119). He explains, "Electronic mail, for instance, filters out personal and social cues and provides new capabilities not found in traditional media, and it has been argued that these factors have consequences such as 'flaming' and depersonalization" (119).

Markus explored this theory in a case study of an organization "in which electronic mail was heavily used":

> Users were found to select email deliberately when they wished to
> avoid unwanted social interactions. At the same time, they actively
> took steps to avoid negative outcomes, such as depersonalization of
> their relationships with subordinates. However despite their well-
> intentioned efforts, some negative social effects did occur that cannot
> entirely be attributed to the technological characteristics of electronic
> communication. (1994, 119)

The study concludes that electronic communications have negative effects on social components of the workplace.

"The Role of Technology at the Interface between Salespeople and Consumers," written by Michael Ahearne and Adam Rapp (2010), focuses primarily on business-to-consumer relationships, as the authors see a gap in knowledge in this area of study, as opposed to the frequently studied business-to-business context. Ahearne and

Rapp's research offers insightful contributions on facts that prevent disintermediation, including importance of a relationship, role of persuasion, and product complexity. It also contains data on how technology implementation is correlated with absenteeism and voluntary turnover, as well as perceptions on organizational commitment and job satisfaction. This information assists in offering an explanation of why social media is perceived to be having a negative effect on customer loyalty and commitment.

A portion of our research explores how various social technology platforms are being used by sales professionals. Paul Christ and Rolph Anderson's (2011) study titled "The Impact of Technology on Evolving Roles of Salespeople" keys in on these different media. Christ and Anderson's article lays out a detailed list of the benefits that technology has on sales. Furthermore, it discusses each technology medium in detail and its evolution over time. This will supplement the explanation of how and why technology has evolved over time so that we are able to further explain its impacts, specifically across the different platforms.

We expect to find that at steps in the sales process that rely heavily on relational components, increased reliance on technology-mediated communications is perceived by salespeople to have a negative impact on customer loyalty and commitment as compared to more personal forms of communication. Therefore, our next step will be to analyze the steps in the sales process. For the purposes of this study, we will adapt Kenneth E. Clow and Donald Baack's (2014) definition of the steps in the selling process, as outlined in their textbook titled *Integrated Advertising, Promotion, and Marketing Communications*. The steps are as follows: (1) generating leads, (2) qualifying prospects, (3) knowledge acquisition, (4) sales presentation, (5) handling objections, (6) sales closing, and finally (7) follow-up. While each step contains some degree of personal interaction, the ones that involve the most personal communication are steps four, five, six, and seven.

Clow and Baack (2014) explain that the types of sales presentations typically used fall into one of the following categories: stimulus-response, need-satisfaction, problem-solution, and mission-sharing. Stimulus-response is usually a canned sales pitch that is memorized. It is often used by telemarketers and retail sales clerks. The need-satisfaction approach, on the other hand, "strives to discover a customer's needs during the first part of the sales presentation and then provide solutions" (116). We will further explore this particular type of sales pitch because of its personal nature. By contrast, the problem-solution sales approach can be more clinical, with employees gathering data on their targeted clients (117). This is one form that social media is likely to have significant positive effects on. The final approach is mission-sharing, in which two organizations develop a common goal or mission that is mutually beneficial. We expect this approach will have the largest impact on customer loyalty and commitment, above all others.

Steps five and six of the sales process (handling objections and closing the sale) are likely to rely heavily on social and personal connections. Clow and Baack (2014) state that there are four methods for handling objection: head-on method, indirect method, compensation method, and the feel-felt-found method. Similarly, there are five methods of closing the sale that Clow and Baack address: direct close, trial close, summarization close, continuous "yes" close, and assumptive close. We will analyze these methods further when researching what situations are most influenced by social media.

The final step in the sales process, as described by Clow and Baack (2014), is the follow-up. Keeping customers happy after the purchase will result in repeat business, positive referrals, and, most relevant to companies, customer loyalty. Follow-up is often one of the most neglected steps in the sales process, so for the purposes of this project we will look further into the implication that social media has on this step.

We build on Clow and Baack's (2014) research by exploring how social technology is being used throughout the seven steps in the sales process, the differing uses of various social media platforms, and the potential negative effects of replacing traditional, personal forms of communication with technology-based forms of communication.

Methodology
Research Design

In order to gain insight into the ways that social technology is being leveraged in the workplace, we conducted a survey that was administered to various sales professionals in the community. The survey was comprised of three main categories of questions. The first set of questions assessed how social technology and social media are being used by respondents, both in a professional and personal context. Understanding what social media platforms they use and how often may help us understand what technological devices, such as laptops, tablets, and phones, are used and which are perceived as necessary.

The second category of questions inquired about respondents' perceptions of the effects technology has in the workplace. Respondents were asked to indicate the level to which they agreed with statements regarding the effectiveness, efficiency, and uses of various forms of technology being used for communications in the workplace today. This section also posed questions regarding both the potential positive and the negative effects at each stage of the selling process to address the hypothesis that perceptions of technology's effectiveness differ across the different stages.

The final section of the survey asked respondents to provide various demographic information including their role in the workplace, job title, gender, and age category, as well as their company industry, size, and work environment. See appendix A for the complete survey.

Hypotheses

Building on the literature, we formulated several hypotheses about who is using social technologies in the workplace and how they are being used. Specifically, we expect to find that:

1. Personal forms of sales interactions are perceived to be replacing non-personal and technology-based forms of communication.

2. Salespeople believe that the steps in the sales process that rely heavily on relational components (sales presentation, handling objections, sales closing, and follow-up) will see a stronger negative impact the more that social technology is applied.

3. The perceived value of social technology will vary by age, and we expect that younger professionals may see more value and perceive the use of social technology in their jobs more positively than older professionals.

Pilot Study

The survey was developed under the advisement of Dr. Melissa G. Bublitz and Dr. Bryan Lilly. Before the survey was administered, the questions were pretested by voluntary participants. Slight adjustments were made in order to ensure questions were clearly understood by respondents and that the answer selections were mutually exclusive and exhaustive according to field professionals.

Ethical Considerations

When conducting survey research with human participants, ethical considerations are imperative. Institutional Review Board (IRB) approval for the survey was obtained. This survey was administered in compliance with the code of ethics and practices established by the American Association of Public Opinion Research (AAPOR). This code calls for honesty, respect, and integrity in dealing with respondents, clients, and the public. Therefore, all participants were made aware of the content, sponsorship, and purpose of the survey so that they could make an informed decision about participation. Additionally, we assured respondents that all survey results would be anonymous.

At the closing of the survey a clause was included to thank respondents for taking the time to participate in the research and to offer the option for them to provide an e-mail address if they wanted a copy of their completed survey. We again invited them to contact researchers with any questions and concerns and provided contact information. Survey disclosures are included in appendix A.

Setting and Participants

The survey link was distributed to various sales professionals via e-mail and LinkedIn. Part one of the research distributed the survey to sales and marketing professionals at a local insurance firm in order to provide information to support management decisions on whether or not to pursue a more in-depth use of social technology in the company strategy. The response rate from this audience was 12 of 35 sales representatives, or 34.3%. The remainder of the sample (22 respondents) came from sales and marketing professionals in a range of industries who were recruited on LinkedIn, a social platform focused on professional development. The following is a demographic summary of the final sample, which included 34 respondents.

Role: The survey was distributed specifically to sales and marketing professionals, with 25% of respondents reporting a strictly marketing role, 25% of respondents reporting a strictly sales role, and the majority of respondents, at 42.9%, reporting a role that included both marketing and sales. The remaining 7% of respondents considered their roles in the "other" category, specifically "social media" and "training and development."

Age: Results showed that 46.4% of participants were over the age of 34, making 53.6% age 34 and younger.

Gender: Of the 34 respondents, 28 chose to disclose their gender. Of those 28 individuals, results showed that gender was split 50/50 across respondents, offering an adequate representation of each gender.

Data Results and Analysis

The following is a summary of the research results by survey question.

Question 1 asked, "How (if at all) do you use each of the following social media platforms?" We asked this question to contextualize several of the questions asked later in the survey. The social media platforms listed are those that are most commonly used in the workplace, in particular in sales and marketing roles.

We found that the most commonly used social media platform among respondents was LinkedIn at 97%, followed by YouTube at 91%, and then Facebook at 88%. The least commonly used platform was Pinterest, with a total of 44% of respondents indicating they use that social platform (fig. 1).
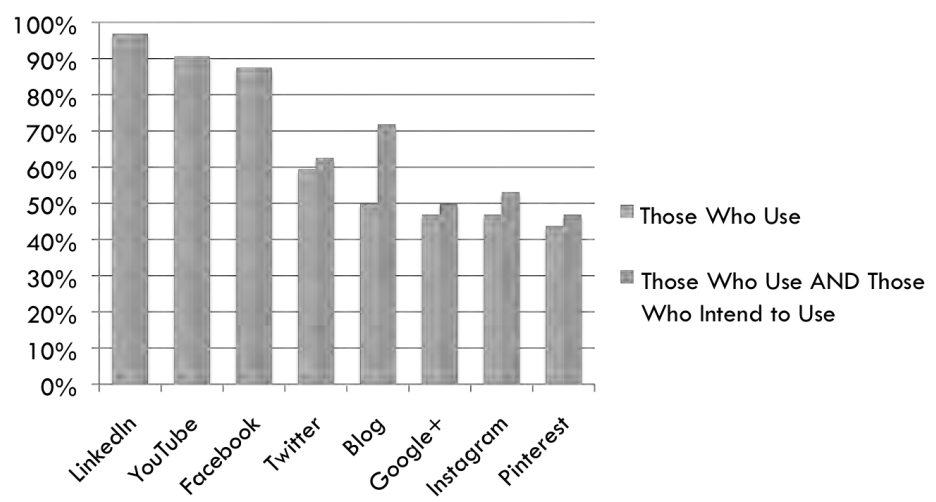
Figure 1. Use of various social media platforms.

We found that on top social platforms—LinkedIn, YouTube, and Facebook—there was no difference between the percentage currently using and the percentage who plan to use in the future. This may indicate that penetration of work users of these platforms has peaked. There were only slight differences in the two categories for Twitter, Google+, Instagram, and Pinterest, with a small number of those surveyed planning to add this platform to their social tools in the future. However, when questioned regarding the use of blogs, 22% of respondents indicated they plan to use this platform in the future. This offers an opportunity for future research and analysis, which will be expanded on further in the recommendations section of this research.

Question 2 asked, "Observing how you and others use social technology in the workplace, to what extent would you say that it is. . . ." This question then listed various characteristics of communication and was used to measure general perceptions on how effective, efficient, valuable, and personal social technology is as a form of communication. Results showed that of these four characteristics, respondents rated "effective" highest, followed by "efficient," then "valuable." The final characteristic, "personal," reflected the lowest average, coming in last of the four.

Table 1. Assessment of social media by survey respondents.

Assessment of Social Media		
	Mean	Standard Deviation
Effective form of com.	6.90	2.12
Efficient form of com.	6.87	1.89
Valuable form of com.	6.80	2.30
Personal form of com.	5.83	2.83

The four variables were then ranked according to their mean and grouped in order in table 1. Within the top group of characteristics (effective, efficient, and valuable), there was not a significant statistical difference in how participants rated social technology. However, respondents rated social technology as a slightly less personal form of communication (t = 1.954, p = 0.06). This marginally significant difference provides some evidence that while social media are valuable, efficient, and effective communication tools in the workplace, they are less personal.

Question 3 measured the degree to which respondents felt comfortable with using social media for work purposes. We hypothesized that we would see a difference between age categories in respondents' degrees of comfort with social technology. We tested this hypothesis in two ways. Splitting our sample by age group (i.e., 34 and under vs. 35+), we did not find a significant statistical difference in how comfortable respondents felt with social technology (M < 35 = 4.73, SD = 2.02; M35+ = 4.31, SD = 2.63; t = 0.485, p = NS). To probe deeper into possible age differences, we also examined mean comfort level with social media by age group. While our sample was too small to reliably test for a statistical difference, the data in figure 2 shows directional support for our hypothesis. Given a larger sample that would allow us to compare a larger set of age differences, we suspect that younger sales representatives may be more comfortable with social technology in the workplace, which would support our hypothesis. It is also important to understand that this correlation with age hints that this continued transition to an increased reliance on electronic communications in the workplace may be received differently by different generations of workers, and organizations should focus their training and support on helping make electronic communications efficient tools.
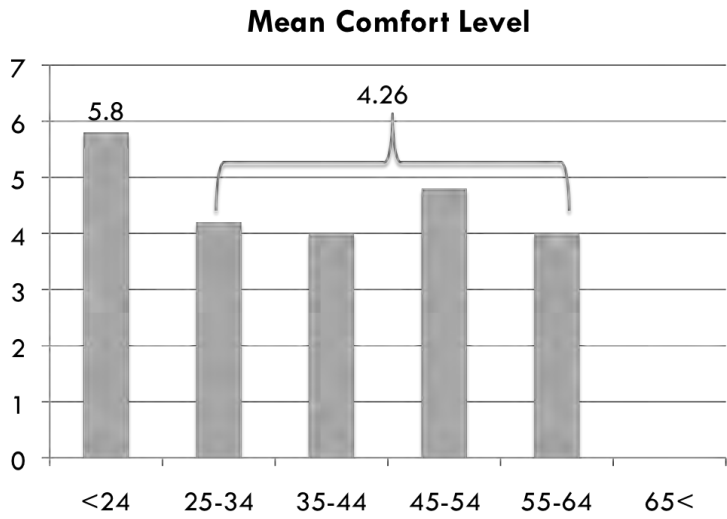
Mean Comfort Level

Figure 2. Average comfort level of social media use across age groups.

Question 4 asked, "For what purposes do you use social media in relation to your work or profession (including your personal professional development)? Check all that apply." The inclusion of this question allowed us to measure the percentage of respondents who use social technology for each of the targeted purposes. We expected that the results of this question would be directly related to the value perceived by respondents. The various fields in these questions were pretested in a focus group setting to ensure the survey had a wide range of sales tasks pertinent across industries and roles.

Social Media Purposes
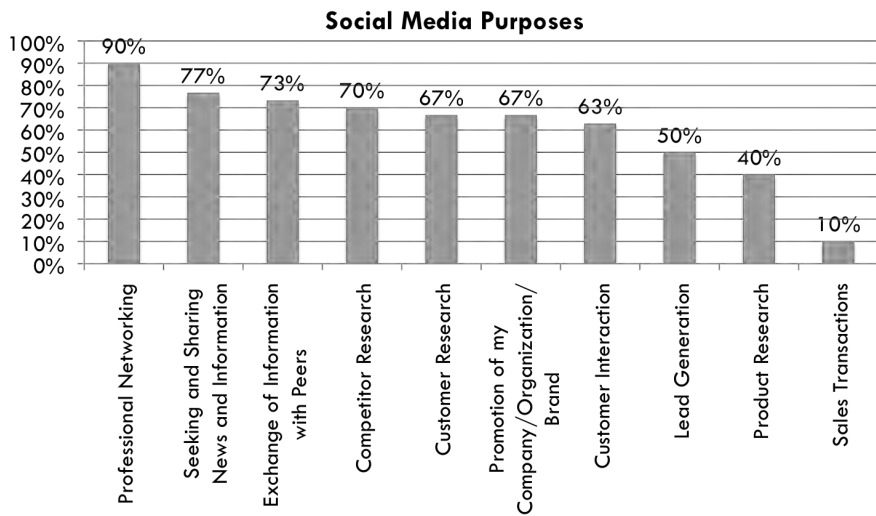
Figure 3. Purposes of social media use by survey respondents.

The results of question 4 revealed that the largest percentage of respondents use social media for professional networking, at 90%, followed by seeking and sharing news and information, at 77%. The smallest percentage of respondents indicated they use social media for sales transaction purposes (fig. 3). These results provide support for Hypothesis 3, that social technology usefulness differs across different stages of the selling process. Further analysis of data relevant to Hypothesis 3 is examined in the analyses for questions 8 and 9.

After examining the many ways respondents use social media for work purposes (question 4), we created a new variable to assess the relationship between beliefs about social media and usage in the workplace. The new variable represents the total number of different ways respondents indicated they use social technology. This variable was named "Variety and Volume of SM Use." We examined the relationship between this new variable and other beliefs and variables within our data. Table 2 shows a set of relationships that are positively correlated to this new index variable. Not surprisingly, respondents who reported using social media many different ways in their jobs also reported feeling more comfortable with social media; reported the beliefs that social-technology users outsell non-social-technology users and that social technology has a positive effect on the knowledge acquisition step in the sales process; and agreed that social technology is a valuable sales tool, an efficient form of communication, and an integral part of the sales strategy that closes the geographic gap between salespeople and their customers. These results are logical and expected.

The results of question 4 revealed that the largest percentage of respondents use social media for professional networking, at 90%, followed by seeking and sharing news and information, at 77%.

Table 2. Correlation between comfort level and purpose volume.

Variable Compared to Purpose Volume	Correlation Coefficient	p-value
Comfort w/ social media use	.644	.000
Social-technology users outsell non-social-technology users	.483	.007
Belief: positive effect on knowledge acquisition step	.465	.013
Belief: social technology is a valuable sales tool	.428	.018
Belief: SM is an efficient form of communication	.425	.019
Belief: SM is an integral part of sales strategy	.391	.033
Belief: SM closes the geographic gap	.381	.038

Further, there was a marginally significant inverse relationship between variety and volume of use and age (table 3). Younger participants used social media in a broader variety of ways in their work. This finding provides additional support for Hypothesis 3, that younger sales professionals perceive social media and technology as a more valuable piece of the professional selling process. It is important to note that it is not

surprising to find that those who are more comfortable with technology-mediated communications use them more. When we apply the age differences, this may point to a training opportunity. This research implies that if older users become more comfortable with technology-mediated communications, they may use technology-mediated communications more and will also find them to be a more useful tool in the sales process. Future research should investigate the intersection of these four variables: age, comfort level, usage, and perceived usefulness.

Table 3. Correlation between variety of use and age.

Variable Compared to Purpose Volume	Correlation Coefficient	p-value
Age	-.371	.052

Question 5 asked, "On average, approximately how many hours per week do you spend using the following forms of communication for work purposes?" In conjunction, question 6 asked respondents to indicate how necessary they feel various technological devices are. We felt that the results of questions 5 and 6 would be applicable for providing recommendations to businesses. We found that respondents spend the most time with e-mail and face-to-face communication. Respondents indicated they use phone (talk and text) for a lower average time. Skype is by far the least used form of communication (fig. 4).

Hours Spent Per Week
Phone (Talk and Text)

- Less than 1
- 1 to 10
- 11 to 20
- 21 to 30
- More than 30

Hours Spent Per Week
Social Media

- Less than 1
- 1 to 10
- 11 to 20
- 21 to 30
- More than 30

Hours Spent Per Week
Email

0%

17%

20%

13%

50%

- Less than 1
- 1 to 10
- 11 to 20
- 21 to 30
- More than 30

Hours Spent Per Week
Skype

0%

7%

93%

- Less than 1
- 1 to 10
- 11 to 20
- 21 to 30
- More than 30

Hours Spent Per Week
Face to Face Communication

0%

13%

27%

20%

40%

- Less than 1
- 1 to 10
- 11 to 20
- 21 to 30
- More than 30

Figure 4. Hours of use per week.

We used question 6 to measure the degree of necessity for the following pieces of technology: computer at work, computer at home, smart phone (internet enabled), standard phone, and tablet. The question was posed to rank degree of necessity on a scale of 1 (not at all necessary) to 10 (absolutely necessary) (fig. 5). The analysis found that the average necessity level across respondents was highest for computer at work at an average of 9.7 on a 10-point scale, followed by smart phone at 8.9, and then computer at home at 7.7. According to respondents, the form of technology that was the least useful was a tablet, ranking at 5.0 usefulness.

Necessity of Each Technology
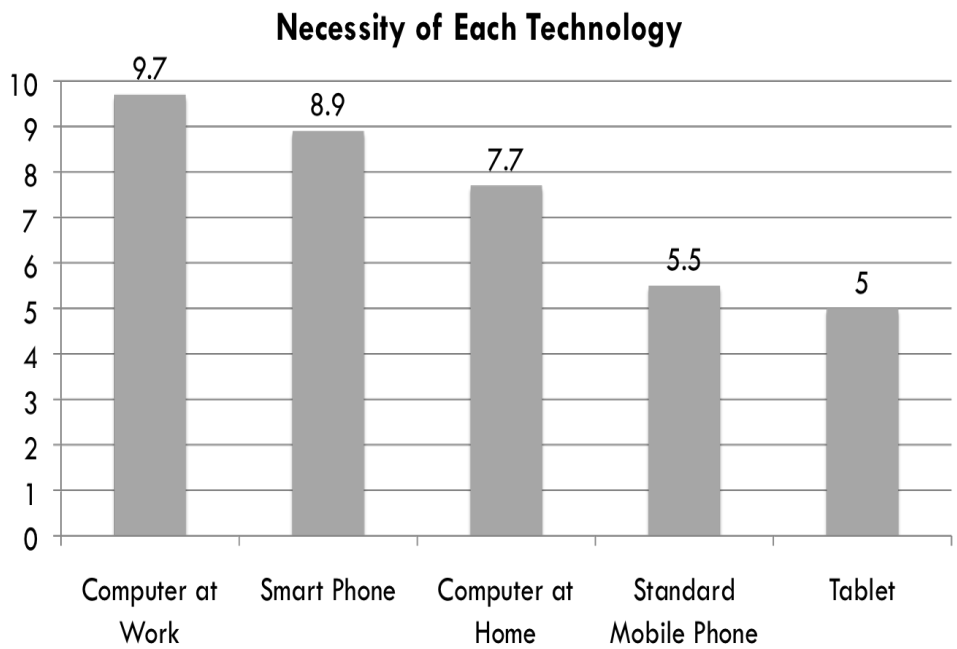
Figure 5. Necessity of each technology.

It is important to realize that although the tablet form of technology was ranked least important of these five types, scoring 5.0 on the scale, it corresponded to the label indicating it was considered "somewhat necessary," meaning that all of these forms of technology were considered to range from "somewhat necessary" to "absolutely necessary." None were considered to fall into the "not at all necessary" category. It is evident that technology in general has become an integral part of the workplace today.

Question 7 of the survey measures the perceived outcomes of social media use. The outcome options were developed by analyzing the main objectives and goals of most sales roles based on our review of the literature. Respondents were asked to rate the extent to which they agree with a list of statements about social technology on a scale from 1 to 10, 1 being "strongly disagree" and 10 being "strongly agree." (The full statements tested can be found in appendix A).

Belief of Each Statements
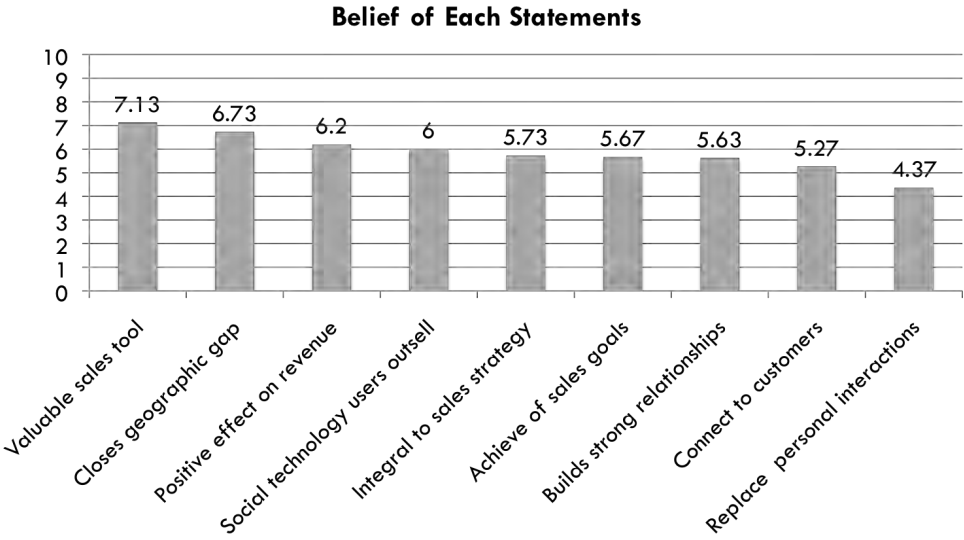
Figure 6. Belief of each statement relative to social technology.

In all, we found that the statement respondents agreed with the most was, "[Social technology] can be a valuable sales tool," followed by, "It closes the geographic gap between my customers and myself." The statement "[Social technology] is replacing forms of personal sales interactions" generated the lowest level of agreement of all the statements tested (fig. 6). So despite the fact that sales professionals are using more technology-mediated communications and social media at work, they appear to believe these communications are additive and not replacing other, more personal forms of communication, which contradicts Hypothesis 1.

Questions 8 and 9 measure the perceived positive and negative effects of social media use on salespeople's abilities to accomplish goals and objectives at each of the seven steps in the sales process. Hypothesis 2 was that we would see a lower positive effect and a higher negative effect of social technology on the steps in the sales process that require a more personal component, specifically sales presentation, handling objections, sales closing, and follow-up. We used two questions to test this—question 8 measured positive effects and question 9 measured negative effects—since our pretest revealed that these communication technologies and media can be both positive and negative, depending on how the salesperson utilizes them.

Results of questions 8 and 9 showed that respondents perceive social media to have the most potential for positive impact on the "knowledge acquisition" and "generating leads" steps in the sales process. "Handling objections" and "sales closing" stages were perceived to be the stages with the most potential for negative impact when using social media to communicate with customers.
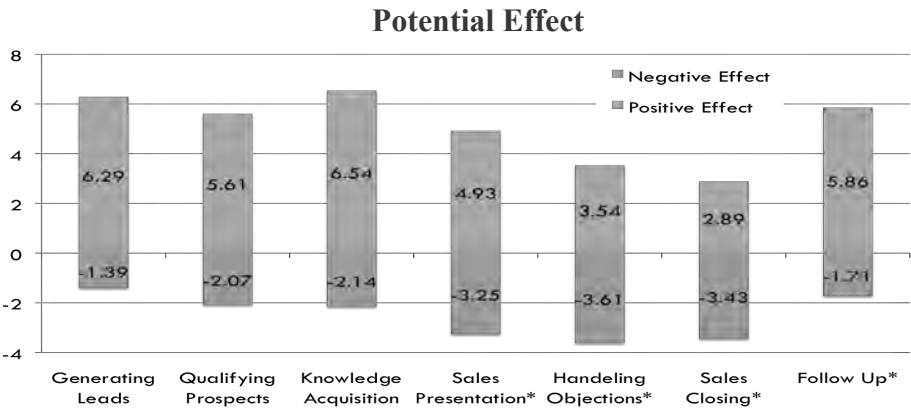
Potential Effect

Figure 7. Potential positive and negative effect on each stage in the selling process. *Note*: * Signifies steps that are relational in nature.

Once again, our small sample size made it difficult to reliably compare respondents' opinions. However, the averages presented in figure 7 seem to provide some support for Hypothesis 2 at three of these four steps: sales presentation, handling objections, and sales closing. However, at the follow-up stage of the sales process, participants seemed to indicate that social technology potentially has more positive than negative effects. This concept is explored further in the recommendations portion of this article.

Limitations

The survey link was distributed via LinkedIn, so some of the questions may be slightly skewed toward a higher proportion of regular social technology users, in particular the questions that address use of and comfort level with LinkedIn.

Additionally, self-report bias may have played a role in the survey responses. While self-report bias is a limitation of the survey data collected, it is only one piece of the full picture. Future work should measure customer and manager perceptions and study any gaps between their perceptions of effective and efficient communications and those of salespeople. This idea is further discussed in the "Directions for Future Research" section.

Additionally, resource constraints led to a sample size of 34. We would have preferred a larger sample size in order to more reliably test our research hypotheses.

Discussion

Examining how sales professionals are using technology to communicate in the workplace reveals a large gap between the average number of respondents who use the blog platform and those who intend to use it. Clow and Baack (2014) explain that blogs are increasingly becoming a powerful marketing tool. Businesses are seeking more opportunities to create content they can share online in an effort to be seen by prospective customers, build up their source credibility, and attract quality leads.

This strategy, sometimes referred to as content marketing or an inbound marketing strategy, helps to build up a business's expertise and credibility in its industry. Online, it increases organic search engine optimization and helps prospects find the business on the Internet. In addition to blogs, marketers use e-books, white papers, and participation in group forums within their industry to build up their credibility online. As more sales professionals hear about the usefulness of blogs in a social marketing context, not only to seek information, but also to share their expertise and build a strong online presence, use of social platforms that support blogging and content creation will likely grow. Future research should explore why individuals are interested in blogging but not yet doing it and ways to teach sales professionals how to maximize this opportunity. Skills or knowledge to use this technique effectively may require additional training at the organizational level. Organizations that find blogging valuable to their marketing strategies may consider giving their employees the tools and skill sets to begin effectively blogging.

The second key finding stems from information regarding the usefulness of social technology compared to how sales professionals currently use available technologies. Results of the survey indicate that the most common purposes of social technology are social networking, seeking and sharing information, and exchange of information. The least common purposes are sales transactions, product research, and lead generation. These results support Hypothesis 2, which states that social technology seems to be best used for purposes with a personal or relational component, assuming respondents' level of use indicates best practice. Future research should explore the relationship between social-technology users and the effectiveness of social media beyond perception. The more that organizations can measure effectiveness by intentional lead growth from specific social strategies or the direct impact social strategies have on salesperson effectiveness or customer satisfaction, the better they can determine which tools enhance individual and organizational performance.

Along those same lines, we found further supporting evidence that the steps in the sales process that rely heavily on personal and relational components will see a negative impact when social technology is applied, which is also part of Hypothesis 2. While the selling steps may differ slightly across industries and roles, more research is needed to better understand how to use social technologies to accentuate the positive and minimize the negative effects in the sales process.

In accordance with Hypothesis 2, we found that the highest potential for negative effects when social media is applied is in the sales presentation, handling objections, and sales closing steps. We believe that the reason the follow-up stage demonstrates a significantly higher potential for positive effect than negative effect is because although it is relational in many circumstances, it is less personal. An opportunity for further research may explore the correlation and differences between these two variables.

Finally, more research is needed to explore Hypothesis 3, which is that age has an impact on use of and comfort level with social technology. Although it is commonly believed that there is a negative relationship between age and the use of and comfort level with social technology, this did not come through in the results of this study. A similar study with a much larger sample size may provide the opportunity to learn about this relationship in more depth. If a relationship does exist, it would be useful to identify what age categories see the highest comfort level. Smaller age categories

would enable researchers to find specific groupings of use, comfort level, and perceived value.

Conclusion

It is clear that social technology and social media are increasingly being considered a valuable sales tool in the world of marketing and sales. Our research findings indicate that electronic communications may not be replacing traditional forms of communication, but may in fact have an additive effect, which in some situations may hinder productivity, rather than help. The effects of different communication forms on customer relationships offer an opportunity for future research. Our research suggests that there may be an impact, but further study is required in order to determine the specific relationship dimensions (e.g., trust, commitment, and loyalty) impacted by technology-mediated communications as an addition to or a replacement for traditional communication vehicles in the workplace.

It is evident that social technology will continue to evolve in a way that changes how sales professionals seek and share information, promote themselves and their brands, and interact with their customers. In the technology-mediated world in which we work, understanding worker perceptions of the uses of electronic communications and how they help or hinder productivity is the first step in understanding how to leverage technology. Social technology has the potential to be a very powerful tool if organizations channel that power in a way that increases workforce effectiveness and efficiency.

Directions for Future Research

As previously noted, this study's primary focus was on the salesperson's perception of effectiveness. Future research might explore the customer's or manager's perceptions of the effectiveness of social technology in the workplace. Additionally, rather than measuring perceptions, researchers could examine actual effectiveness by using more objective measures of performance to determine if there is a gap between the impact of technology on perceived and actual performance.

In regard to how technology is being used to communicate, another opportunity for further study is the use of blogs in the workplace. A significant number of respondents indicated that they are not yet using blogs but intend to in the future. Researchers might explore what is keeping individuals from blogging and how to address that in the workplace. Skills or knowledge to use this technique effectively may require additional training at the organizational level. Organizations that find blogging valuable to their marketing strategies may consider providing their employees with opportunities to improve their blogging skills.

Bibliography

Agnihotri, Raj, Prabakar Kothandaraman, Rajiv Kashyap, and Ramendra Singh. "Bringing 'Social' into Sales: The Impact of Salespeople's Social Media Use on Service Behaviors and Value Creation." *Journal of Personal Selling & Sales Management* 32, no. 3 (2012): 333–48.

Ahearne, Michael, and Adam Rapp. "The Role of Technology at the Interface between Salespeople and Consumers." *Journal of Personal Selling & Sales Management* 30, no. 2 (2010): 111–20.

Christ, Paul, and Rolph Anderson. "The Impact of Technology on Evolving Roles of Salespeople." *Journal of Historical Research in Marketing* 3, no. 2 (2011): 173–93. doi:10.1108/17557501111132136.

Clow, Kenneth E., and Donald Baack. *Integrated Advertising, Promotion, and Marketing Communications*. 6th ed. Boston: Pearson, 2014.

Markus, M. L. "Finding a Happy Medium: Explaining the Negative Effects of Electronic Communication on Social Life at Work." Special issue, *ACM Transactions on Information Systems* 12, no. 2 (April 1994): 119–49. doi:10.1145/196734.196738.

Marshall, Greg W., William C. Moncrief, John M. Rudd, and Nick Lee. "Revolution in Sales: The Impact of Social Media and Related Technology on the Selling Environment." *Journal of Personal Selling & Sales Management* 32, no. 3 (2012): 349–63.

Appendix A
Survey Disclosures

Block 1

Thank you for taking the time to participate in this survey on Social Technology and Sales in the Workplace.

As a reminder, each survey is completely voluntarily and completely anonymously - so please DO NOT include your name when answering the questions. We expect the survey to take 10 minutes or less.

If you have any questions about this survey or study please contact researchers: Kirsten Fohrman, fohrmk99@uwosh.edu or Melissa Bublitz, bublitzm@uwosh.edu

Thank you again for your input.

If you have any concerns about this research you may also contact:

Dr. Anca Miron, Chair, Institutional Review Board for
Protection of Human Participants
c/o Grants Office
UW Oshkosh
irb@uwosh.edu

Block 2

How (if at all) do you use each of the following social media platforms?

	Personal Only	Professional Only	Personal & Professional	Do Not Use & Do Not Plan to Use	Do Not Use, but Plan to Use
Facebook	○	○	○	○	○
LinkedIn	○	○	○	○	○
Twitter	○	○	○	○	○
Google +	○	○	○	○	○
You Tube	○	○	○	○	○
Blogs	○	○	○	○	○
Instagram	○	○	○	○	○
Pinterest	○	○	○	○	○

Block 3

Observing how you and others use social technology **in the workplace** to what extent would you say that it is...

	Not at All				Neutral				Extremely	
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
An **effective** form of communication											
An **efficient** form of communication											
A **valuable** form of communication											
A **personal** form of communication											

In all, how **comfortable are you** with using social media **for work purposes**?

	Not at All Comfortable			Neutral		Extremely Comfortable	
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Block 4

For what purposes do you use social media **in relation to your work or profession** (including your personal professional development)? Check all that apply.

- ☐ Seeking and Sharing News and Information
- ☐ Exchange of Information with Peers
- ☐ Professional Networking
- ☐ Customer Research
- ☐ Product Research
- ☐ Competitor Research
- ☐ Promotion of my Company/Organization/Brand
- ☐ Promotion of my Personal 'Brand'
- ☐ Lead Generation
- ☐ Customer Interaction
- ☐ Sales Transactions
- ☐ Other

Block 5

On average, approximately how many hours per week do you spend using the following forms of communication **for work purposes**?

	Less than 1	1-10	11-20	21-30	More than 30
Phone (Talk & Text)	○	○	○	○	○
Social Media	○	○	○	○	○
E-mail	○	○	○	○	○
Skype	○	○	○	○	○
Face to Face	○	○	○	○	○

Block 5

Please indicate how you feel about **the technology that you use**.

	Not at All Necessary				Somewhat Necessary						Absolutly Necessary
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Computer at Work											
Computer at Home											
Smart Phone (Able to Access Internet)											
Standard Mobile Phone											
Tablet (iPad, Note, etc)											

Block 6

To what extent do you believe the following in regards to **social media use in the workplace**:

	Strongly Disagree					Neither Agree nor Disagree					Strongly Agree
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
It has a direct **positive effect on revenue**.											
It increases the **achievement of sales goals/quota**.											
Social technology **users outsell** non social media users.											
It is **replacing forms of personal** sales interactions.											
It helps to **build strong customer relationships.**											
It allows me to **feel more connected** to my customers.											
It **closes the geographic gap** between my customers and myself.											
It is becoming **an integral part of my organization's sales strategy**.											
It can be a **valuable sales tool.**											

Block 8

Thinking about the use of social media at different stages in the sales process, what is the **possible POSITIVE effect** on your ability to accomplish goals and objectives?

	Neutral										Extremely Positive
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Generating Leads											
Qualifying Prospects											
Knowledge Acquisition											
Sales Presentation											
Handling Objections											
Sales Closing											
Follow Up											

Thinking about the use of social media at different stages in the sales process, what is the **possible NEGATIVE effect** on your ability to accomplish goals and objectives?

	Extremely Negative										Neutral
	-10	-9	-8	-7	-6	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0
Generating Leads											
Qualifying Prospects											
Knowledge Acquisition											
Sales Presentation											
Handling Objections											
Sales Closing											
Follow Up											

Block 10

In general, my role in the workplace is within

○ Marketing
○ Sales
○ Both Marketing and Sales
○ Other

You current job title:

Block 7

Company size: the rough number of employees that work at my company (all locations combined)

	1 < 20	20-99	100-499	500-999	1000-1999	2000-5000	> 5000
Mark Best Answer	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

Which of the following best describes where you work?

○ Headquarters or main office of a firm with multiple locations

○ Office other than headquarters: branch office, franchise location, etc

○ Only location (my company has only one location)

Block 9

Please select your age group.

[_____ ▲▼]

Please select your gender.

○ Male

○ Female

○ Prefer not to Disclose

Block 11

Which of the following best describes the industry in which you work?

[_____ ▲▼]

Thank you for taking the time to participate in this survey on Social Technology and Sales in the Workplace. If you would like to be provided with a copy of the completed survey please insert your e-mail address below.

If you have any questions or concerns please feel free to contact researchers Kirsten Fohrman, fohrmk99@uwosh.edu or Melissa Bublitz, bublitzm@uwosh.edu

Appendix B
Secura Survey Responses

Initial Report_SocialTechnology_Secura
Last Modified: 03/10/2015

1. How (if at all) do you use each of the following social media platforms?

#	Question	Personal Only	Professional Only	Personal & Professional	Do Not Use & Do Not Plan to Use	Do Not Use, but Plan to Use	Total Responses	Mean
1	Facebook	6	0	2	4	0	12	2.33
2	LinkedIn	0	9	2	1	0	12	2.33
3	Twitter	2	0	1	9	0	12	3.42
4	Google +	0	2	1	9	0	12	3.58
5	You Tube	6	0	5	1	0	12	2.08
6	Blogs	0	1	3	5	3	12	3.83
7	Instagram	3	0	0	9	0	12	3.25
8	Pinterest	2	0	0	10	0	12	3.50

Statistic	Facebook	LinkedIn	Twitter	Google +	You Tube	Blogs	Instagram	Pinterest
Min Value	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	1
Max Value	4	4	4	4	4	5	4	4
Mean	2.33	2.33	3.42	3.58	2.08	3.83	3.25	3.50
Variance	2.06	0.42	1.36	0.63	1.36	0.88	1.84	1.36
Standard Deviation	1.44	0.65	1.16	0.79	1.16	0.94	1.36	1.17
Total Responses	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12

2. Observing how you and others use social technology in the workplace to what extent would you say that it is...

#	Answer	Min Value	Max Value	Average Value	Standard Deviation	Responses
1	An effective form of communication	3.00	10.00	6.91	1.97	11
2	An efficient form of communication	3.00	10.00	7.09	2.02	11
3	A valuable form of communication	3.00	10.00	6.27	1.95	11
4	A personal form of communication	0.00	9.00	4.91	3.08	11

3. In all, how comfortable are you with using social media for work purposes?

#	Answer	Min Value	Max Value	Average Value	Standard Deviation	Responses
1		0.00	7.00	3.45	2.70	11

4. For what purposes do you use social media in relation to your work or profession (including your personal professional development)? Check all that apply.

#	Answer		Response	%
3	Professional Networking		10	91%
2	Exchange of Information with Peers		9	82%
1	Seeking and Sharing News and Information		8	73%
7	Promotion of my Company/Organization/Brand		7	64%
6	Competitor Research		7	64%
5	Product Research		6	55%
10	Customer Interaction		6	55%
4	Customer Research		5	45%
8	Promotion of my Personal 'Brand'		3	27%
12	Other		2	18%
9	Lead Generation		2	18%
11	Sales Transactions		2	18%

Other
not used at all
keeping in touch

Statistic	Value
Min Value	1
Max Value	12
Total Responses	11

5. On average, approximately how many hours per week do you spend using the following forms of communication for work purposes?

#	Question	Less than 1	1-10	11-20	21-30	More than 30	Total Responses	Mean
1	Phone (Talk & Text)	3	3	3	1	1	11	2.45
2	Social Media	7	2	0	2	0	11	1.73
3	E-mail	0	3	5	2	1	11	3.09
4	Skype	10	1	0	0	0	11	1.09
5	Face to Face	0	1	3	5	2	11	3.73

Statistic	Phone (Talk & Text)	Social Media	E-mail	Skype	Face to Face
Min Value	1	1	2	1	2
Max Value	5	4	5	2	5
Mean	2.45	1.73	3.09	1.09	3.73
Variance	1.67	1.42	0.89	0.09	0.82
Standard Deviation	1.29	1.19	0.94	0.30	0.90
Total Responses	11	11	11	11	11

6. Please indicate how you feel about the technology that you use.

#	Answer	Min Value	Max Value	Average Value	Standard Deviation	Responses
1	Computer at Work	5.00	10.00	9.45	1.51	11
2	Computer at Home	5.00	10.00	7.80	2.15	10
3	Smart Phone (Able to Access Internet)	4.00	10.00	8.55	2.50	11
4	Standard Mobile Phone	0.00	10.00	4.25	4.56	8
5	Tablet (iPad, Note, etc)	0.00	10.00	6.27	3.23	11

7. To what extent do you believe the following in regards to social media use in the workplace:

#	Answer	Min Value	Max Value	Average Value	Standard Deviation	Responses
6	It allows me to feel more connected to my customers.	0.00	10.00	3.91	3.42	11
4	It is replacing forms of personal sales interactions.	0.00	10.00	4.55	3.21	11
8	It is becoming an integral part of my organization's sales strategy.	0.00	10.00	4.82	3.46	11
5	It helps to build strong customer relationships.	0.00	10.00	4.82	2.89	11
1	It has a direct positive effect on revenue.	0.00	10.00	5.64	3.01	11
2	It increases the achievement of sales goals/quota.	0.00	10.00	5.73	2.57	11
3	Social technology users outsell non social media users.	0.00	9.00	6.00	2.41	11
7	It closes the geographic gap between my customers and myself.	0.00	10.00	6.36	3.96	11
9	It can be a valuable sales tool.	0.00	10.00	6.91	3.14	11

8. Thinking about the use of social media at different stages in the sales process, what is the possible POSITIVE effect on your ability to accomplish goals and objectives?

#	Answer	Min Value	Max Value	Average Value	Standard Deviation	Responses
1	Generating Leads	0.00	9.00	5.45	3.14	11
2	Qualifying Prospects	0.00	10.00	5.91	3.65	11
3	Knowledge Acquisition	0.00	10.00	6.36	3.20	11
4	Sales Presentation	0.00	9.00	5.00	2.68	11
5	Handling Objections	0.00	6.00	3.73	1.85	11
6	Sales Closing	0.00	7.00	3.36	2.25	11
7	Follow Up	0.00	10.00	6.27	2.94	11

9. Thinking about the use of social media at different stages in the sales process, what is the possible NEGATIVE effect on your ability to accomplish goals and objectives?

#	Answer	Min Value	Max Value	Average Value	Standard Deviation	Responses
1	Generating Leads	-10.00	0.00	-1.36	2.94	11
2	Qualifying Prospects	-10.00	0.00	-3.00	3.90	11
3	Knowledge Acquisition	-10.00	0.00	-2.73	3.85	11
4	Sales Presentation	-10.00	0.00	-3.45	3.86	11
5	Handling Objections	-10.00	0.00	-3.73	3.93	11
6	Sales Closing	-10.00	0.00	-4.64	4.41	11
7	Follow Up	-10.00	0.00	-2.64	3.35	11

10. In general, my role in the workplace is within

#	Answer		Response	%
1	Marketing		2	18%
2	Sales		3	27%
3	Both Marketing and Sales		5	45%
4	Other		1	9%
	Total		11	100%

Other

training & development

Statistic	Value
Min Value	1
Max Value	4
Mean	2.45
Variance	0.87
Standard Deviation	0.93
Total Responses	11

11. You current job title:

Text Response

Agency Training Consultant
Digital Marketing
Market Manager
Marketing Mgr
Creative Marketer
Regional Sales Manager
Market Manager
Market/Sales Manager
territory market manager
Market Manager
training representative

Statistic	Value
Total Responses	11

12. Company size: the rough number of employees that work at my company (all locations combined)

#	Question	1 < 20	20- 99	100- 499	500- 999	1000- 1999	2000- 5000	> 5000	Total Responses	Mean
1	Mark Best Answer	0	0	0	11	0	0	0	11	4.00

13. Which of the following best describes where you work?

#	Answer		Response	%
1	Headquarters or main office of a firm with multiple locations		5	45%
2	Office other than headquarters: branch office, franchise location, etc		6	55%
3	Only location (my company has only one location)		0	0%
	Total		11	100%

Statistic	Value
Min Value	1
Max Value	2
Mean	1.55
Variance	0.27
Standard Deviation	0.52
Total Responses	11

14. Please select your age group.

#	Answer		Response	%
1	24 Years or Younger		1	9%
2	25-34 Years		3	27%
3	35-44 Years		4	36%
4	45-54 Years		2	18%
5	55-64 Years		1	9%
6	65-74 Years		0	0%
7	75 Years or Older		0	0%
	Total		11	100%

Statistic	Value
Min Value	1
Max Value	5
Mean	2.91
Variance	1.29
Standard Deviation	1.14
Total Responses	11

15. Please select your gender.

#	Answer		Response	%
1	Male		6	55%
2	Female		5	45%
3	Prefer not to Disclose		0	0%
	Total		11	100%

Statistic	Value
Min Value	1
Max Value	2
Mean	1.45
Variance	0.27
Standard Deviation	0.52
Total Responses	11

16. Thank you for taking the time to participate in this survey on Social Technology and Sales in the Workplace. If you would like to be provided with a copy of the completed survey please insert your e-mail address below. If you have any questions or concerns please feel free to contact researchers Kirsten Fohrman, fohrmk99@uwosh.edu or Melissa Bublitz, bublitzm@uwosh.edu

Statistic	Value
Total Responses	1

Lust as an Embodied Appraisal

Michael Lahti, author
Dr. Robert Wagoner, Philosophy, faculty mentor

Michael Lahti was a nontraditional student at UW Oshkosh, majoring in philosophy and minoring in neuroscience. His special area of interest is neurophilosophy. The previous coursework that prepared Michael for this research began in fall 2012 in the Philosophy of Emotion course instructed by Dr. Larry Herzberg. Also, in the summer of 2013, Michael participated in an independent study course with Dr. David Gilboa titled Philosophy of Erotic Love. Many ideas from these two courses were used in his research paper for the philosophy capstone, completed in spring 2015.

Dr. Robert Wagoner is an assistant professor of philosophy at UW Oshkosh. He teaches a range of courses at all levels, including courses in ethics, bioethics, and ancient Greek and Roman philosophy, which is his primary area of research.

Abstract

Sex can be a powerful force in our lives and can occupy a large part of our identities. But like many things after reflection, we may discover that we know less than we thought we did. For instance, take a perhaps vital component of sex: lust.[1] Is lust an emotion, a motivation, a feeling, a drive, a desire, a judgment, an impulse, or an instinct? While working within the philosophy of emotion to provide an answer,[2] I will give a robust picture of lust, thereby casting light not only on this important phenomenon, but on an important aspect of ourselves as well. In *Gut Reactions: A Perceptual Theory of Emotion* (2004), Jesse J. Prinz posits his influential embodied appraisal theory of emotion. For Prinz, an emotion is a felt bodily response that represents organism-environment relations.[3] Although not a main contention in *Gut Reactions*, lust is taken to be a motivation. I accept that lust is a motivation; however, I argue that lust can also be understood as an embodied appraisal within Prinz's own theoretical framework.

Introduction

The nineteenth-century German philosopher, Arthur Schopenhauer, in *The World as Will and Idea*,[4] characterizes lust as a passive impulse that is responsible for the composition of the next generation. Humans may choose to have children, but the choice is not necessary because the intense force of the sexual impulse drives us to reproduce. It is extremely unlikely that other animals know where "babies come from." A choice is not necessary for the survival of a species; the sexual impulse is sufficient to start the process of reproduction. And for us, without lust, sexual activity would, as Schopenhauer puts it, "sink to the level of disgusting necessity."[5] The power of lust is largely responsible for our existence.

For Schopenhauer, the consummate pessimist, the sexual impulse is a product of the evil will, which he holds to be the ultimate nature of reality. Although his ontology is hard to take seriously, some of his insights (e.g., the passivity of the sexual impulse)

may turn out to be compatible with contemporary empirical findings. My interest, like Schopenhauer's, is to find the nature of the sexual impulse (or lust). But whereas Schopenhauer views lust's nature as being negative, which is vital to his unique worldview, this paper will be merely descriptive and make no mention of the moral value of lust. However, given the importance of lust and its broad reach, I invite readers to do their own ethical thinking in light of my description.

It is not unreasonable for the reader to think that philosophy would not have much to offer on matters of sex. I hope to demonstrate that philosophical investigation, coupled with relevant scientific discoveries, can make valuable contributions to human knowledge. In this case, I hope to shed light on what lust really is. Specifically, I will provide a vision of the representational component of lust and posit a view that implicates bodily response as a necessary condition for lust. To this end, I will rely heavily on the scientifically informed framework of Prinz's theory of emotions. Prinz takes lust to be merely a motivation.[6] I accept that lust is a motivation, but I will argue that lust fits into Prinz's embodied appraisal theory as an emotion as well. This argument requires that lust satisfy three criteria to qualify as a mental representation. After an extensive explication of Prinz's theory, I will argue that these three criteria can be satisfied by lust, hence showing that lust is an emotion. Before I conclude, I will defend my view against two potential objections: (1) Lust does not need to be representational, and (2) what I refer to by *lust* can be better referred to by *sexual attraction*.

An Overview of Prinz's Theory

Prinz's theory of emotion is an embodied theory because it does not necessarily involve cognition. It is an appraisal theory because it claims that emotions are essentially evaluative. An embodied appraisal is an evaluation of organism-environment relations made by the body. The bodily change is the evaluation. The feeling of the bodily change is the emotion. The body responds to percepts and concepts, the individual perceives the bodily change, and by feeling the bodily change, the individual becomes aware of an evaluation. All of these elements will be surveyed before analyzing lust within this theory.

A Noncognitive View

Prinz claims that emotions are oftentimes caused by cognitive acts, but they need not be. Cognition is neither an essential cause nor a component of an emotion. Yet there must be a stimulus that involves the brain in order to trigger an emotion. This is typically an act of perception. Prinz says this perception can trigger an emotional occurrence without an act of cognition. To show how this is plausible, Prinz must make several distinctions relating to the process of apprehending stimuli and triggering emotions.

An organism has cognitive states and cognitive acts when it exploits representations that are stored in long-term memory. While cognitive states merely contain concepts, cognitive acts activate, maintain, and manipulate concepts. Concepts are mental representations that are under the control of the organism. Percepts, on the other hand, are mental representations that can be stored in memory and used as concepts at a later time,[7] but the organism is not able to manipulate a percept as such.

When you see a dog, the perceptual state that occurs in your mind is not under your control. From this, you automatically form a thought of the dog. Once that thought is formed, which now involves a concept, you are able to control and use the concept.

Prinz claims that emotions are passive and do not necessarily involve acts of cognition. For an emotion to qualify as cognitive, emotions must be under the control of the organism. We have the ability to elicit an emotion by merely imagining emotionally significant events, but this does not mean that we are in control of the emotions themselves. We can spontaneously generate emotions by imaginative acts, and we can mask our bodily responses by further imaginative acts and behavior. Emotions generated from memory involve concepts. In other words, an activated memory is a mental representation that is under the control of the organism. However, Prinz maintains that most emotional occurrences are not cognitive at all. Most emotions are elicited by the outside world by means of perception. These emotional events are entirely passive. The percepts that trigger the emotion are not under organismic control. Although the trigger can be influenced by other cognitive acts, the emotion itself is noncognitive.

Prinz allows that some appraisals are disembodied. One can imagine a loss of something valued and become sad. This happens by learning. Novel situations can be associated with primitive responses, thus enabling new situations to become emotion elicitors. In this way, emotions can be caused by disembodied judgments, but according to Prinz, they can do so only because they are parasitic on embodied appraisals. Prinz says, "I submit that no bona fide emotion is disembodied. Every apparent candidate proves visceral to the core."[8]

Representation

To show that emotions are mental states that represent, Prinz first offers a theory explaining how all mental states can represent. Prinz relies on Fred Dretske's theory of psycho-semantics, which says that mental representations must satisfy two conditions. They must carry information, and they must be able to be erroneously applied. Mental states carry information when they reliably co-occur with the event about which they are carrying information. But a representation requires more than carrying information. Smoke carries information about fire; smoke does not represent fire. This is because smoke is not something that can be wrong or false. If you see smoke from an electrical smoke machine, it is not wrongly or falsely representing fire. It is carrying information of a smoke machine, but it is not representing a smoke machine. *De facto* representations only reliably co-occur along with the event they are representing. For example, a dog concept reliably co-occurs with dog encounters. A dog concept may also be activated by encounters with "wolves, foxes, or well-disguised cats."[9] But this only strengthens Prinz's claim that mental representations must be able to be erroneously applied. The dog concept is erroneously applied when it is set off by "well-disguised cats."

Prinz claims that information carriers become mental representations when they have the *function* of carrying information. Prinz adds that evaluative mental representations are established by learning or evolution to be set off by events that bear on the organism's well-being. A dog concept is learned to allow for the appropriate responses to dogs. The dog concept carries information about whatever sets it off,

including "well-disguised cats," but it only represents dogs because it was set up by evolution or learning to be set off by dogs for the purpose of detecting dogs.

What do emotions represent? Emotions are mental states that must meet the criteria of a mental representation, which require that a representation (1) carry information, (2) can be erroneously applied, and (3) be set up for the purpose of being set off by a particular type of thing. Somatic theories, such as that of William James,[10] say bodily change causes emotions. So, do emotions represent bodily change? Prinz says that emotions merely *register* bodily change; they do not *represent* bodily change. Prinz makes an analogy to explain this distinction: "One might say that a state in the visual system *registers* a particular luminance discontinuity, but it *represents* an edge. . . . Visual states have the function of representing shapes."[11] Accordingly, if emotions represent bodily change, they must have the function of doing so.

Representing bodily change can be purposive, but it may not be especially useful concerning survival and reproduction, which is the concern of evolution. Prinz says, "We should insist that emotions detect something more than the vicissitudes of vasculature. Otherwise, they would confer no survival advantage, and we could not make sense of the seemingly intelligible uses to which they are put."[12] Bodily change is therefore not what emotions represent.

Since emotions are often elicited by external events, Prinz considers whether emotions represent those events. Any number of things can cause each particular emotion, but for all emotion types, there may be a common theme. Prinz claims that all things that cause sadness involve the loss of something valued.[13] The loss of something valued is said to be the common theme of sadness. This explains why people are saddened by different things: people value different things. Prinz explains the distinction between formal objects and particular objects: "A formal object is the property in virtue of which an event elicits an emotion, and a particular object is the event itself."[14] Prinz insists, "Emotions represent their formal objects, not their particular objects."[15] Sadness is directed at particular events (the particular objects) but it does not represent particular events.

The Formal Objects of Emotions

Prinz claims that the formal objects of emotion can be understood in terms of core relational themes, an idea from Richard Lazarus.[16] Each emotion type has a core relational theme that it represents. According to Lazarus, anger represents "a demeaning offense against me and mine,"[17] and anxiety represents facing uncertain existential threats. For Prinz, all emotions represent organism-environment relations, which can be understood in terms of core relational themes. He says, "Sadness represents the loss of something valued."[18] The loss of something valued is the core relational theme and formal object of sadness. An emotion represents a core relational theme (a complex thing) by detecting bodily change (a simple thing).[19]

For core relational themes to be the formal objects of emotions, core relational themes must be what emotions are functionally set up to represent. So, why would evolution or learning make sadness represent the loss of something valued? Prinz holds that our behavior can be accurately explained by our ability to detect core relational themes. Humans acquire emotions as evolutionary assets. Prinz gives three examples: "Fear may be acquired because it confers a survival advantage by protecting us

from dangers. Anger may be acquired because it helps us cope with challenges from conspecifics. Sadness may be acquired because it allows us to register the loss of things for which efforts have been extended."[20] The detection of core relational themes can help us satisfy our needs and protect our interests. Thus, Prinz concludes that emotions represent core relational themes, the formal objects of emotions.

Prinz makes a distinction between the real content and nominal content of mental representations. He uses the example of a dog concept. A dog concept is a mental representation that tracks dogs. The real content of a dog is said to be the dog genome. But we do not perceive dogs by perceiving their genome. We perceive dogs by perceiving furriness, four legs, tail wagging, etc. These superficial contents are the nominal contents of a mental representation. They are how we track dogs and most other things. Prinz contends that emotions represent core relational themes in a similar way. Core relational themes are the real content of emotion and bodily changes are the nominal content. We track core relational themes, such as loss, by perceiving the bodily changes associated with sadness. These representations can be reliable because, as Prinz says, "evolution has undoubtedly endowed us with distinctive physiological responses to various situations that our ancestors encountered. . . . Each emotion is both an internal body monitor and a detector of dangers, threats, losses, or other matters of concern. Emotions are gut reactions; they use our bodies to tell us how we are faring in the world."[21]

Body Prototypes

Our bodies are thus informative, but it may be the case that no distinctive physiological occurrence is necessary or sufficient for any emotion. For example, cases of fear and anger may not only have overlapping physiological features, but there may be no physiological feature of any emotion that is always present. Increased heart rate may be a typical feature of fear and anger, but there also may be instances of fear and anger absent of increased heart rate. This leads Prinz to develop his notion of the body prototype: "A prototype is a mental representation made up of parts that correspond to a range of 'diagnostic features.' Diagnostic features are features that provide good evidence for something but are not always essential for that thing."[22] Emotions are activated when a sufficient number of bodily changes occur; thus, "each emotion has a corresponding prototype that responds to different patterns of bodily changes and thereby comes under the causal control of core relational themes."[23] And each occurrence of felt physiological change is going to feel good or bad, according to Prinz.

Valence

Valence is the positive and negative aspect of qualia, the felt quality of subjective experience, which can vary in intensity.[24] Prinz proposes that every emotion is valent. Some emotions are exclusively positive and some are exclusively negative. Other emotions can be either depending on the circumstance.[25] And there are some emotions, such as nostalgia, that are mixed.

Prinz suggests brain research has shown that valence involves certain activities of certain brain structures, but the exact structure is yet unknown. He contrasts previous views with his own: "Rather than equating valence with our responses to reinforcers, we can equate valence with the reinforcers themselves."[26] Prinz claims that the brain

has a pair of internal labels, which are inner negative reinforcers (INR) and inner positive reinforcers (IPR). For a mental state to be valent, it must include one of the inner reinforcers, or "valence markers." These valence markers allow the brain to keep track of positive and negative stimuli to allow for learning and adaptive behavior. Prinz says IPRs and INRs act like inner imperatives. Prinz avers, "An IPR serves as a command that says something like 'More of this!' while an INR says 'Less of this!' Positive emotions are ones we want to sustain, and negative emotions are ones that we want to get rid of."[27] These experiences can affect future behavior when the embodied appraisal and the valence marker get conjointly stored in memory. Prinz explains, "In choosing a course of action, we anticipate the emotional consequences of our actions. In this way, valence markers can impact both present and future behavior. They influence the future in virtue of their ability to influence the present."[28] Prinz goes on to claim that all emotions are valent embodied appraisals.

The embodied aspect of the emotion represents organism-environment relations— that is, things that matter to us. But, he says, these appraisals do not represent that they matter; valence markers represent that they matter. Embodied appraisals and valence markers are needed to make our way through the world. Prinz asserts, "Emotions without appraisals would lack content, and emotions without valence would have no punch."[29]

Prinz makes several subtle distinctions within the affective mental state domain, but a full description here would diverge from the discussion. For my purposes, I will only discuss emotions,[30] valent bodily states,[31] and motivations.[32] Emotions represent core relational themes (real content) indirectly through the registration of bodily change (nominal content). Valent bodily states, on the other hand, do not represent core relational themes, i.e., organism-environment relations. The real and nominal content that valent bodily states represent are one's own bodily changes. Fatigue, a prototypical example of a valent bodily state, has the function of detecting insufficient rest but merely represents the body.

Motivation

Motivations specify action goals by a sort of command. Affective states supply the motive to the motivation, but alone, affective states fall short of a command. Although an emotion can be a motive for subsequent action, an emotion is distinct from a motivation. An affective state prepares the body for action, but the motivation tells the body to act. Motivations come after valent affective states, but the motivation is never a constituent part of an emotional state. Say you encounter a snarling dog. It is likely that you will experience the typical bodily change corresponding to the emotion of fear. This fear is likely negatively valent. The embodied appraisal of the situation, along with the negative valence, is the emotion. From here, the body will be prepared for action, but not quite disposed to action. The valent response may be followed by a motivation to flee. If so, the motivation says, "Flee!" The motivation disposes and commands the body to act.

According to Prinz, not all motivations represent the body, but the urge for sex (a motivation) represents the aroused state of the body. He says, "The sight of a potential sexual partner can cause a feeling of sexual attraction."[33] In this case, the motivation is caused by the encounter with the potential sexual partner. There must be some

affective state that acts mediately by doing the "pushing and pulling" on the resultant motivation. Prinz exclusively refers to lust as a motivation.[34] I accept that lust is indeed a motivation; however, I will argue that lust should also be considered an emotion. For Prinz, "motivations are affectively motivated action commands. . . . Motivations are always initiated in response to an affective state."[35] Thus, the motivation to have sex has an associated affective state. This affective state is constituted by a body prototype of physiological changes that prepare an organism for sex. Unless this affective state can be more properly referred to by another word, I say that this affective state should be called *lust*.

Lust: Motivation and Emotion

As Prinz attests, "Emotion and motivation are difficult to tease apart."[36] Conceptual analysis may help to distinguish the affect and motivation of lust. Other philosophers (such as John Searle) believe that affective states and motivations can be conceptually distinguished by direction of fit.[37] Affective states can be understood to be correct or incorrect whether or not they represent the world. Motivations are representations of how the subject wants the world to be. Deonna and Teroni say, "The point of a desire is to bring about changes in the world so that the world comes to be as it is represented by the desire. And when this happens . . . the desire is fulfilled."[38] Affective states have a mind-to-world direction of fit,[39] and motivations have a world-to-mind direction of fit.[40] If lust can represent both directions of fit, lust is both a motivation and an affective state. My purpose is to argue that lust is an emotion (hence, affective state), so my argument will show that lust represents the world as it is (a mind-to-world direction of fit).

Lust as an Embodied Appraisal

To show that lust is an emotion under Prinz's framework, I must show that lust represents more than states of the body. Lust must have a core relational theme, and it must evaluate by means of bodily response. The unique bodily response of lust, which includes genital arousal,[41] will need to be examined before proceeding to the representational component of lust.

Body Prototype of Lust

Emotions, for Prinz, are typified by bodily change prototypes. Although there seems to be no necessary or sufficient physiological condition for any one emotion, an emotion is activated when a sufficient amount of specific bodily change occurs. According to Barry Singer, "there are numerous autonomic-somatic components of that part of sexual arousal that is accompanied by genital tumescence: respiration and heart rate changes, muscle tension, sex flush, etc."[42] He also says, "Operationalizing sexual arousal primarily in genital terms may not only be dehumanizing, but misleading."[43] I think he is right here. It seems clear that one can experience lust without a genital response. It also seems clear that one can have a spontaneous genital response without the subjective feeling of lust. An arousal may even occur without ever being noticed. Genital response should be considered part of the body prototype of lust when it occurs, but it is neither necessary nor sufficient.

Function of Lust

If lust is set up by evolution to be set off by anything, and the setting off has only one function, then it *seems* to be the case that lust has the function of detecting potential reproductive partners. Can the organism-environment relation of potential reproductive partnership satisfy Prinz's other criteria for a mental representation? If lust represents a potential reproductive partnership, it indeed carries information. It can also be erroneously applied when lust is elicited and the object of the elicited lust is not a potential reproductive partner. The object could be infertile or otherwise unfit to be a reproductive partner. This allows lust to have a nice and tidy core relational theme, but it seems that it makes for too many cases where lust is erroneously applied. In other words, it may fail to be reliable. For example, all instances of homosexual lust are triggered erroneously.[44] This strikes me as counterintuitive and does not seem to capture the whole picture. I will leave this evolutionary discussion as it is and move on to see if a recalibration of lust by learning offers more of an explanation.

Prinz's functional criterion of a mental representation says that a representation must be set up by evolution *or* learning. While arguing that emotions form a natural kind, Prinz reasons, "We can calibrate our embodied appraisals to occur under conditions that are somewhat different than those for which they were initially evolved."[45] Emotions that are set up by evolution to represent one sort of evaluation can be set up to represent another sort of evaluation by learning. In a case of lust, Socrates sees a beautiful boy and experiences lust. Relative to evolution, perhaps this putative emotion is erroneously applied, but it is helpful to Socrates. His lust helps him to perceive a potential sexual partnership; it helps him predict sexual pleasure. This is more than a case of carrying information. Socrates's lust is purposive and it detects a potential sexual partnership reliably. Thus, compatible with lust being initially set up by evolution, lust is expanded by learning to detect whom Socrates could get pleasure from. But I think the broadening from potential reproductive partnership to potential sexual partnership may still be too narrow. Socrates's lust may be more innocent or otherwise different. Next, I will examine an alternative way to look at organism-environment relations in order to capture a broader core relational theme. An additional criterion for a core relational theme that I propose is that the theme be broad enough to capture how we use lust, yet not lose sight of the specificities of each instance. Once the core relational theme is proposed, I will examine it to see if it meets the teleological requirement.[46]

Affordances as the Formal Object of Lust

Prinz discusses Gibson's idea of affordances to explain the link between emotion and action.[47] Gibson's theory of perception says that when an animal perceives its environment, the animal perceives what the environment affords in relation to the animal itself. When a person sees a chair, the person sees that the chair affords sit-ability. If the person was very tall and the chair was very small, the person would not perceive sit-ability. Affordances are perceptions of organism-environment relations. According to Gibson, "positive and negative affordances are properties of things taken with reference to an observer but not properties of the experience of the observer. They are not subjective values; they are not feelings of pleasure or pain added to neutral perceptions."[48] Affordances are neither wholly objective nor wholly subjective, neither physical nor phenomenal; they are not measurable in physical terms, but are nevertheless real.

Other people can also be the object of affordances. But in this case the affordances become very complex. Gibson believes that "sexual behavior, nurturing behavior, fighting behavior, cooperative behavior, economic behavior, political behavior—all depend on the perceiving of what another person or other persons afford, or sometimes on the misperceiving of it."[49] The potential for misperception is key, but more on that later. The affordance that other people offer us is "based on the pickup of the information of touch, sound, odor, taste, and ambient light."[50] We perceive other people in terms of what they offer us.

Prinz attests, "By registering bodily changes, emotions allow us to literally perceive that situations afford a range of possible behavioral responses."[51] Thus, affordances are akin to core relational themes. They are about organism-environment relations. Bodily change allows the organism to respond appropriately to the environment by informing the organism of its relation to the environment.

The core relational theme of lust may be expressed similarly to that of sadness (i.e., the loss of something valued), but I believe that positing a view of affordances may offer a closer explanation of the organic reality of an organism-environment relation. When I encounter a potential sex partner, my body may perceive kiss-ability, touch-ability, and/or have-sex-with-ability. The specificity of the information carried is unknowable, but, importantly, the core relational theme of sexual affordances allows for specificity. And to Prinz, a simple thing (felt physiological change) can represent a complex thing (core relational theme). If lust represents sexual affordances, it satisfies the first criterion of a representation. The felt bodily response of lust carries information about what an object sexually affords the percipient.[52]

Representing Affordances Erroneously

The second criterion for a representation requires that the representation be able to be erroneously applied. If lust only carried information about whom we were occurrently attracted to, it could not be erroneously applied. A subjective judgment of attraction, per se, cannot be erroneous. But if lust is a perception of affordances and, as Gibson claims, we can misperceive what the environment affords us, then lust can be erroneously applied. It might not be enough to show that another person is not an appropriate sexual partner, e.g., they may be married or otherwise unwilling partners. For an example that shows that lust is clearly erroneously applied, the particular object must offer no sexual affordances whatsoever. For example, a brilliant sculptor wants to make the lightest life-size sculpture of a beautiful human. The material the sculptor uses remains a secret but the finished sculpture weighs less than one pound. It is incredibly realistic and stunningly beautiful. A burglar breaks into his studio. The burglar sees the beautiful sculpture and thinks that she sees a living human. Full of lust, she walks over slowly and grabs the sculpture by the arm. The entire sculpture shatters. The sculpture is so light that it cannot survive any touch. This sculpture's beauty is powerful enough to trigger lust but in no way offers any sexual affordances. The burglar's lust was erroneously applied.

Function of Lust Revisited

Animals must have intercourse to procreate, but it seems clear that they do not know that their actions may produce offspring. To procreate, the animal must have

a sort of impulse that is set off by, and attached to, conspecifics of the opposite sex. This impulse can be explained by the emotion of lust and the corresponding bodily perception of sexual affordances.

If an animal were physically prepared for sex but never came to have an intentional object, it would not be able to mate. Lazarus suggests, "Motivation without thought is drive or energy, without the direction that cognition provides."[53] A deer, for instance, might just run around in a confused state of arousal. This indeed happens. How then do deer end up reproducing?

A brief digression is in order. When one notices another person and becomes lustful, it is unlikely that one *consciously* perceives the sexual affordances the other offers. My claim is that affordances are perceived by certain perturbations of one's own body. From a percept or concept in mind, the body responds to prepare for action. This makes sense of our common attraction to secondary sexual characteristics. Body hair, beards, breasts, etc., have no direct relation to procreation, but they may play a significant part in antecedent events, namely action preparedness. Secondary sexual characteristics are nominal contents of lust; they can be used to track sexual affordances (i.e., the formal object of lust).

Triggers for lust may go beyond secondary sexual characteristics. For example, one may become aroused while catching the smell of cologne or perfume in an empty retail store. This can be explained by our ability to learn. We learn to associate various things with sex. Like secondary sexual characteristics, when the fragrance is held in consciousness, the body prepares for action. In this case, the body is responding to an occurrent mental state containing either a percept or concept of a scent. A romantic narrative can also trigger bodily preparation. Through learning and calibration, lust can be set off by a multitude of objects. Nevertheless, the body is representing sexual affordances whenever it prepares for sexual action and there is a particular object of any kind.

The buck is likewise going to be attracted to certain smells, sights, and tactile sensations that have no direct connection to procreation. Various sensations trigger the emotion of lust. The body prototype of lust can also be triggered by one's own body, as in a valent bodily state.[54] So, either the emotion leaves the body prepared for action and is attached to a particular object, likely a doe, or the buck's body prepares for action by mere hormonal change. In the latter case, if the buck is to reproduce, the valent bodily state must attach to a particular doe, and hence become an emotion. Then the valent aspect of the emotion, if positive, commands, "More of this!" Lust then becomes a motivation. Likely, the doe is experiencing a similar phenomenon, and then procreation happens. The deer need not know that they are creating fawns.

Perceiving sexual affordances allows for an animal to have sex and reproduce when the felt bodily change is directed toward a particular object. Sexual affordances as the formal object of lust is indeed purposive, hence satisfying Prinz's teleological requirement.

Consideration of Lust as a Valent Bodily State

Schopenhauer saw the sexual impulse as being directed generally and specifically:

> That which presents itself in the individual consciousness as sexual impulse in general, without being directed towards a definite individual

of the other sex, is in itself, and apart from the phenomenon, simply
the will to live. But what appears in consciousness as a sexual impulse
directed to a definite individual is in itself the will to live as a definitely
determined individual.[55]

However, generally directed lust may still be representational. One can imagine sex
partners generically. For lust to always be an emotion, it must have a particular object
each time it occurs.[56] Albeit not essential to my argument that there is an emotion of
lust, I will examine if lust can also be categorized as a valent bodily state.

Is it conceivable that one can feel a sufficient amount of the bodily changes
associated with lust without a particular object? According to Rosemary Basson:

Women can experience intrinsic genital pleasure in the absence of
sexual thinking or fantasizing. They can, for instance, self-stimulate
to an intensity of physical feeling that is pleasurable in its own right
and they are not necessarily linking this with sexual fantasy or sexual
memories. Without the mental sexual excitement, the genital sensations
are just that—genital and pleasurable.[57]

Since there is no particular object to sexually evaluate, this experience is not an
emotion. It is merely a valent bodily state. Is this phenomenon lust? The pretheoretical
concept of lust seems to always entail an object. I think it would be a semantic
violation to place lust in the category of valent bodily states. Per Schopenhauer,
one can direct lust generally or specifically, but I think the ordinary concept of lust
necessarily entails at least a general direction. Therefore, if the affective state has no
direction, as in the case above, it should not be considered lust.

Am I Really Talking about Sexual Attraction?

Is the affective state felt when the body prepares for sex really just sexual
attraction? Instead of calling this emotion *lust*, could we call it *sexual attraction*? The
problem in doing so stems from sexual attraction encompassing much more than an
occurrent affective state. If an insecure romantic partner asked you if you are attracted
to him/her, your answer would not depend on whether you were currently experiencing
a particular affective state. An honest answer would depend on whether you had ever
experienced certain affective states and/or believed that you would experience those
again with your partner as the object. This objection could be met by differentiating
the broader phenomenon of sexual attraction from its occurrent affective state. But
since lust does not face this problem, I think *lust* is a better name for what I have been
describing. Sexual attraction is connected to the emotion of lust, but *sexual attraction*
may only sometimes refer to a currently felt state. *Lust*, on the other hand, always
refers to a currently felt state. I think we can say with equanimity that when one feels
lust and person X is the particular object, one is sexually attracted to person X; in
addition, one "feels" sexually attracted to person X.[58] However, when one "feels"
sexually attracted to person X, it may or may not be the case that one is currently
experiencing the affective state that is felt when the body prepares for sex. Logically,
occurrent lust implies sexual attraction, but occurrent sexual attraction does not imply
lust. Since this paper's main concern is an occurrent emotion, we should call the
emotion involved in the preparation for sex *lust*.[59]

Conclusion

Lust satisfies Prinz's three criteria for a mental representation. Lust carries information of sexual affordances. Lust is capable of being erroneously applied when the particular object does not afford the subject what the subject perceived via the emotion. Lust, with its formal representation of sexual affordances, has an evolutionary function—namely, it gets animals to have sex in order to reproduce. An animal's body prepares for sex, feels the bodily change, and directs those feelings toward a particular object. The particular object is typically a potential sex partner, real or imagined, and the formal object is the entirety of sexual affordances perceived in the particular object. From this, it appears that lust indeed fits into Prinz's embodied appraisal theory as an emotion.

Acknowledgements

Notes

1. Although the word *lust* can have nonsexual connotations, I will be using *lust* as essentially sexual.
2. Philosophy of emotion is a subdiscipline of philosophy of mind.
3. *Organism-environment relations* refers to how one is doing in the world.
4. Arthur Schopenhauer, "From *World as Will and Idea*," in *The Philosophy of (Erotic) Love*, ed. Robert C. Solomon and Kathleen M. Higgins (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1991).
5. Ibid., 127.
6. Jesse J. Prinz, *Gut Reactions: A Perceptual Theory of Emotion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004). Although Prinz says that lust is a motivational state, he never explicitly says that lust is not an emotion.
7. Jesse J. Prinz, *Furnishing the Mind: Concepts and Their Perceptual Basis* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2002). For Prinz, an empiricist, all concepts are derived from percepts.
8. Jesse J. Prinz, *The Emotional Construction of Morals* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 60.
9. Prinz, *Gut Reactions*, 53
10. William James, *The Principles of Psychology* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1981).
11. Prinz, *Gut Reactions*, 59.
12. Ibid., 60.
13. With the exception of cases where sadness is erroneously applied.
14. Ibid., 62.
15. Ibid.
16. Richard S. Lazarus, *Emotion and Adaptation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991).
17. Ibid., 122.
18. Prinz, *Gut Reactions*, 62.
19. A core relational theme is a complex thing that is represented by something simple. To show how this is not problematic, Prinz uses Dretske's example of the fuzz detector. A fuzz buster beeps when it detects police radar. A beep is a simple thing that is set up to represent a complex thing, i.e., a police radar. Prinz says, "The beep emitted by a fuzz buster does not describe what it represents. It represents police radars because it is reliably caused by police radars, and it is set up for that purpose. . . . Likewise, emotions can represent core relational themes without describing them." Prinz, *Gut Reactions*, 65.

20. Prinz, *Gut Reactions*, 66.
21. Ibid., 69.
22. Ibid., 72.
23. Ibid., 73.
24. Julien A. Deonna and Fabrice Teroni, *The Emotions: A Philosophical Introduction* (Abingdon, England: Routledge, 2012), 2.
25. For example, Prinz considers surprise to be an emotion that can be positive or negative depending on the circumstance.
26. Prinz, *Gut Reactions*, 173; Prinz explains Jeffery Gray's idea of behavioral inhibition system (BIS) and behavioral activation system (BAS), which are systems of the mammalian brain that enable the animal to learn and respond to external stimuli. BIS responds to negative reinforcers and results in inhibited behavior and increased attention and arousal. BAS responds to positive reinforcers and results in approach behavior. Gray claims that emotions can be differentiated by behavior-related reinforcement in virtue of BIS and BAS activation levels, which results in valent response modification. Prinz rejects both notions, but suggests that BIS and BAS may initiate the physiological response of emotion. Ibid., 169–74.
27. Ibid., 174.
28. Ibid.
29. Ibid., 178.
30. One division of the category of emotions, as Prinz posits (ibid., 179–82), is between state emotions and attitudinal emotions. For ease I am discussing emotions generally, but under Prinz's typology I am covertly discussing state emotions. State emotions are emotions that can persist when the particular object of the emotion ceases to be held in consciousness. Attitudinal emotions are emotions to Prinz that are essentially tied to the particular object. Say I have a fear of snakes. I have the fear when I am not experiencing the fear. But when I no longer associate fear with snakes, the fear immediately ceases.
31. Ibid., 190.
32. Ibid., 179–97. From here on out, I am using "affective state" to refer to only emotions and valent bodily states, not motivations. Prinz takes motivations to be one of many affective constructs.
33. Ibid., 192.
34. Ibid., 145, 156.
35. Ibid., 195.
36. Ibid.
37. John Searle, *Intentionality*: *An Essay in the Philosophy of Mind* (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 1983).
38. Deonna and Teroni, *The Emotions*, 10. Prinz takes issue with the conventional use of the term *desire*. He thinks that desires are sometimes emotions and sometimes motivations (*Gut Reactions*, 196–97).
39. The mind-to-world direction of fit represents how the world really is. To remember, think: change mind to fit world.
40. The world-to-mind direction of fit represents how one wants the world to be. To remember, think: change world to fit mind.
41. I will suggest that lust does not always include genital arousal.
42. Barry Singer, "Conceptualizing Sexual Arousal and Attraction," *Journal of Sex Research* 20, no. 3 (1984): 234.
43. Ibid.
44. Homosexuality is difficult to explain from an evolutionary point of view. The kin selection hypothesis allows that although homosexuals tend to reproduce less frequently, they are useful for the survival of genes in other ways. If one does not reproduce, one may have available time and resources to contribute to the welfare of one's sibling's children. Thus, homosexuals confer survival advantage to genes indirectly by helping secure the survival of

their kin. David Bobrow and J. Michael Bailey, "Is Male Homosexuality Maintained via Kin Selection?" *Evolution and Human Behavior* 22, no. 5 (2001): 361–68. Another hypothesis is discussed in Brendan P. Zietsche et al., "Genetic Factors Predisposing to Homosexuality May Increase Mating Success in Heterosexuals," *Evolution and Human Behavior* 29, no. 6 (2008): 424–33. Their hypothesis says, "Genes predisposing to homosexuality are advantageous in heterosexuals who carry them" (425). It is supposed that male homosexuals tend to have more feminine traits than heterosexual males and homosexual females tend to have more masculine traits. The question is whether heterosexuals with sex-atypical traits are more reproductively fit. Zietsche et al. claim that there is evidence that females are more attracted to males who have such feminine traits as tenderness, considerateness, and kindness. There is no evidence that males are attracted to masculine females, but masculine traits such as competitiveness and the willingness to have sex outside of committed relationships can confer survival advantage by leading to more sex with men. Zietsche et al. claim, "In the case of males, there are a number of alleles that promote femininity; if only a few of these alleles are inherited, reproductive success is enhanced via increased levels of attractive but typically feminine traits such as kindness, sensitivity, empathy, and tenderness. However, if a large number of alleles are inherited, even the feminine characteristic of attraction to males is produced" (425). I find the first hypothesis to be implausible. The second hypothesis is more compelling, but does not give an evolutionary function to homosexual lust.

45. Prinz, *Gut Reactions*, 99.
46. I will examine it to see if it is purposive.
47. James J. Gibson, "The Theory of Affordances," in *The Ecological Approach to Visual Perception* (Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1979), 119–37. Gibson's view of affordances is one of perception and not representation, which I am neither denying nor accepting. I am suggesting that the concept of affordances offers an alternative way to understand organism-environment relations.
48. Ibid., 137.
49. Ibid., 135.
50. Ibid.
51. Prinz, *Gut Reactions*, 228.
52. To be clear, one perceives, in the normal way, a particular object. The body then responds to the percept or concept in mind. The felt bodily change represents sexual affordances. As opposed to Gibson's view, I take it that one may or may not see, hear, touch, taste, or smell affordances when the body represents affordances. This may have heavy ethical implications. I am attempting to be as value-free as possible, so I will not elaborate.
53. Richard S. Lazarus, "The Cognition-Emotion Debate: A Bit of History," in *Handbook of Cognition and Emotion*, ed. Tim Dalgelish and Mick Power (New York: Wiley, 1999), 10. This claim is not compatible with Prinz's narrower view of cognition. Percepts may act to direct motivation.
54. I will argue that this is not lust in the next section.
55. Schopenhauer, "*World as Will and Idea*," 124.
56. The emotion can outlast the representational component.
57. Rosemary Basson, "A Model of Women's Sexual Arousal," *Journal of Sex & Marital Therapy* 28, no. 1 (2002): 7–8.
58. Ordinary locutions suggest that we feel sexual attraction. This may be true, but I think the present tense is misleading. When the insecure partner asks you if you feel attracted to him/her, you need not introspect on your current sensations to answer the question honestly. This is why I used scare quotes here.
59. The distinction I make could be understood in Prinz's distinction between state emotions and attitudinal emotions. Again, for ease, I have chosen not to discuss state emotions and attitudinal emotions in the body of this paper. My general construct of emotions is identical to Prinz's construct of state emotions. I see *lust* as a better fit for the state emotion

involved in preparing the body for sex. However, I see *sexual attraction* as a better fit for the attitudinal emotion. But, since I am not considering attitudinal emotions to be actual emotions, I do not consider sexual attraction to be an emotion.

Bibliography

Basson, Rosemary. "A Model of Women's Sexual Arousal." *Journal of Sex & Marital Therapy* 28, no. 1 (2002): 1–10.

Bobrow, David, and J. Michael Bailey. "Is Male Homosexuality Maintained via Kin Selection?" *Evolution and Human Behavior* 22, no. 5 (2001): 361–68.

Deonna, Julien A., and Fabrice Teroni. *The Emotions: A Philosophical Introduction*. Abingdon, England: Routledge, 2012.

Gibson, James J. "The Theory of Affordances." In *The Ecological Approach to Visual Perception*, 119–37. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1979.

James, William. *The Principles of Psychology*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1981. Originally published in 1890.

Lazarus, Richard S. *Emotion and Adaptation*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.

———. "The Cognition-Emotion Debate: A Bit of History." In *Handbook of Cognition and Emotion*. Edited by Tim Dalgelish and Mick Power, 3–21. New York: Wiley, 1999.

Prinz, Jesse J. *The Emotional Construction of Morals*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.

———. *Furnishing the Mind: Concepts and Their Perceptual Basis*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2002.

———. *Gut Reactions: A Perceptual Theory of Emotion*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.

Schopenhauer, Arthur. "From *World as Will and Idea*." In *The Philosophy of (Erotic) Love*. Edited by Solomon, Robert C., and Kathleen M. Higgins, 121–31. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1991.

Searle, John. *Intentionality*: *An Essay in the Philosophy of Mind*. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 1983.

Singer, Barry. "Conceptualizing Sexual Arousal and Attraction." *Journal of Sex Research* 20, no. 3 (1984): 230–40.

Toates, Frederick. "An Integrative Theoretical Framework for Understanding Sexual Motivation, Arousal, and Behavior." In "Annual Review of Sex Research." Edited by David L. Rowland. Special Issue, *Journal of Sex Research* 46, no. 2 & 3 (2009): 168–93.

Zietsche, Brendan P., Katherine I. Morley, Sri N. Shekar, Karin J. H. Verweij, Matthew C. Keller, Stuart Macgregor, Margaret J. Wright, J. Michael Bailey, and Nicholas G. Martin. "Genetic Factors Predisposing to Homosexuality May Increase Mating Success in Heterosexuals." *Evolution and Human Behavior* 29, no. 6 (2008): 424–33.

"That Is Why I Fight My Battle": War in *Invisible Man*

Zachary Thede, author
Dr. Roberta S. Maguire, English, faculty mentor

Zachary Thede graduated from UW Oshkosh in December 2015. He majored in English and minored in philosophy. He is also a practicing poet and novelist whose poetry has appeared in *Poetry Quarterly*. A member of the army reserve, he lives in Kiel, Wisconsin, with his wife and baby daughter.

Professor and chair of English at UW Oshkosh, Roberta S. Maguire teaches courses on African American literature and literary theory. She has published an edited volume and numerous articles on Albert Murray, who was Ralph Ellison's very good friend and fellow writer. Her current research focuses on African American literary journalism.

Abstract

Powerful and expansive in scope, Ralph Ellison's *Invisible Man* is one of the greatest American novels of the twentieth century. Though it was born just after the devastation of World War II, and though Ellison had been writing a novel about a World War II prisoner of war (POW) when he transitioned to writing *Invisible Man*, scholarship focusing on the novel as a war novel is distinctly lacking. As this essay will attempt to show, first through a researched, analytical approach and then by engaging with the novel creatively through the mediums of poetry and fiction, *Invisible Man* cannot escape the fires of war. I will attempt to show that Ellison's original novel about the black POW airman was never really lost, but rather exists within *Invisible Man*. An important reading of *Invisible Man* is lost if we do not examine what it has to say about the effects of discrimination in the military during the two wars that preceded it.

Background and Introduction to Part I

To start, it is important to lay some groundwork for my project so a general reader may be better equipped to understand the nature of this unorthodox piece of scholarly work. I will begin by trying to erase a quick myth about the study of English and literature: English scholars do not simply read and discuss books and their merits, seek symbols and themes, or discuss the rules of grammar and usage of the language—a misconception that I, as a former non-English student, was plagued by. Like any discipline, from mathematics to psychology, English is concerned with seeking truths about the universe, the human condition, and our place in the universe. An English scholar looks for these truths in the wonderful works of literature that our human species has produced. But rather than focusing simply on the books and works themselves, many scholars of literature incorporate what we call *theory*—a broad term for the application of outside disciplines as varied as history, psychology, philosophy, and even economics to the study of literature. Another route that English scholars can take to explore these universal truths is through the creative process of crafting literature of their own, which creates, simultaneously, both a more and less direct exploration of the universe than what is given through the more analytical approaches

of scholars who focus on theory. And while it is true that the best analytical scholarship is also creative and the best creative writing makes insightful statements about the world, they are usually viewed as distinct categories within the discipline.

This brings me to my own project: a study of the great American novel *Invisible Man* by Ralph Ellison. When faced with the monumental task of finding new and important truths within such a well-studied and critically acclaimed book, I was stymied by competing desires to respond creatively to this powerful work and to make critical, analytical statements about the themes I found to have been mostly missed by scholars. *Invisible Man* is, as one scholar puts it, "one of those rare novels whose historical importance and artistic greatness are perfectly matched" and whose narrative shows an intense relation to "the nuanced harmonies of poetry," so I could not help but be struck by an urge to find a way to do justice to these dual aspects of the novel in my analysis.[1] What I have tried to do is blaze a trail between the creative and analytical approaches. Hence, I chose to critically engage the work through a selection of poetry and prose. My job, then, through my creative pieces, is to show that the themes of war and racial discrimination in the military run strongly through *Invisible Man*. The pieces culminate in an interpretation of how the original airman novel may have looked and incorporate passages from *Invisible Man* that fit the airman novel. This paper is neither a completely creative response—something I thought to be impossible due to the fiction and poetry pieces' dependence upon the novel for meaning—nor a completely analytical approach, which I believe to be nearly as impossible, given that my theory— as will be shown in a moment—was as much based on my intuitive response to the novel as it was driven by the evidence in the novel. Instead, I have tried to complement my creative arguments with an evidence-based, analytical analysis. Using this unique two-part approach, I believe I have found a way to say something new and important about this novel: namely, that the book would not be the same without the influence of both the two world wars and the unfinished airman novel that Ellison, supposedly, supplanted with *Invisible Man*. What I hope to show, in short, is that Ellison's National Book Award–winning tour de force is, among all its other functions, a war novel.

"That Is Why I Fight My Battle": War in Invisible Man

Invisible Man has been considered one of the premier novels not just of black literature but of twentieth-century American literature since its publication in 1952.[2] The story is told as the autobiography of an unnamed narrator who has realized that his race makes him figuratively invisible to those around him. It chronicles the life of this narrator from his high school graduation to his present semienlightened state. The novel's protagonist develops and comes to age through a series of often absurd events, compiled in an avant-garde style that matches the tumultuous and chaotic spectacle of race in America as this invisible man encounters it. Through each event, the narrator makes discoveries and shifts closer and closer to his present self, eventually coming to realizations not only about his place in history, but of the nature of history itself as well as the nature of Negro leadership and his role as a leader.

Ellison's magnum opus was birthed by war. When it was published in 1952, the country was only seven years removed from World War II's massive stranglehold on the world, and Ellison and many people he knew had witnessed the war firsthand.[3] In fact, Ellison actually began writing the novel seven years before its publication, in the

twilight of this world conflict.[4] Near the war's end, "between trips in the Merchant Marine" where Ellison was serving at the time, he wrote a short story titled "Flying Home"[5] and decided to expand this piece into a novel in order to fulfill a contract he had signed with the publishing house Reynal and Hitchcock.[6] Ellison changed the story somewhat, developing a plan for a book about a black pilot who becomes a Nazi prisoner of war (POW). He was a short way into writing this book when he was lured away by an intriguing voice in his head that sparked the idea for *Invisible Man*.[7] And though the airman novel was, for lack of a better word, abandoned when Ellison was inspired to write *Invisible Man*, I claim that this story of a black POW still exists within *Invisible Man*, visible in glimpses as it haunts key passages—its legacy enduring in thematic currents that hold the novel together.

Unfortunately, there is a dearth of critical scholarship dealing with themes of war and World War I and II soldiers in *Invisible Man*. In fact, in all of the books I came across—including scholarly anthologies such as *The Cambridge Companion to Ralph Ellison*, *Invisible Criticism: Ralph Ellison and the American Canon*, *The Merrill Studies in* Invisible Man, *New Essays on* Invisible Man, and several others—the only mentions of the two preceding wars were in passing, made as general references to time period rather than in a way that built on the war's importance to the novel. A thorough search of scholarly journals and other anthologized articles reveals that Ellison scholars focus on many aspects of the novel. For example, John F. Callahan's seminal article, "Frequencies of Eloquence: The Performance and Composition of *Invisible Man*," focuses on the narrator's attempts to be a leader and a speaker.[8] And while other scholars focus on a colorful and varied bouquet of topics, like the novel's incorporation and engagement with jazz and bebop,[9] democracy,[10] the representation of women,[11] leftist politics,[12] popular culture,[13] African American folklore,[14] and even the importance of biography and precursory drafts of the novel (excluding, of course, significant mentioning of the airman novel),[15] there is almost no major scholarship on the effects of World War II on the novel. One particular article, "A Checklist of Ellison Criticism" by Joe Weixlmann and John O'Banion, which attempts to list all of the Ellison scholarship from 1972 to 1978 (though obviously a very dated list), contains not a single essay within the five-page two-column list that deals with war in the novel.[16] Even Per Winther's "Imagery of Imprisonment in Ralph Ellison's *Invisible Man*" fails to make even a passing comment on the attempted POW novel that preceded *Invisible Man*.[17] Therefore, the lack of scholarship on my subject opens up an opportunity to address it in a broader, perhaps less conventional, way. Specifically, in order to argue for the presence of this lost novel and the influence of war on *Invisible Man* it is necessary to view the time period of the novel's composition in a more generalized way. My historic research, including my research into Ellison's biography, though not directly related to the novel and these themes, is still of vital importance to both my thesis and my hopes of achieving accuracy in the poems and story excerpt that follow this analytical argument. In using this tactic, I follow in the footsteps of Barbra Foley, who, in her excellent article "Biography and the Political Unconscious," uses the abundance of unpublished notes and drafts from Ellison's work as well as his biographic information and historical texts to explore meanings which—though not apparent in the published novel alone—are "central to what the text *is*."[18]

Ellison described the conception of the novel in a speech he gave—appropriately enough–to the cadets at the army academy at West Point. Years after publishing *Invisible Man* and giving up on his airman novel, Ellison would say his younger self had been "naïve" in his notion of the original airman novel, which he describes as being set "in Nazi Germany in a prisoner-of-war camp, [where] the ranking officer of the camp was to have been a black pilot who had beneath him a whole slew of white pilots."[19] It was an idea that was sparked in him when he heard of, and began researching and writing on, the Tuskegee Airmen: a group whose service would eventually illuminate "the irony and absurdity of American racist practices."[20] In "Flying Home," which was born from his research on the Tuskegee Airmen, Ellison creates a sort of "comic absurdity"[21] when an uneducated black farmhand tells a story about how he once died briefly. In the tale, the farmhand becomes an angel, but falls from grace when he refuses to follow the restrictions placed on how quickly black angels could fly.[22] And though there are no black airmen and no scenes set in POW camps in *Invisible Man*, it is easy to find this theme—the absurdity of the American experience—in the novel. For example, near its end, the narrator describes "the beautiful absurdity of their American identity and mine."[23] Ellison explains how, prior to the composition of *Invisible Man*, his "people were involved in a terrific quarrel with the federal government over our not being allowed to participate in the war as combat personnel in the armed forces on an equal basis and because we were not even being allowed to work in the war industries on an equal basis with other Americans."[24] It was from this wartime discrimination that he formed a "concern with the nature of Negro leadership," which eventually led to the unnamed narrator of *Invisible Man* being so "hungry and thirsty to prove to himself that he could be an effective leader."[25] This overarching theme of leadership and a quest to prove oneself is the most significant and powerful connection between *Invisible Man* and the original airman novel. So, regardless of direct connection to the original airman novel, *Invisible Man* cannot escape a similar influence from the themes of war, especially because of what Ellison had been contemplating during the novel's conception.

With a firm grounding of Ellison's stated influences, we can find further connections between war and *Invisible Man*—some of which became the fodder that fuels and informs my creative pieces. Focusing on the history of America during the timeframe of the novel—an unspecified period in the 1930s—and the post-World War II history of the novel's composition, as well as scouring the novel for key passages, illuminates additional ways that the abandoned airman novel and *Invisible Man* are inextricably tied together. Sifting through *Invisible Man*, I found several key sections and shorter passages that show the strong associations to war. The latter of these have a greater role to play in the creative sections of this paper, while the two longer sections of the novel, which directly engage with themes of war, work better when studied via an analytical approach. Thus, I will start with the longer sections.

The more obvious of the two instances of this engagement with war themes comes from chapter 3 when the narrator encounters patients from a local mental hospital, all of whom are "shell-shocked" World War I veterans making a visit to a bar called The Golden Day.[26] This absurd event symbolizes the disillusionment of those who had hoped their participation in World War I—and, by association, World War II—would bring them greater social equality. Of course, the way history played out, this would

not be the case for either war. Black World War I soldiers were often lynched and attacked, while some 25 years later the black war heroes of the Second World War faced open hostility and could not find work.[27] So it is no real shock when, in *Invisible Man* during the scene at The Golden Day, a former army doctor—an expert brain surgeon—comes home from the war only for "ten men in masks" to drive him away and "beat [him] with whips for saving a human life."[28] The scene implies that the other veterans may have faced similar experiences and that their insanity is not the result of shell shock from the war, but shell shock from the horrible reception they received after returning home. This maddening sense of being expected to function in two mutually exclusive roles—both hero or leader in the war and repressed second-class citizen at all other times—is distinctly similar to what Ellison, in his introduction to *Invisible Man*, describes as one of the main problems faced by his black airman in the POW camp. Like all African American soldiers who came before him, he would be fighting "wars-within-wars" and would face the nearly unbearable fact that "once the peace was signed" the Nazi camp warden who had terrorized Invisible Man would be able to "immigrate to the United States and immediately take advantage of freedoms that were denied the most heroic of negro servicemen," simply because the warden was white.[29] And it seems Ellison's characters in *Invisible Man* cannot avoid facing similar conundrums, whether it be the mad veterans at The Golden Day bar or the nameless narrator in a paradoxical position with the Brotherhood—a leftist organization that used African Americans for its own goals, all the while sacrificing them when they lost their usefulness.

The other specific section in which the novel symbolizes the plight of the black soldier is the scene where the narrator works at a factory called Liberty Paints. Here, we find an echoed reference to the wartime propaganda in the slogan and name of the company: "KEEP AMERICA PURE WITH LIBERTY PAINTS."[30] Further on, we find that the logo for Liberty Paints is the "screaming eagle,"[31] which is also the logo of one of the most famous infantry divisions in the U.S. Army, the 101st Airborne. Add to this the fact that the narrator's boss, Kimbro, is called "'Colonel'"[32] and Invisible Man[33] is transferred to work for a man named "Brockway"[34]—a company that built trucks for the military in both world wars[35]—and the scene becomes more and more obviously about war and patriotism. This all hearkens back to the claims Ellison made that the black community was not allowed to work or participate equally in these endeavors, and the black community's plight reflects the way the pilot in the original airman novel is not allowed by other members of the military to perform his duties and function as a leader.

Of course, it is not just the narrative and the novel's plot that are influenced by the wars. The aesthetic principles of *Invisible Man* show influence from them as well. In A. Timothy Spaulding's piece on the bebop aesthetic within the novel, he discusses an important way that this musical tradition was in some ways, like the novel, birthed by World War II.[36] The chaotic elements of bebop provide a parallel to the chaos and disorder of war, displaying yet another connection between *Invisible Man* and war. The novel is full of these dissident, chaotic moments—often arising in the form of reveries or dream states, like an absurd chapter that takes place in a hospital after the narrator has survived an explosion. In this scene, the doctors perform horrific tests on Invisible Man and ask him incessant questions, including several very un-doctor-

like questions about black folklore—a sequence whose resemblance to a scene of drugged interrogation is hard to miss.[37] These scenes of chaotic conflict pepper the novel the way combat scenes would be scattered throughout a World War II novel, arising between the quiet moments and tedious work that make up the majority of a soldier's time. And while combat may seem chaotic and random to those with boots on the ground, combat forces have orders and tactics and goals, the way a bebop soloist, though seeming wild in his dizzying performance, has goals: creating a theme, producing a feeling, or providing a response to some other work. It does not take a leap of imagination to envision this same pattern of dissonant prose with more standard prose in a war novel, especially one that includes a plane crash and interrogation by the maleficent camp warden that Ellison envisioned.

Further research into the historic moment, focusing on the POW camps, shows that this initial idea may have been more complicated than Ellison first envisioned. Arieh J. Kochavi, author of the illuminating and informative book *Confronting Captivity* features a section that discusses the methods of the interrogators in Nazi prisoner of war camps—very different places from the culturally ubiquitous concentration camp. Contrary to what one might expect, Nazi interrogators "spoke excellent English and used friendly persuasion to achieve results (each interrogator had a daily supply of twenty cigarettes he could deal out for this purpose)."[38] Of course, given the false nature of such techniques, it is completely plausible that the camp warden would have become all the more sinister—a two-faced manipulator who kick-starts the tension in the camp. This, of course, is reminiscent of the way that Dr. Bledsoe, the head of the narrator's school and duplicitous master manipulator in his own right, sent Invisible Man to New York on a wild goose chase, saying that he meant to help the narrator get a job.[39] This is the action of falseness that led to all of the narrator's trials. Like the POW in the original novel, forced into a double predicament by the warden, and like the soldiers returning from World War I and World War II, forced to face danger without the honest hope of reward, the narrator has very little control over his life—as shown by the fallout from Bledsoe's actions—and is a prisoner, held by a society in which he is expected to cow down to hegemonic social forces, while his peers expect him to aspire to something greater.

For a novel written as the roar of war was still tapering off, it seems odd that almost no scholarship has focused on the influence the wars that preceded the writing of *Invisible Man* had on Ellison. Still, as I have shown, a study of Ellison's biographic sketch as well as a careful reading of *Invisible Man* uncover the ways that war rested on the mind of the author and found its way into the book, bending the narrative with its influence. It is why we find the narrator hunkered down in his basement and illuminated by thousands of lightbulbs, like a paranoid man in the midst of the Cold War hiding in a bomb bunker. It is why he performs his "act of sabotage," why he hides in the bunker, and why he does not say he is struggling or working, but instead, using the language of war, says, "That is why I fight my battle."[40] And, importantly, it is how the narrative of the story of the airman POW lives on.

Invisible Warfare: A Short Introduction to Part II

What follow are the poetry and faux novel excerpt that were written as a response to and an engagement with Ellison's novel; these pieces are intended to function

as both creative and critical works, furthering the engagement of specific textual passages, as the preceding analysis does. The poems illuminate themes of war and the treatment of black soldiers in a balanced way, using a mix of historical reference and integrating direct evidence from the novel. The novel excerpt, on the other hand, though written with an eye on the historical facts, is far more grounded in the novels—both the incomplete airman novel and *Invisible Man*—than in history, and I therefore made more liberal use of creative license and vision. It is my view of how the original novel may have looked, with special emphasis on passages from *Invisible Man* that would have fit perfectly into the original novel. While not attempting to emulate the style of Ellison, the excerpt attempts to draw the themes of the poetry, including use of dissonant language like Ellison uses, together into a coherent unit. The specific passages from *Invisible Man* that I have appropriated in order to draw my critical parallels appear in italics. As with any piece of art, while some explanation can be helpful, it ought to be allowed to make its own statements, so I will end with the creative pieces rather than following up with a formal conclusion, thereby allowing the readers to make up their own minds about what the pieces say.

Down in Black and White: Headlines

I said black is . . .(Preach it, brother)
and Black ain't . . .
like when the black papers said
"negro is entitled to the product
of his patriotism
and that lynching
should be stamped out,"[41]
but the negro soldier
was "Lynched by Mob of 1,000"[42]
because *black will git you—*
black will un-make you.
Why else would the valor
of the "the Gallant Eight"[43]
or the "Black Heroes
on [the] Western Front"[44]
stand stark as
"Southerners Swear
at Negro Soldier
Who Returns Wounded
from Battlefield of France"?[45]
They were left *a little shellshocked*
by a shift from blackness
to whiteness
that left them somewhere between—
a new color—
like *the loose grey shirts and pants*
worn by the vets
of this *Golden Day*.

And then it happens again.
When the next world war
comes, *the clocks*
are all set back because
even when "Stimson Admits
Negro Soldiers
Were in the Vanguard
of Invasion Forces,"[46]
the lyncher of souls
returns as a "City Patrolman
Shoots Negro Soldier:
Body Riddled While
Lying on Ground,"[47]
and even though
a "Southern Officer Says
Negro Troops Excellent"
and "Negro GI's Popular
with British"[48]
they can't escape
being *forced to the utmost degradation*
because they possessed
skilled hands and the belief
that their knowledge
could bring them dignity.

Leadership and the Chaotic Bebop of Combat

On order, drill and file and march and flank,
the sergeant's words of wisdom whipping dank,
doughy privates into shape, making men
from black behinds, machines from boys, and then
they march and wave, parade, displaying pride
preluding the perilous Skytrain ride.

Deployment day, they parachute down into enemy territory—
descend the stairs into chaos
                              whirling about like maniacs and
                                        screaming **SHOTS FIRED!**
        and banging away the one wild piece
you remember from the drill sergeant
                dodging fire thinking
                                        Ha! booming success
                        refusing the *earthworms* your *sacred flesh*
hearing
                get over to the big valves, quick!
        eyes darting

through the room of tanks and machines
       Behind us came the sound
                          of screams, laughter; ahead
       the footfalls of running boys distant
fire trucks, shooting
                         hearing a clear
new note
          arising while you
                       seemed to run swiftly
                           up an incline
into a wet blast of black
          emptiness
       that was somehow a bath of whiteness.
You wake *in the blackness.*

Returning you discover truth and lies.
As heroes, you part, watched by spiteful eyes.
Your Leadership brings no change—nothing new.
In vain you hoped some low voice spoke for you.

Screaming Eagles and Black Panthers

The white Screaming Eagle—red tongue flickering,
popping in clean whiteness against the black
shield that forms its stark background—
is the infamous insignia of the 101st airborne.

The white eagle helped *keep America pure*
with Liberty paints—I mean, by defending Liberty
by sending soldiers parachute jumping from black
French skies, holding black chute chords.

This batch, descending into densely defended
French forests, is headed for a national monument
where their names will be etched into white granite
for protecting the pure whiteness of democracy.

But they weren't the only ones to descend down
past the door marked "Danger" toward black
bayonets, though they were the ones who returned
to screams of praise and street parades.

When Patton was given pause by German Panzers
he finally reached for the can of black soldiers
and used his dropper to drip the 761st battalion down
to make tank tracks in the muddy world of tank warfare.

And when they were told they would roll in a row
straight toward the black barrels of antitank guns
they learned that they *were only trained to accept
the foolishness of such old men* as white colonels.

But they did their duty and then some, illuminating
others, like the optic white of the eagle logo, earning
Silver Stars and a Medal of Honor to boot, but getting beaten
by bigotry and dissolving into whiteness on the home front.[49]

Brotherhood in Arms

Brothers in arms doing *battle with Monopolated Light Power
in their hole in the basement* of the trenches, bleeding,
each 1 in the 369th Harlem Hellfires[50] shines like *1,369 lights*,
running their razor wire against the enemy—*an act of sabotage*—
returning to more of the same—a maddening continuum—
disintegrating, orphaned, and forced to sell yams on the street,
trying to stay warm while *wrapped in an army overcoat*.

But the tumbleweed has no incentive for survival in the city,
so, when Jack introduces him to the Brotherhood,
it's only from the recent running that his reaction is
repressing an impulse to call him down about this "brother" business,
fighting the indoctrination of the elderly being passed by History—
incapable of rising to the necessity of the historical situation—
and by becoming a leader, he *had begun to lose his depression*.

During Basic Training you learn the standard soldiering skills
and are made to see how *history makes harsh demands*
like the demand that your training be as truncated as your civil rights
and that your supplies be as abundant as abolitionists in South Carolina
during the Civil War—another time you were forced to fight for rights—
someone's rights—never yours, you know as you deploy to the front
for longer than any other American combat force, black or white.

But don't worry, on returning home, you'll find you've *boomeranged
around*, back—from a historical perspective—back to the bigotry
of this *beautiful absurdity of your American Identity*—back
to a Bledsonian absurdity where brothers sacrifice brothers
in the name of the Brotherhood, boomeranging back to the fact
that though your *strength is steadily going to hell*, all *your members
will* either have been sacrificed or *have to be sacrificed* to feed democracy.

The Airman Novel
Chapter 3
The Interrogation

The German soldiers led me, two in front, two in back, down the white gravel path to a low, white building. One of the men took a post outside the door, and another opened it, beckoning me in, and then closed it behind me as I entered.

After the glare of the sun off the gravel, the room was black, and it took me a few moments to adjust. When I had blinked off the blind spots, one of the SS soldiers pointed to a white chair. I sat down; the seat was sturdy, but uncomfortable, no matter how I tried to adjust.

The room was small, with only a single shaded window. There was another chair across from mine, and next to it, a low three-legged stool with a black canteen. I licked my lips.

Two of the escorts took posts in the corners of the room. They kept their Gewehrs at the low. The third gave a quick double knock on a door opposite the one we had entered, then stood to the side of it, facing me.

After a moment, a man stepped through the door. I took him immediately to be an officer. His face wasn't blackened by dirt like the four prison guards, but was pale and clean-shaven. His uniform was clean and sharp looking, as well. A strip of red caught my eye, and I stared for a moment at the swastika on his left sleeve. I noticed how the white circle made the skeletal black design stand out with all the more prominence. For some reason, it felt ironic and I suppressed a smirk, staring down at my beaten leather boots.

The officer sat down in the chair across from mine. He reached into the pocket of his coat and pulled out a pair of white cigarettes. He pointed one of them at me.

"Do you smoke?" he asked. His tone was conversational, and I was dimly surprised by the faintness of his accent. He almost sounded like some of the British airmen I'd met.

I didn't smoke, but I took his offer anyways, grabbing the cigarette and letting him light it for me, feeling agreeable. Maybe I could agree them to death, I thought, smiling briefly at the idea. I drew in a shallow breath and had to stifle a cough. *The taste ran bitter through my mouth*.

"Been a while, eh?" he said with a bit of a smile. He handed me the black canteen, which I took readily, drawing in a long swig.

I nodded, not sure why, but feeling a need to be agreeable to the man.

"Good. Enjoy it," the officer said, pulling a pad and pencil out of his pocket. "So, on to business, yes? I am Wolfgang and I'm going to ask you a few questions. First, *what is your name?*"

I sat for a moment, thinking. The cigarette had made me a little light-headed. After a second, I told him.

"Good," he said, scribbling it onto the page. "Now, what is your rank?"

I didn't know quite how to answer. I took another drag from the cigarette. They had taken my clothes already, so they almost certainly knew. Were they playing with me?

"Captain," I replied.

"Interesting—do they make many Negros officers?" he asked. He sounded earnest enough, but I saw his lips slip slightly as he glanced over at one of the guards.

I shook my head.

The guard by the door said something in rapid German. The other two let out low chuckles. The officer flashed his sharp, white teeth for a second.

"What did he say?" I asked.

"Don't mind them. Now, as the highest ranking of the prisoners here, you know this makes you the . . . acting voice of the camp—the leader so to speak?"

I hadn't thought much about it since I had gotten here. I had assumed that there would at least be *someone* in the camp as high ranking as myself.

"I guess so," I said. The notion made my head a little light.

"Then you won't have any trouble getting them in order, getting them to follow along?" the officer said now, breaking a full smile and making quick glances at the other soldiers.

Again, the guards started to chuckle. *My fingers trembled.*

Still, I felt a sense of motivation at the words. "I can try giving them a speech," I said.

"Good," Wolfgang said.

Suddenly my skin itched, all over—I seemed to be crushed between the floor and ceiling. Two forces tore savagely at my stomach and back. [I was vaguely aware of words being spoken at me and similarly vaguely aware that I was speaking back.] The voice spoke with icy authority and I tried to contain the pain, but the people were so remote, the pain so immediate. I tried to remember how I got here, but nothing came. My mind was black, as if I had just begun to live.

[I realized I was on the ground. The pain slacked.] A man dressed in black appeared, whose piercing eyes looked down upon me out of an intense and friendly face. The others hovered about him, their eyes anxious as he alternately peered at me and consulted my chart.

[He asked me questions, questions I thought I knew the answer to, but all that kept echoing through my head was] BOY, WHO WAS BRER RABBIT? **THINK**. WHO WAS YOUR MOTHER? WHO . . . ARE . . . YOU?

Yet as my eyes focused upon Old Friendly Face he seemed pleased. I couldn't understand it, but there he was, smiling . . .

[He voiced more questions, but the words were echoing—echoing—echoing— ever further—a thick, opaque glass separated us. We knew the other was there, but we couldn't see them.] I felt a tug at my belly and looked down to see one of the [interrogators] pull the chord which was attached to [my] stomach, jerking me forward. [I would be their Sambo doll.]

Then they were gone.

*Left alone, I lay fretting over my identity. I suspected that I was really playing a game with myself and that they were taking part. A sort of **combat**.*

[Through the distance of time and absurdity, I heard a voice like a child's or a mad-woman's, high and deluded with dilated dreams of grandeur. Something someone told me when I was drafted, drifting back dropping into my head, dazzling me and delighting me and damaging me all at once.] "It's you young folks what's going to make the changes. Y'all the ones. You got to lead and you got to fight and move us all on up a little higher. And I tell you something else, it's the ones from the South that's got to do it, them what knows the fire and ain't forgot how it burns . . . it's you young ones what has to remember to take the lead."

I tried to speak, to answer, but something heavy moved again, and I was understanding something fully and trying again to answer but seemed to sink to the center of a lake of heavy water and pause, transfixed and numb with the sense that I had lost irrevocably an important victory.

I closed my eyes, only to be awakened.

Chapter 4
Back in the Barracks

I opened my eyes. For a moment, everything was hazy. I tried to piece together what had happened. When I could finally focus, I saw one of the white lieutenants sneering down at me.

I jumped off of my bunk, feeling as if I was reborn. My legs were shaky, but something in the back of my head *reminded me constantly that something was expected of me, some act of leadership*. I resented the eyes of that white lieutenant. I also knew that we were both American soldiers, *but there was no relief of my resentment, and the more resentful I became, the more my old urge to make speeches returned*.

I looked out at my small audience. Six white men stared out with eyes that looked eerily black in the dimness of the barracks. I could feel the bristling hostility like the heat of brilliant rows of lightbulbs—a radiating heat as if the barracks were lined with them on all four walls. I was suddenly back in Alabama, walking down the street under the hawk gaze of white shop owners, and an urge to avert my eyes, to tug them down to my worn boots almost mastered me.

"We've been dispossessed," I began. "Americans dispossessed of our liberty."

"Ah, stuff it," one of the white men said. "We're not here to listen to you struggle to come up with some half-assed minstrel-babble to distract us. Just tell us how badly you sold us out to them." He spat on the floor in front of me.

I stepped towards him. *He was a tall blond man, and as my face came close to his, he looked insolently out of his blue eyes and cursed me, his breath hot in my face*. It was all I could do to not bash *his chin down sharp upon the crown of my head, butting him as I had seen West Indians do*. I wanted to, my arms itching to spring forward, but then *it occurred to me that the man had not* seen *me, actually*. He only saw his idea of a black man. The commissioned officer standing before him was all but invisible. . . .

Notes

1. Eric J. Sundquist, "Introduction," in *Cultural Contexts for Ralph Ellison's* Invisible Man, ed. Eric J. Sundquist (Boston: Bedford, 1995), 1–2.
2. Ibid., 1.
3. Lawrence Jackson, *Ralph Ellison: Emergence of Genius* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 2002), 310.
4. Ralph Ellison, "The Art of Fiction: An Interview," in *The Merrill Studies in* Invisible Man, ed. Ronald Gottesman (Columbus, OH: C. E. Merrill, 1971), 44.
5. Charles A. Fenton, "Ralph Ellison," in *The Best Short Stories of World War II*, ed. Charles A. Fenton (New York: Viking Press, 1957), 151.
6. Jackson, *Ralph Ellison*, 311.
7. Ibid., 299.
8. John F. Callahan, "Frequencies of Eloquence: The Performance and Composition of *Invisible Man*," in *New Essays on* Invisible Man, ed. Robert O'Meally (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 55–94.

9.   A. Timothy Spaulding, "Embracing Chaos in Narrative Form: The Bebop Aesthetic in Ralph Ellison's *Invisible Man*," *Callaloo* 27, no. 2 (2004): 482.

10.   Tim Parrish, "Ralph Ellison's Invisible Democracy," in *Walking Blues: Making Americans from Emerson to Elvis* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2001), 103–40.

11.   James Smethurst, "'Something Warmly, Infuriatingly Feminine': Gender, Sexuality and the Work of Ralph Ellison," in *A Historical Guide to Ralph Ellison*, ed. Steven C. Tracy (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

12.   Barbra Foley, "Biography and the Political Unconscious: Ellison, Toomer, Jameson, and the Politics of Symptomatic Reading," *Biography* 36, no. 4 (2013).

13.   Jean-Christophe Cloutier, "The Comic Book World of Ralph Ellison's *Invisible Man*," *Novel: A Forum on Fiction* 43, no. 2 (2010): 294–319.

14.   Julia Sun-Joo Lee, "Knucklebones and Knocking-Bones: The Accidental Trickster in Ellison's *Invisible Man*," *African American Review* 40, no. 3 (2006): 461–73.

15.   Foley, "Biography and the Political Unconscious."

16.   Joe Weixlmann and John O'Banion, "A Checklist of Ellison Criticism, 1972–1978," *Black American Literature Forum* 12, no. 2 (1978): 51–55.

17.   Per Winther, "Imagery of Imprisonment in Ralph Ellison's *Invisible Man*," *Black American Literature Forum* 17, no. 3 (1983): 115–19.

18.   Foley, "Biography and the Political Unconscious," 651.

19.   Ralph Ellison, "On Initiation Rites and Power: A Lecture at West Point," in *Ralph Ellison's* Invisible Man*: A Casebook*, ed. John F. Callahan (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 325.

20.   Jackson, *Ralph Ellison*, 294.

21.   Ibid., 295.

22.   Ralph Ellison, "Flying Home," in *The Best Short Stories of World War II*, ed. Charles A. Fenton (New York: Viking Press, 1957), 14.

23.   Ralph Ellison, *Invisible Man* (New York: Vintage International, 1995), 559.

24.   Ellison, "On Initiation Rites," 327–28.

25.   Ibid., 328.

26.   Ellison, *Invisible Man*, 71–73.

27.   Arthur E. Barbeau and Florette Henri, *The Unknown Soldiers: Black American Troops in World War I* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1974), 175–89; Kareem Abdul-Jabbar and Anthony Walton, *Brothers in Arms: The Epic Story of the 761st Tank Battalion, WWII's Forgotten Heroes* (New York: Broadway Books, 2004), 250–54.

28.   Ellison, *Invisible Man*, 93.

29.   Ibid., xii–xiii.

30.   Ibid., 196.

31.   Ibid., 198.

32.   Ibid.

33.   "The narrator" and "Invisible Man" are used interchangeably to identify the first-person narrator of the novel.

34.   Ibid., 207.

35.   Andy Hill, "History of Brockway Trucks," Brockway Truck Preservation Association, accessed May 30, 2015, http://www.brockwaytrucks.org/history-brockway-trucks.

36.   Spaulding, "Embracing Chaos," 482.

37.   Ellison, *Invisible Man*, 231–50.

38.   Arieh J. Kochavi, *Confronting Captivity: Britain and the United States and Their POWs in Nazi Germany* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 73.

39.   Ellison, *Invisible Man*, 149.

40.   Ibid., 7.

41.   "The Negro and the South after the War," *Savannah Tribune*, January 25, 1919, America's Historical Newspapers.

42. "Negro Is Lynched by Mob of 1,000," *Wichita Protest*, September 5, 1919, America's Historical Newspapers.

43. "The Gallant Eighth," *Broad Ax*, February 22, 1919, America's Historical Newspapers.

44. "Black Heroes on Western Front," *Savannah Tribune*, May 25, 1918, America's Historical Newspapers.

45. "Southerners Swear at Negro Soldier Who Returns Wounded from Battlefield of France," *Broad Ax*, February 8, 1919, America's Historical Newspapers.

46. "Stimson Admits Negroes Were in the Vanguard of Invasion Forces," *Arkansas State Press*, July 7, 1944, America's Historical Newspapers.

47. "City Patrolman Shoots Negro Soldier," *Arkansas State Press*, March 27, 1942, America's Historical Newspapers.

48. "Tells Why Negro GI's Popular with British," *Arkansas State Press*, June 23, 1944, America's Historical Newspapers.

49. Abdul-Jabbar and Walton, *Brothers in Arms*.

50. Jeffrey T. Sammons and John H. Morrow Jr., *Harlem's Rattlers and the Great War: The Undaunted 369th Regiment and the African American Quest for Equality* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2014).

Bibliography

Abdul-Jabbar, Kareem, and Anthony Walton. *Brothers in Arms: The Epic Story of the 761st Tank Battalion, WWII's Forgotten Heroes*. New York: Broadway Books, 2004.

Arkansas State Press. "City Patrolman Shoots Negro Soldier." March 27, 1942. America's Historical Newspapers.

———. "Stimson Admits Negroes Were in the Vanguard of Invasion Forces." July 7, 1944. America's Historical Newspapers.

———. "Tells Why Negro GI's Popular with British." June 23, 1944. America's Historical Newspapers.

Barbeau, Arthur E., and Florette Henri. *The Unknown Soldiers: Black American Troops in World War I*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1974.

Broad Ax. "The Gallant Eighth." February 22, 1919. America's Historical Newspapers.

———. "Southerners Swear at Negro Soldier Who Returns Wounded from Battlefield of France." February 8, 1919. America's Historical Newspapers.

Callahan, John F. "Frequencies of Eloquence: The Performance and Composition of *Invisible Man*." In *New Essays on* Invisible Man, edited by Robert O'Meally, 55–94. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.

Cloutier, Jean-Christophe. "The Comic Book World of Ralph Ellison's *Invisible Man*." *Novel: A Forum on Fiction* 43, no. 2 (2010): 294–319. MLA International Bibliography, EBSCOhost.

Ellison, Ralph. "The Art of Fiction: An Interview." In *The Merrill Studies in* Invisible Man, edited by Ronald Gottesman, 38–49. Columbus, OH: C. E. Merrill, 1971.

———. "Flying Home." In *The Best Short Stories of World War II*, edited by Charles A. Fenton, 156–57. New York: Viking Press, 1957.

———. *Invisible Man*. New York: Vintage International, 1995.

———. "On Initiation Rites and Power: A Lecture at West Point." In *Ralph Ellison's* Invisible Man*: A Casebook*, edited by John F. Callahan, 321–43. New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.

Fenton, Charles A. "Ralph Ellison." In *The Best Short Stories of World War II*, edited by Charles A. Fenton, 151. New York: Viking Press, 1957.

Foley, Barbra. "Biography and the Political Unconscious: Ellison, Toomer, Jameson, and the Politics of Symptomatic Reading." *Biography* 36, no. 4 (2013): 649–71.

Hill, Andy. "History of Brockway Trucks." Brockway Truck Preservation Association. Accessed May 30, 2015. http://www.brockwaytrucks.org/history-brockway-trucks.

Jackson, Lawrence. *Ralph Ellison: Emergence of Genius*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 2002.

Kochavi, Arieh J. *Confronting Captivity: Britain and the United States and Their POWs in Nazi Germany*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005.

Parrish, Tim. "Ralph Ellison's Invisible Democracy." In *Walking Blues: Making Americans from Emerson to Elvis*, 103–40. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2001.

Sammons, Jeffrey T., and John H. Morrow Jr. *Harlem's Rattlers and the Great War: The Undaunted 369th Regiment and the African American Quest for Equality*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2014.

Savannah Tribune. "Black Heroes on Western Front." May 25, 1918. America's Historical Newspapers.

———. "The Negro and the South after the War." January 25, 1919. America's Historical Newspapers.

Smethurst, James. "'Something Warmly, Infuriatingly Feminine': Gender, Sexuality and the Work of Ralph Ellison." In *A Historical Guide to Ralph Ellison*, edited by Steven C. Tracy, 115–42. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.

Spaulding, A. Timothy. "Embracing Chaos in Narrative Form: The Bebop Aesthetic in Ralph Ellison's *Invisible Man*." *Callaloo* 27, no. 2 (2004): 481–501.

Sundquist, Eric J. "Introduction." In *Cultural Contexts for Ralph Ellison's* Invisible Man, edited by Eric J. Sundquist, 1–2. Boston: Bedford, 1995.

Sun-Joo Lee, Julia. "Knucklebones and Knocking-Bones: The Accidental Trickster in Ellison's *Invisible Man*." *African American Review* 40, no. 3 (2006): 461–73.

Weixlmann, Joe, and John O'Banion. "A Checklist of Ellison Criticism, 1972–1978." *Black American Literature Forum* 12, no. 2 (1978): 51–55.

Wichita Protest. "Negro Is Lynched by Mob of 1,000." September 5, 1919. America's Historical Newspapers.

Winther, Per. "Imagery of Imprisonment in Ralph Ellison's *Invisible Man*." *Black American Literature Forum* 17, no. 3 (1983): 115–19.

Call for Submissions

The regular submission deadline is **June 1, 2016**, for the upcoming issue. We will accept manuscripts anytime for subsequent issues.

Oshkosh Scholar accepts scholarly analytical and creative works on a rolling basis. Enrolled UW Oshkosh students are eligible to submit their work. Recent UW Oshkosh graduates can submit work that they completed as undergraduates for up to one year after graduation. Students who wish to submit must have a faculty mentor to support their submission.

Analytical works must have substantial original research as defined by their field, citations, and an engagement with the secondary literature. Examples of appropriate articles include those written for independent study projects, honors theses, Undergraduate Student/Faculty Collaborative Research projects, or senior seminar projects.

Creative works must be accompanied by an artist's statement. Creative work includes musical scores, creative nonfiction, visual art, poetry, drama, scripts, or fiction. An artist's statement should address at least two of the following considerations: 1) how the piece engages with the work of others, such as masters of the craft, 2) what traditions it contributes to, 3) what genre it resides in, or 4) an explanation of the medium or technique used. Additionally, the statement should explain how those considerations informed the creative process.

For more information regarding submission guidelines, evaluation criteria, and process overview, visit **uwosh.edu/oshkoshscholar** or email us at **ugjournal@uwosh.edu**.