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insights

Slave Patrols and the History of Policing in America

Shelomith Gonzalez

[FIRST PLACE]

The methods used by police to carry out their duty to protect and serve have been the center of controversy between law enforcement agencies and social justice advocates for decades. Historically, police killing of a Black person and the ensuing media coverage of the event has resulted in a period of intense focus on these issues and protests. However, the civil uprisings in response to the killings of Breonna Taylor in Kentucky on March 13, 2020, George Floyd in Minnesota a few months later, and video of Elijah McClain's brutal treatment by police and paramedics resulting in his death in 2019, have proven to be distinct from the past in several ways. One of the notable differences is the resulting widespread call to radically reform the institution of policing (What is the Breathe Act?). The Movement for Black Lives is one of many organizations who are demanding action to dismantle the structures of our society perpetuating racism. One of their demands is to defund police and reinvest in community resources that improve Black lives (Movement for Black Lives Policy Platforms). Social media content, hashtags, news coverage and public statements by well-known corporations and public figures over the past few months have made the topic of defunding the police part of mainstream dialogue in this country.

Some historians have argued that American policing is in fact a descendant of slave patrols and other strategies designed to maintain White Supremacy. Experts of this historical context believe that failure to recognize this fact is insensitive to the experience of Black people and that acknowledging this history is necessary in order to confront the issues of police violence today (Spruill 44). Some scholars offer a different perspective on how the institution evolved. Seth Stoughton, an assistant professor of law at the University of South Carolina, cites the model of British night watches as the model for policing in colonial America, but he is careful to note that this was "particularly in the northern colonies and states..." (123). The Boston Police Department is aligned with this perspective when it states that its roots can be found in the Boston Watch created in 1631 (City of Boston). Determining the validity of the connection between police today and institutions of White supremacy from the past is not just a subject matter for interesting debate. If the institution of policing descends directly from slave patrols, the unjustified violence experienced by Black communities at the hands of police is not a random event attributed to deviant officers of the law. It is the vestige of a system created by White

society to control and terrorize Black people. For Black Americans the implications of this debate are a matter of life and death.

When we consider the early history of policing, there are clear differences between what motivated northern and southern communities to establish law enforcement agencies. The north's economy was only indirectly dependent on enslaved Black people. In the book Urban American and It's Police, co-authors and political science professors, Harlan Hahn and Judson L. Jeffries suggest that in northern cities the appointment of watches and constables was to provide for various types of public service that also included protecting their communities (1). Stoughton likewise portrays the function of constables as being a mix of mundane civic duties such as overseeing road repairs and collecting taxes along with a few elements of law enforcement (123).

Hahn and Jefferies reveal however that even in northern cities race was a factor in the eventual movement towards a more structured, armed police force as White elite society's perception of risk to their communities increased when the immigrant population grew (3-4).

The motives of southern White society for empowering groups to police others, however, is not at all nuanced. Larry Spruill, a professor of history at Morehouse College, identifies the foremost threat to the White person's way of life in the antebellum south as the enslaved Black community. The slave patrol was the slave-owners answer to that threat. The core values that guided the actions of slave patrols were preservation of the economy enabled by chattel slavery and the prevailing view that Black people were an inferior class of humans. Backed by legal authority established through slave laws and local courts, patrols could detain, interrogate and violently punish enslaved Black people for the slightest of perceived infrac-

tions. The very basis for the function of law enforcement at that time was the belief that all Black people were inherently dangerous, criminal and insubordinate and that White dominance needed to be maintained (49).

New Orleans history offers an interesting window into the irony of White people's perceptions about an armed police force monitoring their own behavior. In New Orleans slave patrols were formed out of fear that Black people and Native Americans would join forces against White enslavers as they had in 1729 during the Natchez Massacre. When government officials attempted to use the slave patrol model as the basis for arming their public police force, White residents objected to this vehemently, believing that only enslaved people deserved to be patrolled by an armed militia.

Enough White voters believed this represented a violation of their civil liberties that New Orleans police lost the legal right to carry guns in 1830 (Ralph 3). In defending the use of weapons by police, the mayor of New Orleans used the sensationalized characterization of a fugitive slave named Bras-Coupé to inflame the irrational fears of White people. Laurence Ralph, an anthropologist at Princeton University, argues that the same panic instilled in White people in New Orleans through racist rhetoric about the evil nature of Black people was what motivated cities across the south to eventually establish armed police forces. He goes on to assert that the same myths motivate the unjustified police shootings of Black people, citing the specifics of the killing of LaQuan McDonald as one example of this truth (5).

Just as genetic descendants share a DNA pattern that is unmistakable, aspects of modern policing share a remarkable resemblance to that of their ancestral slave patrols. Spruill connects antebellum slave patrol practices with police strategies de-

ployed exclusively on black communities today. He uses the findings of a report published by the Department of Justice following the government's investigation into the death of Michael Brown to demonstrate this connection. In particular, he finds parallels in the Ferguson Police canine units used to attack Black people in that community and the "packs of negro dogs" used by slave patrols. (Spruill 42) Details of the DOJ report reveal that canine units were routinely deployed for unjustifiable reasons that resulted in puncture wounds to unarmed, non-violent people, including children. In every single incident reviewed by the investigators, the victims of the canine attacks were Black (Spruill 46).

Spruill goes on to lay out the historical context necessary to comprehend the symbolic implications of using dogs in policing Black communities. Hunting humans with bloodhounds was a practice reserved exclusively for Black freedom seekers who escaped their enslavers. The point of using the "negro dogs" was to terrorize as much as it was to hunt and harm (53). Newspaper advertisements offering well trained dogs for hunting and catching slaves confirms there was a professional market for this service. Narrative accounts from enslaved Black people and archival writings of enslavers provide horrifying evidence of how common the use of "negro hounds" was (54). In contrast, after the Civil War the use of bloodhounds to attack northern White soldiers was considered a war crime and condemned as an act of inhumanity punishable by death (58).The fact that this practice was reserved for Black people only is an indication of how inferior they were thought to be in comparison to White people and represented a denial of their very humanity(45). During the Civil Rights movement dogs were frequently used to attack predominately Black protesters. Spruill quotes Dr. Martin Luther King in drawing

attention to the powerful symbolism, "Discrimination is a hellhound that gnaws at Negroes in every waking moment of their lives" (qtd. in Spruill 60). The use of dogs by police to attack Black people today is both a symbolic emblem of the legacy of slave patrols and an unconstitutional practice that has gone unprosecuted today (44).

There are other traces of shared DNA found between policing today and the methods first employed by slave patrols. The slave patrol's function to constantly surveil Black people was driven by White society's need to control the enslaved communities and prevent uprisings (Spruill 43). Spruill quotes from a travel journal entry written in 1829 by a man visiting Richmond, Virginia who observed an armed officer standing watch at all times. A local resident informed him that it was "necessary to have a small guard always under arms. It is the consequence of the nature of our colored population; but is done more as a preventive check than anything else – it keeps all thoughts of insurrection out of the heads of the slaves,..." (qtd. Spruill 50) Modern law enforcement uses the same language to justify heavy monitoring and patrolling of Black communities. A sociologist commented in 1944 that the real purpose of police in the South was to "...keep the Negroes intimidated", and sometimes they help preserve order" (qtd. Hahn, Jeffries 125) Hahn and Jeffries acknowledge that routine patrolling represents a large part of police work, and yet it is mainly symbolic, has little substance and does not effectively control crime (18). The evidence is clear that throughout the past several decades the neighborhoods most heavily patrolled were Black communities (127).

While there is no evidence to suggest that heavier patrolling significantly reduces crime, there is an abundance of evidence that the impact on Black communities has been deadly. A ProPublica report investigat-

ed over 12,000 killings by police from 1980 to 2012. They find that young black males were 21 times more likely to be shot and killed than their white counterparts during police encounters (Ralph 2). Another study that analyzed data from 2013 to 2018 finds that, while Black people represent only 13% of the population, 25% of the victims were Black and 69% were unarmed (Ralph 2).

The most evident common thread of DNA connecting police violence against Black people today and slave patrols in the past is the dehumanization of Black people stemming from the belief that they are inherently criminal, threatening and of less worth than White people. These beliefs were the framework for policies that to this day give legitimacy to police activity. In a survey of police officers in the 1960s done in eleven cities, 33% asserted that "Negroes are basically violent and disrespectful" and 30% of white officers labeled "most Negroes" as their "enemies" (Hanh, Jeffries 133). Compare Mayor Prieur's description of Bras-Coupé as "a fiend in human shape," and the New Orleans newspaper's statement that "fire shoots from his eyes" (qtd. Ralph 8) to the testimony of Officer Jason Van Dyke in defense of his killing of LaQuan McDonald in 2014. Van Dyke describes McDonald's "expressionless" face and states that "[h]is eyes were just bugging out of his head. He had just these huge white eyes, just staring right through me" (qtd. Ralph 6) Van Dyke's testimony is that it was this ap-

pearance that created a perception of threat so strong that he shot McDonald who was carrying a knife, even after he had fallen to the ground, a total of sixteen times.

We are at a pivotal time in the history of the fight to achieve a truly equitable existence for all Americans. An honest reflection on the data together with documented history of law enforcement in this country leads us to some very uncomfortable truths. Inevitably, we must question what is the intent of policing today? If it is motivated by the belief that Black people are inherently more criminal and dangerous, and that control of their communities is necessary in order to protect the order and safety of White communities, then we must face the truth that law enforcement are carrying out the same duties as antebellum slave patrollers, who after the Civil War passed the slave whip off to publicly funded police departments in a continuation of inhumane practices (Spruill 59). The legal component that functions to provide legitimacy to racial injustice in policing today is also an inescapable part of this truth (Hanh, Jeffries 124). If the law is designed to ensure oppression of one group of people and the dominance of another, then those who see themselves as enforcers of that law must accept the role they play in racial oppression. It is an endangerment to the safety, dignity and humanity of Black lives to permit this system of oppression to continue unchallenged.

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The Power Struggle in The Marrow of Tradition

Anna Heetderks

[SECOND PLACE]

Charles Chesnutt's The Marrow of Tradition (Marrow) is a fictional retelling of the 1898 Wilmington riot in which white residents attacked and drove out of town thousands of black citizens (Bentley and Gunning, "Introduction" 4). Chesnutt's own version, set in the fictional town of Wellington, embellishes the historical account with subplots and distinctive characters, which both drive the development of the story as a whole and symbolize different sets of values and attributes. Most importantly, the characters represent different classes. Class is as central to the plot of Chesnutt's novel as race is. Marrow is about a black-white power struggle, which Chesnutt represents in the tension between the ascendant black middle class and the descendant white ruling class. Through the characters of Marrow, Chesnutt illustrates each class's reaction to this struggle, culminating in the Wellington riot.

Captain George McBane is a rough, course, violent man who expresses nothing less than hatred towards African-Americans. Chesnutt writes that he "had sprung from the poor-white class, to which, even more than to the slaves, the abolition of slavery had opened the door of opportunity" (Chesnutt 64). McBane, stepping through this door, had made a good living off a contract with the state for convict labor, the post-Reconstruction practice of using criminals, often black men convicted on questionable charges, as unpaid labor, "prisoners were forced to work for little or no pay," writes Michelle Alexander in The New Jim Crow. Alexander further writes, "those found with no lawful employment were deemed vagrants and convicted. Clearly, the purpose of...the vagrancy laws in particular was to establish another system of forced labor" (28). In many regards, convict labor was slavery by another name.

McBane's involvement in the questionable institution had been enough to make him quite rich, but not enough to raise his social standing. He is welcomed by Major Philip Carteret, the orchestrator of the Wellington riot, not as an equal, rather as an unpleasant but useful cobelligerent (Chesnutt 63). He is presented as an ambitious man, constantly seeking status and political power (Chesnutt 67), and he sees the power struggle as an opportunity for social mobility and recognition. Despite his wealth, he continues to be disdained by the white elite whose acceptance he so strongly desires. Cartaret views him as "illiterate and vulgar," and is put off by his thirst for violence (Chesnutt 98). "McBane had always grated upon his [Cartaret's] sensibilities," Chesnutt writes (98). McBane sustains a deep hatred for the black race as a whole, in contrast with Cartaret, whose racism is limited to a desire to depose African-Amer-

icans from positions of power and put them back, as he sees it, in their rightful place (Chesnutt 99). Cartaret, however, knows this hatred is useful in pursuit of his goal and therefore he tolerates McBane.

Cartaret's relationship with McBane is emblematic of the tendency of the white elite to use the white working class as a "terrorist arm" to execute their white supremacist agenda (Gorman 2). The ruling class, while they may have found people such as McBane "personally repugnant" (Roe 3), were happy to perpetuate racism within the white working class as a means of keeping African-Americans down and preserving the authority and power of the white ruling class. Within the white working class, groups such as the White Labor movement sprung up and tapped into the fear of black social mobility. At the time of Marrow's publishing, white unemployment was on the rise and African-Americans were taking over in many positions of power (Roe 3). The only advantage poor whites had was the color of their skin, and this they held on to as their last and only form of dominance. Alexander notes this in The New Jim Crow: "In the antebellum South, the lowliest white person at least possessed his or her white skin- a badge of superiority over even the most skilled slave or prosperous free African American" (27). For poor whites, unless African-Americans were at the bottom of the social order, it would be them, and this fear was exploited by the white ruling class.

Even before the rise of the black middle class, the white ruling class faced problems. At the time of Marrow's publishing, southern aristocracy was in decline and losing its grip on society. Chesnutt indicates this on the very first page of the novel as he introduces Major Carteret: "Long ago, while yet a mere boy in years, he had come back from Appomattox to find his family, one of the oldest and proudest in the state, hopelessly impoverished by the war – even

their ancestral home swallowed up in the common ruin" (Chesnutt 44). Cartaret, like so many southern aristocrats, found his family and honor ruined by the war. As he and the white ruling class as a whole struggled to regain their power, a new group was rising that posed a wholly unanticipated threat: the black middle class. Signs of this exchange of power were visible all-around Wellington, especially, as professor Bryan Wagner notes in "Charles Chesnutt and the Epistemology of Racial Violence," in its buildings and architecture (Wagner 312). In Marrow, Olivia Cartaret's aunt, Polly Ochiltree, embodies the anger and consternation of the white elite at this visible disruption to the structure of society. In the scene, Mrs. Ochiltree and Olivia pass by a new building, and Ochiltree notes that Hugh Poindexter (presumably a southern aristocrat) has been building a new house to replace the family mansion destroyed during the Civil War. Olivia corrects her: "It isn't Mr. Poindexter's house, Aunt Polly. That is the new colored hospital built by the colored doctor" (Chesnutt 123). This information provokes an outburst of indignation from Mrs. Ochiltree: "Hugh Poindexter has sold the graves of his ancestors to a negro, - I should have starved first!...The world is upside down" (Chesnutt 123). The belief that the "world is upside down" as a result of black power and influence goads the white ruling class throughout the novel, eventually culminating in the riot.

Despite his tenuous grip on power, Major Carteret fantasizes about a return to former glory for the southern aristocracy. He believes, as Chesnutt writes, "in the divine right of white men and gentlemen, as his ancestors had believed in and died for the divine right of kings" (64). This right would be exercised by winning the power struggle, by putting African-Americans, as he sees it, back in their place. As Chesnutt writes, "Carteret hoped to vindicate the su-

premacy of his race, and make the state fit for his son to live in" (102). His plans for the riot are based in fear and resentment of losing his power to and being ruled by an "inferior race" (Chesnutt 64).

A prominent theme throughout the book is Carteret's belief that he and his class should dictate the order of society. This is shown by how he treats the black characters with whom he comes into contact. He treats his child's nurse, Mammy Jane, with an affection that, while condescending, seems genuine. She is allowed, even welcomed into his house. This starkly contrasts with his blatant refusal to allow Dr. Miller to set foot in his home. "In the south, we do not call negro doctors to attend white patients," he tells Dr. Burns in Chapter VII. "I could not permit a negro to enter my house upon such an errand" (Chesnutt 88). "If Miller were going as a servant, to hold a basin and a sponge, there would be no difficulty," observes a fellow doctor, Dr. Price (Chesnutt 86). Carteret is comfortable with African-Americans around him as long as they remain servants, but not in any other role. He sees himself and his class as the gatekeepers of society.

William Miller is the embodiment of the black middle-class Carteret so loathes and fears. He is a successful and accomplished doctor, the son of a rich stevedore (Chesnutt 48). Intelligent, measured, and philosophical, Miller is respected and accepted by his white colleagues (Chesnutt 84), though this does not prevent him from being subjected to segregation and discrimination. On the train down from Pennsylvania to Wellington, he is separated from Dr. Burns, his white traveling companion, at Richmond, and forced to move to the "colored" car. Ironically, had he been Dr. Burns' servant, he would have been permitted to stay, but because Burns indignantly claims him as his equal, he is told to leave (Chesnutt 77). Such is the ambiguous po-

sition of the middle-class African-American in The Marrow of Tradition.

The rise of Miller's class was considered by the white elite a "historical impossibility" (Wagner 313). Carteret's white supremacist campaign is first and foremost one waged against the successful middle-class African-American, aimed at erasing the class "from public memory" (Wagner 332). The black middle class provokes a white identity crisis. "Anxious and disoriented, they [the white characters] denounce the signs of 'Negro Domination' they see everywhere in their city, signs that range from newly built African American public institutions to individual characters whose appearance of middle-class prosperity belies their supposed inferiority," writes Wagner (312). The black middle class challenged white elites' perception and portrayal of African Americans and thus threatened their hold on society.

If the black middle class was the manifestation of all that the white elite feared from African Americans, the black servant class was the ideal place for them to be. "The negro is capable of a certain doglike fidelity," opines Major Cartaret, "a certain personal devotion which is admirable in itself, and fits him eminently for a servile career" (Chesnutt 59). The black servants in the novel, particularly Mammy Jane and Jerry, embrace their servanthood and express disapproval of those of their race who seek social equality with white citizens. They view the power struggle as unnecessary and unseemly. "I's fetch' my grandson Jerry up ter be 'umble an' keep in 'is place," Mammy Jane tells Carteret. "An' I tells dese other n-----s 'll dat ef dey'd do de same, an' not crowd de w'ite folks, dey'd git ernuff ter eat, an' live out deir days in peace an' comfo't" (Chesnutt 71). Jerry, for his part, constantly seeks the approval of Cartaret and the other white "gentlemen" of Wellington. "To please the white folks was Jerry's consistent aim in

life," writes Chesnutt (194). He relies on his ingratiation with them to protect him from violence during the riot, which it ultimately does not.

In stark contrast to Jerry's policy of accommodation and appeasement stands Josh Green, one of the black working class. Green's father was killed by the Klu Klux Klan under the leadership of McBane, and Green hates McBane and thirsts for revenge (Chesnutt 113). At the start of the Wellington riot, instead of fleeing like most of the town's black population, Green forms a small group of like-minded black men with the intent of fighting back against the white supremacists. "De w'ite folks are killin' de n-----s, an' we ain' gwine ter stan' up an' be shot down like dogs," he tells Miller. "We're gwine ter defen' ou' lives, an' we ain' gwine ter run away f'm no place where we've got a right ter be" (Chesnutt 217). Miller is unwilling to join the men, believing resistance to be futile. Green, disappointed but undeterred, presses on anyway (Chesnutt 219). Green, like McBane, views the power struggle not as an abstract battle of wills and ideologies, but as a physical battle to be fought.

The Wellington riot is the violent culmination of the The Marrow of Tradition, and of the story's class and racial tension. It determines each character's destiny and hints at Chesnutt's premonitions for the future of race and class in the American South. It starts with Dr. Miller, who, returning from a house call, is approached by groups of terrified African-Americans, who tell him the whites in Wellington are threatening to kill every African-American they meet (Chesnutt 216). Anxiety seizes Miller as he thinks of his wife and son, and he urgently drives towards town. Despite his middle-class respectability, he is stopped and searched multiple times by white men with guns (though most are apologetic) and encounters several black bodies lying in the streets (Chesnutt 222). Miller is met along

the way by Lee Ellis, the young white man who works for Major Cartaret's newspaper. Ellis is shocked by the violence of the riot, but cannot find the words to condemn it. "He could not approve of the acts of his own people;" Chesnutt writes, "neither could he, to a negro, condemn them. Hence, he was silent" (223). Ellis, the young, liberal, likeable middle-class professional, should have exemplified hopes for eventual solidarity with the black middle class, an opportunity for both middle classes to unite against the elite (Wise 173). But he chooses racial solidarity over class solidarity (Wise 174).

Mammy Jane is killed in the riot, while Jerry is involuntarily conscripted by Josh Green into the defense party. "I don' wan' ter fight," he protests. "De w'ite folks ain' gwine ter pester me; dey're my friend's" (Chesnutt 229). Green maintains his hold on Jerry, however, who is dragged along with the crowd to Miller's hospital, which Green's men convert to a fort (Chesnutt 229). As Green's party bunkers down in the hospital, a crowd of angry whites gathers outside, including George McBane (Chesnutt 231). "McBane's decision to remain in this violent scene long after the other white leaders have withdrawn sets him apart from the same white elites whose acceptance he so dearly desires," writes Gene Gorman in The Southern Literary Journal (2). While Cartaret is uncomfortable with violence, McBane revels in it. He loudly threatens Green and his men with death if they fight, but is interrupted by a gunshot, and the battle commences (Chesnutt 229).

Major Carteret arrives on the scene highly distressed, having found out Mammy Jane has been killed. He loudly implores the mob to stop, but is misheard, and the crowd, seeing him, cheers the architect of the campaign, the "champion of 'white supremacy,'" and proceeds to set the hospital on fire (Chesnutt 232). Jerry jumps out the window, calling for help from Carteret, but

is shot immediately, his trust in and ingratiation with the "white folks" failing to save him. As the hospital continues to burn, Green realizes that if he and his men stay in there any longer they will die "like rats in a hole" (Chesnutt 233). They rush out to meet the white mob. Green is shot by McBane but stabs him in the heart before dying, fulfilling his promise to avenge his father's death (Chesnutt 234).

Major Carteret returns home to find that his son has the croup due to being left, in the midst of the commotion, in a draft by an open window. (Chesnutt 235). The illness is life-threatening, and Carteret calls around to every doctor he can think of, but none are available. None, that is, except for William Miller. Despite the life of his child at stake, Carteret hesitates, but he gives in. He finds himself on Miller's doorstep, pleading for help (Chesnutt 240). "Fiat Justicia" this chapter is called, but irony plays the leading role. Carteret, the consummate gentleman, the aristocrat, the white supremacist, is reduced to begging for the life of his young heir from a man who represents the class he most disdains and fears.

Carteret standing on Miller's porch is the face-to-face manifestation of Marrow's defining power struggle. In "Caste, Race, and Gender after Reconstruction," an analysis of Marrow in light of the social issues of Chesnutt's day, Nancy Bentley and Sandra Gunning argue that Chesnutt's portrayal of Miller implies that he believed the black middle class would lead African-American progress. They add, however, that Chesnutt makes Green, not Miller, the true leader of the story. Miller turns down the opportunity to be a figurehead of the resistance, leaving Green the symbolic leader of his people (Bentley and Gunning, "Caste" 254-55). But while Green may have been the leader, Miller is the last man standing.

The ending of The Marrow of Tradition reveals Chesnutt's premonitions for the outcome of the power struggle and for the future of class and race in the American South. George McBane and Josh Green kill each other, implying conflict in store for the white and black working classes. Lee Ellis aligns, if reluctantly, with his race over his class, dashing, at least temporarily, hopes for solidarity with the black middle class. Mammy Jane and Jerry are killed, demonstrating that no amount of subservience to the white powers-that-be will be enough to afford African-Americans security and protection. Dr. Miller, however, emerges not only alive, but in a position of power over Cartaret. His victory in the power struggle demonstrates Chesnutt's belief that progress for African-Americans lay with the improbable, miraculous black middle class.

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A Women's Issue: Intersection of Gender, Incarcerated Motherhood and Race

Sri Kodakalla

[THIRD PLACE]

Rates of incarceration and length of prison sentences have increased dramatically in the past fifty years since the War on Drugs, a U.S. government-led initiative focused on reducing the trade of illegal drugs (Opsal and Foley 2013). Often, the consideration for discussing this increase has been focused on incarcerated men's issues: rates of recidivism, challenges or obstacles faced with re-entry, and the compounding factor of race in the struggle for successful reintegration after release. Incarceration and the obstacles faced in reintegration are gendered issues, faced differently by men and women. This difference is further experienced by incarcerated parents of minor children and by incarcerated people of color. While the number of incarcerated women is less than the number of incarcerated men and incarcerated women are more likely to serve shorter sentences than incarcerated men, nearly two-thirds of the incarcerated women are mothers to minor children and experience the circumstance of having to mother their children from a distance, find familial custody for their children, or are embedded with social services as their children are taken into foster care (Michalsen, Flavin, and Krupat 2010; Opsal and Foley 2013). In our current justice system, there is not enough done for incarcerated mothers during incarceration and in preparation for release to advance or improve potential for successful reintegration with the possibility of custody of their children intact, despite seeing beneficial and positive outcomes in maintaining mother-child relationships.

This essay focuses on the blind spot of the American justice system in advocating for the compounded intersection of gender, incarceration, motherhood, and race, starting with a discussion of the obstacles faced by incarcerated mothers of color (especially Black and Hispanic) in successfully re-integrating into society after release from prison (Opsal and Foley 2013). In consideration of these obstacles faced, this essay will review the current societal and judicial stereotype on motherhood which plays a significant role in the lives of incarcerated mothers who don't meet societal expectations of femininity (Garcia 2016). Finally, the importance of fostering mother-child relationships while incarcerated will be explored (Garcia 2016; Michalsen et al. 2010). These factors present only a portion of the narrative of struggles faced by incarcerated mothers; more research

regarding the intersection of incarcerated motherhood and race needs to be done in order to have a more adequate understanding of how best to encourage successful and equitable re-entry (Garcia 2016; Opsal and Foley 2013).

OBSTACLES IN RE-ENTRY

Re-entry upon release is a gendered issue for incarcerated women, as they experience greater difficulties with successful reintegration (Garcia 2016). In American society, men are more likely to be employed than women. White women are more likely to be employed than women of color. Within certain industries, there still exists a gender pay gap in employment with women of color making far less money than white women. These same demographic statistics apply for incarcerated individuals; however, having a record and being on parole makes it much harder. Incarcerated mothers (especially mothers of color) face insurmountable challenges with reintegration, in regards to obtaining employment, financial security, housing, custodial arrangements, parole requirements as well as dealing with mental and physical health issues (Garcia 2016; Opsal and Foley 2013).

Incarcerated women have difficulty finding stable employment upon release, as the job market looks down on individuals with a prior record and individuals on parole (Garcia 2016; Opsal and Foley 2013). This fact is compounded by gender issues in hiring and pay equality for women in the United States. With regards to obtaining employment after release, incarcerated women are considered to be "doubly deviant" in the eyes of employers (Opsal and Foley 2013). This standard weighs that incarcerated women are not only criminals, but also countering societal expectations of femininity with being tough or hardened through incarceration (Garcia 2016; Opsal and Foley 2013). With the addition of race-based stereotyping and bias, incarcerated women of color struggle with finding stable employment with adequate means to support themselves, let alone any minor children they have (Opsal and Foley 2013).

Incarcerated women usually do not have money saved up upon release and must find a job to support themselves. Released incarcerated mothers are more likely to have been the "sole providers for [their] children" prior to incarceration and after release, must find ways to source income to be able to provide for their children (Opsal and Foley 2013). Often, the money they earn isn't enough to afford housing to live with their child or to pay for the livelihood of their kids.

Upon release, incarcerated women must find housing conditions, but there are limited housing options for recently released convicts (Garcia 2016; Opsal and Foley 2013). Options for housing are even more sparse for women of color. Incarcerated women of color are more likely to end up in housing in "racially-segregated communities" where there exists greater "economic disadvantage, high crime, and a dearth of public resources" (Opsal and Foley 2013). These group housing situations don't afford the option for mothers to be able to live with their children (Garcia 2016). Incarcerated women who are able to rely on family support in the form of housing and child custody are more likely to succeed in re-entry (Garcia 2016; Opsal and Foley 2013).

Depending on the length of time of incarceration, incarcerated mothers must juggle the expectations of the court system to attend hearings, to meet parole requirements, to find housing to live with their children, and to have stable employment or financial security, in order to obtain custody of their children. Since the Adoption and Safe Families Act of 1997, incarcerated mothers (often women of color) released after longer sentences (greater than 15

months) lose custody of their children to the foster care system (Garcia 2016; Opsal and Foley 2013).

In order to meet parole and stay out of prison, newly released women are required to meet state and federal requirements of finding stable employment, housing, and completing regular drug testing. For incarcerated mothers, this first year of parole is critical in ensuring they are able to stay out of prison, in order to even physically be present for their children. Without familial support, meeting the dual requirements of parole officers as well as the court system and social services is impossible (Opsal and Foley 2013).

Finally, incarcerated women experience mental and physical health issues (either from incarceration or pre-incarceration), which impedes their ability to succeed upon re-entry. These women have limited to no access to healthcare or substance abuse care while in prison and these issues persist upon leaving prison, often to their own detriment (Opsal and Foley 2013). Federal and correctional policies disproportionately affect women of color and low-income women (Opsal and Foley 2013). Roughly half of repeat incarcerated, low-income women of color receive little to no treatment for ongoing mental health issues (Opsal and Foley 2013). In order to be able to attain healthcare, reform, or rehabilitation upon release, these women must find employment and financial security.

As illustrated above, the expectations of incarcerated women upon release is a juggling act with knives, putting these women in repeatedly punitive positions to not succeed in reintegration. A newly released mothers' success (if there is to be any) relies on having family or others to take care of her children, while she navigates the requirements of her parole (Garcia 2016; Michalsen et al. 2010; Opsal and Foley 2013).

THE STEREOTYPE OF MOTHERHOOD AND THE STIGMATIZATION OF INCARCERATED MOTHERS

There exists a developed stigma, in society and ultimately mirrored in our justice system, around incarcerated mothers who are subsequently considered "bad" or "unfit" mothers due to their incarceration (Garcia 2016; Michalsen et al. 2010). This stigma has led to unequal treatment toward incarcerated mothers if and when they don't meet the general expectations of traditional "motherhood" and femininity. There is a homogeneous understanding of "motherhood" tied to physically living with your children, fully financially supporting your children, and nurturing your children's growth into future successes (Garcia 2016). This vision of motherhood is not that for incarcerated mothers nor for mothers of color. The question of how a child should be raised is a race-based and income-based issue, often being seen differently within families of color, immigrant families, or low-income families.

Immigrant mothers often want for their children to have far more than they ever did. Black women must engage in "motherwork" to empower their children with the acknowledgment that there exist systemic issues that will impede their ability to succeed always and that there are inherent dangers to living while Black (Garcia 2016). Incarcerated mothers who've experienced the penal system raise their children differently through "tough love parenting" with the intention of not wanting their kids to end up like them or to be aware of the struggles at an earlier age (Garcia 2016). This experience of motherhood is different than those of White mothers or White middle-class mothers; incarcerated women (especially those of color) cannot just impart wisdom to their children about focusing on attaining a good education and earning a living (Garcia 2016). Our world is experi-

enced differently by those of color and by those of low-income.

Our current justice system, with regards to child custody, hands down judgments on the basis of living arrangements (whether a child lives with the mother or not), financial stability (stable employment or savings), and any custodial agreements (familial support for the child) to determine whether a mother can be involved in a child's life or not (Garcia 2016; Opsal and Foley 2013). These expectations are independent of whether a mother is incarcerated. Newly released mothers are unable to meet all of these standards while meeting the requirements of parole and especially within the allotted timeline before losing custody or access to their children. Due to systemic racial discrepancy and disadvantage in our court system, incarcerated mothers of color are more likely to be unable to meet these expectations and lose access to their children (Garcia 2016). Our system must evolve from the white homogenous understanding of "motherhood" to adapt to the ways in which individuals can be good parents even without living with their children and in acknowledging how even just the maintenance of a relationship between a mother-child improves a child's wellbeing (Garcia 2016; Michalsen et al. 2010; Opsal and Foley 2013).

FOSTERING MOTHER-CHILD RELATIONSHIPS

Children of incarcerated parents experience instability due to the separation of familial ties, especially experiencing "emotional turmoil" regarding the incarceration of their mother. Due to the disruption in their relationships with their family and to their steady home life, these children often experience instability in their housing situations, "educational achievement", and suffer from mental health issues which cause them to behave aggressively, break rules, or drop out of school (Garcia 2016).

While parental incarceration is problematic for these children, what is more traumatic is the loss of the connection to their parent entirely. Knowing that incarcerated women are likely to serve shorter prison sentences than men and likely to be released on parole on an average of 18 served months, the separation between mother and child is temporary (Michalsen et al. 2010). This short-term incarceration should not create a lasting ripple effect where the mother no longer has any access to their child after release and that the separation between mother and child becomes permanent.

Children of incarcerated mothers are more likely to have lived with their mothers prior to incarceration and are more unduly harmed by this separation (Garcia 2016; Michalsen et al. 2010). In order to ensure the child's wellbeing, structure, and sense of their identity, we must create greater opportunities for children to be able to access their mothers while incarcerated through extended visiting hours or correctional reforms (Michalsen et al. 2010). Convicted mothers of non-violent crimes shouldn't be in prison, but rather in community correctional programs which advocate for self-improvement and keep the family unit together (Michaelsen et al. 2010).

There are benefits to the incarcerated mother being able to see their child. Access to their children encourages a sense of hope of a future after release, provides for potential motivation to stay away from drugs and crime and facilitates reintegrative efforts (potentially reducing recidivism, encouraging a smoother re-entry, and promoting rehabilitation) (Michalsen et al. 2010). If we want to ensure that every child and family can succeed when given the opportunity, our justice and correctional systems must evolve to meet that standard

(Michalsen et al. 2010).

GAPS IN THE NARRATIVE: OPPORTUNITIES FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

In order to fully ascertain how to remedy or alleviate the obstacles faced by incarcerated mothers, there needs to be more empirical research in understanding the intersection of incarceration, motherhood, and race. There is homogeneity presented in the experiences of incarcerated motherhood as there is a lack of data on the differences in experiences faced by incarcerated mothers of varying racial and ethnic backgrounds (Garcia 2016). Often, current data discusses incarcerated women of color as a unit, aggregating systemic disadvantage to all women of color rather than discussing the nuances of disadvantage faced. Black and Hispanic women in the United States serve longer prison sentences than white women (Opsal and Foley 2013). Due to these longer sentences and the stipulations of the Adoption and Safe Families Act of 1997, incarcerated Black and Hispanic mothers to minor children are, in general, less likely to be able to regain custody of their children (unless the children are already in the care of family) (Garcia 2016; Opsal and Foley 2013). The current presentation of empirical data suggests that all incarcerated women face the same struggles with reentry into society after release. While not untrue, it doesn't fully share the further struggles faced by incarcerated single mothers of color in our society for attaining safe housing, financial stability, and secure employment. Our understanding of the narratives of incarcerated mothers of color can be enriched through empirical study of the rates of recidivism, successful re-entry, and obtainment of custody (Garcia 2016; Opsal and Foley 2013).

CONCLUSION

In reviewing the challenges faced by incarcerated mothers after release, the societal expectations of motherhood, and the beneficial outcomes associated with fostering incarcerated mother-child relationships, we can see that our narrative understanding of incarcerated mothers (especially those of color) is nuanced and complex (Garcia 2016; Michalsen et al. 2010; Opsal and Foley 2013). The American judicial and correctional system, while acknowledging the obstacles faced by incarcerated mothers, has not actively alleviated or remediated these issues (Michalsen et al. 2010). With all of the societal and judicial challenges faced by incarcerated individuals within the penal system and upon release, how can these individuals also be expected to be available parents? If we seek to aid incarcerated mothers (especially those of color who receive greater disadvantage), we must make more active efforts to adapt our systems to maintain and sustain relationships with their children, while also encouraging success for the family unit through aiding the individual with access to housing, finances, employment, and achievement of parole requirements upon release.

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Children from the Accomplishment of Natural Growth and Concerted Cultivation

Austin Cooper

When people have children, they seemingly have their own ideas of how they want their children live and behave. Sociologists have examined how parents influence their children through the act of parenting. While admittedly an oversimplification of the dynamics involved in parenting, Annette Lareau's (2006) ideal typical models of the accomplishment of natural growth and concerted cultivation have been widely adopted in research (e.g., Calarco 2011, Streib 2011). In brief, the accomplishment of natural growth is a parenting style associated with working-class individuals wherein parents enroll their children in a minimal number of organized, age-specific leisure activities (e.g., soccer, basketball, baseball/softball). Parents see strict boundaries between children and adult authority figures. As a result, accomplishment of natural growth parents are more prone to command their children to do chores and other activities and to engage in corporal punishment. Concerted cultivation is a parenting style associated with middle- and upper-middle-class individuals where parents will try to actively nurture their children's talents by enrolling them in many organized, age-specific leisure activities. Parents do not see strict boundaries between children and adult authority figures. Accord-

ingly, concerted cultivation parents are less likely to command their children to chores or other activities and less likely to engage in corporal punishment. Instead, concerted cultivation parents prefer to negotiate with their children; they even encourage and coach their children on interacting with adult authority figures. The models are offered as theoretical constructions for the purpose of comparison. No individual will perfectly fit into one of the models, but they will be in one more than the other. Unsurprising then, the individuals who experience concerted cultivation or accomplishment of natural growth develop differing orientations to the social world as early as age four according to Jessi Streib (2011). Moreover, these upbringings significantly impact school performance. Namely, concerted cultivation children have advantages over accomplishment of natural growth children in school. With this in mind, this essay describes how children from both models orient themselves to schooling, highlighting from preschool to college.

As noted above, Jessi Streib (2011) has documented behavioral differences in children from the accomplishment growth and concerted cultivation as early as four. Strieb (2011) conducted ethnographic research in preschools where she gathered

information regarding the class backgrounds of each child based on interviews with parents and observations of children. She determined that working-class children generally experienced parenting consistent with the accomplishment of natural growth model while middle-class children generally experienced parenting consistent with the concerted cultivation model. She found that concerted cultivation children were more outgoing with daycare workers, often interrupting the workers when they wanted to make a comment or to ask general questions (345). Concerted cultivation children could even get daycare workers to take preferred toys away from accomplishment of natural growth children to play with. They also routinely asked for assistance in putting on extra clothes such as coats and gloves. By contrast, accomplishment of natural growth children were more reticent to interrupt daycare workers. They rarely questioned or challenged daycare workers. While this difference might seem innocuous or temporary (children can grow out of such behaviors), it actually disadvantaged working-class children. At this early age, middle-class children grew comfortable interacting with adult authority figures, which eventually would become teachers. This would set concerted cultivation children up for easier success in primary school.

The behaviors of children in preschool, while not deterministic, sets the groundwork for how they will behave when starting primary school (Calarco 2011). Picking up where Strieb (2011) concluded, Jessica McCrory Calarco (2011) examined a group of third, fourth, and fifth graders. Much like Strieb's research, Calarco collected social class backgrounds of each child involved in her study. She found that middle-class children, or those reared on the concerted cultivation model, were more willing to ask for help on class assignments and homework. Since the middle-class children were comfortable having the teacher assist them so much, they began to expect customized accommodations for their needs and questions. Often this led to the children requesting to take re-tests and to get extra credit. Working-class children, or those reared on the accomplishment of natural model were more hesitant to ask their teachers for assistance. These children did ask for information on assignments and tests, but never asked if their work was correct or if the teacher could help them compose the correct answer or if they could re-submit assignments. In one telling instance, a working-class boy was observed listening to a conversation between a teacher and middle-class boy who asked for help. These patterns continued through junior high and high school where the middle-class advantage in school continued to grow (Lareau 2006).

Inequality research suggests early advantages can accrue into larger advantages, especially when people reach adulthood (Lareau 2015). Lareau's original research occurred through 1990s and has followed the children into adulthood. As adults, those raised under the accomplishment of natural growth mostly became independently responsible for themselves. They firmly understood the benefits of college education, but encountered more struggles than their concerted cultivation counterparts. This is not to say they uniformly struggled (one respondent earned a medical degree from Columbia University), just more than concerted cultivation individuals. Those who experienced concerted cultivation were more likely to find success as adults, although some encountered significant hardships. For their part, concerted cultivation parents remained deeply involved in the lives of their children, often assisting with bills and various crises. Accomplishment of the natural growth parents were still involved in the lives of their children as well,

but offered less monetary help for bills and crises. In sum, the inequalities seeded at an early-age seemingly reverberate across the lifespan. Social class may not be deterministic, but it is very influential.

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A Matter of Birth and Death: Racial Inequities in Maternal Mortality

Amelia Hammer

Have you ever heard a loved one announce that they're expecting a baby? How did you feel? Were you excited about the new addition, or were you terrified for their survival? Did you have to pray that you were only going to have to plan a baby shower and not a funeral? In my personal experience, pregnancy has always been filled with joy, excitement, maybe a little bit of uncertainty, but never fear. This likely is primarily because I'm white. When I first read that statistically, Black women are three to four times more likely to die during, or as a complication of pregnancy and childbirth than white women, I was astounded and horrified. As someone studying to be a labor and delivery nurse, I immediately set my sights toward finding solutions. I quickly realized that this is an extremely multifaceted issue, and the roots of the problem have to be understood before remedies can be discussed. This ultimately led me to ask myself: "how has America's history of institutional racism influenced the increased maternal mortality (death) rates for Black women?"

Since the murder of George Floyd, support and awareness has increased for movements like Black Lives Matter, which has, in turn, brought tough conversations about racial inequities in the United States to the forefront. While all progress is great, unfortunately, one conversation that still seems to get vastly swept under the rug is that of Black maternal mortality and morbidity. If every American took just a moment to think about the pain they would experience if they lost a wife, mother, sister, or friend to a generally preventable death during a time that should be filled only with new life, it would be glaringly apparent how vital this problem is to understand and discuss.

As with many of the harmful inequities facing the Black community, this issue took root during slavery, gradually evolving into what it is today. In their article "Black Maternal and Infant Health: Historical Legacies of Slavery," historians Deidre Cooper Owens, Ph.D., and Sharla M. Fett, Ph.D. begin to explain the links between modern medicine and slavery, asserting, "An honest examination of racism as a widespread affliction of American medical practice must acknowledge that the medical profession was entangled in the institution of slavery from its beginnings" (Owens and Fett). White physicians worked exclusively for slave owners and were only interested in the health of enslaved people when it was affecting their ability to work. Black women were considered an especially valuable commodity because, beginning in 1662, any children of enslaved women were born into slavery, thus creating more free labor.

This practice became infinitely

more important to slaveholders when slave import was banned in 1808 because no new slaves were being shipped into America. Black women were treated like livestock to be bred; and with this, came a deepened fascination around Black women's fertility. This led to surgeons like François Marie Prevost conducting reproductive experiments on non-consenting enslaved women. Prevost's experiments eventually led to the creation and refinement of the modern-day Caesarian section; a surgery that benefits many women of all races today, but to the detriment of many Black women in the past. Like the C-section, numerous modern obstetric procedures and practices were developed through the torture of enslaved women, leading to the well-founded discomfort and mistrust that Black women often still hold toward the field of obstetrics.

Many people believe there is no medical discrimination or bias currently affecting Black women because those practices occurred in the past. This assumption is simply not true. Unfortunately, the experiments performed on enslaved women have led to various medical fallacies still believed by a significant number of medical professionals. For example, a 2016 study conducted by the Institute of Medicine found that out of 210 white medical residents, 25% believed that Black people have thicker skin than white people and, 4% still believed that Black people had faster blood coagulation rates and felt less pain (Worcester). These fallacies all sprang from American slavery, and yet are believed by some over 150 years after its abolition. Furthermore, even if physicians do not believe these fallacies, many still hold an implicit bias toward Black women, yielding a far lower standard of care. Black mothers are frequently dismissed or under-treated when advocating for their pregnancy-related ailments or even blamed for them outright, often leading to preventable deaths or severe complications.

It is a common misconception by both the public and the medical community that the causes for the increased rates of maternal mortality and morbidity can be explained by socioeconomic differences or differences in education level. However, this has been found time and time again to be untrue. In fact, Jamila K. Taylor, Ph.D., director of health care reform at Century Foundation, in her article, "Structural Racism and Maternal Health Among Black Women," remarks "Black women, regardless of social or economic status, are more likely to die of pregnancy-related causes. This is even true when compared with white women who never finish high school" (Taylor).

Kira Johnson is a name that comes up frequently in this discussion. She was a 39-year-old highly educated Black woman, wife, and mother of one (soon to be two) sons. Everyone who knew Kira personally described her as "invincible", and understandably so. Kira spoke five different languages, enjoyed sky diving and flying planes, and was a successful entrepreneur. On April 12, 2016, Kira and her husband were elated to welcome their new son into the world via C-section, completing their family. However, shortly after the procedure, Kira's husband noticed blood in her catheter line. When he alerted the nurses and other medical personnel of their concerns, they were ignored and forced to wait an entire seven hours for any help, despite their increasingly frantic pleas. Eventually, Kira was sent into a second surgery, where they discovered three liters of blood in her abdomen due to a postpartum hemorrhage. Her heart stopped on the operating table, leaving a heartbroken widower, and two motherless sons behind because of her likely preventable death (Taylor). Unfortunately, Kira's story, while heartbreaking, is far from being unique.

Along with both historical and in-

stitutional racism, Black mothers also have another battle to fight: stress. When humans are exposed to stressors, our central nervous systems release a flood of chemicals like adrenaline and cortisol. Evolutionarily, this process developed so that we could run away or fight any predators or attackers that were causing the stress, making it an extremely necessary and useful mechanism. However, when exposed to high levels of stress for extended periods, it can actually begin to harm or degrade essential systems in the body, like the cardiovascular, immune, and metabolic. To put it simply: stress can make us sick.

In an article titled "The Hidden Toll," published in The New York Times Magazine, author and journalist Linda Villarosa describes a theory developed by Dr. Arline Geronimus, a professor at the University of Michigan's School of Public Health, which Dr. Geronimus termed "weathering." Villarosa explains, "She believed that a kind of toxic stress triggered the premature deterioration of the bodies of African-American women as a consequence of repeated exposure to a climate of discrimination and insults" (Villarosa). Living as a Black woman in America causes such high-stress levels for such lengthy periods because they are exposed to frequent traumatic situations, insults, and consistent micro-aggressions. Enduring these experiences for long enough causes their stress response to become over-activated: a state that cannot simply be fixed with a bubble bath and cup of tea. Dr. Geronimus later went on to research "weathering" more deeply, and in a 2006 study, she and her colleagues concluded that "'persistent racial differences in health may be influenced by the stress of living in a race-conscious society. These effects may be felt particularly by black women because of [the] double jeopardy of gender and racial discrimination" (Villarosa). In short, dealing with racism in the United States can pit Black women's own bodies against them. This can be particularly detrimental during pregnancy when health complications are more prevalent, to begin with.

As I previously mentioned, the inequitable Black maternal mortality rate is an extremely multifaceted issue, which cannot be linked to a single factor or solved by any one solution. But to begin understanding the problem, history, current societal practices and beliefs, physiological factors, and medical practices all have to be heavily examined. There is a history of racism and discrimination against Black women and mothers dating back hundreds of years to American slavery. Many of the most helpful and widely used obstetric practices of today arose from despicable crimes committed against enslaved women. While these critical medical advancements stood the test of time, so did many harmful biases against the Black community; all too often leading to lowered standards of care, blatant medical negligence, and outright mistreatment. Along with the medical field, American society as a whole should be held accountable. It not only fosters an environment for Black mothers dying preventable deaths at horrifically high rates to fly under the radar, but it also endows these women with such heightened stress levels that they often develop physical ailments as a result. I wholeheartedly believe that this can eventually be remedied, but that will only happen when the medical community, and the general public, work together. This must all begin with education, awareness, and those tough conversations.

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Functional Foods: Eating to Heal

Kelsey Missel

Why do you eat? You eat because you are hungry, or perhaps because you are bored. You eat because it brings you enjoyment or comfort. You eat because food is essential to life. But what if you could eat to heal your body? This is a question that many who struggle with chronic illness find themselves asking their physician as they search for alternative ways to control their health and symptoms. One such chronic illness is rheumatoid arthritis. Rheumatoid arthritis, or RA, does not discriminate and attacks men, women, and children at any age. It is a debilitating autoimmune disease that affects a person's joints and causes pain, swelling and joint destruction, eventually leading to loss of function. There is currently no cure for RA and results with disease modifying medications are less than satisfactory. In fact, recent studies show that 75% of people with RA are unhappy with their current treatment plan and continue to experience symptoms (Levine). It is no wonder then why people are desperate to find alternative methods to alleviate their discomfort. I understand first-hand the disparity of endless doctors' appointments and placebo like medications and treatments. Two years ago, I was diagnosed with rheumatoid arthritis. Recently, in an attempt to find added relief, I began to experiment with dietary manipulations. I began to limit my intake of animal products and followed a strictly gluten free diet. By no means were these changes a miracle solution, but after a few months I noticed I was having decreased pain and stiffness in my joints. My almost constant brain fog was dissipating, my face looked less swollen, and I even began to lose weight without adjusting my caloric intake. This has led me to wonder what the potential benefits of a diet free from inflammatory foods, such as red meat and gluten, are for people with rheumatoid arthritis. Is it possible that dietary manipulations could help those with chronic illnesses find added relief from their symptoms?

Limited success with medications and the harsh side effects that accompany these treatments has led to increasing frustration and desperation for RA patients. In a recent study, Dr. Humeira Badsha, a Consultant Rheumatologist at Dr. Humeira Badsha Medical Center, emphasizes that, "...RA remission rates are low. Approximately 50% of patients experimented with unorthodox treatments and diet...in an attempt to gain better disease control" (19). Similarly, Sara K. Tedeschi and her team of researchers at Brigham and Women's Hospital in Boston, MA remarks that, "patient interest in the effect of diet on RA has been noted for decades" (1920). The observation of these researchers is supportive evidence that despite disease modifying medications, people are still seeking ways to manage their symptoms more effectively. As the interest in alternative treatments through diet manipulation has risen, researchers have begun to investigate the benefits, and lim-

itations, of diet in RA patients.

Ingiäld Hafström and his team of leading researchers and physician at Huddinge University Hospital in Stockholm, Sweden, sought to illuminate the effects of dietary manipulation on patients with RA. Their study utilized multiple markers for improvement of symptoms. These included standardized criteria developed by the American College of Rheumatology known as ACR20 which is used to measure physical changes. They also measured the results based on lab and radiographic changes. After nine months of a strict vegan and gluten free diet, in conjunction with their previously prescribed medications, 40.9% of the experimental group experienced improvements based on the ACR20 criteria, compared to only 4% of the control group. These included improvements of tender and swollen joints, in patient and/or physician assessment, reduced occurrence of acute pain, and greater ability to perform daily activities. The experimental group also noted decreases in C-reactive protein levels, which indicates lower levels of inflammation.

The impact of similar manipulations is seen in the aforementioned study by Sara K. Tedeschi and her team, who classified the effects of 20 inflammatory and anti-inflammatory foods on a panel of 217 RA patients. The results determined that "nearly one-quarter of RA subjects with longstanding disease reported that diet had an effect on their RA symptoms" (Tedeschi et al., 1920), demonstrating that a significant percentage of the participants did indeed find benefits from dietary manipulations. Their physical symptoms, such as pain, swelling and fatigue, improved with the consumption of anti- inflammatory foods such as blueberries and fish and worsened with inflammatory foods such as those containing sugar and wheat products. These studies support the correlation between diet and RA symptoms. By implementing a diet free from inflammatory foods whilst continuing their usual medications, roughly half of the participants in each study experienced a reduction in not only physical symptoms, but also in laboratory indictors of disease such as CRP levels. This is promising news for patients seeking better disease control by means of dietary manipulation.

Beyond the impact of the foods themselves, the idea of the connection between a patient's gastrointestinal microbiome and their health has resulted in a secondary area of interest in many of these studies. It is widely accepted in the medical field that gastrointestinal health directly correlates with a person's overall health. In her recent study, Dr. Humeira Badsha discussed the theory that GI microbiome and RA are believed to be connected. She further explained that, "dietary changes can impact the human intestinal microbiome leading to local inflammation and increased permeability" (Badsha, 20). She believes that GI microbiome manipulation, as a result of dietary modification, does change the disease progression and symptoms in RA patients. Or in other words, a healthier gut generally results in a decrease in symptoms. Badsha's observation that the GI microbiome and RA is related is well supported by others. During their study on dietary manipulations Luis Vitetta and his colleagues, professors and researchers at several prestigious medical institutions in Australia, also observed that "RA is associated with an increased prevalence of gastrointestinal tract symptoms" (1). They revealed that the GI microbiome in RA patients differs from that of healthy control patients. In fact, many similarities are seen between the GI health of patients with Celiac, an autoimmune gluten intolerance, and RA patients. As bacteria travels through the intestines, those with more penetrable GI tracts, such as people with RA, experi-

ence an inflammatory immune response as toxins escape the intestinal barrier. These studies propose that by healing the gut and decreasing permeability through dietary manipulations patients can strengthen their intestinal barrier thus reducing the amount of inflammation circulating in the body.

Although there is promising evidence that diet manipulation provides benefits for people with RA, there are limitations to these benefits and a need for additional, high quality studies. The majority of the studies I encountered in my research had one recurring similarity; Young, newly diagnosed participants were not included in the studies. For example, in the study conducted by Hafström the majority of the participant's disease duration was 5-6 years and the median age was roughly 50 years old. These factors limit the implications of the results as there is no data provided on the effects of diet manipulation on young, recently diagnosed patients. This study was also limited by its small sample size and the fact that many of the participants did not complete the study. Similarly, in the study conducted by Tedeschi and her team their participant group had a median age of 58 and a median disease duration of 17 years. This is particularly unfortunate because their research revealed that the youngest of the participants reported that foods effected their symptoms more frequently than with the older participants. Could this mean that the biology of a younger patient is more receptive to the dietary manipulations? These studies also make it clear that research into dietary manipulations on symptoms of RA lack a standardized way of quantifying symptoms. While Hafström's study utilized the most rigorous and scientific method of classifying the benefits of diet on symptoms, others such as Tedeschi's study relied on mail-in surveys with no way to verify the results.

One of the most insightful comments on the limitations of current studies is expressed by Dr. Humeira Badsha who references the difficulty in designing and implementing them because it requires patients to alter their lifestyle. This leads to low participation and compliance and high study dropout rates. This was demonstrated in Hafström's study where 30% of the participants dropped out of the study before its conclusion. This reveals that for many, a long-term commitment to these diets is too difficult and may be part of the reason they do not experience the full benefits of dietary change.

Another observation is that although these studies were conducted years apart, there is little improvement in the understanding of the disease or treatments noted within the studies. While additional disease modifying medications have been introduced, patients in the study conducted by Hafström nearly 20 years ago were medically managed similarly to the patients in Tedeschi's study from only 4 years ago. Management with corticosteroids and disease-modifying anti-rheumatic drugs remains the treatment of choice. This demonstrates that options for patients with RA are limited and arguably outdated. Due to the difficulty in effectively managing the disease it is no wonder that physicians utilize a trial-and-error method for the treatment of RA. If one medication does not yield results a patient is simply switched to the next medication. This seems like an antiquated method of care. With growing knowledge of diet and its effect on bodily systems, it is disappointing that more attention has not been given to the potential benefits of dietary manipulations on RA.

RA is a harsh disease that causes social, emotional, and physical changes to those it affects including painful and tender joints, fatigue, and loss of daily function. If dietary manipulation could successfully result in the reduction of these symptoms,

it could be lifechanging for the roughly 20 million people worldwide who are affected by the disease (Cowen). Certainly, these studies have demonstrated that there is promising evidence for the effects of diet on RA symptoms, but the clinical trials performed have limitations. Physicians lack evidence-based research on dietary manip-ulations leaving patients to experiment with alterations on their own. Medications will continue to be the primary choice for RA patients, but one can only hope that with a commitment to additional research dietary manipulations could become a viable option for patients when medications alone do not provide satisfactory relief.

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Society and Paranormal Belief

Brandon R. Parker

Cold, dank, and dreary areas, floating orbs in the night sky, flickering lights, creaking old floorboards, whispers heard through the winds, and ghostly forms passing just out of sight are events that all seem to share commonalities. Many people in societies across the globe believe these occurrences, as well as others, are the physical manifestations of paranormal activity. Others may observe the same phenomena and conclude that they result from poor insulation, failing lighting circuits, settling foundations, plumbing issues, and some creative use of one's imagination. Paranormal activity cannot be proven to truly exist, but it cannot be scientifically and definitively proven not to exist altogether either. However, from a sociological perspective, it matters not whether these paranormal phenomena are real or figments of our imagination; instead, it matters why human beings believe in the paranormal at all and how it might affect our societies. Sociology is concerned more with understanding the influences of these beliefs and what encourages them to persist in the midst of constant scrutiny. After reviewing information relevant to the paranormal and its sociological ties, it is clear that the continued belief in the paranormal is likely influenced and supported through several cultural constructs such as folklore, the impact of social factors, religious ideology, relationship to societal struggles, and the paranormal being adopted into idioculture.

For centuries or more, ghost stories/folklore have thrived globally, including in the Western hemisphere. Despite the vast belief in paranormal activity, it is often dismissed as unreal and the investigation of it is labeled as nothing more than pseudoscience. However, the massive interest in the paranormal and the media's response to the general public's interest has fostered two decades of paranormal experiences, paranormal programming, and active televised pursuits for paranormal evidence. Culture has created a clear idea of what a haunting may look like, sound like, and even smell like. Society has taken the cultural possibility of ghosts existing, a separate spirit freed from the body, and turned to modern technology to validate the beliefs (Baker and Bader 570-571). Today, one might believe that advanced technology would have diminished the belief in more "mysterious" things. However, technology is being designed, developed, and relied upon to make retrieving evidence, and even communicating with ghosts, a greater possibility by those involved in the pursuit.

Belief in ghosts is not a small, isolated phenomenon; it is shared by many cultures worldwide. Even in modern America, greater than 90% admit to having a belief in some aspect of the supernatural, occult, or paranormal activity (Markovsky and Thye 21). With such a large number of believers, it seems prudent from a sociological perspective to be curious about where

that engrained faith spurs from. Social Impact Theory argues that people's beliefs in something can be directly impacted by the social environment in which they interact. Considering this, even someone with little or no belief about something may come to manifest those beliefs when encouraged by those people with whom they interact (Markovsky and Thye 23-24). For example, if several people are exploring the dark, dank basement of an old, abandoned hotel and one person mentions the possibility of the place being haunted and ghostly attributes being observed, the other members are more likely to start perceiving the same simply based on the initial person's cues.

One might also think that paranormal activity and religious ideology would coalesce. After all, the idea of the soul existing separately from and outside of a person's body is paramount to many faiths. Yet belief in one does not necessarily result in a belief in the other. Those who have no doubt and believe in the paranormal are more likely to have a "spiritual" ideology instead of adhering to a specific structured religion. According to Baker and Draper's survey study, "Diverse Supernatural Portfolios: Certitude, Exclusivity, and the Curvilinear Relationship Between Religiosity and Paranormal Beliefs," those with more devout religious affiliations or none at all tend to be less likely to believe in or be involved in the paranormal (422). Based on this, we can confer that paranormal belief is not directly linked to religious beliefs which is logical considering the large number and varying groups of people who admit to a belief in some form of the paranormal.

Some investigate the lengthy influence of paranormal belief from a contrasting perspective. They investigate the "hauntings" and how they are presented by modern media as a direct reflection of social failures. Often narrated by the everyday, average Americans themselves, credence of

events is assumed and even enhanced. In these haunting tales of the American Dream gone wrong, a family often purchases their "Dream Home," they settle into their new home, face mounting financial difficulties and familial dysfunction, and ultimately conclude that their home is trying to kill them. Some even end up losing everything in this process. Although paranormal activities are blamed, these tales are a reflection of the loss of the American Dream and the faults of people (Lawrence 228-229). In this scenario, the paranormal becomes a surrogate issue for the people to blame; they consider themselves victims and then survivors making them the heroes in their own story whether or not the haunting actually occurred. As this loss of the American Dream to paranormal activity seems to be serving a social purpose, this might be a relevant area of study and potentially prove fruitful with interesting results.

According to Eaton, an idioculture refers to the knowledge, behaviors, beliefs, and traditions that are shared by members of a given group (157). People who believe in the paranormal and those who might have experienced paranormal activity share a common bond. This bond and peoples' interactions validate and encourage greater shared beliefs among one another causing the experiences to become further validated and therefore become the defacto standard by which other experiences are interpreted and judged throughout the world. In short, these beliefs are self-confirming. In Eaton's ethnography, "Manifesting Spirits: Paranormal Investigation and the Narrative Development of a Haunting," the author suggests that this idioculture may be an even stronger influence on paranormal belief than folklore, local legends, and media promotion of the paranormal (177-178). This could infer that there are many implications for future study and a more in-depth analysis of the influence of the idioculture in the

area of paranormal beliefs is warranted.

It is not the place of sociological analysis to determine whether the paranormal activity that people report is fact or fiction, science or belief. However, such analysis does offer some insight into how beliefs form, how they are perpetuated, and how strongly they can become embedded within society and thereby impact the behaviors and traditions of its people. Through this kind of research, we can gain an understanding of other shared beliefs and influential concepts that guide peoples' behavior and interaction within their social circles (Markovsky and Thye 21). Belief in the paranormal may be a small part of the human experience, but it garners enough social significance not to be immediately dismissed or disregarded.

Most research into paranormal activity, the presence of what is considered paranormal activity, and the technological proof offered by those who believe is often dismissed by mainstream science (Bader and Baker 580). Many mainstream scientific fields consider the research into the paranormal to be a pseudoscience which makes the topic and any research undertaken in the subject controversial, yet it would be shortsighted to not investigate how and why such a large number of people have embraced the paranormal and how it has embedded itself in the fabric of almost every culture around the world. Further research into the cultural, psychological, and certainly sociological aspects of paranormal beliefs would produce immense intellectual research.

Throughout the world, there are many people who believe in and associate certain activities, whether audible, visual, or technological observance, with the paranormal. Whether these proposed paranormal activities are authentic supernatural occurrences or are solely embellishments and misinterpretations/misrepresentations of scientific data, is of no significant consequence. From a sociological perspective, understanding where these paranormal beliefs originate, how they are perceived and transmitted, what factors affect the differences in beliefs between different individuals, cultures, and periods of history, and how they become so ingrained within societies around the world is paramount. The supporting evidence surrounding the sociological ties of the paranormal indicate that ongoing belief in the paranormal is influenced by several factors: cultural constructs, like folklore, the impact of social factors, religious ideology, relationship to societal struggles, and the paranormal being adopted into idioculture. However absurd mainstream science might consider research into the paranormal, it remains relevant in understanding a culture from a sociological perspective.

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The Utilization of Dreams in Asian Religions

Gidon Rosenfeld

What does it mean to dream? Sages and scientists alike have pondered this question throughout history, but never has it been fully answered. There are many theories regarding the nature of dreams, and they tend to vary based on one's culture and religion. In the west, dreams are often disregarded as mere illusions of sleep. However, in the east—particularly in southern Asia—dreams are incorporated into both religion and culture and are often considered a valuable resource. This is an ancient belief that goes back thousands of years and can still be found today in many parts of the world (Bulkeley 25-50).

In Asia, the earliest reference to the nature of dreaming can be found in an ancient Hindu text known as the Rig Veda. The Vedas are a group of texts that are often credited as the founding scriptures of Hinduism and date back all the way to 1200 B.C.E. The Rig Veda is the oldest of them all, and although the subject of dreaming is merely touched on, we are able to see a glimpse of the ancient Hindu attitude towards dreaming. In Mandala 2, Hymn 28 of the Rig Veda it is written: "O King, whoever, be he friend or kinsman, hath threatened me affrighted in my slumber—If any wolf or robber fain would harm us, therefrom, O Varuna, give thou us protection." Evidently, ancient Hindus feared being affrighted while asleep and therefore prayed to the de-ity Varuna for protection (Rig Veda, 2:28).

As the later Vedas were compiled, the Hindu attitude towards dreaming remained constant. Hindus in the Vedic period feared dreams and often viewed them as manifestations of evil spirits. Given these beliefs, only prayer could save them from the evil in their dreams. In the west, the average person would most likely not attribute a bad dream to the work of evil spirits. It is widely recognized that nightmares happen and are a harmless psychological phenomenon. Nevertheless, the belief that dreams could potentially harm the dreamer was not uncommon in early civilizations. But as cultures developed, so did their perspective on the nature of dreaming (Eranimos and Funkhouser).

Sometime between 900-200 B.C.E., a collection of texts known as the Upanishads was compiled. In these texts, the Hindu attitude towards dreaming fundamentally changed. In a sudden shift of perspective, dreaming became something divine and prophetic—an idea similar to that once expressed in the Abrahamic religions. Once Hindus began seeing the potential in dreams, they made a discovery that would not reach the west until thousands of years later—that dreams could be interpreted and used to understand the self's nature.

The Hindu worldview and philosophy are very complex. Many Hindus hold

the belief that the world is an illusion created by the cosmic power of the gods. This power is noted in the Vedas and is often referred to as Maya. What Maya does, to simplify, is trick humans into believing that what they are experiencing is real, when in actuality, it is an illusion. The only way to break free from this illusion is to achieve moksha—liberation from the cycle of samsara, the Hindu concept of rebirth. Unfortunately, those who attempt to attain moksha face a complicated process, but precisely here is when dreams come into play. Hindus realized that dreams could be used to aid the process of liberation and ultimately understand the true nature of the atman, or what we know as the self. Dreams in Hinduism quickly became a personal path to moksha and self-understanding (Mota-Rolim et al.).

One of the most fascinating aspects of Hindu philosophy is that consciousness is separated into four distinct parts. This idea ties into the Hindu creation myth and the primordial sound—AUM. Commonly known as the mantra "OM", the primordial sound is the expression of the Hindu ultimate reality known as Brahman. However, what is not often known about AUM is that each letter represents a separate state of consciousness. The "A" represents waking consciousness, the "U" represents dreaming consciousness, and the "M" represents deep sleep without dreaming. In its entirety, AUM represents the final state—oneness with Brahman. Interestingly, dreaming sleep and deep sleep are both deemed of higher importance than waking consciousness. Many Hindus believe that only in deep sleep can one be fully free from distracting thoughts, and therefore find it significantly more valuable (Brodd et al. 35).

Some Hindus regard sleep so highly that they practice a rare form of yoga known as Yoga Nidra. Sometimes called "Yogic Sleep", Yoga Nidra is mentioned in the Upanishads and is seen as a path to understanding the atman. This practice involves lying on the floor in the corpse pose (shavasana) and observing the mind's reaction. While doing so, the practitioner falls into a state of deep sleep, where they can then observe dream imagery and, in a sense, "witness sleep". This practice has led to a philosophical debate in India over whether consciousness exists in a deep sleep, and only in recent studies have western scientists found that indeed, it does. The ancient Hindus, however, knew this long before modern science (Mota-Rolim et al.).

It has been established that dreams play a significant role in Hinduism, yet no religion has contributed more to the understanding of dreaming than Buddhism. Founded around 2,500 years ago, Buddhism consists of three major branches: Theravada, Mahayana, and Vajrayana (Brodd et al. 97). Dreaming is not a major part of Theravada and Mahayana Buddhism, rather it is Vajrayana—or tantric—Buddhism where it is most prominent. Nevertheless, dreams have been a part of Buddhism since the birth of Siddhartha Gautama himself, as can be seen in his birth story.

Before the Buddha was born in what is now Nepal, dreams already held value and were interpreted to gain insight. Siddhartha's parents were royalty, and his story begins with his mother, Queen Maya. One night, she had a rare vivid dream where she was carried away by spirits to a lake in the Himalayas. After bathing in the lake, the spirits proceeded to clothe her and bestow her with divine flowers. Soon after, a white elephant holding a lotus flower appeared and entered her womb from the right side. It then abruptly vanished, and the queen awoke from her slumber. What could this dream mean? Queen Maya was determined to find out and had the king send a group of wise men to interpret it. After hearing the dream, the wise men came to a conclusion. The dream, they said, was the spirits' way

of telling her that her child was destined to become an extraordinary being ("Life of Buddha").

The Buddhist approach to dreams is far more psychologically relevant than any other ancient religion. Ultimately, Buddhists regard dreams as mind-created phenomena that still hold importance. Of course, the Buddhist attitude towards dreaming also varies depending on which sect of Buddhism one follows. One common way to understand dreams is through the lens of the Three Marks of Existence. The Buddha's Doctrine of Impermanence states that all things are constantly changing, and nothing ever remains the same—not even for a moment. By holding onto these ever-changing things and mistakenly believing that they are exactly what they appear to be, suffering is sure to ensue. Therefore, in order to free oneself from suffering, one must cease all desire and attachments (Brodd et al. 91-92).

In Mahayana Buddhism, dreams are no different. Anyone who has ever had a dream knows that dreams are often unstable and constantly fluctuating. In fact, Mahayana Buddhists view dreams as representative of the impermanent nature of the world. Nothing in a dream is real, and nothing can be held on to. By attaching oneself to the dream state, there can be only suffering. This does not mean that dreams are not important—but it does mean that the Doctrine of Impermanence still applies when dreaming, and therefore dreams are not exempt from suffering (Sure 1).

Just like other ancient religions, ancient Buddhism held the same belief in prophetic dreams. A dream could be a message from a Bodhisattva, an ancestor, or even a god. The purpose of such a dream is often to convey important information to the dreamer and aid their path to enlightenment. However, evil spirits could also send dreams to disrupt a practitioner from

attaining enlightenment, so one must take extreme caution when listening to dreams. Sometimes, a dream may not be prophetic per se, but can still determine one's good luck or misfortune (Sure 1).

Finally, there is a psychological approach to dreaming that cannot be left out. Ancient Buddhists were very advanced in the field of psychology, despite it not existing at the time. Ancient Indian medics would use dreams to aid them in a diagnosis—whether it be a mental one or a physical one. Ancient Buddhists believed that the symbols of a dream held meaning and could indicate both illness and health. Another belief that was commonly held was that dreams could replay the contents of the mind. For example, what the dreamer experienced during the day could come back to him at night in the form of a dream. Those who are familiar with the works of Sigmund Freud will know that he came to this same conclusion thousands of years later and popularized what was essentially the same idea of "day residue" in the west (Sure 1).

The most fascinating dream-related practice in Buddhism is Dream Yoga. Dream Yoga is a complicated practice that originated in the Vajrayana sect in Tibet. What Dream Yoga aims to do is allow the dreamer to manipulate and control the content of his dream to his liking. In the west, many know this as Lucid Dreaming—a phenomena thought to be a myth until the late 20th century, when it was finally scientifically proven. Even today, little research has been done on this subject, and it is largely unknown. In essence, Dream Yoga is a step further from the Hindu Yoga Nidra. In Yoga Nidra, as previously mentioned, the practitioner will see dream images but leave them be. Dream Yoga takes these dream images and turns them into a full dream, which can then be manipulated in whatever way the dreamer desires. Tibetan Buddhists use this practice to look beyond the contents of the

conscious mind and do things they could not do in waking life. For example, many Tibetan Buddhists will use dreams to meditate on death, as they believe that the dream state is nearly identical to the state of death. In addition, Dream Yoga works in the same way as meditation—and it is said that one minute of meditation in the dream state is akin to 30 days of meditation in waking life (Mota-Rolim et al.).

Tibetan Buddhism largely influenced the study of Lucid Dreaming or Dream Yoga in the west. It was only recently discovered that the best way to control one's dreams consistently is to meditate and be mindful frequently. A meditation-heavy and mindful lifestyle is none other than the exact lifestyle of a Buddhist, so it is no surprise that Tibetan Buddhists came to this discovery far before western societies. Modern scientists may take credit for the new research being conducted on the nature of dreaming, but in reality, Buddhists were the ones to grasp a complex understanding of how the dreaming mind works and how it can be controlled (Baird et al.).

While India may have figured out how to utilize dreams to their advantage, not all Asian religions did the same. In a very different approach, the ancient Chinese feared dreams and viewed them as useless and harmful. In Daoism, dreams are seen as an obstacle to attaining immortality. In fact, only when a person ceases to dream can they reach the highest stage of self-cultivation. A person who still dreams is seen as a person who has not yet attained immortality (Lin 101).

It appears as if the Daoist perspective of dreaming never evolved past the idea that dreams are caused by evil spirits. Daoists went to extreme measures to stop these spirits from infiltrating their minds with dreams. These spirits responsible were believed to be the Three Corpse-Demons, and in ancient China, it was common to make a talisman to ward them off and then swallow it to force them out of the body. In addition, praying to various deities for help with their dreams was also a common practice.

All of the religions mentioned in this paper continue to regard dreams with some level of importance. Sadly, in the west, society has completely disregarded dreams, and many people rarely even remember them. When they do have a vivid dream, many do not take the time to reflect on it and understand its meaning. The truth is, most people in the west have neither the clarity of mind nor the time to dream, let alone to sleep. Many are stuck working 9-5 jobs with little time to relax and cleanse the mind. In turn, dreams have been left behind and forgotten—even highly religious individuals usually do not contemplate them. Nevertheless, most people do see dreams as important. When any person has an interesting dream, there is often a desire to interpret it. However, in western society the vast majority do not exert the mental effort to do so, and the dream is lost forever. There is much that could be learned from the eastern religions. If the phenomenon of dreaming continues to be researched, maybe the day will come that dreams are reintroduced into western society.

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How Intentional Was the Naming of The 1918 "Spanish Flu"?

Angela Shultz

The world is facing a global pandemic as I write, and fingers are being pointed as to which country should be held responsible. But this isn't the first pandemic that the government has attempted to blame on another country. A century ago, another disease swept the globe and received the name the "Spanish Flu," but it didn't originate in Spain. The "Spanish Flu" began in 1918 and killed upwards of 20 million people, though the exact number is still unknown. While the name hints strongly towards the flu originating in Spain, there has been much research that disagrees with what the name suggests. So, what was the real reason for naming the disease after Spain and how intentional was it? Some experts opine that there was an intentional motive behind naming the pandemic influenza after Spain because the name of a disease plays a large role in how the public and authorities will react. However, there are researchers who feel that there was simply misinformation when the flu was named as it occurred during World War I.

Researchers are still debating the origin of the 1918 Flu. But even though there is controversy as to where it actually began, they do agree on one thing: it did not begin in Spain. According to James F. Armstrong, the first known case reported was in Haskell, Kansas, on March 11, 1918, at a military camp, Camp Funston. Word came in soon after the report. Of other military bases that had soldiers carrying the infection and before long, all the other states had reported sickness as well (Armstrong).

In another study, Edwin Oakes Jordan, a bacteriologist and public health scientist, writes of three other possible sites besides Haskell, Kansas, where the flu could possibly have begun: China or France and Great Britain in British military camps. But as Jordan was looking at a report written in March 1918, he started to wonder if his findings pointed strongly towards Haskell, Kansas, as the origin. The report stated that there had been several deaths from pneumonia, but strangely enough, these deaths were dated to when the first wave of influenza began. Jordan's idea was that new recruits may have passed the infection to other military camps in America and overseas. But he was not able to find strong enough information or evidence that would have specifically identified Haskell, Kansas, as the origin (qtd. in Humphries). This simply confirms a quote by Jordan in one of his studies, "[I]ts origin is largely shrouded in obscurity" (qttd. In Humphries). So, while there have been multiple theories as to where the epidemic began, it's still unclear as to where it really originated. The conclusion is quite simple though: it did not begin in Spain as its name suggests. These sources provide background information for the answer to

my research question.

So, while it is plain that the flu did not originally begin in Spain, the reason behind naming it after the country is not so clear. Some researchers feel that there wasn't a purposeful or sinister motive behind it, as Michaela E. Nickol and Jason Kindrachuk suggest in an article. Instead, Nickol's and Kindrachuk's idea is based on circumstances in 1918. The Spanish flu and World War I occurred during the same time frame. Because Spain was the one of the few neutral countries during the war, newspapers in said country were able to report about the influenza effects. Researchers are unsure as to why newspapers in Spain were at more liberty to report on the flu. But as a result, the 1918 flu became mistakenly named after the country, the "Spanish Flu" (Nickol and Kindrachuck). This was not the only reason for the disease to be named after Spain, but it may have played a small part.

Maite Zubiaurre brings her own interesting perspective to bear on this issue. She talks again about the fact that while there was more extensive media coverage of the influenza in Spain, feelings of distaste which stemmed from cultural prejudice, were also being directed against the Spaniards at that time. Because of this, it could be argued that it was an intentional and convenient step in which other countries could easily hand the blame over to a neutral, but slightly-disliked country.

There is not only one theory that suggests the "Spanish Flu" was unintentionally named after a country it did not even originate from. James F. Armstrong had a slightly different idea though. As Spain was not active in the current war and the disease was being transported mainly through the military, it made headlines when Spain's king, King Alfonzo, became sick (Armstrong). Armstrong believes that this news is how it became named the "Spanish Flu." Because of this interest drawn towards

Spain, it is a possibility that it was simply an easy way to name an unnamed global pandemic and call it after a country that made headlines. While this theory by Armstrong is somewhat improbable, it provides a better understanding and basis in which to build off of another logical theory.

What seems to be a more plausible answer to the question, based on historical research, lies within Trevor Hoppe's article "Spanish Flu": When Infectious Disease Names Blur Origins and Stigmatize Those Infected." He promotes the notion that names are a determining factor in how the public and authorities will react to the disease. The previous research proved that the 1918 flu, in fact, did not come from Spain. Hence, Hoppe addresses the reason as to why it and other diseases are oftentimes labelled with foreign names. The 1918 Flu was called the "Spanish Flu," COVID19 has been referred to as the "Chinese Virus", and the flu in 2009 was dubbed the "Mexican Swine Flu." Some diseases are given names based on how scientists think they are transported or where they began. But most often, scientists give names based on where they believe a disease may have started, even if it's not accurate. Scholars say that a feeling of safety s established by new sicknesses being given names to associate foreign populations and the spread of diseases, whether done intentionally or not (Hoppe). The theories mentioned previously don't necessarily disagree with each other, but instead tie together to give a fuller explanation as to how the "Spanish Flu" got its name.

There are unfortunate consequences for populations who receive the name of a new disease. Charles J. Van Hook, a pulmonologist, said in the Emerging Infectious Disease journal, "The Navajo people reacted strongly against any further association with the disease that had led to so much initial prejudice, and tribal elders appealed to officials to reconsider" (qtd. in Irfan).

This quote refers to a new disease that was found in 1993 near the Navajo Nation Territory, which then became named after the area. The Navajos became further looked down upon with the sickness associated with them. This reinforces the point of how detrimental the naming of a disease after foreign or minority populations can be to them. Stanley Perlman, professor of microbiology, hits the nail on the head in his quote, "The people who live there are being unfairly associated with a virus. It's not their fault" (qtd. in Gordan). It isn't fair to ethnic minorities to purposefully tie them to a disease by naming it after them. And it is painfully obvious that it is less powerful countries who are being intentionally associated with new viruses. There are no diseases overtly named after America that can be found in history. And though we could make the argument that it is simply because there haven't been any spreadable diseases originating from these countries (Gordan), that doesn't hold true as there has been much evidence, though it is still being debated, pointing to Haskell, Kansas, as the origin of the 1918 Flu.

But it isn't just about the name of an epidemic that occurred a century ago. Our current day and age is still struggling with this as well. As noted before, COVID 19 has been referred to by certain well-known politicians as many different things, such as the "Chinese Virus," "Wuhan Coronavirus," "China Virus," and other pointed names. This again shows that, whether or not it's intentional, associating the current epidemic with a foreign country promotes feelings of safety and alleviates feelings of blame. Like Carol Goldin, a Rutgers University researcher, said, "...one consequence of such identification is that it allows the rest of society to simultaneously assign blame, and through contrast, define their own innocence..." (qtd. in Irfan). By detaching ourselves from an epidemic such as COVID19,

we give up any responsibility and place the by on China.

It appears though that lessons are being learned and guidelines are being put into place for the naming of epidemics. Dr. Patel is quoted as saying, Here's the thing, we live in a different time now, and people can say all they want, "Hey, in the past they've named these viruses after geographic locations [sic]." What we will say back to them is yes, but with outbreaks in this world we see associated racism, and we see associated prejudice, so why don't we learn from the past, and why don't we set a new standard and get everyone on board with a more scientific process, and that's [sic] actually calling the virus by its actual scientific name, SARS-Cov2 and calling the disease COVID-19. (qtd. in Miguel)

So, while we have seen attempts to associate the new epidemic with China by giving it the name of "Chinese Flu," it appears that the government and the majority of people are slowly counteracting what had once been the common practice, during the 1918 flu and other past epidemics, of naming diseases after foreigners.

While other factors, such as the reporting of the flu in Spain, could have played a part in the naming of the "Spanish Flu," other intentional motives weigh in even more heavily. Just as a country was unfairly linked to a pandemic during 1918, even now, China is being bullied with names that point to them as the origin. It is essential that diseases no longer be named with the purpose of manipulating the public or placing blame, as ethnic targeting is often a result. More research is needed to understand the complete consequences of naming a new disease after a foreign population. Researching past pandemics, such as the 1918 flu, will play a large role in doing so.

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The "Troubled" Child: Adolescent Egocentrism

Annmarie Sewell

In 1967 David Elkind first discussed the concept of adolescent egocentrism. Adolescent egocentrism can be defined as "the tendency" for adolescents to have a "differing perception" about how they believe others perceive them and how others actually perceive them (Adolescent Egocentrism). Teenagers have this belief that other people are as "obsessed" with their appearance and behavior as they are, also known as the "imaginary audience" (Elkind, 1967, p.1030). Teens may obsess over their actions or the way they look, because they believe that everyone is watching them, and want to impress them. Elkind used the example of a boy combing his hair in the mirror "imagining the swooning reactions" he will receive from girls (Elkind, 1967, p.1030). Elkind then explains that these obsessions are most likely in vain, as their peers are too concerned with what others think about them to worry about what they think about others.

Adolescent egocentrism does not only affect teens on their perception of how others see them but also on their perception of their emotions compared to others. Adolescents often believe that their feelings are unique to those of others, that no one can feel suffering with such "intensity" (Elkind, 1967, p.1031). Examples of this can be seen in literature, such as Holden Caulfield's character in The Catcher in the Rye, and often is displayed in movies and shows aimed at teenagers, such as Tall Girl and Riverdale.

This belief that the adolescent has in their own "personal uniqueness" can often lead to a conviction that they "will not die" (Elkind, 1967, p.1031). Elkind called this belief that adolescents have about their uniqueness in emotion and immortality "personal fable."

As research is done, more and more issues are arising, with adolescent egocentrism at the core. With new technology being invented every year and social media growing, there are many more opportunities for adolescents to fuel their egocentrism. In an article about social media and its effects on adolescents, Daniel Houlihan explains that social media "exacerbates" teens' belief that they are unique, or as David Elkind called it, personal fable (Houlihan, 2014). Along with this, online bullying is rampant on social media because adolescents feel that they are invulnerable to negative outcomes of their actions (Houlihan, 2014). This increase in online bullying then negatively affects the teen being bullied as these comments damage their ego and can lead to emotional struggles.

However, adolescent egocentrism does not only harm teens emotionally, but it also harms them physically. This lack of cognitive maturity leads to adolescents taking risks that could seriously injure or even kill them. An article written for the Journal of Youth Studies explains how teens are at a rising risk for skin cancer due to the use of indoor tanning beds (Banerjee et al., 2015).

They theorize that teens are doing this, not only to impress their "imaginary audience" but also because they feel immortal to the risks that indoor tanning poses (Banerjee et al.,2015).

This mentality of being immortal can also lead to much more common issues, such as substance abuse, unprotected sex, fighting, and dangerous driving. These risky behaviors are actions that every teen has either done themselves or heard of someone else doing. According to the CDC 67% of students have drank alcohol before twelfth grade, about 50% of highschool students have smoked marijuana, and 40% of highschool students have reported smoking cigarettes (CDC, 2020). These statistics are extremely concerning as the earlier teens start abusing substances the higher the chances of developing an addiction or continuing to abuse substances become. Along with substance abuse, statistics show that 41% of sexually active students reported not using contraceptives in 2013, 24% of high school students reported having been in a physical fight in the past year in 2017, and seven teens aged 13-19 died in a fatal car crash per day, with hundreds more injured in 2018.

Nevertheless, how can we help adolescents and keep them safe? Because adolescent egocentrism is a cognitive limitation and part of the brain's development, it is not something that the adolescent can change. However, parents play a crucial part in helping their children stay safe and make smart decisions during this time. The first solution to helping adolescents is making sure that parents or guardians are aware of what adolescent egocentrism is, how to handle it, and where they can find the support, they need to help the child, is an important piece in helping egocentric adolescents. When adults lack the awareness that teenagers have no control over their egocentrism, it can often lead to them putting their adolescents for their behavior, as it is seen as immature, overly emotional, and disruptive. But adolescents need someone to understand them, someone to support them and lead them on the right path without being harsh or blaming them.

Many sources claim that the best way to help with adolescent egocentrism is by creating a caring and understanding environment around the adolescent, and I agree with these claims. I think the best thing that a family can do for adolescents facing egocentrism is give the teen support and a connection to confide in their family about their emotions or behaviors in a safe environment. Perhaps if the teen has a good relationship with a relative, they will be able to call if they are in trouble or need to be picked up because they are intoxicated. This would mitigate some of the risky behavior of teenagers, such as dangerous driving or abusing substances.

Disciplining is still essential at this stage, and the teen should know that they will be disciplined, but it is important that the adolescent knows that this discipline comes from a place of care rather than a place of anger or disappointment. Theo Riley wrote that in a cognitive test done on a sample of seventh grade girls and boys emotional support from a parent was associated with a lower level of egocentrism (Riley, 1984). Along with this, it was also found that parental withdrawal heightened levels of egocentrism for both groups (Riley, 1984). Adolescents struggling with egocentrism already believe that no one understands or cares about their emotions,so a decrease in parental support does nothing but strengthen that belief.

Although having a sound family support system is crucial to guiding an adolescent through these difficult years, I also believe that the community plays an important role as well. Children in this age range spend the majority of their time at

school, and it is important that they must have a good support system there, especially if they do not have this at home. Middle school and high school are filled with drama, fighting, and bullying, and more often than not, these situations are treated with no amount of understanding. Adolescent egocentrism can lead to a very competitive environment, personal fable can lead to fights and overall bad decision making, and an imaginary audience can lead to competition as every child tries to impress each other. A second solution is for schools to be equipped with mental health services so these adolescents can get the support they need. In my experience as a middle and high schooler, I have seen many of my bright peers give up on their education and turn to be trouble makers because they feel as though no one cares about them and if everyone thinks they are a bad kid, then that is what they will be.

A third solution, and something I think would be very impactful, is having more safe places for teens and pre-teens to go to have fun. Even our own city of Charlottesville has very little for teens to do without parental supervision or access to money. Places like rec centers, bowling alleys, or skate parks where there is plenty of activities to do and light monitoring to keep adolescents safe. I believe that this would decrease illegal activities done by adolescents because they could form a community and hobbies in a safe space.

Although these solutions can not completely fix adolescent egocentrism, as it is a cognitive issue, I believe that they could help, and slow the negative effects of this issue. By giving the teen or pre-teen the support that they need and a safe relationship or space, they will have someone to go to if they are in danger or need help. It is crucial for adolescents to have supportive and stable relationships with an adult during this period, whether that person is a parent or guardian, a teacher, or someone who leads a program they are a part of.

After researching for this paper, my eyes have been opened a little bit more. Growing up, I saw my peers struggling with adolescent egocentrism, and I felt myself struggling with it simultaneously, but I never knew what it was. I have always struggled with wanting people to like me due to what I dealt with growing up, but I felt it get so much worse once I hit seventh grade and started puberty. Due to my home situation, I had to grow up fast, and because of this, I focused less on myself and being a "teenager" and more on doing what I could to be helpful to my mom and brothers. So, although I was struck with an "imaginary audience," I was not as inclined to be risky because I did not want to cause any more stress to my mom. This lack of inclination towards negative actions caused me to judge those around me who acted in ways that I thought were "dumb" or "immature". I think now, after researching adolescent egocentrism, it makes a lot more sense why my peers tended to act out in dangerous ways, especially because they did not have any type of support system.

My role in society towards this topic shifted when I hit eleventh grade. I no longer felt judgment towards my peers, but instead wanted to help them, and that is what I continue to want to do. I want to advocate more for adolescents in school, I think this area is one that can be more easily helped and changed than parenting styles. My dream is to become a therapist and hopefully, through that I can further advocate for mental health services in schools and be taken seriously.

I believe that I have done well when it comes to civic responsibilities and am continuing to do well. I tend to use my voice strongly to advocate for others who may not have it as well as I do. I always make sure to stay informed on what is going on in society

and use whatever means I can to help society as a whole, whether that is by voting, through my art, or by giving out support to those around me. Although I believe I could do more, especially in helping adolescents in my community, for right now, I do what I can without pulling myself too thin.

So yes, adolescents are technically "immature" and "sensitive" but that is simply because their brains are in fact immature, and they are sensitive because that is how personal fables cause the brain to react. The sooner we as a society recognize that this behavior is not the adolescent's fault and something they should be put down for, the sooner we can slow the dangers of adolescent egocentrism.

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The Residential School System and its Implications

Skylar Ray Trainum

Displacement of Native American children occurred all too commonly from the 17th century to the 20th in America. Reports show that Indigenous children were 25-35% more likely to be removed from their homes than the general population (Moore 3). But what is lesser known was the practice of removing Aboroginal children from their families in Canada, where they would then put them into boarding schools within the Residential School System over a 129-year span starting in the late-1800's. The Residential School Program boarded an estimated 150,000 Aboriginal students in the hopes of teaching them the ways of Euro-Canadian living (Gebhard 4). Since the creation of this system, Canadians have argued about its importance and impact on Aboriginal Canadians. Some Canadians have advocated for this system. In the early-1800s the Canadian cleric, John Strachan, considered the governance of Native Canadians to be merciful compared to the American Indian Policy (Hutchings, 304). Social scientist Hilary A. Rose insists that abuse was used within the Residential Schools to "destroy Indigenous families"(348). This paper will explore the timeline of the Residential School System, stemming from the creation to the aftermath of the system, to answer the questions: What practices were used within the Residential School Program? And what effects did they have on the Aboriginal students and their families?

The Residential School Program was implemented quickly after Canada was declared a country, and was influenced by Christian ideals. These ideals were that of Eurocentric living standards, including practicing Christian religions and speaking English. Canada's first Residential School did not open its doors until 1879 but the ideas that would birth the Residential School Program were circulated as early as the 1820s (Hutchings 303). The lieutenant governor, Sir Peregrine Maitland, proposed a plan to Canada's Colonial Office in which he warns that "little perhaps can be expected from the grown-up Indians" (qtd. in Hutchings 303), intending that hopes to assimilate Aboriginal people would be most effective if primarily used on children. During this time, the aforementioned, Strachan, greatly influenced Maitland's proposal. Hutchings argues that Maitland was inspired by Strachan's notion that "Aboriginal children would fare best in the modern world by being removed from their families and raised among pious whites..." and that just as white settlers saw local flora and fauna as unwanted objects that needed "to be rooted out" to make way for imported European crops and livestock (qtd. in Hutchings 305), so Strachan understood Indigenous culture as something to be eradicated to make way for the estab-

lishment of Christian cultural knowledge and civilizations. The essence of Hutching's argument is that Strachan played a role in implementing a belief within 19th century Canadian society that Indigenous culture was something that needed to be stamped out and replaced with European culture. Strachan also stressed that it was an urgent Christian mission to do this, that it will save the doomed souls of the Aboriginal people. These thoughts based on Christian beliefs are the ones that would lead to the creation of the Residential School System and create a history of abuse against Canada's Aboriginal people.

After the Residential School Program began its operation, Indigenous children were subject to a malnourished environment. The Canadian government, fronted by Canada's first prime minister, Sir John A. Macdonald, was influenced by Strachan's ideas that the Aboriginal child must be separated from their culture. This idea led the government to remove Indigenous children from their homes and place them into the Residential schools. In these schools, a process of assimilation was implemented using techniques such as barring the students from speaking their language, wearing their clothes, using their given names (sometimes the children were only referred to using numbers), and practicing cultural and spiritual traditions (Rose 348). The schools were underfunded, teachers were not qualified, and the classrooms were overcrowded. The responsibilities associated with the failures of the Residential School System were put onto the students, who were expected to grow their food, repair issues within the schools, and to sew or mend all of their clothing. The schools were set up on a "half-day" schedule where children would learn in class for half of the day then be sent to "vocational training" which in essence, was just glorified slave labor (Rose 350). These harsh conditions were

expected to teach the students and prepare them to function within a Euro-Canadian society but so far it had seemed to only left the children unhealthy.

The harsh conditions the Indigenous children were put through would only worsen. Students were victims of numerous abuses, ranging from physical to sexual. If a child was found to have attempted to run away from school or even just talk in their first language, they would be physically attacked in hopes of "civilizing" the student. Along with this, the Aboriginal students would often be sexually abused, and allegations of this abuse would always be ignored by the government. When the government-funded the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, they had discovered more than 40 allegations of sexual or physical assaults driven by staff members (Rose 350). Although there could have been countless amounts of other assaults gone unspoken by traumatized victims, or by the fact that many of the Residential School Program's students did not survive their education. One cause of death within the system was the medical experiments conducted on the students. These experiments (which were enforced by the Department of Indian Affairs of Canada and executed by Dr. Percy Moore and Dr. Frederick Tisdall) operated without receiving consent from students or parents, in fact the parents were never told of the practices being used. No matter the circumstances of death or warnings to stop these unethical treatments, the experiments carried on. The studies involved observing groups of malnourished children and the effects of injecting them with various substances such as thiamine, riboflavin, ascorbic acid, niacin, and bone meal (often combined) in hopes that the supplements would cure malnourishment. The opposite had ensued, children were becoming weaker. They'd contract anemia or cases of anemia would worsen. Reports

had found that approximately 42 percent of the children held in the Residential School System died annually (qtd. in Gebhard 5). The experiments these children underwent were completely unethical, often they were a death wish. It's hard to believe there was any good intent or logical thinking behind the idea to cure malnourishment with injected substances. Yet the government allowed this to go on, they allowed illegal medical practices that can be compared to the ones used in Nazi concentration camps.

Even after the Residential School System ended the traumatic experiences within the schools still impacted the children who attended and their families. These effects are long-lasting and still prevail to this day. For example, mental illness and substance abuse are common among the Native American community. Likewise, 60 percent of prisoners held within the Prairie provinces of Canada are of indigenous descent (Gebhard 16). Rose connects the trauma of the Residential School Program to bad parenting in her article. She theorizes that "These children, lacking appropriate parental role models throughout their school years, would potentially grow up not knowing how to parent subsequent generations" (352). Rose's point is that the current rates of mental illness and criminal tendencies in Indigenous people of Canada are the cause of their Indigenous parents and grandparents being inattentive.

However, Amanda Gebhard questioned Rose's mentality in her article when she maintains that "A popular version of the truth is that residential schools have left Aboriginal peoples broken, and addicted, unable to parent: resultantly, they choose to commit crimes. When the problem is located within Aboriginal families, proposed solutions are individualizing imperatives rather than an analysis of the racism in Canada's justice system and wider society." In making this comment Gebhard urges us to

not accuse victims of the Residential School Program of being bad parents but instead to recognize that the Canadian government and education system abused their victims and is to blame for generational depression within Canada's Indigenous People. Gebhard voices a narrative that schools in the present still harm their Aboriginal students when she suggests that "Racism is a daily reality for Aboriginal students whose identities have been ignored, misrecognized, and vilified in school." Gebhard's point is that racism still prevails in Canada's modern-day school system and teaches students negative stigmas of Aboriginal people. I find Gebhard's argument more poignant than Rose's. The system traumatized its victims and everyone related to them, the impact of this situation cannot be chalked up to bad parenting. The Residential School Program lives on in the way it still impacts Aboriginal people today. Its negative effect on the Indigenous community is a deep scar.

The Residential School System harmed the Indgenous families of Canada when they stripped their homes of their children, the conditions the students had to endure only worsened the situation. This system condoned the abuse and malnourishment of its students leading to thousands of deaths. The conditions of the schools have left a permanent mark on Canada, their schools will never be the same, and forever will its indigenous population have to cope with what happened within the system. On September 26th, 2020 an Indegenous resident of Canada, Joyce Echaquan, was admitted to the hospital, Centre hospitalier de Lanaudière. She complained of stomach pains, to which her nurses restrained her to her bed and against her wishes, gave her morphine. Echaquan was allergic to morphine, and had an adverse reaction to it. She soon died but not before recording her nurses calling her "stupid as hell" and saying she was only "good for sex".

These remarks reflect the emotional and sexual abuse condoned within the Residential School Program.

The Residential School System spread ideas that Indigenous people are immoral and deserve to be wiped out, these ideas have prevailed to this day and are the ones that led those nurses to insult Joyce Echaquan and disregard her concerns of her morphine allergy, which ultimately led to her death. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada has done much to bring to light the horrors of the Residential School Program by giving an official report of the abuse sustained within the program. But there is still more that must be done. Schools need to begin to face the racism against Aboriginal Canadians and teach children how to respect Native culture. The abuse within the Residential School System must no longer be lesser known, and I hope this essay has helped with that.

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