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EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

The Wagner Forum for Undergraduate Research is an interdisciplinary journal which provides an arena where students can publish their research. Papers are reviewed with respect to their intellectual merit and scope of contribution to a given field. To enhance readability the journal is subdivided into three sections entitled *The Natural Sciences and Quantitative Analysis*, *The Social Sciences*, and *Critical Essays*. The first two of these sections are limited to papers and abstracts dealing with scientific inquiries, business research, clinical investigations and the use of mathematical/statistical modeling. The third section is reserved for speculative papers based on the scholarly review and critical examination of previous works.

The COVID-19 pandemic has been devastating and prompted many changes. However, the Wagner College community is resilient and moving forward. Different teaching modalities and creative approaches have allowed our students to continue to pursue the knowledge that will prepare them for their professional aspirations. This issue highlights their fine research accomplishments.

Read on and enjoy!

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Section I: The Natural Sciences & Quantitative Analysis

Income Inequality in the United States and Its Effect on Consumers and Corporations

Adam Rotenberg (Business Administration)¹

This thesis will discuss the impact of income inequality on consumer behavior as well as on the national Gross Domestic Product. Income inequality impacts the way businesses are changing the products they sell and how they sell these products to consumers. The thesis will examine the growing income gap between managers and workers and how this trend hurts the country as a whole. Analysis will demonstrate the benefit of limiting inequality and promoting income redistribution.

I. Introduction

Income inequality is one of the most important social and economic issues of our time (Stiglitz, 2019). Not since the Gilded Age, a period of wealth concentration at the end of the 19th century, has there been such an imbalance of wealth between the very rich and the rest of the population. (Stiglitz, 2019). The growing wealth disparity is already producing social unrest in the United States (Vogel, 2019). The Occupy Wall Street movement, a spontaneous series of protests around America, erupted during the 2012 election cycle. This group was protesting economic and social inequality as well as corporate corruption and its excessive influence on government. Outside the United States, riots in Chile and Brazil, Iran, Iraq and Lebanon have occurred during this calendar year because of wealth inequality (Vogel, 2019). The unrest in Chile began after the government raised the subway fare in the capital city, Santiago. In Iran, an increase in the price of gasoline was enough incentive to push the poor into rioting in the streets (Vogel, 2019). In the run up to the 2020 election in the United States, income inequality is one of the most important themes that voters and candidates are discussing because it has such a huge impact on people's lives and on the economy as a whole (Vogel, 2019).

Working and middle-class people often think that entrepreneurs, who start and operate new companies, are the only individuals in the United States that make a lot of money (Hungerford 2013). That is not the case as this thesis will analyze in detail. As unions weakened in the mid-1970s, labor income's share of increased economic productivity declined (Reich, 2014). The benefits of growth accrued to the very

¹ Written under the direction of Dr. Shani Carter in partial fulfillment of the Senior Program requirements.

wealthiest Americans including a tier of highly compensated executives and corporate managers (Piketty, 2014).

While many wealthy individuals claim that unequal income eventually trickles down from the rich to the less affluent, the data demonstrates that it does not (Reich, 2014). Researchers in economics have proven that inequality of income leads to poorer health outcomes and shorter lifespans for the less wealthy segments of the population (Stiglitz 2019). Economists and ethicists question the fairness of government policies which allow huge fortunes to pass untaxed from one generation to the next as this perpetuates poverty in the U.S. (Reich, 2014). Changes in the estate tax laws under the Bush administration, which were further expanded by the Trump administration in 2016, allow even more family assets to pass to future generations untaxed (Reich, 2014). Progressive estate taxes in the U.S. had historically returned some wealth to society reducing inequality.

Redistribution of income through progressive taxation allows poor and middle-class individuals an opportunity to exceed the wealth and education level of their parents' generation. It promotes social equality and results in greater economic growth for the entire nation (Benioff, 2019). Research data confirms that more even income distribution correlates directly with higher GDP growth in the United States which benefits the whole nation (Piketty, 2013).

II. Literature Review

Growing income inequality is a fact (Piketty 2014). It has really been happening in the U.S. Figure 7 in the results section highlights the increased concentration of family wealth in the top decile of earners from 1989 to 2013. Because most of the income earned through investment in financial instruments under current tax policy goes to the wealthy (Hungerford 2013), the rise in the financial markets from 2010-present has benefited the rich resulting in greater income inequality. Ninety percent of American children born in 1940 eventually earned more money than their parents did during their working careers (Reich 2014). In America today, the percentage of individuals that earn more than their parents has gone down to 50% (Reich, 2014).

Capitalism Automatically Produces Inequalities

At this time, one tenth of 1% of the population of the U.S. holds as much capital as the bottom 90% (Reich, 2014). Some researchers have promoted the idea that income inequality would decrease in the later phases of capitalist development, but other economists believe the opposite to be the case (Piketty, 2013). Some researchers believe income inequality will harm democratic institutions because corporations pour money

into political campaigns to support their special interests (Reich, 2014). When economic growth is weak, people who are already rich can actually accumulate more wealth even as workers are earning less. Researchers believe this is another threat to a fairer distribution of income in the long term (Piketty, 2013).

Researchers believe the economic divide has led to a political divide as well. Wealthy people use money to persuade politicians to create laws that favor them (Stiglitz, 2019). For example, changes to U.S. tax law in 2016 created Opportunity Zones which were designed to promote capital investment in poor neighborhoods. Wealthy investors receive incentives to sell stock without paying taxes on their profits if they reinvest the proceeds in these Opportunity Zones (Lipton, 2019). Under this plan, any profit they earn within the Opportunity Zones is deferred for almost a decade (Lipton, 2019). On its face, this looks like a great deal for rich investors while at the same time serving to promote the development of underprivileged areas. Instead, some influential investors manipulated the new regulations. The investor Michael Milken persuaded U.S. treasury secretary Steven Mnuchin to expand an Opportunity Zone in Nevada to include an area where his company was already building a luxury property. Political maneuvers like this are occurring all over the United States to the benefit of the wealthy and at the expense of the poor (Lipton, 2019). Consequently, experts now agree that instead of helping develop poor neighborhoods, 95% of the benefit from these Opportunity Zones is going to rich investors (Lipton, 2019).

Tightening Credit Impacts the Strategy of Corporations and Consumers

During the Great Recession of 2008-2009, lenders experienced extremely high delinquencies from poor and middle-class borrowers (Reich, 2014). This led to much tighter credit policies after the financial crisis as lenders made less money available for consumers to borrow (Stiglitz, 2019). Businesses altered strategies and consumers changed their buying behaviors as they had less money to spend on purchases (Lobaugh, 2011).

The Consumer is Changing Behavior due to Reduced Income

Consumer spending represents 70% of the American Gross Domestic Product and remains the most significant driver of economic growth in the U.S. (Reich, 2014). Due to the pattern of growing income inequality, a bigger share of the country's total income goes to the very top earners leaving the majority of consumers with less money to spend (Reich, 2014). The category of millennials has been especially hard hit economically: The net worth of individuals under 35 years of age has dropped by 34% between 1996 and 2017 (Lobaugh, 2019). The trend of increasing income inequality has

changed consumer behavior in a number of ways (Kalish, 2011). The availability of credit has decreased since the financial crisis in 2008 as banks and other lenders have tightened credit policies in reaction to the delinquencies in consumer loans after the crash (Kalish, 2011). Debt laden consumers have spent years paying back the money they had borrowed before the crisis leaving them with less money to spend (Kalish, 2011). There are other economic constraints hampering the middle-class consumer: A rise in the cost of nondiscretionary expenses such as healthcare and education has eaten into their discretionary funds (Lobaugh, 2019). The average cost of healthcare increased by 21% during the period of 2007-2017 while food cost rose 26% and education expenses increased by 65% (Lobaugh, 2019).

The deepening economic bifurcation between the top earners and the rest of the working population has affected consumer behavior in other ways as well (Lobaugh, 2019). Now and in the coming years, the bulk of the increase in consumer spending in the United States has been projected to come from upper-income households (Kalish, 2011). During the decade from 2007 to 2017 income growth rose 1,305 percent more for households earning over \$100,000 than it did for those earning less than \$50,000 (Lobaugh, 2019). These wealthy households tend to save a large portion of their extra income. They do not spend incremental income as lower income households do on discretionary items which would boost economic growth much more significantly (Reich, 2014). Meanwhile, financially constrained middle and lower-income consumers have very little income remaining to spend on discretionary articles (Lobaugh, 2019). They will be more price sensitive consumers, shopping for bargains and buying fewer expensive items and capital goods (Lobaugh 2019). Even so, these consumers will still be looking for products and services which seem like the luxury goods they see wealthy people enjoying (Lobaugh 2019).

Corporations are Changing Marketing Strategies

These new trends in consumer behavior may lead companies to sell luxury-like brands in discount stores, one of the ways that businesses will change how they market to consumers (Stevens & Simpson, 2019). There are now two distinct types of consumers: Wealthy consumers with growing salaries and investment income and low-middle income consumers with stagnant wages (Kalish, 2011). Businesses can either target one group by itself or each of these different consumer groups separately. This change in business strategy has already been happening (Kalish, 2011) in the retail space as a direct result of income inequality (Lobaugh, 2019). The premium stores Sak's 5th Avenue and Nordstrom have opened outlet stores called Sak's Off 5th and Nordstrom Rack to service less affluent people (Kalish, 2011) who still want to buy luxury brand merchandise.

Although retailers previously used outlet stores to sell products that failed to move in their flagship stores, the outlets have become a key component of the change in business strategy. Retailers now recognize that marketing all things to all people will be less effective because the consumer market has become so bifurcated (Kalish, 2011). The consumer market is also not expanding anymore (Lobaugh, 2019). With middle class income stagnant and discretionary dollars falling, consumer product companies are no longer competing for a share of a growing market: Companies are now fighting to take market share from each other (Kalish, 2011). What this means is that a business will grow by taking a larger segment of an available market from its competitors.

Businesses selling to the poor has become a trillion-dollar market (Periu, 2013). The median household income in the United States is \$51,404 per year (Periu, 2013). The American government defines the poverty threshold at \$23,550 of income for a family of four and \$11,490 of annual income for an individual (Periu, 2013). Over 40 million Americans currently fall below this threshold. Although each family has little to spend by itself, together they represent a significantly large market. For example, dollar stores such as Dollar Tree and Family Dollar, which only sell inexpensive items, are expanding rapidly throughout the U.S. (Prahalad, 2004). Payday lenders that make short term loans are extremely profitable as they take advantage of poor people's immediate need for cash between paychecks (Periu, 2013).

New businesses that profit from the poor are being created with greater frequency in the United States. The company RentNRoll allows people to rent tires for their cars because tire prices have risen dramatically—almost 60% since 2006 (Periu 2013). Their business model permits buyers to satisfy a basic need, auto tires, with payments they can afford as the company makes a healthy profit (Periu, 2013). Rent-A-Center, a Kansas-based company, now has more than 3,000 locations across North America. It rents appliances, furniture, and electronics, charging for them by the week until products are paid off or the rental is terminated (Periu, 2013). Customers can end up paying nearly 300% of the original price for an item this way (Periu 2013). Although critics say this is gouging the poor, the business model is actually perfectly legal and very profitable (Perui, 2013). Industry defenders point out that borrowers usually understand the terms of these transactions and are not being fooled into renting products (Carter, 2019). Other companies are marketing individually wrapped portions of many types of items from snacks to soap which makes these products more affordable for poor consumers while increasing profits for sellers (Periu, 2013).

III. Hypothesis

The multi-decade (1980-present) trend of economic growth benefiting the wealthiest is a fact. This trend, during which economic growth has aided the wealthiest 20% of the population (Piketty, 2013), was disguised by easy debt availability (Piketty, 2013) to the middle class and to people below the poverty line. Real wages, which are hourly wages adjusted for inflation, stopped rising for most Americans in 1970, the same year that consumer credit cards began to be issued in volume (Strickler, 2019). Credit card spending replaced wage growth. People did not feel poorer because they had money to borrow (Strickler, 2019). This created a dangerous illusion: Individuals in the middle class actually felt like they were earning more income because they had more money to spend despite the fact that the money being spent was really borrowed. As long as these borrowers could buy the things that they saw wealthier people acquiring, they thought that they were getting richer as well (Strickler, 2019).

Jeff Bezos, Bill Gates and Warren Buffet together have more wealth than the bottom 50% of the people in the United States combined (Stiglitz 2019). The top managers of the Fortune 5000 companies, comprised of CEOs and executives whose compensation includes stock, have been progressively earning much higher incomes than the rest of the labor force (Reich, 2014). Some researchers have pointed out that with the top 5% of earners in the U.S. purchasing 37% of all consumer goods, the middle class cannot keep the economy growing without incurring more debt (Reich, 2014). This presents a fundamental challenge for U.S. economic growth because credit is less available as noted previously in this thesis.

Elite Americans are continuing to get a larger share of wealth in the U.S. than ever before (Schneider, 2019). As of September 2019, this concentration of wealth is at its highest level since the government started tracking the data in the late 1960's (Schneider, 2019). Rising income inequality means that the lower and middle classes lack purchasing power. Seventy percent of the U.S. economy is consumer driven (Reich, 2014). If most people do not make enough money to buy things, the economy will stagnate or grow more slowly (Reich, 2014).

Even before the financial crisis occurred, researchers noted that the middle class was being squeezed by excessive debt while the poorest 40% of the population saw their wealth decline by 63% between 1983 and 2007 (Wolff, 2010).

IV. Method

Subjects

Role of Corporations

Corporations are only representing the interests of shareholders. (Stiglitz, 2019).

Erosion of Progressive Taxation and Government Factors

Because super managers, executives including directors, vice presidents and CEOs, are often paid with company stock instead of cash, much of their income is taxed at the capital gains rate which is much lower than the rate most people pay on their income and these taxes are often deferred (Hungerford, 2013). The United States tax system has become much less progressive with the decline of marginal tax rates on wages (Hungerford, 2013). In addition, the tax rate for long-term capital gains decreased from 28% in 1991 to 20% in 2006. More recently, the tax rate for capital gains and dividends was lowered to 15% (Hungerford, 2013). These factors combined to steadily reduce taxes on the rich from the end of World War II to the present day.

Effects of Capitalism

Many economists now believe that capitalism without government intervention results in such acute income inequality that social instability will inevitably follow (Piketty, 2013). This has already been the case outside the U.S. in countries previously discussed. Although correlation does not imply causation, it adds weight to the position of the researchers who contend that income inequality ultimately leads to social unrest and even violence (Piketty, 2013).

Measures

Meta data: Multi-Year Tax Returns

A recent federal survey found that 40 percent of adults in the United States do not have enough cash to cover a \$400 emergency expense (Reich, 2014). Advocates for the rich claim that higher taxes on the wealthy will slow economic growth, but some researchers demonstrated that this is not true. In the early 1950's when the top tax rate was over 70% of income, GDP grew at 4% per year in the United States (Piketty, 2013). In 2018 the top marginal rate was 28-30% and GDP growth was only 2.1% (Piketty, 2013). If higher taxes on the wealthy slowed economic growth the opposite result would be in evidence.

Income Distributions over Long Periods

Much of the income disparity appears to be a result of so much income going to the top level of management sometimes referred to as super managers by economists

(Hungerford, 2013). Between 1950 and 1980, the top 10% of earners made 30-35% of America's national income (Piketty, 2013). After 1980, this percentage increased to nearly 50% in the 2000s (Piketty, 2013). Simultaneously, there was a steady decrease in the top marginal tax rate after 1980 (Piketty, 2013). Research confirms that the income of top-level managers has increased the most since 1970 compared to mid-level and blue color workers (Hungerford, 2013). In addition, tax cuts during the Reagan and Bush administrations benefitted the affluent and helped to concentrate wealth even further as figure 4 in the results sections shows (Stiglitz, 2019).

Analysis of Wealth Sources

New Federal Reserve data confirms that the top 1% of United States households have, through dividends and capital gains, achieved significant returns from the stock market during the decade from 2008 to 2018 (Sasso, 2019). At this point, the top 1% of households now controls over half the equity in public companies in the United States (Sasso, 2019).

V. Procedure

Extract Trends and New Developments from Data

The richest 10% of the population owns 75% of the wealth (Stiglitz, 2019). In the United States, a class of top tier, highly compensated super managers has developed in the last few decades (Picketty, 2013).

Statistical Analysis Excluding Census Data

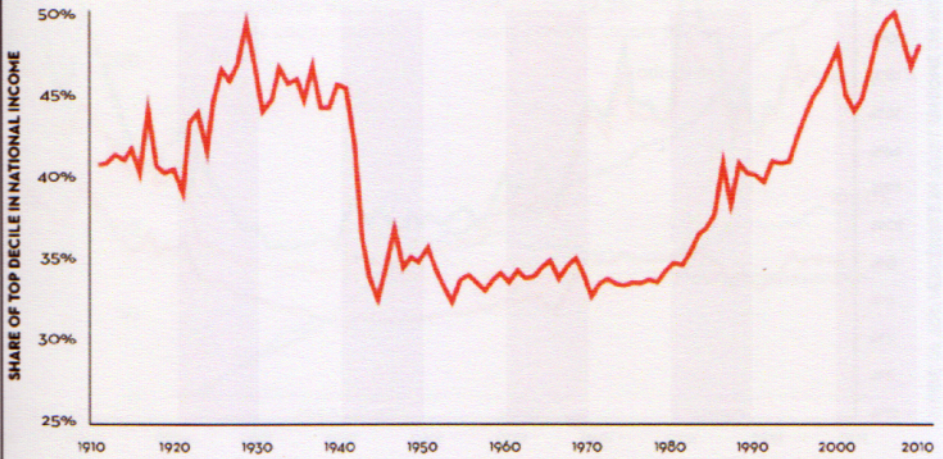
Census data as a research tool has the benefit of full participation across the United States (Schneider, 2019). Analysis of tax returns provided to the Internal Revenue Service has advantages over the census: It differentiates income sources from wages, dividends and capital gains and provides more detail about individuals at the top of the income curve (Hungerford, 2013).

Gini Coefficient

The Gini Coefficient is a statistical tool for analyzing income equality (Piketty, 2013). Its range is from 0-1.0 with 0 indicating perfect equality and 1 meaning total inequality (Piketty, 2013). Several authors make use of the Gini Coefficient to measure changes in after-tax income.

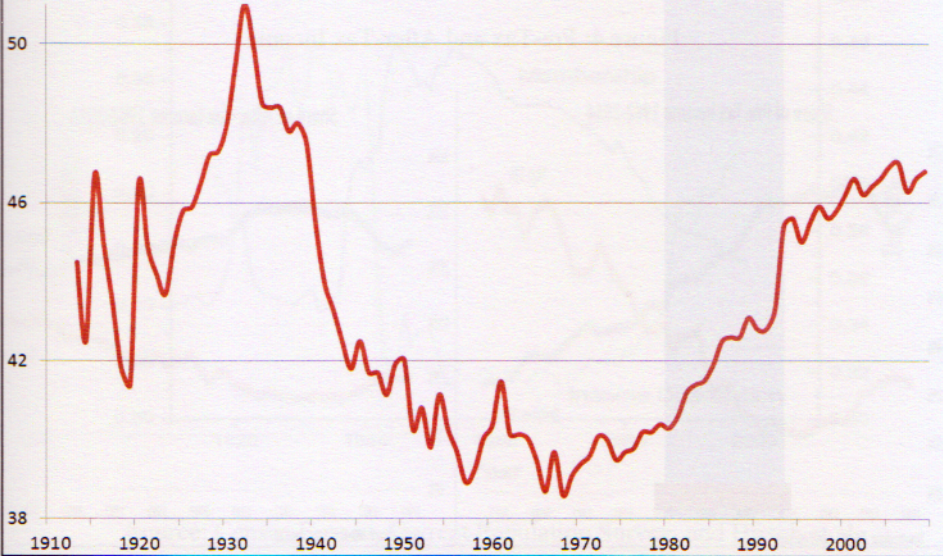
VI. Results

Figure 1: Income Inequality in the United States



Source: "Capital in the 21st Century" (Piketty 2013).

Figure 2: History of the Gini Index in the United States



Source: U.S. Census Bureau

Figure 3: The Transformation of the Top 1% in the United States

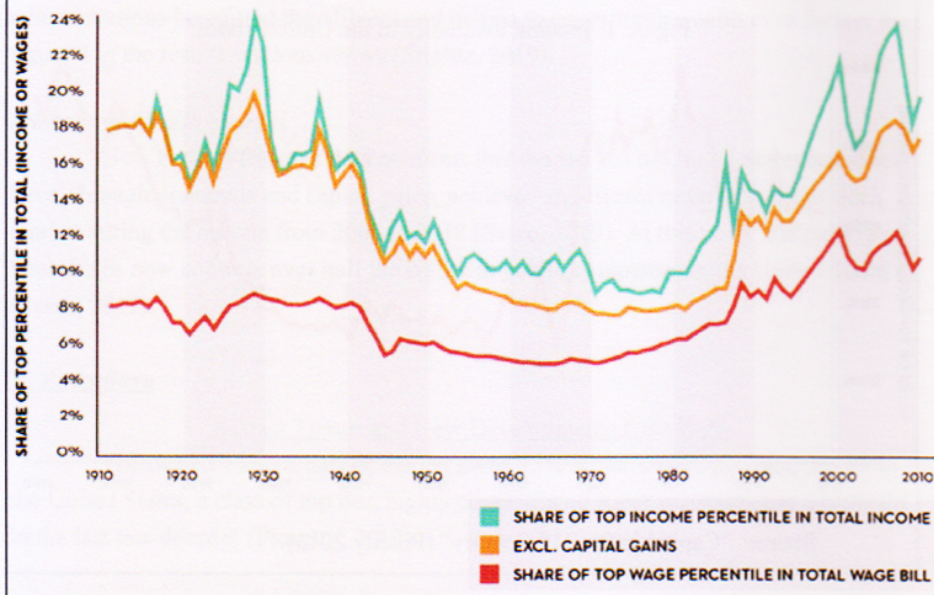


Figure 4: Pre-Tax and After-Tax Income

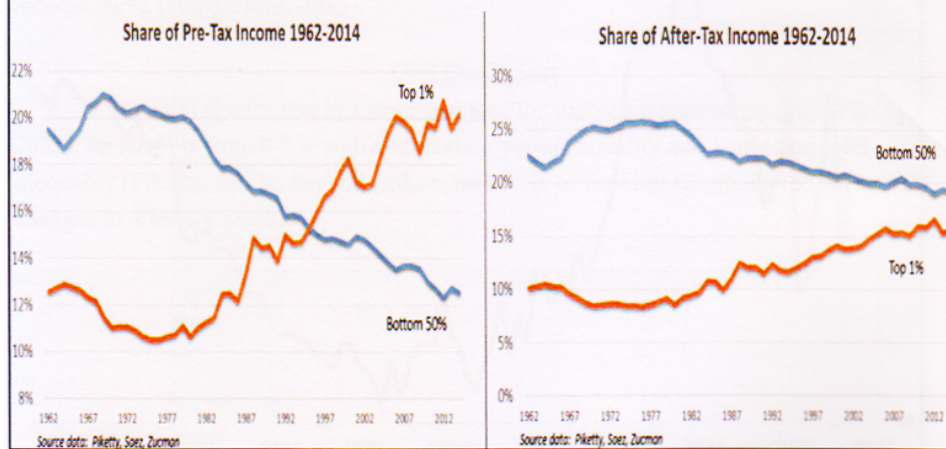
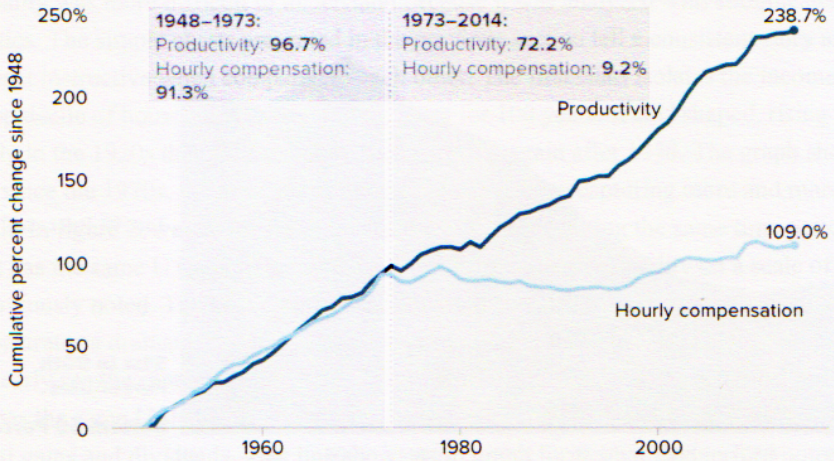


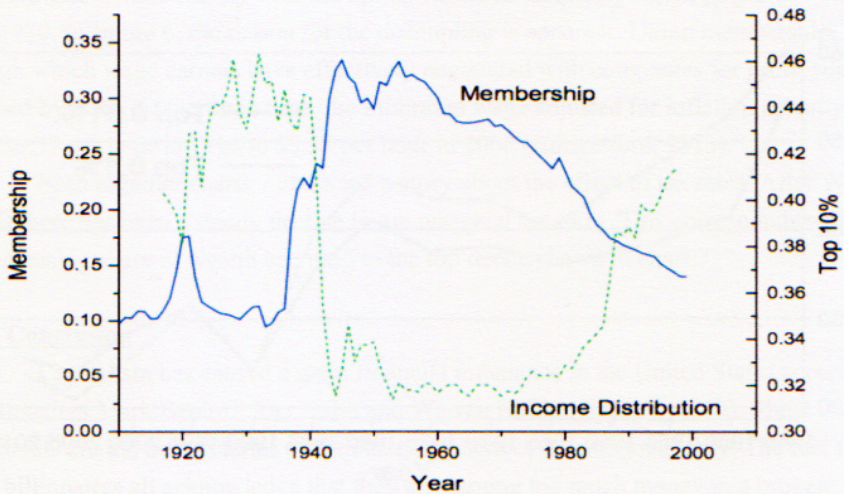
Figure 5: Productivity Compared to Wages: 1950-2014



Source: Robert Reich – Economic Policy Institute

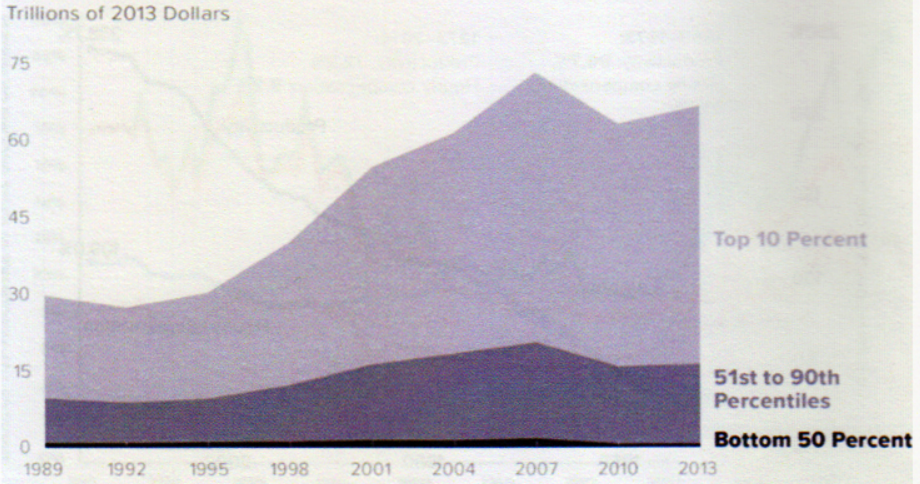
Figure 6: Decline in Union Membership in the United States

Figure 8



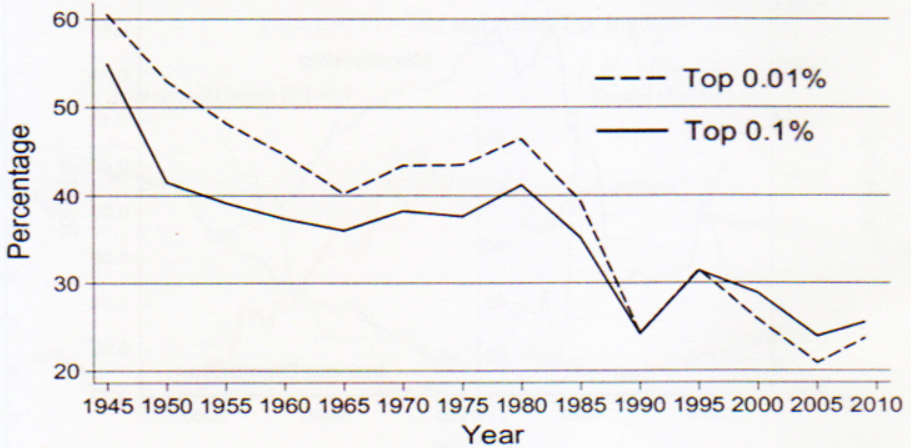
Source: Census Bureau, Current Population Survey, and Hirsch et al.

Figure 7: Family Wealth in the United States



Source: "Trends in Family Wealth, 1989-2013", Congressional Budget Office (August 18, 2016).

Figure 8: Average Tax Rates for the Highest-Income Taxpayers, 1945-2009



Source: CRS Calculation using IRS Statistics of Income (SOI) Information.

VII. Discussion

Prior to the work of Piketty, Wolff and other scholars, the debate about income inequality was more difficult to understand because it was analyzed with complicated statistics. The simple charts presented in the previous section tell a consistent story and are most instructive when compared to each other. The first chart isolates the income of the top decile of households in the United States for 100 years. It is U shaped, rising steeply in the 1920s then falling before rising steeply again after 1970. The graph shows how, since the 1970s, the top 10% of households have been capturing more and more wealth. In figure 2, we see the trend line of the Gini index during the same time period and it has the same U shape. This statistical device measures inequality on a scale of 0-1 as previously noted. The Gini Coefficient increased 15% from 1991 to 2006 which demonstrates a dramatic rise in income inequality during those years. In chart number 3, we clearly see the share of income earned by the top 1% during the same period and it also has the same U shape. What is different is the blue line which includes interest, capital gains and dividends. This line shows us in graph form what Hungerford noted: Almost all of the profit from financial instruments goes to the wealthiest people.

Charts 5 and 6 tell two sides of the same story. In chart 5, it is apparent that wages and productivity were rising in tandem before decoupling dramatically around 1970. This means that wage earners stopped participating in the extra profit companies were earning by becoming more efficient. The steep rise of the productivity line on chart 5 corresponds almost exactly with the upward trend in inequality which graphs 1-3 show after 1970. In figure 6, the reason for the decoupling is apparent: Union membership, through which wage earners have effectively negotiated with companies for profit share, declined by 50%. At the same time, the minimum wage adjusted for inflation actually fell from \$6.57 per hour in 1996 to \$5.57 per hour in 2006 (Hungerford, 2013).

Seen together charts 7 and 8 tell a story about the effect of tax rates. After World War II there has been a steady decline in top marginal tax rates. This corresponds with the increasing share of wealth accruing to the top decile shown in chart 7.

VIII. Conclusion

Capitalism has caused a great financial imbalance in the United States according to billionaires Mark Benioff, Ray Dalio and Warren Buffet (Clifford, 2019). These individuals are the beneficiaries of the current system of income inequality. The fact that these billionaires all acknowledge that they are earning too much money in a broken system with horrifying consequences for the poor serves as a red flag about how extreme income inequality has become in the United States (Clifford, 2019).

Corporations Dominate Whole Sections of Our Economy

Big companies used to consider the well-being of their stakeholders which consists of their customers, their employees and their communities. Since the 1980's, large companies only consider maximizing the profits for their shareholders who are the wealthiest 1% of Americans (Benioff, 2019). Corporations should not have to choose between making money and doing the right thing for the greater community. Recently two hundred members of the Business Round Table committed their companies to increasing stakeholder return (Benioff, 2019).

Income Inequality is Damaging Our Economy

The bifurcation of wealth in the United States is slowing economic growth. The rich by themselves cannot spend enough money to drive a consumer-based economy. The tightening of credit has inhibited middle class spending. The U.S. economy will not grow faster than 3% per year until the trend of income inequality is reversed (Reich, 2014). Because income inequality peaked just before the financial crisis of 2008, as it did before the market crash of 1929 (Figure 1), it is reasonable that researchers conclude that income inequality, while not the sole cause, was certainly a principal cause of the Great Recession (Piketty, 2013).

Income Inequality is Damaging Our Democracy

Many economists and social scientists have concluded that widening inequality undermines democracy (Reich, 2014). With the upward flow of wealth, money from special interest groups pours into political campaigns to further the interests of the rich (Reich, 2014). This has led to regressive tax policy which has made inequality even worse. Democracy is supposed to represent the will of its constituents and not the interests of corporations and the wealthy (Stiglitz, 2019).

Income Inequality Leads to Social Unrest

The dramatic decline in upward mobility has caused the poor to remain that way and the middle class to stagnate, a fundamental shift in American society (Reich, 2014). Social unrest including violence is a realistic potential consequence of the hopelessness and pain caused by poverty. Capitalism is simply not working for most people in the U.S. (Clifford, 2019).

Strategies to Address Income Inequality

Difficult changes require coordinated government action. Virtually all the data supports the argument that unregulated capitalism is a broken system (Clifford, 2019). The absence of government constraints has resulted in the excesses documented in this thesis. Here are the recommendations to increase fairness and reduce income inequality. The federal minimum wage should be raised to \$15.00 per hour. The goal is for no American to work at a full-time job and live in poverty. Unions need to be revitalized as soon as possible. The data shows that unions in the private sector gave bargaining power to the middle class and allowed it to secure a larger share of the growth in productivity (Reich, 2014).

Public funds must be invested to improve education from early childhood through college. A quality education should be affordable for Americans without their incurring burdensome debt (Stiglitz, 2019). Government at the local state and federal levels should invest in infrastructure. Not only is this necessary to improve the quality of people's lives, it will provide decent paying jobs for millions of Americans (Reich, 2014).

Government Action

In order to pay for these strategies, taxes have to be raised on the wealthiest Americans. The data shows conclusively that the tax structure is more regressive today than it has been since the 1920's (Reich, 2014). A first step towards progressive taxation is to remove the cap on payroll taxes so that high earners pay tax on more of their income (Reich, 2014). Another important change is to raise estate taxes and tax the capital gains on inherited wealth (Piketty, 2013). Marginal income taxes have to go up so the wealthiest Americans pay a more equitable share of tax.

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Section II: The Social Sciences

E-Cigarette Use Among Adolescents in Staten Island

Dina Arslani (Nursing), Kristi Simonetti (Nursing), and Jessica Verga (Nursing)¹

E-cigarette use is expanding throughout the United States and worldwide at an astronomical rate. This research proposal addresses the vaping epidemic, a highly controversial issue, among the adolescent population in the Staten Island community. The intent of this research study is to explore the adverse effects that long-term e-cigarette use poses on vulnerable populations. Use of e-cigarettes has the potential to cause psychological, physical, and emotional disturbances during one's lifetime. This is a major concern to the adolescent population as their brains are still undergoing crucial development. A proposed solution to this epidemic would be to use social media's platform to raise awareness and educate the most vulnerable age group, adolescents. The proposed solution is based on the evidence of theorist Everett Rogers and his work, *Diffusion of Innovations Theory*.

E- Cigarette Use Among Adolescents in Staten Island

Vaping, a term used interchangeably with electronic cigarettes, was initially advertised as a healthy alternative to smoking in hopes of weaning one off traditional cigarettes. However, the reality is far from the original intent. This paper focuses on answering the question; how is vaping affecting the health of the adolescent population in the Staten Island community? Vaping is seen as convenient, easily accessible, and mainstream activity for the adolescent population. The author, Erik Bascome, stated: "Staten Island has the highest rate of electronic cigarette (e-cigarette) use among high school students in New York City, according to recent data, and U.S. Sen. Charles Schumer is urging the Food and Drug Administration (FDA) to regulate the inhalable product" (2019). Research shows the dangerous health effects of vaping, including associated diseases and psychiatric disorders. Engaging in such an unhealthy activity potentiates addiction at an early age during which young bodies are still undergoing crucial development. "The number of middle and high school students using e-cigarettes rose from 2.1 million in 2017 to 3.6 million in 2018—a difference of about 1.5 million youth" (CDC, 2019). To curb this epidemic, a proposed solution is to promote the use of media as a platform to educate the adolescent population.

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Community Assessment and Analysis

Staten Island is one out of five boroughs that encompass New York City. This borough contains the smallest number of residents in comparison to the other four boroughs (Staten Island Population, 2020). Ironically, Staten Island was the only borough that experienced an increase in population in 2018 (Dalton, 2019). According to the NYS Comptroller: “The population of Staten Island doubled between 1960 and 2000, growing even during the 1970s when the rest of the City experienced large losses” (Bleiwas & DiNapoli, 2018). The immigrant fluctuation to the island represents the population growth that has taken place during the past several decades (Bleiwas & DiNapoli, 2018). The Staten Island community is composed of predominantly whites, being 75.2% of the total population (United States Census Bureau, 2018). About 20% of the population is foreign- born with the top two demographics being of Italian and Irish descent (Staten Island Population, 2020). Italian Americans make up 37.7% of the total population and represent one of the largest influxes in ethnicity throughout history.

On Staten Island the rate of employment has risen by 13% since 2017 in the following work areas: construction, social assistance, leisure and hospitality, and health care (Bleiwas & DiNapoli, 2018). About 70% of the population living on the island are homeowners, the highest rate in comparison to all five boroughs (Bleiwas & DiNapoli, 2018). The average household income is \$79,200. The highest incomes represent the populations of the South Shore, with an average of \$96,800 and lowest in the North Shore, representing an average of \$62,900. Due to the average salary in Staten Island, e-cigarette purchases are affordable for these affluent adolescents.

The major health issues that are currently plaguing the Staten Island community are obesity, poor air quality, smoking, unmet mental health needs, and drug overdoses (Baker, 2016). Smoking comes in third place. The most prevalent chronic conditions are diabetes, lung disease, cancer, and heart disease (Baker, 2016). Deaths from heart disease and chronic lower respiratory disease represent the highest in Staten Island when compared to the other four boroughs (Baker, 2016). One of the leading contributors to these chronic conditions is the “lack of education/awareness regarding health-related issues” which oftentimes are preventable (Baker, 2016).

Staten Island offers an array of community resources provided to all its residents. One such resource is known as Staten Island Performing Provider System (SI PPS). There are currently 180,000 people residing on the island whose health is affected due to lack of health insurance or they are reliant on Medicaid. SIPP targets the uninsured by “improving access to high quality, culturally sensitive care, improving population health and health literacy, fostering a 25% reduction in avoidance of

emergency room visits, and reducing preventable hospital admissions and readmission” (Staten Island Performing Provider System, 2017). The available resources include: “preventive health, healthy eating habits, diabetes and asthma management, mental health, substance use disorder, and the cessation of smoking” (Staten Island Performing Provider System, 2017). SIPPS has teamed up with Staten Island University Hospital and Richmond University Medical Center to improve access to health care to populations in need.

With Staten Island having the highest rate of opioid use in the nation, local organizations have been made available to the community to provide life-saving training centers (Kattan, J. et al., 2016). "Among New York City’s 5 counties (boroughs), Staten Island’s opioid analgesic overdose death rate was more than 3 times higher than that of other boroughs in 2011." (Kattan, J. et al, 2016). Narcan Centers provide free training and free medication (i.e Naloxone) to individuals in the event of an overdose. Some locations where training is offered includes Christopher’s Reason Resource Training & Counseling Center, Project Hospitality and Project Hospitality - Recovery Center, CHASI Next Step Resource Center, Richmond University Medical Center – ED and Pharmacy, etc. (Staten Island Performing Provider System).

Efforts are being made in addressing the health issues specifically associated with e-cigarette use. For instance, on November 23, 2019, Forest Avenue on Staten Island hosted an event called, “Staten Island Vape Escape” which targeted adolescents between thirteen and eighteen years of age who participated in this informative lecture. This event was aimed at educating adolescents and their parents about the harmful effects of all tobacco-related products, with special attention to the vaping crisis. Borough President, James Oddo has partnered with *Truth Initiative*, a motivational support group that provides reinforcement strategies via text messages, videos, live chats, and emails during the cessation process. The enrollment process is simple, you text QUIT to (718) 306-6608 and the motivational support process begins. *Truth initiative* has had a positive impact on the adolescent population- “We’ve helped bring down teen cigarette use from 23% in 2000 to less than 5% today” (Truth Initiative, 2019).

Problem in the Community

The electronic cigarette (e- cigarettes/vaping products) has gained widespread popularity nationwide and has an increasingly negative effect on public health. These devices have acquired recognition based on the belief that it is a safe and viable potential smoking cessation aid (Eltorai et al., 2019). Because e-cigarettes have only been on the market for ten years, specific data is limited but will continue to emerge (Walley et al., 2019). This growing epidemic has been attributed to health issues including, but not

limited to, respiratory, cardiovascular, and immune system diseases. Ongoing studies continue to gather data investigating the effects of vaping on the vital organs. “People using vape products have reported a variety of symptoms, developing over a period of days to weeks, including: pulmonary symptoms (cough, shortness of breath, chest pain), gastrointestinal symptoms (nausea, vomiting, diarrhea), fatigue, fever, headache, and weight loss” (Department of Health, 2019b). E-cigarettes appeal to their audience: designs include tanks and mods, look-alike cigarettes, and rechargeable ports resembling USB sticks. These products “produce an aerosol by heating a liquid that usually contains nicotine- the addictive drug in regular cigarettes, cigars, and other tobacco products- flavorings, and other chemicals that help to make aerosol” (CDC’s Office on Smoking and Health [OSH], 2020). The most frequent additives of liquids and heated liquids of the products include nicotine, ethylene glycol, propylene glycol, vegetable glycerin, ethanol, acetone, silica, and heavy metals such as nickel, tin, lead and some also contain cannabis. These are only some of the harmful substances that make up the aerosol, “including cancer-causing chemicals, and particles that reach deep into the lungs” (OSH, 2020).

Since the specific compounds or ingredients causing lung injury are not yet known, the only way to assure that you are not at risk while the investigation continues is to consider refraining from the use of all e-cigarettes, or vaping products (CDC’s Office on Smoking and Health [OSH], 2019).

"The cases of pulmonary illnesses associated with vaping are continuing to rise across New York State and the country," said Health Commissioner Dr. Howard Zucker " (Department of Health, 2019b). One of the substances reported to have the most harmful effect on public health is vitamin E acetate. This substance is found in almost all cannabis- containing vaping products and “is now the key focus of the Department’s investigation of potential causes of vaping associated pulmonary illnesses” (Department of Health, 2019b). Although the main concern of vaping is the effects it has on the body’s organ system, it can also cause unintended injuries. Serious injuries have resulted from defective e-cigarette batteries that have caused fires and explosions (OSH, 2020). “In addition, acute nicotine exposure can be toxic. Children and adults have been poisoned by swallowing, breathing, or absorbing e-cigarette liquid through their skin or eyes” (OSH, 2020).

The popularity of e-cigarettes is on the rise globally. The European Region has the highest recorded tobacco use in the world, “with an estimated 209 million people smoking” (World Health Organization [WHO], 2019). The United Kingdom along with France and Belgium have the highest levels of e-cigarette use (Shapiro, 2018, p 41). Trends in the U.K. show e-cigarette use among nonsmokers remains low; however, the

use of e-cigarettes is largely found in current and ex-smokers. E-cigarettes are now the most common method used for smoking cessation. The U.K. has reported that “of the 2.9 million current e-cigarette users, approximately 1.5 million (52%) were ex-smokers” (Shapiro, 2018, p.51). Conversely, the United States reports people are more inclined to using e-cigarettes without prior usage of traditional cigarettes. Surveys have also revealed that in the U.S., “many youths use e-cigarettes with other tobacco products, which is known as dual-use” (Walley et al., 2019).

“Unlike the U.S., Britain has tight regulations advertising vaping; all TV, online, and radio marketing is banned” (Cheng, 2019). Whereas, the U.S uses enticing e-cigarette flavors to lure adolescents, and young adults to engage in vaping products (Walley et al., 2019). America is moving towards banning all e-cigarettes and warn people to avoid using these products altogether. “Although in the U.S. there have now been 1,299 alleged cases and 26 deaths across 49 states, in the U.K. only a single victim has been identified after nearly 10 years of e-cigarette use” (Hawkes, 2019). Although these countries have distinct differences when viewing e-cigarettes, they share a common goal, in finding an alternate way to cease cigarette smoking.

As of February 18, 2020, a total of 2,807 hospitalized e-cigarette, or vaping product use- associated lung injury (EVALI) cases or deaths have been reported to the CDC from 50 states, the District of Columbia, and two U.S. territories (Puerto Rico and U.S. Virgin Islands). Sixty-eight deaths have been confirmed in 29 states and the District of Columbia.

Among 2,668 patients 66% were male. The median age is 24 years and ranges from 13-85 years. Among the age group, 15% of patients are under 18 and 37% of patients are 18-24 years old (OSH, 2019).

Vaping among adolescents and young adults continues to rise as the most common product used. One of the major e-cigarette brands, the JUUL, has received a massive amount of attention among the youth and seems to be the e-cigarette of choice. The solutions of the JUUL pods include flavors such as mango, crème brûlée, mint, cucumber, and fruit medley with each pod marketed as equivalent to one pack of cigarettes. The popularity of these products stems from the variety of solutions that appeal to adolescents ranging from fruits, desserts, candy, and soda (Walley et al., 2019).

In a 2017 survey of 15 to 17- year- old adolescents in New York State currently using electronic vapor products, 19% of the adolescents said that flavors were the reason that they first tried an e-cigarette and 27% said flavors were the reason for maintaining use (Governor Andrew Cuomo, 2019).

As of October 17, 2019, the company JUUL has announced they will no longer sell certain flavors of its e-cigarettes pods, such as mango, crème brûlée, fruit, and cucumber online, and “has previously stopped selling these kid-friendly flavors in stores” (Edwards, 2019). However, “JUUL will continue to sell tobacco, mint and menthol flavors online, insisting those products may be able to help adult smokers move away from cigarettes” (Edwards, 2019). Marketing these products, using deceptive advertising and normalizing tobacco-product use, lures adolescents to use these products. Media is also a key component in reaching the adolescent population. “A quick internet search reveals a myriad of videos demonstrating the ways e-cigarettes are used by the adolescent and young adults. “Cloud chasing,” “stealth vaping,” and “dripping” are popular terms” (Walley et al., 2019). The persuasive marketing tools these companies use in promoting appealing flavors are directed towards the adolescent and young adults contributing to the outbreak of vaping in this age bracket.

The use of e-cigarettes, specifically in youth, can lead to nicotine dependence, which is a major concern in the development of the adolescent brain.

Using nicotine in adolescence can harm the parts of the brain that control attention, learning, mood, and impulse control. Each time a new memory is created or a new skill is learned, stronger connections – or synapses – are built between brain cells. Young people’s brains build synapses faster than adult brains. Nicotine changes the way these synapses are formed. Using nicotine in adolescence may also increase the risk for future addiction to other drugs (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2016).

Adolescents who use e-cigarette are more likely to engage in risky behavior. The correlation between adolescent e-cigarette use and other substances such as alcohol, marijuana, and amphetamines increase with the use of e-cigarettes (Walley et al., 2019).

Of the 5 boroughs, Staten Island is known as vaping central (Bascome, 2017). Vaping has dominated the adolescent population island-wide due to its convenience, accessibility, and its appealing nature. Staten Island has the highest rate of e-cigarette use among high school students in New York City, about 1 in 5 high school students are vaping (Bascome, 2017). Between 2014 and 2018 the rate of e-cigarette use has fully increased by 160% from 10.5% to 27.4% (Department of Health, 2019a). E-cigarettes remain the most common “used tobacco product among youth surpassing cigarettes, cigars, smokeless tobacco, and hookah” (Department of Health, 2019a). With the continuing rise of e-cigarettes, Staten Island faces an increase in use among adolescents especially while in school. As school administrators noticed the increasing popularity among students, they have decided to take forceful disciplinary measures. Monsignor

Farrell High School, located in Staten Island, has a zero-tolerance policy for vaping or smoking. To ensure this policy is carried out, they have created a system designed to prevent students from using these products while in school (Knudson, 2019a). “Vape detectors have been installed in the bathrooms and will trigger an alarm if e-cigarette smoke is detected” (Knudson, 2019b). Along with smoke detectors, each student will be required to swipe their ID card to enter and exit the restroom (Knudson, 2019a). These measures are implemented to provide safety while promoting the health and wellness of students.

In September of 2019, Governor Andrew Cuomo implemented “emergency executive action to ban the sale of flavored electronic cigarettes in New York State” (Governor Andrew Cuomo, 2019). A contributing factor for the easy access of e-cigarettes is the fact store owners allow adolescents (under twenty-one years) to purchase the e-cigarette. The governor has also stated any retailer selling vaping products to minors will now face criminal penalties along with civil penalties. “The Governor also signed legislation to expand current school-based programs and marketing campaigns aimed at reducing tobacco use to include e-cigarettes and liquid nicotine” (Governor Andrew Cuomo, 2019).

Proposed Solution

A proposed solution for the cessation of e-cigarettes is to educate and change the false narratives that e-cigarettes are a safe and healthier alternative to smoking. The main problem is the lack of education on this topic, especially in the adolescent population. As a community, we need to promote education on the use of e-cigarettes and the substances found in them. Media has an enormous influence on this specific age group; therefore, utilizing this platform to address the harmful effects would be an effective method. According to Pokhrel’s research, social media plays an integral role in promoting e-cigarette use among young adults (2018). Using social media to explain the harmful effects of e-cigarettes rather than promoting these products will help lure adolescents away from seeing e-cigarettes as a healthy alternative to smoking.

The goal is to spread awareness through television, radios, posters, and social media. By increasing the awareness of the harmful effects of e-cigarettes, we can challenge the advertisements seen on social media. This proposed solution is based on the theorist, Everett Rogers, and his work called, *Diffusion of Innovations Theory*. The diffusions of theory will be used as a guide to help us promote, spread and increase our social media page. Rogers defines diffusion as “the process in which an innovation is communicated through certain channels over time among the members of a social system” (Orr, 2003). The four key components of this theory consist of innovation,

communication channels, time and social system. Innovation is the belief that an idea, practice, or project by an individual can be viewed as a new method (Sahin 2016). Communication channels are the participants who share and spread information to solidify understanding of what is taught. Time, according to Rogers, is seen as the most ignored aspect although it is one of the strengths in his theory. Lastly, a social system defined by Rogers as “a set of interrelated units engaged in joint problem solving to accomplish a common goal” (Orr, 2003).

Rogers’ theory includes five stages in his Diffusion of Innovations Theory, which will be used as the framework for our solution. The awareness (knowledge) stage is when a person becomes aware of an innovation and proposes an idea of how it functions; interest (persuasion) stage is when an individual forms a positive or negative attitude toward the innovation; evaluation (decision) stage is when the person chooses to adopt or reject the innovation; implementation stage when a person puts an innovation into use; evaluation (confirmation) stage is when the person evaluates the results of an innovation-decision already made (Orr, 2003).

The awareness stage will bring attention to adolescents and young adults by creating an aesthetic and functional social media page that displays important facts and articles. The interest stage will consist of creative interactive features such as quizzes and linked videos of personal experiences while using e-cigarettes. These features will help capture the interest of the participants. This serves as a way to engage participants while simultaneously teaching them. These additional features will create encouragement and increase the desire to learn. In the evaluation stage, we will assess the views and popularity of the social page. The desire is to increase the number of followers and participants’ activity on the page. The implemental stage will consist of the participants becoming knowledgeable about the harmful health effects of e-cigarettes. In the evaluation stage, the participants will state their desire to quit smoking. Being well-informed of the associated health risks will increase the desire to better one’s health. This theory is used for long-term change projects, which is our goal by implementing an educational social media account. The objective is to educate the youth through social media and create a large platform to raise awareness. The creation of this social media account is to encourage the cessation of e-cigarettes. This is an ideal solution because social media is linked as one of the sources of promotional advertisements for e-cigarettes (Pokhrel et al., 2018).

Learning objective goals are:

- Recognize the adverse effects of e-cigarette use
- Enhance public awareness by utilizing social media platforms

- Minimize the use of e-cigarettes among the adolescent population

The new course of e-cigarettes swept in and changed the dynamic of what we thought would have been the end of an era of tobacco smokers. Instead, we see a rise in nicotine addiction among the adolescent population due to the increasing demand for e-cigarettes. To reduce this up rise in popularity, a proposed solution is to create a social media platform to provide evidence and risk factors about e-cigarettes. This method can be effective by influencing adolescents and young adults to steer away from using e-cigarettes which may promote public health in the future. This solution will help the new generation of Americans who are at risk of nicotine addiction.

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Satisfying the Growing Health-Conscious Consumer Market

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This research paper presents information regarding how changing consumer demands are reshaping the food industry. Many consumers have become more health-conscious, desiring products that have higher nutritional content. Research shows that large food corporations have become threatened by innovative, new companies that cater to the healthy desires of consumers. Findings reflect that increased competition in the health food industry has only benefitted shoppers, who are able to maintain unique diets, care for their health, and obtain innovative product plant-based alternatives. Results show that large firms are required to take action to adapt and stay afloat.

I. Introduction

Of late, a growing number of consumers have been motivated to diet more than in the past and have shown increased interest in the nutritional value of the foods they consume. Companies within the food industry are being forced to take notice and adapt the way they conduct business. The U.S. Food and Drug Administration nutritional labels are undergoing changes that aim to encourage consumers to make decisions that benefit their health and clarify the ingredients within popular foods. New startups have quickly developed innovative product offerings and brought them to market, while large corporations consider how to stay relevant in a changing industry.

II. Literature Review

The Dieting Trend

Statistics and Motivation Behind Dieting

There has been a recent skyrocketing of the adoption and discussion of diets due to the increase in the numbers of bloggers, celebrities, and companies creating buzz about diets. The increased discussion about diets has reflected consumers' desires to curb their unhealthy eating habits and to refine their food choices to benefit their health. There is an increased skepticism surrounding processed and artificial foods, and there is an increased

¹ Written under the direction of Dr. Shani Carter in partial fulfillment of the Senior Program requirements.

variety of food available in typical grocery stores that in the past better accommodate people with diet restrictions (Tait, 2019).

The annual Food and Health Survey of more than 1,000 people provides more insight into the changes in eating habits and dieting in the United States and found that between 2017 and 2018, “the percentage of American adults following a specific diet protocol more than doubled, from 14 percent to 36 percent” (Egan, 2018, No page numbers provided). Between 2018 and 2019, there was an increase in the number of Americans dieting which reached 38% (International Food Information Council Foundation [IFICF], 2019). The survey lists intermittent fasting as the most common diet of 2018 with Paleo and gluten-free not far behind (Egan, 2018). Figure 1 below shows that the low-carb, Mediterranean, vegetarian/vegan, and ketogenic diets were other types of diets that rounded out the top dozen in both years (Egan, 2018; IFICF, 2019).

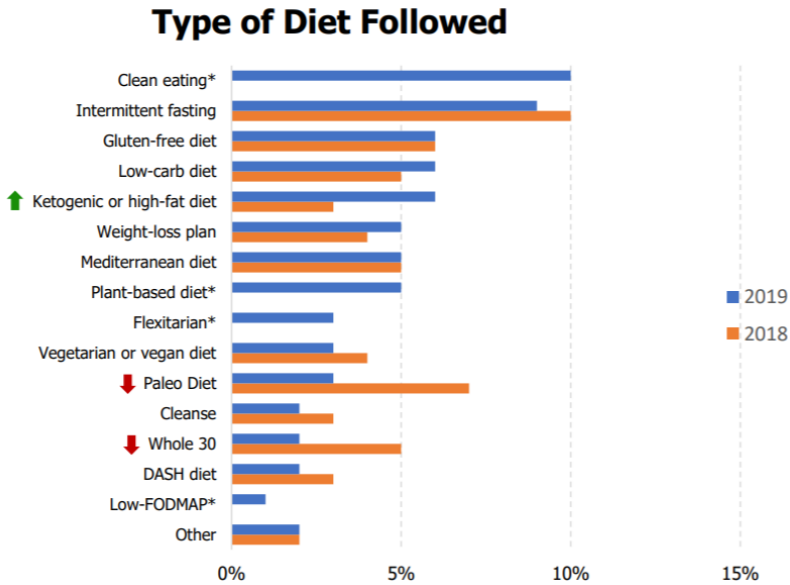


Figure 1. Percentage of people surveyed by IFICF who followed a specific diet in 2018 and 2019. Source: International Food Information Council Foundation 2019 Food and Health Survey.

Sixteen percent of respondents that were surveyed reported that they intended to eat a low-carbohydrate diet (Egan, 2018). Weight-related motivation was a top reason for dieting, indicated in Figure 2, with a large portion of respondents indicating they would

limit intake of sugar and carbohydrates for weight control (Egan, 2018; IFICF, 2019). Having more energy and preventing future diseases and health conditions were other popular reasons for adopting a diet among survey participants (IFICF, 2019).

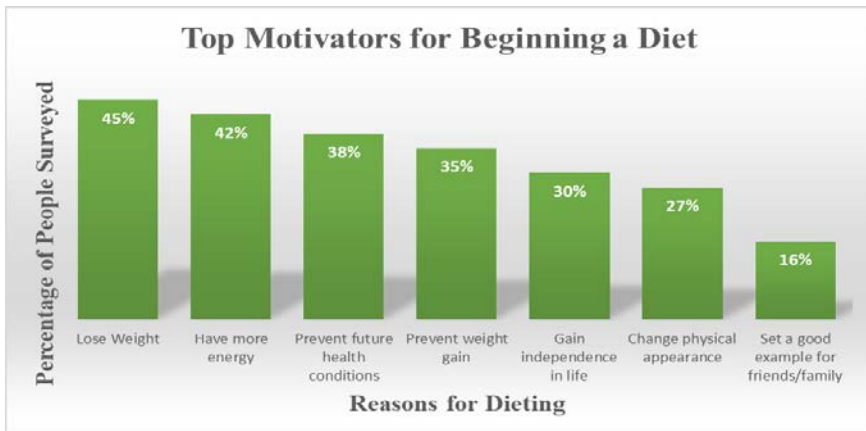


Figure 2. Percentage of people surveyed by IFICF and their motivation for dieting in 2019. Source: International Food Information Council Foundation 2019 Food and Health Survey.

Individuals are also motivated to start a diet because of their social conscience (Tait, 2019). Many people have concerns about harming animals and the planet through their food choices (Tait, 2019). These concerns have caused many to become flexitarian, a term which refers to people who seek to reduce their overall consumption of meat but who do not want to be a vegetarian or vegan (Tait, 2019).

Forty percent of respondents reported that their diets looked “very different” from what they were ten years ago (IFICF, 2019, p. 17). Major changes in diets from ten years ago include the following: making efforts to decrease sugar and carbohydrate intake; minimizing junk food; minimizing fast food; and being more attentive to what is eaten (IFICF, 2019). A new category named “clean eating” ranked first in popularity among respondents in 2019, indicating that ingredients and how products are made are impactful elements that buyers are now likely to consider when making dietary decisions (IFICF, 2019). Overall, consumers are more conscious than they were ten years ago because they have greater concern about their future health and nutrition intake.

Consumers are searching for more customized diet solutions that align with their values and that give them the most personal benefit (Egan, 2018). Individuals have a desire for a sense of community with other people who have similar thinking about their diets (Egan, 2018).

Social media is suspected to have played a role in changing consumers' diets because social media has increased the amount of information about dieting available and has increased the ease of obtaining recipes online, while easily connecting people of similar interests (Egan, 2018). Many people today rely more on information gathered from social media than from expert recommendations. For example, one-third of respondents from the Food and Health survey had never seen MyPlate, the federal government guideline that shows which food groups and sizes of each should be consumed at each meal (IFICF, 2019). This lack of knowledge of government-produced information implies that a significant number of consumers obtain their information from alternative, possibly less formal, sources.

Veganism and Flexitarians

As more consumers shift their focus to eating fruits, plants and adopting a "cleaner" diet, more people are adopting veganism (Tait, 2019). Vegans eat plant-based foods, and they avoid meats and all ingredients derived from animals. Veganism is "the doctrine that man should live without exploiting animals" (Tait, 2019, p. 38). Many consumers choose veganism because of this ethical motivation, in addition to the issue of sustainability, while research has provided more opportunity over time for consumers to make informed choices about what they eat (Tait, 2019). Sustainability refers to issues on an environmental level to ensure the long-term safety of the planet and its resources which can be harmed by emissions from the meat and dairy industries (Tait, 2019).

This year, 2019, the annual month-long charity initiative named Veganuary was held in January. Veganuary, which encourages people to eat vegan for the entirety of January, saw a record-breaking 250,000 people participate (Tait, 2019). The food industry has significantly increased the creation of vegan foods to capitalize on the vegan trend (Tait, 2019). "In 2018, the Vegan Society registered 9,590 new products as vegan – a 52 per cent increase on products that carried the society's official trademark in 2017" (Tait, 2019, p. 37). This increase in available products may make veganism more alluring and easier to follow. Although vegans still make up just about 3% of the U.S. population and 7% of the U.K. population, one British study determined that 52% of people are interested in becoming vegan, vegetarian, or flexitarian (Zampa, Tait, 2019). Flexitarians prefer to minimize meat consumption without eliminating meat from their diet (Tait, 2019). With knowledge of these new consumer desires, companies can capitalize on vegan consumers and on average consumers who value health and prefer to refrain from eating meat occasionally (Tait, 2019). It has been suggested that "the vegan lifestyle has started to significantly change consumer behavior in a very short time like with no other

trend before” implying that the size of the veganism wave is large and has the potential to last (Tait, 2019, p. 39).

Ketogenic Diet

Developed in the 1980s, the ketogenic diet proposed that diets should consist largely of protein and fats and little to no carbohydrates (Brown, 2016). Dr. Robert Atkins’ idea was to force the body into ketosis which occurs when fat is used as energy instead of carbohydrates being used as energy (Brown, 2016). Carbohydrate consumption must remain at approximately 20 to 30 grams per day for health reasons, making the keto diet challenging to accomplish and proving the keto diet to be one of the more difficult eating habits to adhere to long-term (Brown, 2016).

There are several positive and negative health effects of adopting the keto diet. When adopting the keto diet, many people often face side effects such as headaches, lethargy and difficulty sleeping (Brown, 2016). The keto diet aims to spur weight loss, decrease cholesterol, decrease triglycerides and low-density lipoprotein while increasing high-density lipoprotein (Brown, 2016). “Health professionals warn that not eating enough carbohydrates can lower your muscle building hormone and T3 thyroid hormone levels, increase cortisol levels (the stress hormone), contribute to muscle loss and prevent muscle gain, and mess with a woman’s delicate hormone balance” (Brown, 2016, No page numbers provided). Opponents of the ketogenic diet declare that positive effects of the diet are only transient and may create a yo-yo effect in which dieters who have successfully lost weight regain the weight later (Paoli, 2014).

Paleo Diet

The paleo movement promotes the idea that humans should adopt the eating habits of our paleolithic ancestors (Brown, 2016). Though this thinking began in the 1970s, it has experienced a recent resurgence. It suggests food eaten should be the same as the food that was eaten during the time of hunting and gathering and pinpoints the switch to eating products made from grains and milk as the beginning of the increase in diabetes, cardiovascular disease and obesity (Brown, 2016).

While adopting the hunter-gatherer lifestyle is not entirely possible today, the paleo diet encourages greater intake of what was available in paleolithic times like fruits, vegetables and items filled with nutritious omega-3s, fiber, and minerals (Brown, 2016). The paleo diet today includes consumption of protein from meat, seafood and eggs and healthy fats, such as nuts and oils, alongside fruits and plants (Brown, 2016). Processed foods, refined sugars, potatoes, dairy, saturated fats and grains are generally avoided by followers of the paleo diet (Brown, 2016). The paleo diet habits appear slightly easier to

maintain than habits associated with the keto diet (Brown, 2016). Research about the effectiveness of the paleolithic way of eating is sparse and not necessarily reliable due to the variety of ways individuals are following the paleo diet (Brown, 2016).

Nutrition Label Changes

Simplified Messaging and Greater Transparency

A significant change in the food industry that will affect businesses and shoppers is the new nutrition facts labeling standards. The Food and Drug Administration announced these mandatory changes to the way nutritional information appears on product packaging in 2016, with the hopes of improving the way labels are read and enhancing consumer awareness about the content of their products. Prior to enacting the change in requirements, the federal agency “conducted consumer studies and received 300,000 comments on the proposals from consumers, academics, health professionals, government agencies, industry, and foreign governments” (Grossman, 2017, p. 64). One of the major reasons for the nutrition label modifications is to reflect updated scientific information and show the link between diet, diseases and public health (U.S. Food and Drug Administration, 2016). A new format, which can be seen in Figure 3, will be introduced that will highlight calories and serving sizes, “two important elements in making healthier food choices” (U.S. FDA, 2016, p. 2).



Figure 3. Original nutritional label compared to the new nutritional label required by 2020. Source: U.S. Food and Drug Administration. (2016). Final Rules to Update the Nutrition Facts Label.

On the new label, both calories and serving sizes will be featured in larger, bolder type that stand out from the rest of the information, while serving size and daily value information will be updated to become more realistic and account for “how much people typically eat at one time” (U.S. FDA, 2016, p. 8). For example, a product that is four servings at 200 calories per serving will eventually become labeled as three servings at 270 calories per serving (U.S. FDA, 2016). Some packages will require dual columns to clearly reflect the difference between consuming the entire container, which should be done at multiple sittings, versus the recommended single serving (U.S. FDA, 2016). This dual labeling will be required for packages that contain anywhere from 200% to 300% of the standard serving size (U.S. FDA, 2016).

An “added sugars” section will be included underneath total sugars to clarify if sugar is naturally present or added as a sweetener (U.S. FDA, 2016). These amounts must be presented in both grams and percent of Daily Value (U.S. FDA, 2016). Emphasis has been placed on sugars because research has shown that when diets consist of foods that are high in sugar content, it is difficult to meet nutritional needs and presents an increased risk of cardiovascular disease (U.S. FDA, 2016). Fiber reporting is also being updated to include only fiber that is naturally occurring and fibers added to foods that show a “physiological health benefit” on labels (U.S. FDA, 2016, p. 11). The term “calories from fat” will no longer be acceptable as fats must be classified into trans-fat and saturated fat categories, indicating that the type of fat has more importance than the overall amount (U.S. FDA, 2016). The U.S. Food and Drug Administration issued its first label regulations in 1993 and has gone through several amendments over time, including this one (Grossman, 2017).

Compliance

Large businesses and corporations with over \$10 million in sales have been given a deadline of January 1, 2020, whereas smaller businesses have been given one extra year to comply with the new FDA rules (Burns, 2019). Though the new guidelines may create difficulties for food and beverage companies, the changes may not be so dreadful after all. New forms of technology like blockchain can ease the burden from farm to shelf and help these companies create a “more harmonious relationship between consumer, brand and product” (Burns, 2019, No page numbers provided). “For the food and beverage industry, this technology has the potential to trace all nutritional data and origins, connect supply chains and track every step of production for targeted recalls”

(Burns, 2019, No page numbers provided). Harnessing this technology would allow producers to place scannable QR codes on their packaging, so shoppers can view how and when the item was produced and each step in a product's global journey (Burns, 2019). Blockchain can validate claims made regarding an item being labeled as organic, grass-fed or natural (Burns, 2019). This knowledge and intricate tracking are beneficial by saving both cost and disruptions to the business's flow of operations (Burns, 2019). A solution like blockchain, however, may be less feasible for smaller businesses that face greater budgetary constraints and challenges making substantial process modifications.

Many companies have adapted to the label mandates earlier than required to show their customers that their brand values transparency (Watson, 2015). The change has presumably helped businesses that stand behind their products' nutritional values to differentiate from the competition with their willingness to comply. One brand made it a top priority to outline the real ingredients in their products aside from solely focusing on the nutrition panel. The energy bar company, RXBar, which has experienced massive success, boldly displays its minimal and wholesome ingredients in large font on the front of every wrapper along with the phrase "No B.S." The company stands behind this statement as the definition of transparency and says, "We're not trying to hide anything. We're putting everything out there for the consumer and empowering the consumer to make that decision" (By the Numbers, 2018, p. 5). Being consistently transparent is considered to be a major differentiator and a key to sustaining brand loyalty and positive feedback from consumers (Burns, 2019). Other companies have expressed strong opposition against the regulations and have chosen to wait until the required 2020 deadline to implement them.

Support and Backlash

General Mills, Kellogg's, and Unilever were some of the brands firmly contesting the recent regulations enacted by the FDA (Watson, 2015). General Mills specifically called out the FDA for improperly relying on the Dietary Guidelines Advisory Committee instead of the Institute of Medicine, and General Mills made claims that the new label confused consumers (Watson, 2015). In 2015, General Mills released a statement saying, "We respectfully ask FDA to pause and take the time needed for a deep, evidence-based review through the Institute of Medicine (IOM) DRI (Daily Review Intake) process" (Watson, 2015, No page numbers provided). The company points out a shift in the FDA's approach and how the administration diverged from its usual proceedings when performing label revisions (Watson, 2015). Research conducted by General Mills, the International Food Information Council Foundation (IFICF) and the FDA showed that just 66% of shoppers could correctly identify the sugar content of an

item with the new ‘added sugar’ label, much lower than the 92% of shoppers who did so using the current labels (Watson, 2015). General Mills called attention to this large decrease, while the IFICF agreed that the change reduced consumers’ abilities to identify a product’s sugar content (Watson, 2015). The National Confectioners Association stated that “establishing a daily value for anything without the kind of scientific consensus FDA has required in the past would be unusual and arbitrary” (Watson, 2015, No page numbers provided).

Food and drink company, Nestle, strongly supports the proposal, while nut bar company, Kind Snacks, also welcomed the label changes (Watson, 2015). These manufacturers felt the changes made sense in helping the consumer identify and limit foods with added sugars, as dietary guidelines encourage (Watson, 2015). Kind Snacks suggested that the amount of added sugars be labeled in teaspoons and grams, instead of just grams (Watson, 2015). The American Heart Association shared this viewpoint with Kind Snacks and wanted the daily value for added sugars to be no more than 10% of energy intake (Watson, 2015). POM Wonderful was a third company to announce its support of the regulatory labeling changes (Watson, 2015).

Another response to the changes by manufacturers is reformulation of their products (Shoup, 2019). “The mandatory addition of trans fat content on the Nutrition Facts label led some food and beverage manufacturers to reformulate their ingredients” (Shoup, 2019, No page numbers provided). Six studies discovered that food labeling policies diminished sodium content by 64% and trans fats content by 8% in foods (Shoup, 2019). Manufacturers may have a similar reaction when the new added sugar labeling goes into effect in 2020.

Product Variety and Increased Availability

Vegan-Centric Products

Vegan products have made a transition into typical supermarkets after only being available in niche health food stores in the past, making them more attainable for consumers (Tait, 2019). Products considered vegan were once on the fringe but have become more normalized in recent years (Tait, 2019). One reason may be that “the food industry is ruthless and laserlike in keeping its attention on trends” (Tait, 2019, p. 37). Large companies in the industry also have enough economic force to get vegan items onto store shelves (Tait, 2019). Major brands have made efforts to profit from the vegan trend, creating products like ice cream, chicken nuggets and the first “bleeding” vegan burger from ingredients such as extracted pea protein, chickpeas, and mushrooms (Tait, 2019). Magnum Ice Cream has released two ice creams made from pea protein,

Hellman's Mayonnaise has begun producing vegan mayonnaise, and restaurant chain PizzaExpress started offering vegan pizza (Tait, 2019). Other items like vegan cookies and dairy-free chocolate have gained popularity in the dessert category (Tait, 2019). An online petition that garnered 20,000 signatures stimulated the creation of a vegan sausage roll by one U.K. bakery chain, showing consumer desires for plant-based alternatives (Tait, 2019). Plant-based products have also made their way into the meat section of grocery stores instead of meat-free, vegan aisles (Tait, 2019). This has increased the customer reach for producers of plant-based meat because it has introduced their products to customers who are not vegan but are open to making a switch to plant-based meals (Tait, 2019). Industry experts have said "it is a fool who dismisses veganism as a fad" (Tait, 2019, p. 41).

Plant-Based Meats

The plant-based burger is a wake-up call for the meat industry (von Drehle, 2019). "Plant protein categories are experiencing double-digit growth, and in some categories high double-digit growth" (Peters, 2017, No page numbers provided). Impossible Foods and Beyond Meat have been the two biggest companies in the conversation about innovative plant-based meats (von Drehle, 2019). The food products produced by Impossible Foods and Beyond Meat are not aimed at the small market of vegan and vegetarian eaters but at individuals who want to enjoy a flavorful, meaty burger without feeling guilty about the negative environmental impacts from scaled meat production (von Drehle, 2019). On average, the United States consumes approximately 50 billion burgers each year, while the Environmental Protection Agency estimates that 10% of emissions in the U.S. results from agriculture, especially cattle (von Drehle, 2019). Impossible Foods uses soy-based heme and a mixture of wheat, potato, and coconut oil to give its burgers the essence of real meat (von Drehle, 2019). Beyond Meat has a different approach and claims that Beyond burgers are free from genetically modified ingredients, unlike the "heme" molecule that is present in Impossible Foods' burger (von Drehle, 2019). Though plant-based meat alternatives are growing in popularity, eaters must be wary of the health value of the burgers (von Drehle, 2019). The innovative burgers have a similar number of calories to regular beef and are high in sodium and saturated fat despite the healthy connotation associated with the term "plant-based" (von Drehle, 2019).

Investments from celebrities like Bill Gates, founder of Microsoft, skier Lindsey Vonn, and basketball star Shaquille O'Neal have helped propel Impossible Foods and Beyond Meat forward and create positive publicity for each brand (von Drehle, 2019). Beyond Meat announced its initial public offering this year which has been deemed one

of the most prolific IPOs of 2019 (Vargas, 2019). The company’s stock, BYND, once reached \$239.71 per share, revealing Beyond Meat’s remarkable success, while its competitor Impossible Foods remains privately held (Vargas, 2019). Beyond Meat’s early success will be tested once the meat-alternative market gets increasingly crowded and more competitors emerge as projected (Vargas, 2019).

Thriving Health-Conscious Brands

The frozen foods category has seen a significant disruption of late because of new market entrants that have created innovative new products (Crawford, 2019). One example is the company Caulipower, LLC which has introduced frozen chicken tenders and pizzas that have undergone nutritional makeovers that separate the company from its competition (Crawford, 2019). The company uses brown and white rice flour and cauliflower to create the breading for the chicken tenders which are baked, never fried (Crawford, 2019). Calories are almost halved compared to the competition, with Caulipower’s product having less fat and carbs but more protein than the average chicken tenders on the market (Crawford, 2019). Caulipower, LLC also accounts for 50% of the growth in the frozen pizza category, where the company produces pizza crust made from cauliflower (Crawford, 2019). Caulipower’s innovative products that provide a healthier take on comfort foods continue to gain traction (Crawford, 2019).

The “Plant-Based” Marketing Craze

Targeting a Broader Market

Diet is increasingly correlated with identity issues, making it extremely marketable (Tait, 2019). Plant-based eating has become a multi-billion-dollar movement, though it was once considered faddish (Tate, 2019). Since the word “vegan” is quite off-putting for meat-eaters, the term “plant-based” is something even meat-eaters can get on board with (Tait, 2019). “Vegan” has some connotations around animal rights and other issues that most people might not be on board with (Tait, 2019). The number of new U.S. food and drink items that mentioned “plant-based” grew 268% from 2012 to 2018 (Crawford, 2019). Products featuring the words “plant-based” are appearing in every aisle and in every form, such as plant-based yogurts, kale chips, pea-protein shakes, and oat milks (Crawford, 2019). Experts have said that the term “plant-based” is smart use of terminology to appeal to shoppers (Crawford, 2019). The widespread use of “plant-based” marketing has been called “plant-washing” and has been used incorrectly by some companies, something consumers must be aware of when making buying decisions (Crawford, 2019).

III. Hypothesis

A growing segment of the American population has developed new standards for what they eat and how their foods are processed or manufactured, and therefore, are likely to continue making health-conscious choices, forcing large processed food corporations to adapt to capture the changing demands of consumers.

IV. Method

The research presented in this paper was compiled over a three-and-a-half-month period beginning in September of this year, 2019. Sources were evaluated for potential bias, and the date of publishing was considered to ensure information was up-to-date and relevant to reflect current trends. The sources used in the paper were found electronically, primarily through keyword searches. Several articles were found through searches on the Wagner College Horrmann Library databases called OneSearch and ProQuest. Other useful information was found using Google Scholar and the Google search engine.

Some of the search terms used within OneSearch and ProQuest to find the articles presented in the research above included “FDA nutrition labels,” “veganism,” “paleo vegan keto,” “changing appetites” and “plant-based marketing.” Keywords used on Google Scholar were “ketogenic diet effectiveness” and “plant-based diet.” Through Google’s search engine, searches like “vegans in the U.S.,” “Beyond Meat IPO,” “health food startup acquisitions,” “food labeling and consumption,” “RXBar drives sales” helped produce relevant results with articles related to the topic of the research paper. In some cases, the “News” tab within Google was selected to yield improved results from more reliable, well-known sources.

Much of the research presented within the paper was derived from periodicals and articles discussing current consumer desires, trends, and happenings in the food industry. Other information was gathered from official reports, for example information produced by the U.S. Food and Drug Administration regarding the updated nutrition labels and data from the International Food Information Council Foundation’s annual surveys of American consumers.

V. Results

Large Food Corporations Threatened

Adapting to Capture Consumers

Research has shown that American consumers’ eating habits have changed because they exhibit an increased desire for healthier food options (IFICF, 2019; Tait, 2019).

The success of large food corporations is impacted by the changing consumer mindset, and corporations are tasked with innovating and staying relevant to maintain the attention of consumers (Gasparro, 2019). Increased consumer desire to become flexitarian and interest in being more conscious about what is eaten has led to food innovations like plant-based meats, pizza crust made from cauliflower, and other healthier versions of popular food items (Tait, 2019; IFICF, 2019; Crawford, 2019). Increased competition in the food industry means companies are now becoming more innovative (Tait, 2019). Large companies whose products no longer align with shoppers' demands are challenged and threatened (Gasparro, 2019).

Partnerships

Large food corporations have chosen to form partnerships with innovative brands to bolster overall company performance (Gasparro, 2019). Two fast food burger chains, Burger King and Red Robin, have introduced the Impossible Burger on each of their menus (von Drehle, 2019). Beyond Meat recently announced that its products would appear in select Costco Wholesale stores, indicating Costco Wholesale's desire to present its customers with more plant-based options and capitalize on the plant-based trend (Vargas, 2019). Beyond Meat has developed partnerships with fast food chain McDonald's, Yum Brands' Kentucky Fried Chicken, and Dunkin' Donuts (Vargas, 2019). The plant-based meat products on the market like the Beyond Burger and Impossible Burger are "threatening enough that such major players in the livestock industry as Tyson and Cargill have bought stakes" in Beyond Meat and Impossible Foods (von Drehle, 2019). Mars Inc., creator of M&M's, also purchased stake in Kind Snacks estimated at more than \$1 billion (Gasparro, 2019). Mars Inc.'s investment in Kind Snacks shows the corporation's hopes of profiting from increased consumption of snack bars within the popular health bar category (Gasparro, 2019).

Acquisitions

A growing trend is for large corporations to adapt to food trends by acquiring promising start-ups (Booth, 2019). After its initial launch in 2013, the energy bar company, RXBar, mentioned earlier for its transparent labeling of ingredients, reached \$2 million in sales in just one year on the market (Booth, 2019). The company uses simple and healthy ingredients including nuts, fruit, and egg whites and was acquired by Kellogg's for \$600 million in 2017 (Booth, 2019). The purchased proved to revitalize Kellogg's "snacks and morning foods portfolio, a segment that has been struggling as Americans turn away from sugary cereals and opt for more health-conscious alternatives" (Booth, 2019, No page numbers provided).

In 2014, Hillshire Brands Company purchased Van's Natural Foods, a "leading better-for-you brand that delivers great taste, nutrition, simple/clean ingredients" in the frozen breakfast and snack food category (Hillshire Brands, 2014, No page numbers provided). The company has become a complement to Hillshire Brands' portfolio due to its positioning in the growing consumer wellness lifestyle segment (Hillshire Brands, 2014). Like Hillshire Brands, The Hershey Company hoped to cater to health-conscious shoppers when Hershey bought Pirate's Booty in late 2018 (Wyshak, 2019). This acquisition helps The Hershey Company target customers who prefer healthy snacks that don't compromise on taste which has been a specialty of the Pirate's Booty brand (Wyshak, 2019). Many similar acquisition deals have been made between food corporations and innovative, small companies that offer health-conscious, non-genetically modified, natural, organic, or gluten-free products (Wyshak, 2019). These acquisitions are advantageous for big food corporations because "start-ups have the ability to quickly adapt to trends, develop new products and bring them to market much faster than a large company can" (Booth, 2019, No page numbers provided).

New Products Introduced

Another strategy that large food companies have used to stay relevant is to develop their own products and brands that are more appealing to consumers who want innovative and healthier food selections (Culliney, 2018). Food and beverage company, Nestle, cereal manufacturer Kellogg's, and producer of packaged meats, Hormel Foods, are all planning to launch plant-based meat products in the future (Vargas, 2019). Meat processor, Tyson Foods, an initial investor in Beyond Meats, has unveiled its own plant-based meat brand named Raised and Rooted which sells patties and nuggets (Vargas, 2019). This activity signals that the shift in the market is being embraced by the meat industry (Peters, 2017).

Quaker Oats, which is owned by PepsiCo., has added a Simple and Wholesome product line that features non-GMO and organic oats with a gluten-free option (Culliney, 2018). Quaker Oats has created a Morning Go-Kit product also targeted at nutrition-forward consumers with more nutrition-forward products to be on the market soon (Culliney, 2018).

VI. Discussion

How Companies Stay Relevant

The examples above of the partnerships, acquisitions and new product introductions reflect how big food corporations can stay relevant and continue success as customer beliefs change. The research presented shows that it is both smart and necessary for

companies to acquire or partner with fast-growing startups or use funds to expand product offerings inside the company. Otherwise, large corporations risk a decline in sales if they fail to reposition themselves in a manner that is favorable to American consumers.

Changing Landscape of Food Production and Consumption

It has been interesting to see the significant percentage of Americans are dieting in 2019, however, the dieting trend is positive for the United States, a nation known for poor nutrition, oversized portions, and high obesity rates. The greater interest in healthier lifestyles exhibited by consumers in the literature that was reviewed does not suggest that all Americans are adopting healthy habits and forgoing junk food. However, the findings expose an interesting shift toward healthier eating for a segment of the population and help to reveal that big food companies are taking notice. Since the results from the International Food Information Council Foundation survey utilize data from roughly 1,000 participants, the data could be strengthened by including more survey participants to better reflect the entire population.

Regarding the proposed FDA changes to the food nutritional panel, research suggests that the new label is clearer and less misleading than before. It remains to be seen whether consumers will benefit from the label changes once the new label takes effect in 2020. Labels with dual servings show the differences between consuming the entire container versus only one recommended serving which may limit deception from corporations. However, articles revealed that the FDA irrationally strayed from precedent when determining the nutrition label revisions and dietary guidelines.

The addition of plant-based meats to the market has been an incredibly successful innovation according to industry research. Beyond Meat and Impossible Foods continue to show sales growth through publicity and the formation of new partnerships with major brands across the country. Startup brands that keep health in mind when creating products continue to emerge and gain market share and consumer dollars. Though researchers are still unsure of the effects of consuming plant-based meats that contain ingredients like heme that have never been used before, research implies that plant-based meat manufacturers are poised for success by capitalizing on the vegan, flexitarian, and sustainability trends.

VII. Conclusion

New product offerings and food innovations are helping to revamp and reshape the food industry. Consumers have more choice and a greater number of health foods are becoming mainstream in grocery stores everywhere. Shoppers can only be more satisfied

with the growing number of food options available to them, enabling consumers to stick to their diet of choice and avoid industries that harm the natural environment. The food industry is projected to undergo more changes as large companies look to capitalize on the health food market.

Further research is suggested regarding the intake of plant-based meat alternatives. Since items like Beyond Burgers are new to the market, only time and continued research will tell if how similar or different plant-based meats are to regular beef products.

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‘Kids against Asthma’ Educational Program for Pediatric Asthma in San Joaquin Valley

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Asthma is a chronic disease that affects individuals all over the nation. Triggers include inhaled allergens or irritants that cause inflammation and narrowing of the airways (Nuss et al., 2016). Although this disease affects people of all ages in various regions, the nation’s highest asthma rates can be seen in the agricultural community of San Joaquin Valley, California (Childers, 2017). Children of Mexican farmworkers are the vulnerable population in this community. Due to the exposure of harmful pollutants, or a toxic pesticide called chlorpyrifos, these children have become more susceptible to developing asthma and overall health problems. This health decline has resulted in an increase in emergency department (ED) visits and absences from school (“San Joaquin County”, 2016). In order to decrease these rates, we propose an asthma education program to aid in providing education to farmworkers, parents, and school personnel.

Community Assessment

The San Joaquin Valley has a current population of 745,424 residents. Over the past 19 years, San Joaquin has experienced a change in population majority. The Hispanic/Latino population went from 30.9% to 41.6% and the Caucasian population went from 47.7% to 31.8% (“San Joaquin County”, 2019). Therefore, a visible change can be noted in these two ethnic groups.

San Joaquin County has the highest poverty and unemployment rates compared to other counties in California. 17.3% of the population have an income below 100% federal poverty level, 11.7% of the population is unemployed, and 11.7% of the population is uninsured (“San Joaquin County”, 2019). These statistics illustrate the economic background of the residents living in San Joaquin. Economic security is an important contributing factor to the overall health and wellness of these residents. It affects their access to insurance, education, healthy food, and safe living conditions including the avoidance of outdoor respiratory hazards (“San Joaquin County”, 2016).

¹ Written under the direction of Dr. Lorrie Desena and Professor Marcantonio.

² This research paper was presented at a Sigma Sponsored Poster event for NR 472.

In 2001, 15.8% of children and adolescents were diagnosed with pediatric asthma in San Joaquin Valley and 13.6% were diagnosed in California as a whole (Hernandez, Sutton, Curtis, Carabez, 2004). Today, the rate has more than doubled to 34.3% in San Joaquin and has only slightly increased to 14.5% in the rest of California (“San Joaquin County”, 2016).

Since 2001, San Joaquin has experienced a change regarding the use of a specific pesticide known as chlorpyrifos. Chlorpyrifos is a toxic, organophosphate (OP) insecticide used in the production of fruits and vegetables throughout the United States (Sellen, 2017). It has many toxic effects that can trigger asthma attacks, exacerbate asthma, and increase the risk of developing asthma (Von Glascoe & Schwartz, 2019). For this reason, chlorpyrifos was banned for residential and indoor use in 2001. Despite the ban, the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) has continued to allow chlorpyrifos use in agricultural fields, with more than a million pounds applied annually in California (Sellen, 2017). Continued use of chlorpyrifos in San Joaquin could be a reason for the increase in pediatric hospitalizations.

Problem

Pediatric asthma among Mexican-American children has become a major health problem in the San Joaquin Valley. California’s San Joaquin Valley is one of the most prosperous agricultural regions in the world, containing seven of the top ten agricultural counties in the United States (Von Glascoe & Schwartz, 2019). A majority of San Joaquin’s air pollution comes from agricultural operations. Due to the heavy agricultural setting of the Valley, children are regularly exposed to aerial spraying of pesticides and are at an elevated risk of developing respiratory problems (Von Glascoe & Schwartz, 2019). San Joaquin ranks the fourth highest in agricultural pesticide use among all the counties in California. San Joaquin uses 7,726 pounds of pesticides per square mile, whereas the rest of California uses 1,183 pounds per square mile. These statistics show the major impact that pesticide use has on the respiratory health of the San Joaquin community (“San Joaquin County”, 2016).

Children are considered to be the most vulnerable population in the San Joaquin Valley. Compared to adults, children are believed to be more susceptible to pesticide exposure. Children absorb environmental toxins at a higher rate than adults. This is due to their small size and their differences in physiology (Von Glascoe & Schwartz, 2019). According to the American Lung Association in California, 105,000 children are affected by pediatric asthma and 1.2 million children under 18 are affected by the Valley’s air pollution (“State of the Air”, 2016). Children also carry particularly high levels of chlorpyrifos. According to a CDC study, chronic exposure levels were 4.6 times the

“acceptable” level for children and 3.0 times the “acceptable” level for youth (“Chlorpyrifos”, 2020).

The Valley houses the largest number of Mexican immigrant farmworkers in California. Children of Mexican farmworkers in the San Joaquin Valley have exceptionally high rates of asthma compared with children of Mexican descent in both the United States and Mexico. Poverty and marginal living conditions increase their vulnerability to environmental health hazards and non-communicable diseases. This population resides in areas closer to the agricultural fields for economic and convenience purposes. Living near these fields is beneficial for the population because it is more affordable and allows them to be closer to their place of work. However, it has left a health impact on many of the worker’s families. In 2014, a study found that Latino children in California were 91% more likely than white children to attend schools near fields that used the highest amount of hazardous pesticides, including chlorpyrifos (“Chlorpyrifos Alternatives in California”, 2017). On non-school days, most children accompany their parents to work in the fields and are exposed to the pollutants for a grave amount of time. According to a qualitative study, while parents work, children play hide and seek in the grape fields. Rogelio, a Mexican farm worker living in San Joaquin, reported that children as young as five years old “just grab bunches of grapes and eat them along with all the chemicals” (Von Glascoe & Schwartz, 2019). This anecdotal observation, along with marginal living conditions, makes it clear that Mexican children are exceptionally vulnerable to the air pollutants that contribute to pediatric asthma (Von Glascoe & Schwartz, 2019).

The effects of pediatric asthma on this population becomes evident when looking at the rates of ED visits in San Joaquin Valley. According to California Healthline, the counties in the San Joaquin Valley consistently have some of the worst rates in the state (Rowan, 2018). Fresno County topped the records in 2016, with 143 ED visits per 10,000 kids (Rowan, 2018). Another resource showed similar evidence of this worsening rate. The California Health Interview Survey found that 30.6% of children visited the ED or urgent care for asthma compared to 12.6% for the rest of California (Alcala, Capitman, & Cisneros, 2017). These statistics show that pediatric asthma in San Joaquin has adverse effects on Mexican children and the community as a whole.

According to the American Lung Association, the San Joaquin Valley has the highest pediatric asthma rates in all of the nation (Childers, 2017). It remains home to some of the most polluted air in the United States, in terms of both ozone and particle pollution (State of the Air, 2016). Compared with California as a whole, asthma prevalence and hospitalization rates are greater in San Joaquin (“San Joaquin County”,

2016). Recent studies demonstrated that residents of the eight counties experience worse overall health and shorter life expectancies than other Californian regions (Lessard, Alcalá, & Capitman, 2016). San Joaquin residents breathe some of the nation's dirtiest air, and about 1 in 4 children have asthma. According to the California Health Interview Survey, this ratio makes San Joaquin the region with the highest proportion in the state (Rowan, 2018).

Solution

The proposed solution for pediatric asthma among Mexican children in the San Joaquin Valley is to reduce asthma morbidity and mortality levels by providing education. An education-based program, called "Kids against Asthma", will be created in each of the eight San Joaquin counties. The goal of this program is to decrease the rates of asthma related ED visits, school absences, and the amounts of pesticides used by the farm workers in the San Joaquin community. Dr. Nola Pender's Health Promotion Model (HPM) is used as a framework for this program. By following Pender's HPM, "Kids against Asthma" provides an educational program to increase knowledge about achieving optimal health through interaction with San Joaquin's surrounding environment and community. The HPM guided the following learning objectives that will be covered by this innovative program:

- To help parents of affected children and school personnel to understand the triggers of asthma and how they can be avoided.
- To educate affected children about prescribed medication regimens to prevent exacerbations of asthma.
- To educate farmworkers on the use of alternative techniques to reduce pesticide use without disrupting the agricultural production in the San Joaquin Valley.

"Kids against Asthma" was proposed on evidence-based practice. Evidence based research was done to create a holistic educational program to help San Joaquin residents understand how to decrease their community's asthma rates. Pender's HPM was combined with evidence from two existing programs to create the proposed solution named, "Kids against Asthma." Fresno County's Asthma Coalition Program and Louisiana's Asthma Friendly Schools were researched to blueprint the objectives and strategies contributing to this program.

Fresno County developed an asthma education program that dramatically improved asthma awareness. The Asthma Coalition contains members that contribute their time to meet and strategize approaches to provide opportunities for asthma

education throughout the community (“Fresno County Asthma Coalition”, 2017). Fresno also founded the Asthma Impact Model which was created to decrease ED visits. Through this model, affected families are given a care coordinator to help manage asthma triggers and to personalize strategies to reduce exposure inside their home and outside in the environment (Childers, 2017). Louisiana developed a statewide program known as Asthma-Friendly Schools (AFS). Schools were provided with a Louisiana Asthma School Management Plan, which included protocols for treating students with asthma when school nurses were unavailable (Nuss et al., 2016). 60% of school nurses reported fewer students checking out of school with asthma-related symptoms and perceived a reduction in asthma-related absenteeism (Nuss et al., 2016).

According to the National Resources Defense Council, California is the country’s top user of chlorpyrifos, using close to a million pounds per year (Rotkin-Ellman, 2019). This pesticide must be banned in San Joaquin in order to successfully decrease the asthma rates among Mexican - American children. Governor Newsom’s administration has started the process to ban chlorpyrifos and announced a proposal of \$5.7 million to support the transition to safer and more sustainable farming in California (Rotkin-Ellman, 2019).

To combat the pesticide and chlorpyrifos use in the San Joaquin Valley, alternative methods were researched when creating “Kids against Asthma.” Integrated and ecological pest management could be introduced to replace the usage of toxic pesticides (“Chlorpyrifos Alternatives in California”, 2017). Integrated pest management (IPM) focuses on long term prevention of economically significant pest damage. Least-toxic products, like those used for organic production, are preferred and highly-toxic insecticides are avoided. Ecological pest management (EPM) takes a holistic approach and focuses on healthy crop growing with little to no ecosystem disruption. This strategy focuses on maintaining healthy soil to meet the greatest resistance against pests and disease. According to the Pesticide Action Network (PAN) farmers have been able to adopt IPM or EPM practices successfully, without relying on the usage of chlorpyrifos. Not only do these strategies devoid the use of chlorpyrifos, they also provide organic certified crops with higher premium value. Furthermore, San Joaquin farmers can economically benefit from the adoption of the IPM/EPM strategies (“Chlorpyrifos Alternatives in California”, 2017). This crucial and vital information regarding chlorpyrifos and pesticide use in California will be provided to the residents of San Joaquin Valley. The people must be educated and “Kids against Asthma” will provide that through mobilized education.

Dr. Nola Pender's Health Promotion Model encourages professionals to provide resources to help motivate individuals to engage in behaviors directed towards enhancing their health (Pender, Murdaugh, & Parsons, 2015). When applying this model to San Joaquin, healthcare professionals will educate affected residents in the community. The program will provide weekly educational seminars throughout the community, by means of a mobile van. The purpose of this van is to ensure that accessible healthcare opportunities are readily available to all San Joaquin residents.

On board the van will be 1-2 Spanish speaking nurses, and preferably of Mexican descent, who will offer free asthma screenings, education, and asthma tools like peak flow meters. They will also provide further education regarding ways to avoid asthma triggers: the importance of removing pesticide-filled clothing and shoes before entering homes, the significance of keeping doors and windows closed when possible to avoid pollution coming indoors, and the avoidance of children playing in pesticide infested fields. The most common asthma triggers include: environmental tobacco smoke, outdoor air pollution, dust mites, mold, cockroach allergen, and pets ("Common Asthma Triggers", 2020). According to the American Lung Association, there is no singular or specific asthma medication that is "best" for asthma. Asthma is an individualized disease with patient specific symptoms and exacerbations. Bronchodilators relax the muscles around the airways, making it easier for a patient to breathe. Short-acting bronchodilators, like albuterol, should be only used for an acute attack where symptoms need to be relieved quickly. Long-acting bronchodilators, like salmeterol, can be combined with anti-inflammatories to manage asthma and prevent exacerbations ("Understanding Your Asthma Medication", 2020). "Kids against Asthma" will provide San Joaquin residents with the necessary individualized verbal and written instructions on how to self-administer the proper medications to decrease pediatric ED visits and asthma exacerbations.

The education provided by the "Kids against Asthma" program would be provided by means of the mobile van and distribution of educational pamphlets, in the Spanish language and dialect, throughout the community. This educational program will also strive to create a community center where all children can play. In this center, children will be away from the pesticides and will be monitored by nurses and healthcare workers. "Kids against Asthma" will be funded by San Joaquin County. It is our hope that county representatives will see this program as a public health necessity that will benefit the overall health and well-being of the community.

Pediatric asthma among Mexican - American children in San Joaquin Valley, California has grown to become a major health problem over the years. Mexican -

American children are the vulnerable population in this community due to their physiological makeup and familial relations to San Joaquin’s farmworkers. Due to the community’s agricultural lifestyle, these children are exposed to grave amounts of pesticides on a daily basis. The parents and surrounding residents are also unaware of other asthma triggers that could be harmful to the overall health and well-being of these children. “Kids against Asthma” is an innovative program, based on evidence, that will help San Joaquin residents gain better knowledge about pediatric asthma and strategies on how to reduce exacerbations of this chronic disease. The program will be instituted in all eight of the San Joaquin Valley counties and work to motivate all residents to gain knowledge on “Niños contra el Asma!”

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Section III: Critical Essays

Emma Goldman: The True Pioneer Behind Birth Control

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During the early 1900s, birth control had become a relevant, yet controversial, topic in American politics. As recorded by most historians, Margaret Sanger had been the pioneering woman who first brought the issue of birth control to New York City's Bohemian scene. Taking all things into consideration, this is nowhere near the entire story. While she did play a key role, Sanger was not alone in the radical movement that eventually brought birth control into social acceptance. While Sanger's efforts may have ended up being the most memorable, history has seemingly failed to recognize the path that Greenwich Village's Emma Goldman strenuously laid out for the movements' later achievements. In fact, it had been long before Sanger was even a public figure that Goldman had combined her individual beliefs with the insight she gained working in maternal medicine to create her own position. Through the essays she published in her popular magazine, *Mother Earth*, and her public lectures alongside Ben Reitman, she made an incredibly profound impact on society even before her eventual guidance of Margaret Sanger. Goldman had uniquely mixed anarchism with feminism to build the foundation for the birth control movement. With a more specific focus on feminism alone, Sanger later used Goldman's work and personal direction to jumpstart her own career. In reality, birth control's roots in the U.S. can be traced back to Goldman's work in Greenwich Village far more than what many remember.

When Goldman moved to Greenwich Village in 1903, women had extremely little knowledge of birth control options. Consequently, this resulted in large families and high infant mortality rates. This was especially an issue within the lower classes, which struggled to support more mouths to feed². A vital lack of awareness of birth control had been largely due to a negative societal attitude that built up over the years, but legal obstacles existed as well. Passed in 1873, the Comstock Act had "prohibited both the dissemination of information about birth control and the distribution of contraceptives"³.

¹ Written under the direction of Dr. Alison Smith. Final research project for Reflective Tutorial LC 13 "Exploring the Global Roots of New York City".

² Ingrid Mundt, "Margaret Sanger, Taking a Stand for Birth Control," *History Teacher* 1, no. 51 (2017): 123.

³ Mundt, 123.

While many challenges stood in their way, for the then self-proclaimed “modern woman”, it was important to be conscious of the downfalls of unintentional pregnancy. The radical thinking that took place in Greenwich Village encouraged women to be enlightened on life’s purpose and overall value. As early as 1900, infant mortality rates ranged from “23% for first-born children, to 60% for twelfth-born children”⁴. In these circumstances, bringing unwanted children into the world, if they survived, was unfair considering the poor quality of life they would be doomed with. Yet, Bohemian New York women were willing to break away from tradition, and many searched for ways of accessing contraceptives that went unregulated.

Unfortunately, even if some women had the right connections to access such obscure birth control methods, it was still inordinately expensive. Even if money wasn’t an issue, the few options available, like “diaphragms, chemical contraceptives, condoms, and menstrual cycle based family planning”⁵, were extremely unreliable and often dangerous. Nonetheless, having the means to attain birth control was far out of reach for the majority of the female population, and without it, women were forced to put the livelihood of both themselves and their families on the line.

Emma Goldman had seen these struggles first hand, and her work in medical care allowed her to form an educated opinion on the issue. She had become “convinced that birth control was essential to women’s sexual and economic freedom” while working as a nurse and midwife in the Lower East Side during the 1890’s⁶. She had years of eye-opening experience there, which “brought her into contact with the dire circumstances of poor women’s homes”⁷. Even after giving up her career to focus on touring as an activist, she still “frequently visited the Nurse’s Settlement on Henry Street 35”⁸, having kept the image of the suffering modern-day woman fresh in her mind. Through experience, she was able to apply her knowledge and beliefs in a time where there was an international spirit of social reform. When given the opportunity, “she tested her ideas about

⁴ Mundt, 124.

⁵ Mundt, 124.

⁶ Candace Falk, “The Emma Goldman Papers: Birth Control Pioneer,” *University of California Library* (June 2019): 1.

⁷ Kathy E. Ferguson, *Emma Goldman: Political Thinking in the Streets* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2011), 249.

⁸ Blanche Wiesen Cook, “Female Support Networks and Political Activism: Lillian Wald, Crystal Eastman, Emma Goldman”, 36-53.

reproductive rights while attending a Parisian “Neo-Malthusian” congress in 1900”⁹. It was there; having seen the fight for birth control in France, that she dreamed of a similar movement in the United States. With high hopes, she immediately began “smuggling contraceptive devices into the United States”¹⁰. Goldman was one of the first American women to be so progressive in her views of birth control, but Bohemian Greenwich Village welcomed new ideas and accepted change. This served as the perfect setting for her work as a writer and lecturer.

Being a woman herself, Goldman envisioned a brighter future for her female peers and future generations to come. To her, fighting for birth control was part of a “larger social revolution”¹¹ in the United States. She understood how powerful it would be for women to be given the right to birth control options, and became an avid advocate for the cause. Goldman was disgusted that in modern times, such primitive and sexist ideas were still widely accepted. In light of her disapproval, Goldman wrote her 1916 essay, a later reflection of her work on the subject, “The Social Aspects of Birth Control”. As featured in Peter Glassgold’s anthology *Anarchy! An Anthology of Emma Goldman’s Mother Earth*, she stated that the fact it “should have taken so long a time for the human race to realize the greatness of [birth control] is only one more proof of the sluggishness of the human mind”¹². Goldman had viewed birth control’s groundbreaking significance in a much broader social, political, and economic sense even before it had many public supporters.

Although many did not see the movement’s greater potential at first, Ben Reitman was convinced by Goldman’s pioneering work from the beginning. Reitman and Goldman met in Chicago during 1908, when he reportedly “maintained a sporadic medical practice but was more active in operating a shelter, information center, and education formal” for the homeless¹³. Learning more and more about her ideas after their initial meeting, Reitman eagerly joined her in Greenwich Village “as both her lover and manager”. There he began “doing advance work on her tours, [was] distributing and selling anarchist literature”, and raised money for *Mother Earth*, in which Goldman wrote her famously opinionated essays. Having supported Emma’s stance on birth control, not

⁹ Falk, 2.

¹⁰ Falk, 2.

¹¹ Glassgold, 134.

¹² Glassgold, 134.

¹³ Suzanne Poirier, “Emma Goldman, Ben Reitman, and Reitman’s wives: a study in relationships,” *Women’s Studies* 3, no. 14 (1988): 280.

only as her lover, but because of his own personal beliefs, he also gave lectures “on the topics of birth control, venereal disease, and sexology” on his own¹⁴. Within just months of being romantically involved with her, Ben’s life had become motivated by preaching his and Goldman’s beliefs, hoping that as a team, they could make a change.

While Goldman’s work as a nurse developed her eventual opinions of birth control long before it even had a social platform, her beliefs were politically charged as well. Notorious for being an anarchist, Goldman is also “credited with bringing feminism to anarchism”¹⁵. As stated by political theorist Kathy Ferguson, her “most original contribution to anarchism lies in her weaving of sex and gender into the mix, a conceptual innovation that may seem obvious now, but was largely unheard of at the time”¹⁶. Ferguson’s statement is exemplary of how Goldman took a stand on birth control even when it went against the law and opposed basic social constructs.

In true anarchist fashion, Goldman theorized that capitalism was to blame for the legal restrictions on birth control. She strongly believed that “political economists, together with all sponsors of the capitalist regime, [who] are in favor of a large and excessive race” controlled birth control in order to further their own agenda for the country. In support of her conspiracy, she argued that limiting birth control would have inevitably benefitted the nation militaristically and economically. With the power she already had as a well-known controversial writer, she wrote essays that exposed such corruptness. In her compelling essay, “The Social Aspects of Birth Control”, Goldman observed that capitalism had “grown into a huge insatiable monster”¹⁷. She reasoned that “capitalism cannot do without militarism, and since the masses of people furnish the material to be destroyed in the trenches and on the battlefield, capitalism must have a large race”¹⁸. She also targeted capitalist selfishness for craving an all-powerful workforce, inferring that “they will have it that under no circumstances must the labor margin diminish, else the sacred institution known as capitalistic civilization will be undermined”¹⁹. Goldman believed that birth control was made taboo with the intention of giving capitalists control over the country’s supply of bodies for the armed forces and

¹⁴ Poirier, 280.

¹⁵ Ferguson, 249.

¹⁶ Ferguson, 249.

¹⁷Peter Glassgold, *Anarchy! An Anthology of Emma Goldman’s Mother Earth* (Berkeley: Counterpoint, 2012), 135.

¹⁸ Glassgold, 136.

¹⁹ Glassgold, 135.

workforce. With that being said, Goldman's work was undoubtedly powerful and radical enough to set a much larger movement in motion.

While her anarchist tendencies may make it seem as though Goldman was against how birth control was handled just to oppose the government, she consistently acknowledged how the lack of birth control diminished the quality of life for families. Setting aside her political activism, Goldman never failed to help people remember the more simplistic meaning of her fight. There was a pure biological advantage and moral righteousness to women having access to birth control that could not be ignored. By raising too many children, many were left economically crippled and utterly unhappy. She explained in the "Social Aspects of Birth Control" that "overworked and underfed vitality cannot reproduce healthy progeny" and this has in turn resulted in an "increase of defective, crippled, and unfortunate children"²⁰. She also acknowledged how "mothers are compelled to work many hard hours in order to help support the creatures which they unwillingly brought into the world"²¹, and as "a woman wastes her substance in eternal pregnancies, confinements, and diaper washing, she has little time left for anything else"²². Losing any enthusiasm for life, she argued, forced women to act on desperation. In her own words, Goldman explained that "in their drab and monotonous existence the only color left is probably a sexual attraction", yet "without methods of prevention invariably leads to abortions" which "thousands of women are sacrificed"²³.

Under ideal circumstances, and with the optimal concern for women's health, Goldman hoped that for women, access to birth control would "enable her to recuperate during a period of from three to five years between each pregnancy, which alone would give her physical and mental well-being and the opportunity to take better care of the children already in existence"²⁴. In light of why modern women deserve these rights, Goldman elaborated upon the idea that society had advanced to the point where "never in the history of the world has woman been so race conscious as she is today"²⁵. Race consciousness, a broad term for the newly human race concerned mindset of the time, was especially common in Bohemian Greenwich Village. Women had begun to share a general concern for the human race's dependence on the availability of resources

²⁰ Glassgold, 135.

²¹ Glassgold, 137.

²² Glassgold, 137.

²³ Glassgold, 138.

²⁴ Glassgold, 136.

²⁵ Glassgold, 138.

as well as the quality of life for their children. In effect, Goldman believed that such practical thinking should at least be rewarded with the mere option of birth control methods.

While Reitman had always considered himself an anarchist, incorporating birth control into anarchism was something new that Goldman had introduced him to. Yet, he immediately recognized the topic's importance in society in the broader sense that she did. Having appreciated Reitman's loyalty, Goldman is said to have worked hard "to accommodate Reitman's unreliability into her own life so she could continue her relationship with him without crippling her own personal and public existence"²⁶. Nonetheless, Reitman was firm in Goldman's beliefs, and was especially supportive of her stance on birth control by being an advocate himself. Such devotion was evident when he went to jail for the cause in 1916 – his "six-month sentence for public advocacy of birth control was the longest jail sentence served by any birth control activist in the United States before 1920"²⁷. On top of making his own sacrifices, Reitman had created opportunities for Goldman to speak publically and publish her writings – giving her the platform in the birth control movement that eventually inspired Sanger.

However, despite Goldman's remarkable history and deeply emotional connection to the birth control fight, she continues to get little recognition for her work. Margaret Sanger seems to be the only name that's associated with initiating the fight for birth control. Rarely do people acknowledge that "Goldman was in fact Margaret Sanger's mentor" and "brought the young Sanger into the campaign against the Comstock Law"²⁸. Just like Goldman, Sanger "began her career as a nurse in New York City in 1900", and "predominantly cared for women from the lower classes who lacked contraceptive education"²⁹. Sanger's experience also became a major turning point in her life. Working in clinics, "birth control's value became apparent as she treated women who were relieved if there was a stillbirth, because they could not afford to raise any more children"³⁰. While Sanger had a strong foundation for her later work, she hadn't taken the first steps on her own. It wasn't until 1910, when she moved to Greenwich Village and met Goldman, that she truly inhabited her famous role.

²⁶ Poirier, 285.

²⁷ Falk, 3.

²⁸ Falk, 1.

²⁹ Mundt, 124.

³⁰ Mundt, 124.

According to NYU professor and researcher Esther Katz, when they moved, “the Sangers became immersed in the pre-war radical bohemian culture flourishing in Greenwich Village. They joined a circle of intellectuals, activists, and artists that included Max Eastman, John Reed, Upton Sinclair, Mabel Dodge, and Emma Goldman”³¹. Like Goldman, the couple considered themselves anarchists, and even financially supported “the anarchist-run Ferrer Center and Modern School”³² in New York City. Having already a similar position on political issues, Sanger became instantly “influenced by the ideas of anarchist Emma Goldman”. She argued that there was a need for “family limitation as a tool by which working-class women would liberate themselves from the economic burden of unwanted pregnancy”³³. By 1915, the two women had united to work together on the issue, but as Sanger became a prominent figure on her own, “she disassociated herself from anarchists like Emma Goldman”³⁴. She learned that associating herself with anarchists would deter supporters, which she needed to fuel her already radical campaign. This strategy proved useful in furthering her success, and she “broke the friendship and the relationship of close mutual support”³⁵ shared with Goldman. Despite Sanger’s choice to distance herself, a whole-hearted Goldman continued to support her good friend up until Sanger was arrested later that year. In a letter she wrote to Sanger while she was in prison in December of 1915, Goldman writes, “hold out until I come back the 23rd of this month. Then go away with me for 2 weeks to Lakewood or some place. I am terribly tired and need a rest. We’d both gain much and I would help you find yourself”³⁶. In the end, a fresh-faced Sanger used every bit of Goldman’s wisdom to get her where she needed to be, but shut her out of her life once she had gained enough influence to fly solo in her career.

Ultimately, Emma Goldman deserves to be recognized as the true pioneering woman responsible for the success of the birth control movement. She was the first, using her voice as a radical public figure, to start the conversation in bohemian Greenwich Village. The campaign eventually took off nation-wide, but Sanger was given all of the credit as Goldman faded to the background. Yet, given Goldman’s long history, there couldn’t have been the Margaret Sanger we all know if it weren’t for her. Not only did

³¹ Katz, 2.

³² Katz, 2.

³³ Katz, 3.

³⁴ Falk, 3.

³⁵ Falk, 3.

³⁶ Falk, 2.

Goldman believe in Sanger as her mentor and later partner, but supported her as a close friend as well. With all of the evidence that exists in Goldman’s defense, she should be made a larger part of history as we know it.

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For Their Own Safety, Oil and Water Remain Separate: How Antony Navigates Western and Eastern Values in *Antony and Cleopatra*

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The issue with balance is that it is extremely hard to accomplish. William Shakespeare's Mark Antony dances between his duty and his desires throughout the play *Antony and Cleopatra* where he indulges in one extreme or the other. Cleopatra, the Egyptian queen and exotic feminine figure, and Egypt lie in the East which is ruled by passion, pleasure and love. Antony, one of the triumvirs, and Rome are in the West which is ruled by reason, discipline, and prudence. William Blissett writes that the play gives an "impression of two incompatible worlds," that he describes as a "cult of pleasure and fertility," in the East and the "combination of stoic apathy and assent to the political juggernaut," in the West (156). In other words, one is what the other is not and Antony is tied to the West while he desires Cleopatra in the East. When he finally tries to hybridize enjoying his pleasures in the East and satisfying his responsibilities in the West, he is not successful. Cleopatra says to Antony, as he readies himself to depart for Rome, "Or thou, the greatest soldier of the world, / Art turn'd the greatest liar," (I, iii, 38-39) directly juxtaposing Antony's two worlds. These two lines suggest the paradox that to be the greatest soldier, Antony must be a liar but also that he is no longer the greatest soldier because he is a liar. In this sense, liar acts as a representation for the emotional side of Antony, while being a soldier acts as the rational side of him. The conflict of who Antony is, whether he is to be defined by his duty or by his love, arises throughout the play as he seemingly tries harder to incorporate both parts of his world. Ironically, the more he tries to do this, the less he remains the great man he once was.

Antony is referred to as a man who no longer is himself, by others and by himself. How he handles his struggle to satisfy his public responsibilities and his private desires is what this paper will focus on. Specifically, this analysis will look at the stages Antony goes through; from the kind of general that Antony was, the ways he continues to resemble that man, the ways he has changed since going to Egypt, and the effects of trying to satisfy both ways of life he is leading.

¹ Written under the direction of Dr. Anne Hurley for EN330: *Shakespeare Survey*.

The play initially refers to the valiant general Antony to contrast it with what has become of him since meeting Cleopatra. This stage is where the play allows for reminiscing on the Antony of Rome. In these instances, it is clear that the man that Antony is, or was, is seen as more than mere mortal. However, in each description, the purpose of relishing Antony's attributes is to then dismiss them as no longer present. In the opening, Philo compares him to "plated Mars" suggesting that dressed in his armor when he goes to war he is indestructible for Mars is the god of war (I, i, 4). This characteristic once made him the greatest soldier but it is used now to emphasize how he no longer is indestructible because he is flexible to the will of a woman. In the same speech, Philo continues "... and you shall see in him / The triple pillar of the world "transform'd" (I, i, 11-12). This reference creates the image of Antony's grandeur by placing him as, literally one of the three most impressive men in the world – not just in Rome. However, it is completely invalidated by the word "transform'd" because a man who is one of the pinnacles of the world should not need to transform as he has reached his peak. Although Antony may still have the title as one of the triumvirs, this line indicates that he is less untouchable and less perfect because he is no longer solely focused on his responsibilities but now tainted by his persona desires for pleasure and love.

"Sometimes when he is not Antony, / He comes too short of that great property / Which still should go with Antony," Philo says this meaning that Antony is a different person and he cannot measure up to the respectable, former Antony (I, i, 56 -58). Each of these references aims to present the greatness of Antony in the past tense. It is clear that, in the eyes of those who knew Antony before he knew Cleopatra, the better man existed prior to his trip to Egypt.

In the first half of the play especially, there are glimpses that Antony still remains reasonable and honorable. This stage of Antony's evolution is where he still is able to be the responsible man of Rome he once was when snapped back to reality. Upon news of all that has occurred in Rome, Antony knows that it is his responsibility to return. He exclaims to Enobarbus that he should have never seen Cleopatra, for if he hadn't, he would have not become distracted by her and maybe Fulvia would not be dead. Enobarbus implores Antony to remain in Egypt and not abandon Cleopatra. To this, however, Antony responds "No more light answers. ... but the letters too / Of many our contriving friends in Rome / Petition us home" (I, ii, 176-183). These lines are indicative that Antony realizes that his lust and Cleopatra's need for him do not outweigh his responsibilities. In this way he is displaying the qualities of the general he was before Egypt.

In another instance, while in Rome with Caesar, Lepidus, and Pompey going over the truce, Antony is respectful and reasonable the way a leader of his kind ought to be. When Pompey reminds him that Antony's mother was welcomed in Sicily and that he has made no acknowledgement of that, Antony agrees with him that he should have said thank you. "I have heard it, Pompey, / And am well studied for a liberal thanks, Which I do owe you" (II, v, 47-49). This is a time, similar to how he addresses the messenger who tells him of the bad news in Rome, where Antony is self-reflective about his demeanor. "In his honest and self-critical reception of the messenger's news, Antony shows another reason why it is not absurd that the play should seek to establish him, in Cleopatra's eyes, as the greatest man in the world," (Marsh, 4). This is in reference to Antony saying to the messenger "When our quick winds lie still, and our ills told us / Is our earing," by this he means that criticism helps us to see our faults and correct them (I, ii, 110-111). This highlights that there are still very Roman parts to Antony and he may be able to remain this great man if he holds on to those parts.

Another example of this is when Antony reassures the messenger that he will not be blamed for being the bearer of bad news. "When it concerns the fool or the coward. On: / Things that are past are done with me. 'Tis thus: / Who tells me true, though in his tale lie death, I hear him as he flatter'd," (I, ii, 96-99). The deliberate use of the words "fool" and "coward" illustrate how reason is still a value of Antony's because they are words he would not want to be used to describe himself. The fact that Antony not only says that he will not blame a messenger for the bad news, but also that he will treat the news as if it is flattery, is indicative of his reasonable and honorable nature.

Ironically, however, it is in a similar situation later on that proves Antony's reason has dwindled. Antony, in moments like these, comes across as permanently changed. In the third act, he orders an innocent messenger to be whipped for bringing word from Caesar to Cleopatra. The line "Whip him, fellows, / Till like a boy you see him cringe his face, / And whine aloud for mercy," (III, xiii, 99-101) reveals the stark difference between the man that Antony was and the man he has become. The descriptive pain evoked from the words "cringe his face," and "whine aloud for mercy," are illustrative of how Antony is being ruled by his emotions and his anger and not by reason. In other words, he has succumb to the temptations of the East to not be rational in thinking and in acting. Furthermore, the need to employ physical force indicates that Antony is losing his power and control. It is a sign of weakness for a man of his stature to need to abuse an innocent messenger. Another analysis of this is that Antony still has his physical courage and that "It is only in his judgement that he is not the man he was," (Marsh, 6). Interestingly, for him to be a man of Rome, his judgement needs to be intact.

Another indicator that Antony is no longer the same man is that he makes military decisions that are clearly not in his best interest. When Enobarbus advises him not to go to war against Caesar at sea because Antony's army is stronger on land, he insists on going by sea. In this dialogue, Antony seems almost childish because he is being so irrational. Enobarbus gives him lists of reasons why they will lose at sea: "Your mariners are [muleters], reapers, people / Ingross'd by swift impress," while Caesar's are "... those that often have 'gainst Pompey fought" (III, vii, 35-37). And even though he emphasizes the obvious difference in strength, Antony's response is "By sea, by sea," and when his advisor again asks him to be more cautious, all the great general replies is "I'll fight at sea" (III, vii). This dialogue is important because it portrays the discord that lies between a man who puts his reason and intelligence first – Enobarbus – and a man who puts his passion first – Antony. His responses to his most trusted advisor show that Antony is not persuaded by his duty so much as his ego and need to match and defeat Caesar. Because he is focused on the wrong things and is stubborn, Antony loses the battle at sea because he thinks as a man in love and not as the world's greatest soldier. In other words, he thinks as a man of the East and not of the West when he allows Cleopatra's fleet to join the battle.

In another case, John Rees Moore critiques that "It never occurs to Antony that he might abdicate his Roman office for the sake of the woman he loves. ... [that he and Cleopatra] can throw public affairs of state into confusion by putting their private interests first" (652). Here, Moore highlights the selfishness that consumes the couple. Instead of being responsible and relinquishing his role as one of the triumvirs, Antony is determined to be Cleopatra's lover as well as the greatest man alive. Furthermore, if Antony were to abdicate, his lover would likely not find him as valiant or as worthy a match for herself. This further displays the lack of Roman qualities in Antony as he sacrifices remaining honorable and begins to sully his own name.

Antony enters periods in the play, more-so toward the middle and end of the play, where he is in a state of trying to combine both his public duty and private desires. Antony agrees to marry Caesar's sister Octavia to reaffirm their alliance, but he is warned by a soothsayer that he will not keep his vow. "I see it in my motion, have it not in my tongue; / But yet hie you to Egypt again" (II, iii, 14-15). Antony affirms this when he then says "I make this marriage for my peace, / I' th' East my pleasure lies" (II, iii, 401-41). Both the fortune teller and Antony acknowledge that he is trying to satisfy his responsibility as a triumvir and satisfy his desires. It is more than obvious that Antony's approach will not be successful because he is unable to realize that either his desires will ruin his peace, or his peace will come from the sacrifice of his pleasures. Impractically,

Antony instead tries to equate his duties and his pleasures when he says his marriage is for peace, but, regardless, his pleasures remain in the East. Because he cannot relinquish his pleasures or accept that they will have to be found elsewhere, he has already failed.

Antony then tries to literally lace together both his interests in Rome and Egypt when he goes to war against Caesar. As an experienced and many times victorious military leader, Antony would not have gone to war on the seas when he knew his chances were better on land. Further, he would have never confused his desires for a woman with strategy. However, a man who believed that he could successfully achieve the best of both worlds would do these things. Antony allows Cleopatra to command her fleet of ships in the battle and when her ships leave the fight and Antony's follow, the battle is lost. Antony asks "O, whither hast thou led me, Egypt?" to which Cleopatra replies asking for forgiveness and defends herself saying that she did not think that Antony's fleet would follow. In the line "Egypt, thou knew'st too well / My heart was to thy rudder by th' strings, / And thou shouldst [tow] me after," it is perfectly illustrated how Antony combined his two worlds as he tells Cleopatra that he followed her fleet as if he were literally tied to her boats because his heart is tied to hers (III, xi, 51-58). "Egypt" the name Antony uses in this dialogue acts as both the land so different from Rome, that has figuratively lead Antony away from his Roman life, and as another name for Cleopatra who literally led him into a lost battle. This is pivotal in displaying how Antony completely confuses his duty and his desire because Egypt is where his desires are, but in trying to take Egypt (Cleopatra) to his world of battle, he fails. The two can only exist parallel to each other but they cannot meet and work together.

When Antony forgives Cleopatra and allows her again to command a ship, when going into battle with Caesar, it becomes evident that he cannot accept that his desires and his reason cannot co-exist; one overwhelms the other. When Cleopatra abandons him and leads him to defeat again, Antony wants to take her life, which is absurd because he loves her. This goes to show that he is, more than ever, ruled by his emotions. Antony has become so passionate, like an Egyptian, that now, he even flip flops about his feelings when it comes to Cleopatra. William D. Wolf writes about Antony that "He cannot contain both love and valor within himself, and he therefore fluctuates wildly between them" (330). He trusted her, was angered by her betrayal, forgave her quickly, trusted her to join him in the battle again, and when she deserted him again, he decided that she was a "foul Egyptian," and "Triple-turn'd whore!" (IV, xii, 10-13). This illustrates how in combining his two worlds, what he did was make each individually unstable for him live in. Antony would have been smarter to choose and have one that lacked some parts rather than trying to have both and have his world crumble.

“Antony violates his manhood ... because he fails to keep his desire under the yoke of reason” (James, 134). His inability to know that his duty comes first and so his pleasures have to be done away with makes him a ruined man. If he truly wanted both his rank in Rome and his desires in Egypt, he would have realized he could only have one and chosen. Therefore, the fact that he thought he could have a hybrid of both, that he thought he could intertwine them, means that he truly did not want his honorable life as the greatest soldier in the world.

In not choosing, Antony – by default – chooses the East because the East represents passion, and passion often comes with instability. As Antony’s efforts to hybridize the two worlds crumble, he loses parts of himself. He says “now thy captain is / Even such a body, ... / I made theses wars for Egypt, and the Queen, / Whose heart I thought I had, for she had mine,” (IV, xii, 12-16) which suggests that now that he does not have his honor nor his love, the captain is not himself and so he is lost. Another indication that Antony is left to the East is the scene in act four where the soldier hear strange music and make the claim that “ ’Tis the god Hercules, whom Antony lov’d, / Now leaves him” (IV, ii, 16-17). If Hercules is abandoning Antony, this acts as a sign that Antony’s hope to have both honor and pleasures is not met as, even if he has his pleasures, he no longer has honor. By default, Antony has been left with the lifestyle of the East.

Additionally, Enobarbus, his closest companion and advisor sees that Antony’s mind is slipping and he is no longer suitable to be the general he once was. “A diminution in our captain’s brain / Restores his heart. Where valor [preys on] reason, / It eats the sword it fights with” (IV, ii, 197-199). These lines from Enobarbus indicate true sorrow for Antony’s inability to choose and also highlight that by not being wise enough to choose, he chose the East. Had he chosen Rome, that choice would have indicated the choice of reason. Enobarbus’ realization that he must leave his general is paramount to confirming that Antony has failed because Enobarbus had stayed with him through all his irrational motives. Enobarbus loves Antony but he can no longer condone his irrationality.

The stages Antony goes through are overwhelming and possibly exhausting. He is unable to return to the man he was before Egypt, because he has been too submerged in the pleasures by the time he realizes that. However, he is not satisfied by only the East, so Antony returns to his duties for a short period of time. Then, the great military leader seeks to enjoy both, but ultimately, Antony is already so influenced by the indulgent behavior of the East that he isn’t able to see where he shouldn’t intertwine the two. Antony is ruined by his knowledge of two kinds of worlds and his need to have them

both. “The price of the folly he has committed himself to is the loss of all ties with “reality” – the life based on a more or less enlightened calculation of self-interest” (Moore, 655).

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French Turn of the Century Puppetry

Dana Rudnansky (Theatre/Speech)¹

Throughout childhood and adolescence, many little children are exposed to the art of puppetry through media such as Sesame Street and the Muppets. Although this is the common representation of this art form, it actually started as entertainment for adults in cabaret clubs by using shadow puppetry and marionettes. The art was not created to inform children on how to behave or to define the difference between right and wrong. Rather, it was created as an expression against political decisions, changing societal habits, and an outlet for artists to bring joy to those taken over by depression and anxiety. The most well-known French puppet theater, Le Chat Noir, was the main source of ingenuity and creativity in its art form. Not only did the Le Chat Noir transform the intention behind the artistry of puppetry, but it also gave rise to a new way of self-expression through its development of shadow theater and hand puppets.

On November 18, 1884, Le Chat Noir was opened by Rodolphe Salis, who was an unsuccessful painter. Looking to work his creative mind, he wanted to create a cabaret where artists of different disciplines could “state, write, and draw” and feel as if they were a part of a larger community (“Le Chat Noir”). Even though the central focus was not puppetry, the conglomeration of art forms inspired the exploration of different mediums for puppets. Because these artists were exposing each other to different aesthetics, values, and viewpoints, there was a great mix of new work being created. It gave rise to an expanded art field. The interest that artists had in this theater was so large that it required the entire cabaret to be moved to a larger location. This new and improved site gave artists an upstairs area to create, and a theater downstairs where this new form of French puppetry was truly born (“Le Chat Noir”).

The creation of this new art form was influenced by three men who all had different aesthetic and personal backgrounds, which birthed these new forms of entertainment. George Auriol, Henry Somm, and Henry Rivière have been seen as the three main leaders for the popularization of Le Chat Noir. Auriol was an artist who was one of the main editors and leaders of this famous French theater. His major contribution is found through the creation of the “shadow theatre” which is based in the use of shadow

¹ Written under the direction of Drs. Morowitz and Urbanc for AH326/EN310/FR310 *Cities and Perversities: Art in Turn of Century Paris, Vienna, Berlin, and Barcelona.*

puppets. Much of the art that he created inspired many fin-de-siècle printmakers who then created decorative covers for magazines and flyers for the theater and the outside sleeves for the musicians of the cabaret's sheet music ("Auriol, George"). An interesting aspect of Auriol's work is its connection to the "Belle Epoque", The Age of Beauty. His art, according to a review by John Anzalone, was combined with the genius of Rivière to create "le look" that drove the age of beauty and its aesthetic (277). His art may not be widely known or recognized, but it seen as an establishing artifact for a new artistic movement in France.

Auriol's aesthetic combined a likeness of the Art Nouveau style to that of the decorative arts, causing there to be a great connection between all art forms at once. His connection was so effortless that he had the ability to draw people of every background into the cabaret and create a new look that was replicated by his peers (Anzalone 278). His intense understanding of French art allowed him to envision this up and coming style. In turn, this inspired him to install the puppet stage, also known in French as "le castelet" in Le Chat Noir ("Le Chat Noir"). Undoubtedly, he is the reason that puppetry began to blossom in this cabaret. Without his innovation, there would not have been such a focus on creating these new stories through puppets. These dolls were already a part of French culture but Auriol used them in a new way to capture the imagination of audience members. Although many families could be seen in public gardens seeing the classic shows of Punch and Judy, there was never a real puppet show or story geared specifically for adults (Ink, Social). Through his collaboration with other artists like Somme, he created beautiful pieces of art while tapping into adult humor.

To further understand Auriol's contributions, it is important to investigate his main inspiration for his aesthetic. Many puppet traditions stem from Asian culture, specifically Japanese tradition. When looking at Auriol's print-making that was presented and featured in his cabaret, there is a great deal of reference to what is referred to as *japonisme* (Anzalone 277). This term was coined by the French culture in an attempt to encapsulate the newfound obsession for Japanese and Western art, as well as making it a central part of French artistic endeavors. As stated before, Auriol worked to create a cohesive mesh between various art forms by utilizing the inspirations of the popular aesthetics surrounded him. Not only did this japonisme encapsulate the ideas of impressionism and modernity, but it also attached itself to the Art Nouveau culture that he helped establish (Anzalone 277). With the work of Henry Rivière, Auriol was able to create a new form of art that gave rise to not only entertainment but also an innovation in expression.

Henry Rivière was an artist, associated with Le Chat Noir. Known for his paintings, he utilized his knowledge in color and design to work with other like-minded intellectuals to create a new kind of puppet. Similar to Auriol, his works evoked the japonisme and Art Nouveau styles while still creating an avant-garde look at shadow theater (Anzalone 277). In addition to these styles, Rivière's works utilized the idea of *fumisme*, which was a main component of all art created in the cabaret theater. This style was self-described by the artists as "practical jokers"; there was the underlying senses of skepticism and other political blows (Wright 46). Although these innovations are seen as impacts on future puppetry styles and riots, at the time these artists were seen as being on the fringe. Rivière was even more involved in this culture because he had created such a new style of puppetry.

Before Rivière came into the picture for this art form, most puppetry was based in crude hand puppets, who were created merely for slapstick comedy and outlandish acts. Many times, these puppets would be seen with large mallets and other assorted weapons and engage in ridiculous arguments that would leave the character in danger, and in turn, then becoming injured. It was comedy that was mindless and created to allow families to leave theaters laughing over something absolutely ridiculous and silly. Rivière changed this idea of puppetry. To him, these dolls were more artistic than playful. Drawing from the classical Japanese traditions, he utilized the concept of silhouettes to dive into the world of shadow theater in the modern world (Ink, Social).

As stated in *The Spirit of Montmartre* found on the Alamut website, "The climate was certainly right for investigations into the artistic effects of silhouettes. Thanks to the newly developed photomechanical relief- printing processes, which easily and inexpensively reproduced high-contrast black-and-white drawings (...) artists and writers of the Chat Noir group were collaborating on publications related to Rivière's aesthetic interests." Because he had decided to take a step back from the bright colored puppets of Auriol and Somm, Rivière was able to revert to the natural state of being through a neutral color palette (Sterling). He created an entire landscape by cutting out animals, plants, humans and other piece needed to create a new two-dimensional style of theater. He could utilize smaller versus larger silhouettes by playing with not only size of the cut outs, but also how close the figures were to the screen onto which the shadow was projected (Ink, Social). He was able to create pictures without letting the audience see the mechanism of the actual puppeteer. This started a new revolution of mystery in puppetry.

Rivière's puppets were not made of the classic fabric, foam, and wood found in the current popular form. Not only did his shadow genre change how puppets were utilized, but it changed the materials and methods of construction. In the beginning, he

started with cardboard (Ink, Social). When many young Americans today create shadow puppets, the first medium used is generally cardboard, because of its accessibility and ease of being molded. However, Rivière moved away from this texture to utilize a very different material: zinc. His first full show utilizing this component was performed in 1887 and was a full-scale production of *L'Épopée*, or *The Epic* (Ink, Social). This show has been seen as the start of Le Chat Noir's success, as a result of its innovative aesthetic ("Le Chat Noir"). A main inspiration for these bright colors used in the zinc puppets was his expertise in color lithography, woodblock prints, and japonisme (Anzalone 277). He added colored transparent silk paper and tulle to further enhance the new style that he had started to create ("Le Chat Noir"). His understanding of color patterns as well as art as a medium to reinspect everyday life inspired much of his new style.

Even though the zinc helped to create a new aesthetic, it was also incorporated for practicality. Because the material could be cut to create more expressive edges and shapes, puppeteers could manipulate their puppets with much more ease ("Le Chat Noir"). Rivière's melding of function and form created a desire in audience members to see his modernization of this theater genre. Another new element added was glass panels with transparent colors to create different kinds of backdrops. The light source was an oxyhydrogen flame, that created the shapes of the silhouettes. Not only was this style unique to Rivière, but it also inspired Toulouse-Lautrec's work in 1891 (Ink, Social). The color, texture, and composition gave him a new perspective for the Moulin Rouge posters and promoted this new medium of shadow theater. Additionally, Rivière's works fostered the idea of a creating a team to put on a show. Many puppet shows before had only needed the puppeteer itself, who was in charge of using different voices and dolls at the same time. However, shadow theater required backstage assistance to change backdrops, intensity of the flame, and provide music (Sterling).

Before this point, music was not integrated into puppet shows, unless one was to travel to an Asian culture and see the classical puppetry of the area. These shows usually were based in the sole puppeteer making sound effects with their own body, causing the entire show to be placed upon that one person's shoulders. However, Rivière incorporated the music as he progressed in his career. Later in 1887 after his success with his first shadow puppet show, he premiered *La Tentation de saint Antoine* also known as *The Temptation of Saint Anthony* which was considered a "fantasy extravaganza in two acts and forty tableaux" (Ink, Social). His piece included music by Albert Tinchant. This was one of the most popular productions at Le Chat Noir and has stood as an influence for many different modern puppet shows today (Sterling).

La Tentation was made up of forty scenes that followed the hermit life of Saint Anthony through his struggles of temptation produced by the Devil. Instead of making it authentic to when the story really took place, Rivière included modern-day Paris, through the creation of Les Halles, the meat market, and La Bourse, the stock market (Sterling). Not only was this a modern way of looking at this piece, but it also helped give rise to the *fumiste* idea. These plays were created in order to be a form of political satire. Many modern puppet companies such as Bread and Puppet in the United States have been inspired by this French movement. Rivière was not the main artist behind this genre, however. His subtle utilization of France in his plays inspired other artists to look beyond the fantastical elements found in the fairytales that they normally were producing and inspired a new way of thinking. A main creator in this field was Henry Somm (Sterling).

Henry Somm was a painter who worked in intense collaboration with George Auriol. When he began at Le Chat Noir, he morphed his passion for painting into a movement in the puppetry field by combining his understanding of japonisme, fumisme, and humor to create art that inspired many artists, including Toulouse-Lautrec (Menon “Henry Somm” 3). His style showcases directly the influence of Japanese art in France. He was excited by this new outburst of interest but at the same felt as if Parisian artists were exploiting the authenticity of the real art in Japan. The style born out of the melding of these contrasting viewpoints “juxtaposed Japanese motifs with those of Paris and then overlaid them with his personal views about modern society, often resulting in startling images that belong to the Symbolist aesthetic” (Menon “Henry Somm” 4). It was not to be seen as a sort of absurd cry against certain political decisions, but more an observation of the current societal patterns. (Wright 46).

Somm started working at Le Chat Noir by having an exhibition where he was trying to deal with the issue of whether he should be considered Impressionist, Symbolist, or even Japoniste (Menon “Henry Somm” 8). His career took a shift in 1886, around the time that it was decided to move to a building where the artists could have a larger theater. Somm was the first person to present a show, which was entitled *L'Éléphant* or *The Elephant*. Following this production, three other shadow plays along with a normal traditional stage play were produced (Menon “Henry Somm” 17). Not only did he serve as a catalyst for these shadow productions, but it became one of his main focuses when he worked at this cabaret. Because so many of the audience members enjoyed this “imitation of Chinese shadow plays” and had started to exoticize these Eastern cultures, Somm had filled the gap (Menon “Henry Somm” 17). He incorporated the cut-out figures, light source, and story-telling to evoke a similarity to the entertainment found in the Asian countries.

An important play that Sømm created was named *Jamais trop tard pour bien*, translated to *Never Too Late to Make Good*. This was first presented at the old building of Le Chat Noir in 1885, in the time leading up to the big move. There is a debate that this play was not intended to be a shadow play, but Sømm's love for Japanese culture and shadow theater inspired him to change the style (Menon "Potty-Talk" 59). The story was quite unconventional, because it takes place in a public toilet, that those who need it pay to use. This is a common structure in European culture, and its use showcased Sømm's connection to the real world. In the play, it is kept by a widow, Mme Gardetout, and her eighteen-year-old daughter, Léocadie. The owner tells users which stall to go to and, interestingly enough, the stage directions state that there were sound cues and effects in the form of "intestinal noises" (Menon "Potty-Talk" 59). Crude as this was, it showcases Sømm's fearlessness to poke fun at every-day society.

The story established that the two women are of a lower class early on, but they hold a great deal of power over those who come to use the bathroom. Not only do they tell where the next person can defecate, but Mme Gardetout even makes comments demanding the newspaper from her clients. It is a direct contrast to what is expected from her actual class in society. Instead of creating extremely submissive lower-class women, the play explored having dominant, powerful females who do not focus upon their societal position (Menon "Potty-Talk" 59).

The story moves on to a young man named Cantoisel falling in love with the young Léocadie and preceding to ask for her hand in marriage. Mme Gardetout denies the marriage, because she suffers from constipation, the largest irony Sømm could create. The only way that the couple could be married is if the man her daughter takes, suffers from the same illness. She even says "Léocadie will only marry a constipated man, with whom no unwanted noises will trouble the intimacies of our house" (Menon "Potty-Talk" 60). Although this story seemed disturbing and comical from first glance, Sømm was creating a deeper political meaning within the text.

Menon states that Sømm used the characters to say that "the family prefers life in a pay toilet to the increasingly industrialized and bourgeois-ridden world outside" ("Potty Talk" 60). Not only did Sømm create characters who were in the lower working class, but he wanted to portray that not everyone was focused on social-climbing. Because of such a distinct class divide in fin-de-siècle France, there seemed to be a great deal of disdain stemming from the upper class towards to lower classes. The story in this puppet theater celebrates the lives of the workers, giving hope to those actually living the plot in the real world. Additionally, there was a deeper meaning attached to intestinal noises and constipation. Because Mme Gardetout requires her daughter to marry a man

who is afflicted with constipation, she is essentially advocating for her daughter to marry within the same class. The intestinal noises were attached to the “rich and fattening foods of the upper and upper middle classes” meaning that the two women never experience a full bowel movement (Menon “Potty Talk” 60). The constipation represents their struggle as lower-class members of society, and keeps them tied to their business.

In conjunction with this idea, Mme Gardetout does mention that she will pass the business down to Léocadie. Her insistence of keeping a familial line of work attaches an important meaning of significance to the idea of defecation (Menon “Potty Talk” 60). Only those with money will be able to feel a sense of release, because they have the means to make it happen. Those in the lower classes must take what they can get, so to speak, creating a lack of perfect health and overall happiness. Interestingly enough, the entire play ends with Léocadie marrying Cantoisel and Mme Gardetout being presented a powder by a patron that relieves her constipation (Menon “Potty Talk” 60). Not only does the marriage showcase the change of class, but the relief of the bowel disease drives the point home. Because she has received the remedy for her illness from a person of higher status, she can finally feel the relief that those in the upper classes experiences consistently. The play itself commented on this definitive divide between societal rank and how it can easily merge.

To coincide with the “reviews” of the other plays from Le Chat Noir, the reviews were more advertisements in different journals. There have not been any true reactions to this play being produced, but it does obviously veer in style from the typical shows of puppetry during this era (Menon “Potty-Talk” 60). Instead of having a comedy without any subtext and driven on physical jokes, this play was written in order to take a closer look at the structures of society. It shed light on what the class divide in France actually meant, and how it affected accessibility for any necessity between classes. It additionally had a sense of pride when it came to the lower classes, which was something not regularly seen. Although the majority of artists during this period were penniless, there was not always a sense of pride in their own societal status. This play utilized classical marriage courting with class shifts to examine the differences in status.

Much of Somme’s creations have been seen as influences on modern puppetry. Although Le Chat Noir closed its doors in 1897, the pieces created there impacted the future generations of artists through the ideas of political rebellion and avant-garde looks at the issues of society (Ink, Social). It has been debated whether the club could be successful today, as there is still a great deal of critique about class structure and then in turn, the great divide between each class. However, the attack on celebrity culture would backfire and there would be a great deal of feuding between the establishment and the

famous figure (Wright 46). Even though this could be made similar to a comedy club, it would easily be seen as a place that assaulted many people's reputations as well as their lifestyles.

Although the cabaret would probably not survive in the modern day, specifically the United States, it did inspire the French student rebellion in May of 1968. In the United States at this point in history, citizens were experiencing the Civil Rights Movement as well as the womens' movement, the rise of hippie culture, student rebellion, and peace movements (Schoemaker 366). In France, similar movements were forming, but it restructured the entire society, almost destroying the Fifth Republic. Schools and factories were forced to close, life was halted and as the government tried to pick up the pieces, students began to rebel (Schoemaker 366). On March 22, a group of radical students who called themselves "les enrages" or "the wild ones" protested against regulations that the Nanterre campus of the University of Paris began enforcing. Run by a German radical named Daniel Cohn-Bendit, the group wanted to destroy the uniformity of French education (Schoemaker 367).

During this upheaval, the shadow theater emerged and was one of the most popular forms of entertainment. Jean-Pierre Lescot was the most popular performer of the time, and has been called one the most influential and strongest voices that was produced by the shadow theater. Lescot viewed himself as a dreamer, so his plays were then "a language of images" that translated his dreams (Schoemaker 372). Schoemaker quotes him saying in an interview,

"I believe that shadow theater found itself a little like these traditional images that one rediscovers, and at the same time that one rediscovers but from which one ascertains all the force, all the emotional force, and one realizes that with only a little lamp, one can retrieve emotions as intense as if one were at a huge, costly production" (374).

Not only does he emphasize the main points that are seen in Somm's works, but he also translates the integral points of shadow theater that *Le Chat Noir* preserved through its plays. Because this avant-garde form of art was being seen as new, it opened the door for emotional exploration.

Lescot found that the art form allowed him to create nontraditional pictures, that could encapsulate the feelings of the nation. Not only did he use puppets to translate the feelings of the students rioting, but he also created stories to appeal to the general public's feeling of chaos and despair (Schoemaker 375). Additionally, he utilized the idea of incorporating the past, and the viewpoints from ancestors. With this added component, he allowed these predecessors to have their voices heard once again, but still deal with

modern issues. Although the style moved away from Somm's drastically, it still had the political and social mockery involved (Schoemaker 375). It grew from something larger from the past that changed the viewpoints of many Parisians. He gave life to an ancient form of theater while still keeping true to aspects of its traditions in France.

Although puppetry has been portrayed as "childish" and mainly for educational purposes, fin-de-siècle France utilized the art form for political rebellion, commentary on society, and an outlet for artists suffering from depression or anxiety. Instead of being filled with joy all of the time, it was a means to bring light to the issues of society as well as incorporating techniques from the cultures of the East. Le Chat Noir brought together artists of diverse backgrounds to create life-altering theater that later impacted student groups and other modern puppet theaters, in order to find a new way to express frustration and doubt. Le Chat Noir opened the door for artists not versed in the art of puppetry to try their hand at playwriting as well as puppet construction in order to find a new sense of artistic catharsis.

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Psychological Factors that Motivate Bystander, Perpetrator, and Rescuer Behaviors

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Pockets of defiance across Europe were populated by networks of resisters and rescuers, distinguished from bystanders and perpetrators of genocide. These ethics involve grappling with where the line is drawn between safety and moral consciousness, and often involve freedom to listen to one's sense of self. When faced with atrocity such as genocide, some stand beside and watch, confused on the appropriate reaction, while others risk their lives and families to save neighbors or even strangers. In the following essay, three questions will be explored extensively through psychological analysis of several works of research and personal accounts that draw on different aspects of psychology: (1) what causes ordinary people to engage in and support genocide; (2) how do bystanders, rescuers, supporters and perpetrators of genocide differ from one another; and (3) why do resisters rescue? Personal accounts of Nazi guards in Auschwitz, Jewish survivors of concentration camps, and Muslim rescuers of Jews among others will be evaluated throughout this essay.

Ordinary People Engaging in Genocide?

At a group level, social psychological explanations, in particular, social identity theory's emphasis on the ingroup/outgroup dynamic, are central to understanding how ordinary people have either some shared, direct, or indirect responsibility for the Holocaust. To understand how social identity is important to the development of such responsibility and engagement, it is critical to discuss the theory itself. Social identity is a person's sense of who they are based on their group membership(s). Henri Tajfel proposed that the groups which people belong to are an important source of pride and self-esteem.³ Groups give us a sense of social identity, a sense of belonging to the social world. In order to increase our self-image, we enhance the status of the group to which

¹ Written under the direction Dr. Lori Weintrob for HI280-HO: *Holocaust in Film, Theater, Video, and Arts*.

² The author thanks Dr. Weintrob for her guidance in writing this paper. She also wishes to express her appreciation for suggestions for revision made by Dr. Amy Eshleman.

³ Henri Tajfel, *Human Groups and Social Categories: Studies in Social Psychology* (New York, N.Y.: Cambridge University Press 1981), 10.

we belong. We can also increase our self-image by discriminating and holding prejudiced views against the outgroup (the group we do not belong to). Therefore, we divide the world into “them” and “us” through a process of social and cognitive categorization (i.e. we arrange individuals into groups). This is known as the ingroup (us) and outgroup (them) dynamic. Prejudiced views between these groups may result in cultures of racism; in its extreme form, racism can result in genocide, such as that which occurred in Germany with the Nazis and the Jews. Henri Tajfel proposed that stereotyping (i.e. placing people into groups and categories) is based on a normal cognitive process: the tendency to group things together (cognitive categorization).⁴ In doing so we tend to exaggerate the differences between the groups and the similarities within an outgroup. This exaggeration can lead to dehumanization and thus give rise to a justification for racism/genocide.

Social categorization gives society the ability to set the moral tone for individuals; for example, a child might justify “joking around” and name calling another child with disrespectful undertones because other children are doing the same, and then progress to stealing lunch money or physical harassment; they begin to accept unethical behavior as the norm. This concept of cognitive stretching is a process in which the previously unimaginable becomes gradually accepted as the norm. In the case of Nazi Germany, many Jews were targets of derogatory signs, violence on the streets that included hitting and graphically shaming, and general extreme hostility, blamed for Germany’s defeat in the First World War and the financial hardships that ensued following the defeat. They became the routine targets of stigmatization and persecution, from public burnings of books written by Jews at the beginning of the Holocaust to the testing of mass killing methods on Jews in the concentration camps. Luckily, the violent behavior set off a trigger in some because “the horror [was] so unimaginable that the imagination refused to accept its reality. Something fails to click and some conclusions are simply not drawn.”⁵ Individuals who cannot accept the new moral tone either resist (as rescuers did) or retreat into psychic numbing, as unresponsive bystanders did during the doubling phenomenon noted among Nazis, experienced as “a form of desensitization . . . an incapacity to feel or to confront certain kinds of experience, due to the blocking or absence of inner forms or imagery that can connect with such experience.”⁶ The “psychological cutting off of one’s sense of reality” properly follows the concept of

⁴ Tajfel, *Human G*, 1981, 10.

⁵ Kristen Monroe, “Cracking the Code of Genocide: The Moral Psychology of Rescuers, Bystanders, and Nazis during the Holocaust,” 705.

⁶ Robert Jay Lifton, “The Life of the Self: Toward a New Psychology,” 1976, 27.

cognitive stretching; in Nazi Germany, the process whereby an individual is confronted with some political act so far outside the ordinary frame of reference that there literally has to be a widening of the cognitive boundaries before the individual can grasp what is occurring. This stretching thus includes the “doubling” (perpetrators who behave as a dual self, with one part of the self-disavowing the other) and the denial from both bystanders and perpetrators who insist they “were innocent cogs in a giant machine whose purpose was unknown to them.”⁷

Ironically, bystander and perpetrator testimony reveal “victims” rationalizing doubling phenomenon and cognitive stretching. Wives of Nazi supporters describe happily remaining “officially” in the dark despite suspicions about what their husbands were doing. Basically, then, bystanders and - to a certain extent perpetrators - live in a “self-willed, protective twilight between knowing and not knowing, refusing full realization of facts because they are unable to face the implications of these facts.”⁸ As Primo Levi wrote in *The Reawakening*, “those who knew did not talk; those who did not know did not ask questions; those who did not ask questions received no answers; and so, in this way, the average German citizen won and defended his ignorance.”⁹ Both survivors and scholars note that bystanders frequently pretend to be ignorant to dodge responsibility. Both bystanders and perpetrators resort to denial, rationalization, and righteous anger at the victims for causing the mess in the first place.¹⁰ Gradually, the stages of reasoning discussed help explain why ordinary people can engage in and support genocide.

An intriguing personal eyewitness account that is important to include is the testimony of former Auschwitz guard, Oskar Groening. In 1942, when he was twenty-one years old, Groening was posted to Auschwitz. He “couldn’t understand that an SS man would take a child and throw its head against the side of a lorry ... or kill them by shooting them and then throw them on a lorry like a sack of wheat.”¹¹ Groening, according to his story, was so filled by “doubt and outrage” that he went to his superior officer and told him: “It’s impossible, I can’t work here any more. If it is necessary to

⁷ Kristen Monroe, *Ethics in an Age of Terror and Genocide: Identity and Moral Choice* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2012), 24.

⁸ Leni Yahil, *The Holocaust: The Fate of European Jewry* (New York, N.Y.: Oxford University Press, 1990) 545.

⁹ Primo Levi, *The Reawakening* (New York, N.Y.: Simon and Schuster, 1965), 381.

¹⁰ Lifton, “The Life of Self: Towards a New Psychology,” 90-100

¹¹ Laurence Rees, “The Life of an Auschwitz Guard.” *Politico*, 1.

exterminate the Jews, then at least it should be done within a certain framework.”¹² His superior officer, listening to Groening’s complaints, reminded him of the SS oath of allegiance he had sworn and said that he should “forget any idea of leaving Auschwitz.” He also offered some assurance; he told Groening that the “excesses” he saw that night were an “exception,” and that he himself agreed that members of the SS should not participate in such “sadistic” events. But this was not enough to fully convince Groening; documents confirm that Groening subsequently put in a request for transfer to the front, which was refused, so he carried on working at Auschwitz.

It is significant to note that Groening did not complain to his superior about the *principle* of murdering the Jews, merely its practical implementation. When he saw people in front of him, he knew were going to die within hours in the gas chambers, he said his feelings were “very ambiguous.” He said:

How do you feel when you’re in Russia, there’s a machine gun in front of you, and there’s a battalion of Russians coming running towards you and you have to pull the trigger and shoot as many as possible? I’m saying it on purpose like this because there’s always behind you the fact that the Jews are enemies who come from the inside of Germany. The propaganda had for us such an effect that you assumed that to exterminate them was basically something that happened in war. And to that extent a feeling of sympathy or empathy didn’t come up.¹³

Hints as to how it was possible that Oskar Groening felt helpless women and children were “enemies” who had to face “extermination” can be found in his life before he was posted to Auschwitz. He was born in 1921 in Lower Saxony, son of a skilled textile worker. Groening’s father was a traditional conservative, “proud of what Germany had achieved.” After Germany’s defeat in World War I, Groening’s father joined the right-wing Stahlhelm (Steel Helmet), one of the many ultra-nationalist organizations that flourished in the wake of what they proclaimed was the humiliating peace of Versailles. His father’s anger at the way Germany had been treated grew more intense as his personal circumstances became more strained — lacking capital, his textile business went bankrupt in 1929. In the early 1930s young Oskar joined the Stahlhelm’s youth organization, the Scharnhorst.

Nothing felt more natural for Oskar Groening, who was only 11 years old when the Nazis came to power in 1933, than to ease from the Stahlhelm’s Scharnhorst into the Hitler Youth. He adopted the values of his parents and judged that the Nazis “were the

¹²Laurence Rees, "The Life of an Auschwitz Guard." 2.

¹³Rees, "The Life of an Auschwitz Guard," 2.

people who wanted the best for Germany and who did something about it.” As a member of the Hitler Youth, he took part in burning books written by “Jews or others who were degenerate.” And he believed that, by doing so, he was helping rid Germany of an inappropriate, alien culture.

Oskar Groening’s personal experience from Auschwitz was that it was a “normal” concentration camp for the detaining of political prisoners or other “enemies of the state,” despite the fact that it was one where the rations for SS members were particularly good. But, as he began his task of registering the prisoners’ money, he learned for the first time about the additional, “unusual” function of Auschwitz. “The people there [working in the barracks] let us know that this money didn’t all go back to the prisoners — Jews were taken to the camp who were treated differently. The money was taken off them without them getting it back.” Groening asked, “Is this to do with the ‘transport’ that arrived during the night?” His colleagues replied, “Well, don’t you know? That’s the way it is here. Jewish transports arrive, and as far as they’re not able to work they’re got rid of.” Groening pressed them on what “got rid of” actually meant, and, having been told, says that his reaction was one of astonishment.

It was a shock, that you cannot take in at the first moment. But you mustn’t forget that not only from 1933 [Hitler’s acquisition of power], but even from before that, the propaganda I got as a boy in the press, the media, the general society I lived in made us aware that the Jews were the cause of the First World War, and had also ‘stabbed Germany in the back’ at the end. And that the Jews were actually the cause of the misery in which Germany found herself. We were convinced by our worldview that there was a great conspiracy of Jewishness against us, and that thought was expressed in Auschwitz... The enemies who are within Germany are being killed — exterminated if necessary. And between these two fights, openly at the front line and then on the home front, there’s absolutely no difference — so we exterminated nothing but enemies.¹⁴

As indicated in his story, Groening shields himself from taking full responsibility for playing a part in the extermination process by constantly referring to the power of the propaganda to which he was exposed, and the effect of his ultra-nationalistic family atmosphere in which he grew up had on him. It is hard not to be cynical about such a coping mechanism. Evidently, he could have chosen differently — he could have rejected the values of his community and resisted. He could have deserted from Auschwitz (although there is no record of any member of the SS doing so as a result of refusing on

¹⁴ Rees, "The Life of an Auschwitz Guard," 4.

moral grounds to work in the camp). It would have taken an exceptional human being to act in such a way, however, and the essential — almost frightening — point about Oskar Groening is that he is probably one of the least exceptional human beings one is ever likely to meet. A study of the historical-sociological profile of the SS in Auschwitz, based on statistical records, found that “the SS camp force was not exceptional in its occupation structure or in its levels of education. The camp staff was very much like the society from which it was drawn.” Inferably, the Nazis enlisted the most ordinary of people to engage in genocide because they do not have the exceptional characteristics to resist propaganda and their societal norms. Oskar Groening clearly illustrates how and why ordinary people become engaged in genocide.

Difference between Bystanders, Perpetrators, and Rescuers

After studying in-depth the potential for ordinary people to become perpetrators of genocide, it is now necessary to distinguish the difference between bystanders, perpetrators, and rescuers. An interpretive analysis of interviews conducted by Kristen Monroe with bystanders, former Nazis, and rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust revealed the importance of psychological factors in explaining behavior during genocides.¹⁵ Her findings underline the importance of cognitive categorization and the way participants see themselves in relation to others and their identity. They show contrasts in their self-concept, worldviews, and cognitive classifications, exploring different values held, the power of moral salience and trauma, and divergent social categorizations. For the purposes of this topic exploration, the aforementioned are defined as follows: values are what each group considers important in terms of principles or standards of behavior; moral salience is the theory that the fear of death motivates a wide range of judgments and behaviors to support each group’s faiths in their worldviews and self-worths; trauma is defined as the response to a deeply disturbing event that causes severe psychological and emotional distress; and categorization is defined as the process of classifying people into groups based on similar characteristics, such as nationality, age, and ethnicity. These concepts are associated with both lack of choice and their divergent responses to the suffering of others. When describing bystanders, they see themselves as passive people, lacking in control and low in efficacy.¹⁶ At several points during one narrative, Beatrix (a pseudonym, bystander) states she is not a nice person, is alone, and would not know what to do if her children did not now take care of her. It is significant to

¹⁵ Kristen Monroe, “The Moral Psychology of Rescuers, Bystanders, and Nazis during the Holocaust,” 700.

¹⁶ Monroe, “The Moral Psychology of Rescuers, Bystanders and Nazis,” 711.

note that this self-image described is in response to solely the request to “tell me about yourself.”

BEATRIX: I don't like so much to say it, but I am always doing the wrong things.

Q : Always doing the wrong things. What do you mean by that?

BEATRIX: Just what I say.... I don't think I am a very easy woman.... I am not aggressive. I am-shy is not the right word but I am not very sure. I don't know how to say ... I think to do the right things, and then always do them the worst things.¹⁷

Throughout her narrative, Beatrix describes herself as someone adrift, without direction or purpose. In contrast to the passive bystander self-image, ironically, the Nazi self-image is that of a victim who needs to protect themselves and their community of threats to their wellbeing. They frequently used the metaphor of disease, with Nazi perpetrators making genocide a sort of immunology, designed as a “preemptive action to rid the body politic of unclean elements.”¹⁸ In one interview from two unrepentant Nazis, they reveal the Nazi self-image as victims threatened by Jews:

FLORENTINE: Read the Talmud and you read what the Jews think about us. They say we are nothing!

Q : We are nothing?

FLORENTINE: Oh no, we are animals.

YOUNG NAZI: We are animals in human form. We are nothing. They can crook us; they can steal from us, anything. They can never lend us money without getting a credit interest. To a Jew, they are not allowed to do this, but to the Christian goyim, no problem. We are animals. When you understand what the Jewish think of us, then you can understand why they treat us like this.

Q : So you think the Christians have treated the Jews too, uh, too well throughout history? Is that what you are saying?

YOUNG NAZI: We are too nice. We are defenseless against them. If you see all the people hanged at Nuremberg, I think then you know it! So I believe Hitler. I believe in Hitler. We are so open! We have worked with people who haven't been lying, with people who did not spread hate. Oh, it was terrible. They (Jews) want to hang the Germans at Nuremberg on Purim as proof of their own people's power. They are

¹⁷ Monroe, “Moral Psychology during the Holocaust,” 712.

¹⁸ Monroe, “Moral Psychology during the Holocaust,” 712.

powerful. They made up the Holocaust! But this is a religion nowadays. Ya. Nobody thinks anymore about other people. Only Jews died in the war, it looks like. (He turned to lecture me.) You be careful you don't tell the world these truths or it will be hard! It will be too much for you. ¹⁹

On the other hand, rescuers consider themselves connected to all human beings through bonds of a common humanity.²⁰ The rescuers' idealized cognitive model of what it means to be a human being is far more expansive and inclusive than the model employed by bystanders and Nazis.²¹ In Monroe's interview with Tony (a rescuer), when asked "tell me about yourself," it is clear in his answer that he had a strong sense of self as a person who has a connection to others:

TONY: I was to understand that you're part of a whole; just like cells in your own body altogether make up your body, in our society and community, we all are like cells of a community that is very important. Not America. I mean the human race. You should always be aware that every other person is basically you. Always treat people as though it is you. That goes for evil Nazis as well as for Jewish friends in trouble. Always see yourself in those people, for good or for evil both.²²

As a whole, through psychological analysis, we become cognizant that these groups integrated different values into their basic sense of self. Bystanders and Nazis placed higher value on personal community and utilized ingroup/outgroup distinctions. Rescuers employ broader categories and are inclusive, not exclusive in their classification system. Beyond this, the personal losses and trauma experienced by rescuers made them more sensitive to the unfortunate situation of others; similar losses led bystanders and Nazis to retreat into themselves and adopt a defensive position.

The worldviews of the different groups created similar distinctions. Both bystanders and Nazis exhibited worldviews shadowed by a sense that human beings are controlled by the winds of history (external locus of agency).²³ This shadow is related to their perceived lack of choice in terms of helping others. Passive self-images and an external locus for agency resulted in individuals accepting whatever life brought them and the impression that the suffering of others was something over which they had no control. Although rescuers expressed a similar lack of choice, their sense of agency and

¹⁹ Monroe, "Moral Psychology during the Holocaust," 713.

²⁰ Monroe, "Moral Psychology during the Holocaust," 720.

²¹ Monroe, "Moral Psychology during the Holocaust," 712.

²² Monroe, "Moral Psychology during the Holocaust," 711-712.

²³ Monroe, "Moral Psychology during the Holocaust," 713.

the psychological mechanism driving their choice differed dramatically. The rescuers' choices and options were determined but limited by their strong sense of human connection and a cognitive classification process in which all human beings are placed in the same category, and thus equal and worthy of the same treatment.²⁴ Because of their strong sense of human connection, rescuers deemed others' suffering directly relevant to them; this perception left them no option but to try to help strangers, even when doing so threatened the rescuers' own safety or wellbeing. This lack of choice is a key element of Monroe's research, showing that the identity of each individual constrained their choices, in that, for example, rescuers felt they had no choice but to save people:

Q : You used the phrase, "You had to do it." Most people didn't do it though. How did you feel you had to do it, when other people did not?

JOHN: I had to do what everyone should do. (John shrugged.) I do it.

Q : But why did you have to do it?

JOHN: Because I have to help those in need, and when people need help, then you have to do it.

Q : When you say you had to do it, that implies to me that there wasn't a choice for you. Did you ... (John interrupted)

JOHN: No. There is no choice. When you have to do right, you do right. (John, Dutch rescuer)²⁵

For John and other rescuers, their lack of choice came from their view of themselves as connected to all humankind. Later on, John tells Monroe in their interview that their actions embodied a "natural reaction from the inside."²⁶ Much of the rescuers' narratives suggest that it was not a lack of **choice**, but rather a refusal to compromise their identity, which is perfectly described in another interview: "When [the rescue] happened, then I had absolutely a compulsion to do it. The hand of compassion was faster than the calculus of reason."²⁷ This universal boundary of entitlement (the moral perspective that assumes all people are entitled to certain humane treatment simply because they are born human²⁸) and fellow feeling (the belief of a shared humanity that motivates moral

²⁴ Monroe, "Moral Psychology during the Holocaust," 713.

²⁵ Monroe, "Moral Psychology during the Holocaust," 713.

²⁶ Kristen Monroe, *The Hand of Compassion: Portraits of Moral Choice During the Holocaust*, 2006, 112.

²⁷ Monroe, *Portraits of Moral Choice During the Holocaust*, 90-91.

²⁸ Monroe, *Portraits of Moral Choice During the Holocaust*, 243.

action²⁹) is further developed and examined in another study of moral psychology done by Monroe in 2006.

What Causes Ordinary People to Rescue Others?

Much of the research found highlights the importance of identity or self-image. To clarify, identity is the distinguishing character or personality of an individual; there are many factors that contribute to one's identity, and hereinafter will discuss how those factors make particular individuals different rather than similar. At the individual level, a key personality factor that survivor Nechama Tec identified in 1986 was the importance of a sense of self. Tec argued that rescuers had a strong sense of individuality or separateness and were motivated by moral values that did not depend on the support or approval of other people so much as on their own self-approval.³⁰ The first important systematic analysis of rescuers established personality as the critical force driving rescue behavior. The Altruistic Personality was the largest survey of rescuers ever conducted, including 406 rescuers, 126 non-rescuers, and 150 rescued survivors throughout the Third Reich. Samuel Oliner, a professor of sociology, and his wife, Pearl Oliner, a professor of education, both at Humboldt State University, isolated the importance of identity, particularly the kind of broad, inclusive identity that connects to a shared humanity.³¹ This particular conceptualization of identity was essential for encouraging cooperation and strong communal connections. An altruistic personality, in which habitual behavior, encouraged by parents or other significant role models, led to habits of caring that effectively became structured as an altruistic personality.³² Kristen Monroe's (2004-2006) work on rescuers also emphasized the self-concept, but highlighted the importance of the rescuers' perceptions of themselves in relation to others, suggesting it was not simply character but also the rescuer's perceptual relationship toward the person in need that was critical.³³ She found identity perceptions created a sense of moral salience, the feeling that another's suffering was relevant for the individual, and hence demanded action to help alleviate that suffering. She located the power of this psychological phenomenon in the mind's need to categorize and classify information, with people thus

²⁹ Monroe, *Portraits of Moral Choice During the Holocaust*, 244.

³⁰ Monroe, "Moral Psychology during the Holocaust," 702-703.

³¹ Samuel Oliner and Pearl Oliner, *The Altruistic Personality: Rescuers of Jews in Nazi Europe*, (New York: Free Press and London: Collier Macmillan: 1988), 415.

³² Oliner and Oliner, *The Altruistic Personality: Rescuers of Jews in Nazi Europe*, 420.

³³ Kristen Monroe, "Moral Psychology during the Holocaust," 703-704.

being classified into friend or foe, member of an ingroup or an outgroup. For rescuers, the boundaries of this classification system were broad and inclusive, including all humanity.

In one particular study conducted and later compiled into a book by Kristen Monroe, she interviewed five rescuers from Germany, The Netherlands, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, and Poland, analyzing their interviews and forming an intriguing theory about rescuers' psychology. She presents an outline of her moral theory through an analysis of how identity and constrained choice form a complex interrelationship with character, universal boundaries of entitlement, fellow feeling, and perspective and moral salience. With each element of her theory, she presents excerpts and examples from the individuals she interviewed. For character, Monroe states that our moral actions emerge from our sense of who we are; certain actions will be eliminated immediately and others will be already imposed based on the kind of person we believe ourselves to be.³⁴ Everyone has some sense of core self, and this was a critical influence on the behavior of rescuers. For universal boundaries of entitlement and fellow feeling (which combine in a cooperative manner), Monroe states that the rescuers' moral perspective seems to correspond to all individual basic human rights, allowing for variation in individual differences and for human failures. "It draws moral boundaries universally, rejecting the claims of groups as the foundation for moral salience,"³⁵ a phenomenon previously discussed about how ordinary people engage in genocidal behavior in relation to social identity theory of ingroups and outgroups. For example, several of the rescuers Monroe interviewed could have easily claimed special treatment because they were German, thus members of a privileged group. However, they refused to do so. Other rescuers explicitly rejected the kind of entitlements behind a "veil of ignorance," arguing that even if they knew they would benefit from special treatment, they would not be part of such a society because it was morally wrong.³⁶ Monroe continues this examination through its connection to perspective and moral salience. She writes:

The psychological process of helping another involves the recognition of another's need. It entails the [individual's] belief that she can take action that will alleviate another's suffering. And it requires the acknowledgement of moral salience, the recognition that another's need is a concern *to the individual/rescuer*. Making the connection between one's self and the other, identifying the relevance of another's plight to one's self, is a critical part of the moral perspective... Moral salience probably explains why so many of

³⁴ Monroe, *Portraits of Moral Choice*, 242-243.

³⁵ Monroe, *Portraits of Moral Choice*, 244.

³⁶ Monroe, *Portraits of Moral Choice*, 244.

us - people who are reasonably ethical human beings in our everyday lives - do so little to alleviate problems like the genocide in Bosnia or Rwanda-Burundi, or even human suffering in our own country. Like [unresponsive bystanders], we do not recognize the situation as something directly relevant for us. We then conclude that it is not a situation that we can affect very much.³⁷

Rescuers during the Holocaust were able to identify the relevance of the needs of others to themselves, and thus this acknowledgement of moral salience as an arena where one can make a difference impels action.

Similarly, another important story that encompasses the idea of identity in playing a vital role in rescuing is the story of the Muslims in Albania, the only country in Nazi-occupied Europe that had more Jews in their country after World War II than before. Owing partly to what locals call Besa, a local code of honor and neighborly conduct, the rescue and survival of approximately 2,000 Jews by Albanians for decades had remained largely unknown. In the 2012 documentary film “Besa: The Promise,” it tells the story of Rifat Hoxha, who ran a pastry shop to which the Jewish Aladjem family was taken by an Albanian police officer and arranged their shelter. The film follows the unlikely story of how, a decade ago, Rifat Hoxha’s son, Rexhep, returned three Jewish prayer books to members of the Aladjem family living in Israel. During the war, his Jewish guests had given the prayer books to Hoxha for safekeeping after hiding at his house for half a year. As with many other Jews who survived in Albania — most of them refugees from neighboring Greece, Italy, Bulgaria and Serbia — the rescue of the Aladjems was “an open secret,” Rexhep Hoxha, a father of two who was born in 1950, told the Jewish Telegraphic Agency (JTA).³⁸ “Not only the police knew, but all the neighbors knew as well. There was a circle of silence. It’s something connected to our culture. You don’t betray your guest, and you certainly don’t betray your neighbor.”³⁹

According to Petrit Zorba, a meteorologist and director of the Albania-Israel Friendship Society, the rescue of Jews in Albania was “a matter of tradition, and had very little to do with religion.” Even Baba Mondi, the leader of the secretive Bektashi Shiite sect, which is headquartered in Albania, says that religion’s role in the rescue was both central and indirect. “In Albania there is a tradition of religious tolerance... I wouldn’t mind my children marrying a Jew, a Christian, whoever. So while the rescue maybe

³⁷ Monroe, *Portraits of Moral Choice*, 247-248.

³⁸ Cnaan Liphshiz, “What made Muslim Albanians risk their lives to save Jews from the Holocaust?” *Jewish Telegraphic Agency*, 2018, 1.

³⁹ Liphshiz, “What made Muslim Albanians risk their lives to save Jews from the Holocaust?” 3.

didn't come from a religious commandment, it grew out of a religious environment where all fellow human beings are our brethren."⁴⁰ The Muslim Albanians meet almost every element of Monroe's theory of moral perspective about rescuers' motivation to save Jews. Their identity was defined not by religion, but by tradition. Because of this rejection of specific group categorization, they carried a universal worldview that includes a broad and inclusive share of humanity, as noted when Baba Mondri added that "all fellow human beings are our brethren."

Using theories and aspects of social and moral psychology to analyze several works of research and personal accounts/interviews, I was able to fully understand the extent to which bystanders', perpetrators', and rescuers' behaviors are explained through psychological factors. These findings speak more generally to the underlying psychology of how individuals respond to the suffering of others. They suggest what motivates us to act beyond generalized feelings of sympathy, sorrow, or even outrage to a sense of morality, a feeling that another's distress is directly relevant for us to require intervention and assistance. They suggest why some people take positive action to help, when most of us ignore others' misery, providing indirect or direct support for the conditions that caused misfortune. In a broader context of research on moral choice, it can bring into focus how we treat others. The evidence found in the rescuers' narratives highly support the fact that human beings who want to be treated well must recognize and honor the humanity of others.

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⁴⁰ Liphshiz, "What made Muslim Albanians risk their lives," 5.

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