New Errands

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Welcome to New Errands!

The Eastern American Studies Association and the American Studies Program at Penn State Harrisburg are pleased to present the fifth issue of *New Errands*, an online journal that publishes exemplary American Studies work by undergraduate students.

Seeking to develop the next generation of Americanists, *New Errands'* mission is both to provide a venue for the publication of important original scholarship by emerging young scholars and to provide a teaching resource for instructors of American Studies looking for exemplary work to use in the classroom.

New Errands will be published semi-annually, after the end of each academic semester. The goal of this timetable will be to collect and publish essays produced during the previous term, so that they can be made available as quickly as possible for use in the following term. We encourage both self-submission by undergraduate students and nominated submissions by instructional faculty. They must have an American focus, but can employ a variety of disciplinary methods. Submissions can be emailed as Word documents to: newerrandsjournal@gmail.com.

Essays can be of any length, but they must have a research focus. Any visual images should be placed at the end of the manuscript, and tags should be placed in the text to indicate the intended placement of each image. Manuscripts should conform to MLA guidelines. Papers found in this volume were presented at the Undergraduate Roundtable of the Eastern American Studies Association Annual Conference in March of 2017.

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For further information about the Eastern American Studies Association, including the annual undergraduate roundtable and the EASA undergraduate honors society, please visit: http://harrisburg.psu.edu/eastern-american-studies-association.

A Message from the Editors—

As is tradition, the essays in the fall edition of *New Errands* come from the Undergraduate Roundtable at the 2017 Eastern American Studies Association Conference. These essays demonstrate both the range of methodologies and quality of scholarship attainable by exceptional undergraduate students. The essays presented here look at topics including, media and the film *Selma;* Philadelphia mayor Frank Rizzo and racial segregation; sugar taxes and consumption in the United States; the role of advertisement in forwarding social change; youth culture and masculinity among 1920's college men; the use of Streamline Moderne design in consumer goods; and reporting on Guatemala in the mid-twentieth century.

Several themes tie these essays together. First, many address issues of race and ethnicity, and in particular how race and ethnicity have been understood in American culture. In addition, a number of these essays ponder the role of media and popular culture in shaping aspects of the American experience. Finally, all of these essays take an interdisciplinary approach to their respective topics, highlighting the fruitfulness of an American Studies approach to scholarship. Together, these essays reflect the richness and diversity of American Studies scholarship at all levels and show great potential for the future of American Studies scholarship.

It is the goal of *New Errands* to encourage and promote undergraduate research into issues of American culture and society. The essays included here both meet that goal and offer useful models for others seeking to conduct successful undergraduate research and writing on American Studies topics.

We hope you enjoy reading these essays as much as we have.

Caitlin Black and Brittany Clark

Table of Contents

Race, Media, History, and Relevance in Ava DuVernay's "Selma"

Brianna Arney
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Race, though a socially constructed idea, has been a major part of American history. From slavery, to the Civil Rights Movement, to the modern day Black Lives Matter movement, the African American race has been at the center of oppression, marginalization, and violence at the hands of white America. Contrary to this, however, American general education does not seem to hone in on these very injustices inflicted upon the African American community. Often times African American history is taught through a white lens in which unjust laws and violence towards African Americans are perceivably stopped through the law making of white men. This leads the educated to believe that slavery and segregation, and the violences that came along with them, are isolated incidences. Specifically, it leads the people to believe that these injustices imposed on blacks were fixed with the abolition of slavery and laws such as the Voting Rights Act of 1965. Rarely are young Americans taught about lynchings, hate crimes, the violent depths of the KKK, commonly held cultural beliefs towards African Americans, etc. Without this kind of education, the American people are left blind to how slavery was only the beginning of the cultural and racist attitudes towards African Americans, and how with every passing decade laws may have changed to better African American social status in this country, but those attitudes towards race persist. It is clear, then, that our educations about racial history in this country must go deeper and must allow us to draw deeper connections between the past and today. Media and popular culture are an immense part of American culture and, throughout history, have helped to shape not only our perceptions of race, but also have drawn the attention of the American people when change is so clearly needed.

Black, female film director, Ava DuVernay craft fully brings all of the previous points into fruition with her creation of the film "Selma." DuVernay brings to life historical accuracies that many Americans are simply unaware of in an artistic and entertaining way that helps to educate its audience about race relations in America during the 1960's Civil Rights era. Her implementation of media and other forms of popular culture help to immerse the audience in the violence experienced by African Americans at this time, while also attempting to help white audiences understand the connection between the past violences and modern day violences experience by African Americans. Ava DuVernay uses her power in media to encourage her audience to confront more complex truths about racial violence in the past and pushes them to understand the reality of modern day racial violence.

Ava DuVernay's "Selma" is a film which depicts a rather brief moment in history, while also unraveling much larger aspects history that led to and surrounded that specific moment. This "moment" includes events from late in 1963 leading up to the march on Selma in 1965. A time in which Martin Luther King Jr., the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and many other peaceful protesters faced violent resistance from the white population and state troopers in their journey to protest the barriers which hindered African American franchise. The film begins with King's acceptance speech for his Nobel Peace Prize in October of 1964 while simultaneously highlighting the devastating moment in September1963 in Birmingham, Alabama where a church was bombed and four young girls were killed. After this moment, the audience is introduced to Annie Cooper, a black female, attempting to vote. Cooper creates the foundation for "Selma" by revealing the main reason for King to orchestrate marches throughout the film. The black female is denied her voter registration after citing the preamble to the United States and being able to address that there were 67 county judges in Alabama, but denied because she could not name them, all the while being told she was "stirring a fuss" by trying to register to vote. It is imperative to recognize that real life accounts of these "qualifying questions" were far harder to answer. A study on blacks in higher education informs that Sheriff Jim Clark asked questions like "how many drops of water in a waterfall?" to other African Americans trying to register to vote (The Journal of Blacks in Higher Education, 107). This makes it clear that registrars were not interested in African American knowledge of the US, rather wished to make it impossible for them to vote. This is followed by conversations King has with President Lyndon B. Johnson urging the president to pass a voting act that will allow more black citizens political influence and will be the first step in stopping violent acts such as the Birmingham Church Bombing. Johnson responds with asking King for patience, that voting rights will eventually come, but the African American community must wait.

Because of the President's response, King and the SCLC decide to go on with their peaceful demonstrations and the rallying of people for the march on Selma. The first demonstration shown was outside of the county courthouse, King claiming the large group of people there simply wanted to register to vote. This depicted the many group protests that took place at the Dallas County Courthouse from January to February in 1965. The film displays the often violent turn these demonstrations would take when Sheriff Jim Clark and other State Troopers went into the crowd intimidating and violently handling the peaceful protesters. In the film, we see elderly man Cager Lee beaten with a night stick, and Annie Cooper violently handled for attempting to protect Lee.

From here, the viewer is given Governor George Wallace's racist perspective on the handling of Cooper being published in the county newspaper. This leads to Wallace and other law enforcement deciding that it is necessary to strike one of King's marches when there are no cameras around to capture their brutal actions. The night march, originally occurring on February 17, 1965, is the next protest shown in the film. Unfortunately, State troopers shoot Cager Lee's grandson, Jimmie Lee Jackson, who was running to hide from them. Jackson dies from the gunshot wound and King uses his speech at Jackson's funeral to remind them how important it is for them to obtain equal voting rights.

Jackson's death causes King to question the march on Selma as the SCLC continues to organize it, but ultimately, he decides to follow through. From here the SCLC and other protesters attempt their first march on Selma. This becomes known as "Bloody Sunday" and occurred on Sunday, March 7, 1965. The large group of protesters are met by a line of state troopers wearing gas mask gear and holding clubs. The protesters are asked to leave, but refuse peacefully by standing in their places, Clark tells the troopers to "advance" to which they brutally attack the protesters with their clubs while riding horses and releasing a large cloud of gas. Many of the protesters were brutally injured, and all of them ran away from the bridge for their own safety. This moment is televised, and DuVernay is sure to reveal the shock and horror on the faces of white and black viewers alike. Because of "Bloody Sunday" being televised, along with King's plea for people to come and march with them, it recruited many allies for the second march on Selma.

The second march on Selma is revealed much differently. The state troopers allow the large group of protesters passage, but King simply kneels for a few moments and then walks through the crowd of protesters and off of the bridge. His decision is met with opposition from fellow protesters when the march does not go on. The march eventually goes to court and Judge Johnson announces that the march is allowed to go forward without resistance in the case of SCLC v. the State of Alabama. Finally, on March 21st, 1965, the march began from Selma to Montgomery. DuVernay ends the film with a mesh of characters in the film marching as well as real footage of the Selma marchers in 1965. She also uses the speech of President Johnson passing the Voting Rights Act of 1965, which officially passed in August of that year.

The artistry used to depict moments of peaceful protesting met with violence are the moments which really stand out in the film and work to prove that the march of Selma was more than just a triumphant moment in history. Each of the following scenes display historical accuracy and detail that is often missing in the typical general education classroom, while also demonstrating a particular style that puts the viewer in each horrifyingly unjust moment. Before analyzing these scenes, it is important to mention DuVernay's dedication to truthfully display accounts of history. The film director states, "the story needs to be told and, once people know even a little bit of the truth, they will be riveted as I am…and we don't have to construct characters because the truth is jaw-dropping enough" (Martin, 70). This suggests DuVernay's dedication to accurately depict this piece of history while also displaying that the truth is in fact shocking and a necessary part of history that will and should engross its audience to learn more. After release of the film, sources like The Washington Post confirmed that "the film sticks closely to well-established facts" (Gibson, np). This reveals the film's credibility and DuVernay's responsible role in styling the film as an emotional motivator for recognizing African American oppression and violence towards that community. The large majority of characters in the film were based off of real people, white and black, who aligned closely with DuVernay's depiction of them. This includes but is in no way limited to Martin Luther King Jr., Cager Lee, Annie Cooper, and Sheriff Jim Clark. Sheriff Jim Clark's character is especially important to consider because of his violent behavior towards African Americans in the film, therefore it is important to discover the accuracy of his depiction. When Clark died in 2006, a newspaper article was released as well as him saying before his death that he'd "do the same thing today if [he] had to do it all over again" (The Journal of Blacks in Higher Education, 107). There was no denial of his violent behavior, rather the implication of his pride in being so violent. There are also personal accounts like from that of Sam Walker who lived in Selma in 1965. He recounts that "On February 10, Sheriff Clark forced 160 students on a three-mile march out of town, his officers harassing them with clubs and cattle prods" (Stuart, np). This real life account serves to validate DuVernay's honesty in the retelling of events like the march of Selma and "Bloody Sunday."

The courthouse protest was one of the first moments in the film that demonstrated DuVernay's artistic approach to promote the audience's awareness of white violence toward African Americans. The SCLC's commitment to nonviolence was met with violence in this scene and DuVernay was sure to entwine that moment with style in order to reach the audience on an emotional level. A large group of African Americans protested in front of the Selma courthouse while placing their hands behind their heads and Martin Luther King Jr. communicated that the group was there to practice their right to vote. County Sheriff Jim Clark was not agreeable to these actions and sent other sheriffs out in the crowd. It led to a violent beating of Cager Lee and Annie Cooper. Annie Cooper, specifically, was aggressively handled by multiple state troopers and wrestled to the hard ground.

DuVernay craft fully put together this moment by portraying the sheriffs taking Cooper down in slow motion, followed by an abrupt thud when she hit the ground. By slowing this moment down, it gives the audience a moment to contemplate what is happening. There is much to reflect on in this moment, and DuVernay encourages that contemplation by slowing down the scene. The abruptness that follows serves as a way to force the audience to recognize after their brief moment of contemplation that this really happened. That this violence met by Annie Cooper was reality and an influential piece of American History. Embedded in this scene is both an artistic approach forcing an empathetic reaction from the audience, while also pointing out historical fact and therefore creating an uncomfortable realization of the real life treatment of African Americans. DuVernay is sure to put emphasis on the racial hatred and bigotry of Sheriff Jim Clark a major component to Selma, Alabama's history. The fact that this man, and the ideas he stood for existed, along with the painful moment in which Cooper is battled to the ground, force the audience to face Selma as more than a singular, and triumphant, moment in history. DuVernay's embedding of pop culture in this scene is also important as she places the song "I've Got the New World in My View" by Sister Gertrude Morgan (released in 2009) in the moment where they are marching to the courthouse. This highlights how American history is often perceived. That the African American community wanted something, marched for it, and obtained it, but it comes crashing down with Annie Cooper as the audience realizes there were barriers far harder to obstruct than a simple voting law.

"Bloody Sunday" is another scene depicted in the film that is often times not talked about in general U.S. history, or is at least glazed over. This was the moment in history in which African Americans attempted to march across Edmund Pettus Bridge and were faced with violence from state troopers, county police officers, and even white supremacists all gathered by Jim Clark (The Journal of Blacks in Higher Education 107). As shown in the film, people were beaten with clubs and canes as being chased down by state troopers on horses. Similar to the scene described previously, Bloody Sunday was created by DuVernay in slow motion while Marsha Bass' "Walk With Me" (released in 1984) played. As the viewer is slowly forced to watch African Americans being injured by state troopers, they are forced to listen to lyrics such as "Walk with me lord. Walk with me. All along this tedious journey." This moment continues to force viewers, whites in particular, to face the realities of the past and how violence was used to control African Americans. The slowness in the scene gives the viewers time to take this in and contemplate its realness and what that means for American history. It forces them to realize the Voting Rights Act was not obtained because America decided it was the right thing to do, but because black bodies were treated in barbaric ways in order to control them and hold them in inferior positions, and the media allowed the general public to come to this understanding. This scene also allows white viewers to empathize with the realities of the time because they watch white actors and actresses depict what it was like to watch that treatment of blacks unfold on the news. During the Civil Rights movement it was images on television of violence towards African Americans that appalled the general public and demanded the president call for change (Campbell, 190).

Perhaps one of the most powerful parts of the movie is its conclusion because after having held white audiences emotionally accountable for historical violence towards blacks, DuVernay connects that to modern day violence through the use of pop culture. DuVernay employs several different cinematic choices which foster an even stronger sense of empathy and reality. She continues to employ pop culture by embedding Fink's "Yesterday Was Hard on All of Us" (released in 2011) while showing the march on Selma, both in the film and the real footage from the march in 1965. The slow song which articulates "Where do we go from here? Where do we go?" while showing both African American triumph in their march but also white opposition (confederate flags and middle fingers) points out the reality of history to its viewers. It also, again, exemplifies how the Voting Rights Act was not only a triumph, but that white opposition would continue, and therefore violence towards African Americans would not simply stop, but had less potential to continue in the same outwardly barbaric way without consequence.

This idea continues when during the credits of the film, rap artist, Common and R&B artist, John Legend's song "Glory" (released as Selma's theme song in 2014) works to connect the civil rights movement and the fight for equality to modern day America. Glory demonstrates lyrics such as "Selma is now," and "Resistance is us. That's why Rosa sat on the bus. That's why we walk through Ferguson with our hands up." This song literally states the films connections to today's violence towards African Americans by talking about Ferguson and its span of events that started in August 2014 with the shooting and killing of Michael Brown by police officer Darren Wilson, the acquittal of Wilson, the unrest by citizens in Ferguson because of those events, and the response from police during the unrest. The song also reminds its viewers, again that Selma is not an isolated piece of history but still has relevance to African American's social standing today. It is so important that DuVernay does this because the entire film has likely just made its audience confront the horrible treatments of blacks in the past, and now, with the use of this song, the audience is forced to question whether or not modern-day America still treats the African American community violently. This violence differs in subtle ways, but not drastically. This is suggested in the current social standings of African Americans in Selma, the very place that is often tied to the symbol of African American equality. In a study within Selma on black freedom struggles, Karlyn Denae Forner found that "The vote brought political power, but it did not bring the economic justice, security or quality education that made up the other half of African Americans' demands for freedom" (vi). We will later see that this very inequitable circumstances are what allows for the violent treatment of African Americans today. Sociological data of Selma shows that schools are still segregated, not by law, but by the affects of Selma's attitudes towards race. A table in "Building Bridges in Selma Alabama" an article by Rebecca E.

Davis relays that Selma's schools are either majority white or black and this segregation (48), and the effects of this segregation are made clear in Forner's article: "the publics schools…educate the city's black children, while nearly every white child attends the private John T. Morgan Academy or Meadowview Christian. The Selma Country Club…still does not admit black members" (3). It would be ignorant to claim that the separation of the black and white communities in Selma are in no way related to the racist attitudes attributed to blacks that are displayed both in history and in the film. It is therefore impactful and important that DuVernay has pointed out the film's connection to modern day race relations.

Modern day race relations are strongly touched upon in "Glory." While Selma displays peaceful protests in order to obtain equal voting rights, instances like Ferguson display civic unrest due to police brutality against African Americans. The death of Michael Brown at the hands of the police officer, Darren Wilson, was not an isolated incident of violence against African Americans, especially not for the town of Ferguson, MO. Much like in Selma throughout history, Ferguson has history of overtly racist behavior towards African Americans, especially by law enforcement. In fact, Ferguson has a history of both racial bias and using that racial bias as a pathway for the city's revenue. Ta-Nehisi Coates, African American writer and journalist writes that Ferguson's "emphasis on revenue has compromised the institutional character of [the] police department, contributing to a pattern of unconstitutional policing" that "both reflect[s] and exacerbate[s] existing racial bias" (Coates). It is important to take these factors into account when considering not only the death of Michael Brown, but the city of Ferguson's reaction to both his death and Wilson's acquittal. Media, a pertinent piece in the Civil Rights Movement, served as an important part in the case of Ferguson and Michael Brown's death. The major difference here is that the media did not capture the initiative violence towards African Americans in the community, and more specifically, MB. Instead, media gave America coverage of the civic unrest in Ferguson after they had been taunted with violence and death at the hands of those vowed to protect them. This arguably had the opposite affect of media coverage during Civil Rights. It allowed for the white public, generally ignorant to the treatment of African Americans in Ferguson and in other locations around the country, to see non-peaceful behavior and blame African Americans for the violence bestowed on them by police officers.

On the other hand, Twitter serves as a different type of media that helped served the same purpose as the nightly news did in the case of Selma. News media was to the Civil Rights Movement what social media is to the Black Lives Matter movement. Twitter, along with its hashtags, allowed for the general public to call media out for its excusal of police violence towards African American communities. By this I mean that while African Americans are racially profiled by cops, an act which often results in violence, media such as television news outlets predominantly display African American men as threats, coercing viewers to understand violent behavior cops take part in and disguise as self-defense. Twitter has allowed for people to call out this injustice through hashtags such as #HandsUpDontShoot in response to Michael Brown's shooting. "Through this campaign, users sought to call attention to the arbitrary nature of racialized policing, the vulnerability of black bodies, and the problematic ways in which blackness is perceived as a constant threat" (Bonilla, 8). One man even tweeted a photo of himself in a perceivably "hood" stance with a durag on next to another photo of himself in his graduation cap and gown captioned "#IfTheyGunnedMeDown which picture would they use" (8). Images of racial stereotypes, specifically black men in baggy clothes and durags, serve today as an excuse for police violence against African Americans and is masked as a means of protection. Twitter gives voice to individuals to point out these racial biases.

While media during Selma's time was necessary for the American public to see the violent mistreatment of African Americans, it seems it functions now as a way to depict African Americans as threatening and therefore serve as an excuse for police's violent behavior towards them. That being the case, Twitter and other social media now serves as the nightly news did then in Selma. It allows the general public, especially black people experiencing the injustices, to call out the falsified perceptions broadcasted to Americans. It can be suggested, then that "mainstream media silences" allows for the continuation of "the long history of state-sanctioned violence against racialized populations" (12). The part of media that once aided African Americans in revealing the violent treatment they endure is now used to justify violent behavior towards African Americans, a more subtle injustice that condones violence toward the African American community. While this particular part of media has essentially been tampered with to muddle the violent truths it once displayed during the Civil Rights Movement, Twitter serves as a way for African Americans to again "control the public discourse" (Carney, 196) as they once did by having their peaceful protests and the violence they were met with televised. Twitter serves not only as a piece of social media which allows for African Americans to point out the false perceptions of black male youth, but also for them to "express their experiences and viewpoints" (196), another important aspect of understanding black lives and not simply coming to conclusions that are likely racially influenced in a negative manner. DuVernay is hoping to draw out these kinds of connections when using songs like "Glory" to connect Selma and its ramifications to the present. She wants her audience to think about race in a more thoughtful manner.

DuVernay even draws on the differences in the affects of media in the 1960's and now and mentions a disconnect between seeing the violence and feeling something in their conscience like they did in the time of Civil Rights. In an interview talking about why she made a movie about MLK She says, "When you have something like Eric Garner, his death being captured on camera and the whole world sees it and yet there's still not an indictment, we know that Dr. King's facts of showing the violence doesn't work anymore. I guess we've been somehow desensitized to it" (DuVernay, np). Because America seems to have been "desensitized" it is important to view Selma and draw connections. Viewers in that time were clearly not desensitized to the violent treating of African Americans, and it is important to remember not only that treatment, but also the importance of reacting when injustice is occurring. Twitter serves as a conscious checker to the falsified perceptions displayed within the news. This is because of the very instances in which Twitter users call out racist views and perceptions put out by news that blurs people's perception of truth.

Regardless of the role media played in both Selma in 1965 and Ferguson in 2014, DuVernay does a flawless job in accurately recreating depictions of "Bloody Sunday" that are frighteningly similar to moments captured in Ferguson's moments of civic unrest. Below are two photos, the first one an actual image captured from "Bloody Sunday" which mirrors DuVernay's portrayal of the events. It also shows unarmed black citizens being approached by armed state troopers. Below that is a picture from a protest in Ferguson, MO in 2014 after the shooting of Michael Brown. Again, we see unarmed black citizens very closely confronted with armed police officers, and still seemingly remaining very calm and unthreatening. The immense likeliness in these photos are another reminder of the close relationship between violence against African Americans in the past and in the present.

Figure 1 Photographer Helped Expose Brutality Of Selma's 'Bloody Sunday'" via kuow.org

Figure 2"Ferguson Riots Ignite Outrage" via angryveteranonline.com

Ava DuVernay's goal to awaken the general public about the harsh truth of violence towards African Americans in the past, while hoping to enlighten them about the unjust violence still occurring towards blacks through the making of "Selma" may not be clear upon viewing the film one time, but it is clear that DuVernay intelligently and carefully put together scenes in order to evoke this kind of response. Her attention to detail, including the slowing of scenes and implementation of emotion evoking music, helped the audience to respond empathetically to the pain felt by African Americans at the time of Civil Rights. She was also sure to attend to historical accuracy so that viewers knew what they were seeing, and what they were feeling, was real and not simply an attempt to hit big at the box office. When looking at instances of violence in Selma in 1965 and comparing them to Ferguson in 2014, there are many parallels in the treatment of African Americans. One difference is the way in which media functions during each of these situations. As television once pointed out the violence used against African Americans, it now seems to defend it, while Twitter is able to give people, specifically African Americans, a voice to point out the false perceptions television gives much of the African American community. DuVernay took on a large task in creating such a monumental film, and successfully pointed out problems in race relations and inspired more thoughtful ways of considering attitudes toward race and negative effects that result from that.

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We'll Remember in November: The Defense of Segregation in Frank Rizzo's Philadelphia

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On the morning of March 23, 1971, a group of furious white men and women, many carrying small children, left their homes and marched to a six-acre lot bound by Front, 2nd, and Oregon Streets in their South Philadelphia neighborhood. When they climbed atop bulldozers and physically blocked construction vehicles from entering the site, the Whitman Park community inserted themselves into one of the longest legal battles over public housing in United States history. The neighbors were protesting construction of the Whitman Park Townhouse Project because they feared that public housing would transform their community. In spite of, and in reaction to, recently passed federal anti-discrimination laws, the people of Whitman Park were determined to keep their neighborhood segregated. The protests violated federal mandates, but the residents felt entitled to this lawlessness, claiming a need for protection against alleged criminality in poor minority communities.

Whitman residents felt threatened by integration because, in a real estate market shaped by ideas about race, the possibility of black neighbors in all-white neighborhoods decreased property values and increased the number of for-sale signs. Many Whitman residents cited defense of property values as the root of their anger. The prospect of losing the investment they had made in their homes was frightening as the economy steadily declined throughout the 1970s. Their fear and anger was also deeply connected to prejudice and stereotypes about black people and black neighborhoods. Opponents of the project focused their rhetoric on economic insecurity, but the racial components of their fear compounded with their economic justifications to create a powerful anti-public housing consensus among many white, working class Philadelphia communities.

Opposition to the new housing units came to be championed by Mayor Frank Rizzo, who vocalized and promoted the sentiments of white backlash against the Civil Rights Movement. Public housing acted as a proxy for politicians and white Philadelphians to discuss what they perceived to be problems within the African American community. Rizzo built his career on white Philadelphians' fear of rising crime rates and changing neighborhoods, while blurring the lines between blackness and criminality in his public rhetoric. His language was more often coded than explicit, but his message was clear. "Tough on crime" took on a double meaning in Rizzo's Philadelphia, it also meant tough on African Americans.

Mayor Rizzo was a hometown hero in Whitman and other white, blue-collar neighborhoods across the city. Like the residents in many of those neighborhoods, Rizzo was a second-generation European immigrant whose parents had come to America and struggled to enter the middle class. Philadelphia's white blue-collar communities identified with Rizzo. They believed the American Dream was available to all who were willing to work for it, citing themselves and their parents as proof of its efficacy. Whitman residents could not see beyond their own fear and economic insecurity to comprehend their racial advantage. They believed that public housing tenants, 85 percent of whom were African American, relied on the government rather than hard work and would receive the homes as unfair handouts.[1] When the Rizzo administration became an ally of the neighbors in Whitman, they swore that public housing would never be built on the site. They were wrong.

Philadelphia's white, blue-collar community saw Rizzo's election as a turning point. His victory was highly contingent on a campaign promise that no community would have public housing "forced down their throats."[2] Philadelphia was operating in

[1] Walter Needle, *Philadelphia Daily Bulletin*, June 2, 1977. Philadelphia Evening Bulletin Clippings--Whitman Park, SCRC 169. Temple University Special Collections Research Center. (Referenced hereafter as TU SCRC)

[2] Walter Needle, Philadelphia Daily Bulletin, June 2, 1977. Philadelphia Evening Bulletin Clippings--Whitman Park, SCRC 169. TU SCRC.

a new political climate. The new mayor, like many white residents, regarded anti-discrimination policies as reverse racism. Their opposition, however, proved illegal and unsustainable. When the battle over Whitman Park ended in 1978 and the United States Supreme Court ordered the construction of the project, Rizzo's political career never fully recovered. The national political context, the demographics of Whitman Park, and Rizzo's strong appeal to the fears of white residents made it possible to delay construction of the project for ten years, but ultimately federal law reigned supreme.

Civil Rights mandates passed in the 1960s did not succeed in their goal of killing legal and institutional discrimination, but they did make it much more difficult to keep alive. The fight to keep Whitman Park segregated mirrored broader racial tensions of Rizzo's Philadelphia. Frank Rizzo appealed to disenfranchised and insecure white Philadelphians with the coded concept of "law and order" politics, which ultimately insured that whites who opposed civil rights law would be immune from legal penalties. "Law" applied to those who Rizzo cast as criminal, usually minority citizens, and "order" implied the maintenance of a racist status quo. When white backlash was legitimized by the Rizzo administration through their continued support for Whitman protesters, white ethnic voters mobilized against federal mandates and created a powerful political movement. Rizzo supporters saw civil rights reforms as an affront to their own rights, which spawned criminal action within Philadelphia's municipal government, allowed police discrimination, and inspired violence in a formerly peaceful South Philadelphia community.

Why Whitman? : The Context of White Backlash in Philadelphia

National social and political trends of the 1970s are important to understanding the story of Frank Rizzo and Whitman Park. In 1963, 31 percent of white American adults felt that the government was moving too quickly on civil rights. By 1968, that number had reached more than 50 percent, which suggested that white adults thought African American progress was a threat to their own security. [3] From 1961 to 1968, the average aggregate income for whites increased 56 percent, while for nonwhites it increased 110 percent.[4] The Civil Rights Act of 1968 (also known as the Fair Housing Act) was aimed at achieving equal opportunity housing. These unprecedented challenges to institutionalized discrimination threatened white control over the job and housing market for the first time with viable legal support. White South Philadelphia grandmother Theresa O'Donnel spoke to her anxiety about these changes when she explained her vote for Frank Rizzo at his 1975 election result rally,

> We can't have a cultured, educated, gentle man [as mayor]. He has to deal with…Well, you know what he has to deal with. I used to live in North Philadelphia, but I had to move. There were some nice ones but then others started moving in and I was scared. They'll shoot you in a minute. They want to better themselves? Let them go right ahead. But not at my expense.[5]

O'Donnel's views were shared by many other white working-class Philadelphians, who were not only uncomfortable with the speed of progress for people of color, but also with the lack of progress for themselves.

In the wake of the Civil Rights Movement, many Italian, Irish, Russian, and Polish working-class second- and third-generation immigrants felt the Democratic Party, once the party of the blue-collar worker, was neglecting them and becoming a party that catered to minorities. Historian Jefferson Cowie clarifies that, "As the distinction between 'black' and 'blue collar' unconsciously suggests, white men were workers in the popular political lexicon, and black people and women were others--non-workers, welfare recipients, or worse."[6] This is clear when Mrs. O'Donnel says "others" to describe her African American neighbors. O'Donnel's

[3] Carter, *From George Wallace to Newt Gingrich.* 14-15.
[4] Carter, *From George Wallace to Newt Gingrich.* 28.
[5] Joseph R Daughen and Peter Binzen. *The Cop Who Would Be King: Mayor Frank Rizzo*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1977. 14.
[6] Jefferson Cowie. *Stayin' Alive: The 1970s and the Last Days of the Working Class*. New York: New Press. 2010. 77.

willingness to defend her views, but her unwillingness to explicitly involve skin color is telling about coded politics of race in the 1970s. Elected officials learned how to capitalize on the black vs. white, worker vs. non-worker distinction, which changed the way that Americans politicized race.

Frank Rizzo was one of the first public figures to master this rhetoric. His electoral success in Philadelphia's overwhelmingly white blue-collar neighborhoods proved that playing on racial divisions could be the key to winning an election.[7] President Richard Nixon, who based his Southern Strategy and "law and order" approach in his 1968 campaign on Rizzo's rhetoric, used race to divide the national electorate.[8] John D. Ehrlichman, counsel and assistant to the president for domestic affairs under Richard Nixon, believed that blue-collar white voters would be able to become more politically conservative and "avoid admitting to [themselves] that [they were] attracted by a racist appeal."[9] This is hugely important in understanding Rizzo and the Rizzo supporter. By avoiding explicitly racialized language and instead underpinning public rhetoric with negative black stereotypes, the city administration and the Whitman Area Improvement Council could maintain that their actions were not racially discriminatory. Open expression of white supremacist values was not socially or politically acceptable, but, as Rizzo said, Whitman residents could still, "vote white".[10] He and his supporters had a tacit agreement, a vote for Rizzo meant a vote for protection of white interests.

Whitman Park became a white neighborhood by way of an urban renewal program.[11] When all existing houses on the site were demolished in 1960, 70 percent of the families removed were black.[12] The Whitman Area Improvement Council (WAIC) was formed the following year to oppose the high-rise public housing that was originally planned for the site. The WAIC partially succeeded in stopping the construction, which transitioned the project from traditional public housing to the newly developed Turnkey Home-Ownership Program. This new program was designed so that participating families would be granted eventual ownership of their homes by paying 25 percent of their monthly income over 30 years, maintaining the property, and paying their own utilities.[13] In 1963 the six-acre lot was designated as the Whitman Urban Renewal Area. This provided the residents with free grants from the Redevelopment Authority (RA) to improve their neighborhood. The designation as an urban renewal area also required more clearance of land for development, and the subsequent demolition removed almost all remaining black families in the neighborhood. By the end of 1963, Whitman Park was 98% white.[14]

Whitman Park was once racially diverse, so why would public housing and the thought of black people moving to the area compel residents to mount such intense opposition? The civil rights efforts of the 1960s did not heal racial tensions in the area; it intensified them. In 1970, for the first time since WWII, the population of all Philadelphia neighborhoods fell below 2 million residents[15]. Philadelphia's African American population rose from 24 percent in 1960 to 34 percent in 1970.[16] A dramatic loss of population had weakened Philadelphia's economy and the crime rate was on the rise. Whitman Park residents, along with many other white ethnic city dwellers, connected the rising crime rate to the increase in black population.

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[7] Sal A Paolantonio, *Frank Rizzo: The Last Big Man in Big City America. 10th Anniversary Ed. ed.* Philadelphia: Camino Books, 2003. 112.

[8] Paolantonio. *The Last Big Man.* 154.

[9] Carter, *From George Wallace to Newt Gingrich*. 30-31.

[10] Harmon Gordon, *Philadelphia Daily Bulletin,* September 7, 1978. Philadelphia Evening Bulletin Clippings--Whitman Park, SCRC 169. TU SCRC.

[11] Lombardo, "The Battle of Whitman Park". 410.

[12] Philadelphia Conference of Human Services and the Housing Association of Delaware Valley, "History of Whitman Park" (June 1970). Housing Association of Delaware Valley Records. Series 12. Box 4. TU SCRC.

[13] Philadelphia Conference of Human Services and the Housing Association of Delaware Valley, "History of Whitman Park" (June 1970). Housing Association of Delaware Valley Records. Series 12. Box 4. TU SCRC.

[14] Philadelphia Conference of Human Services and the Housing Association of Delaware Valley, "History of Whitman Park" (June 1970). Housing Association of Delaware Valley Records. Series 12. Box 4. TU SCRC.

[15] Paolantonio, *The Last Big Man*. 15.

[16] Daughen and Binzen, *The Cop Who Would Be King*. 62.

This made the politics of white backlash particularly appealing to both the long and newly established white residents of Whitman Park, who believed their quality of life and their neighborhood would be harmed by integration and civil rights reform.

Politics of Protection and Race in Rizzo's Philadelphia

The Whitman Urban Renewal Area remained vacant until 1970, when developer Multicon Inc. signed a contract with the city of Philadelphia, the Philadelphia Housing Authority, and the Redevelopment Authority to build 120 low-income housing units.[17] Multicon was selected from 30 options submitted by developers because their models were the least expensive, at about $12,513 dollars per house.[18] When construction began and was promptly halted by the protesters in March of 1971, misinformation and anger quickly spread through the city's white ethnic communities. The day that protests began, conservative columnist William J. Storm incorrectly reported that residential opposition stemmed from the fact that the houses, "priced $18,000-20,000 will be offered instead to outsiders with incomes less than $5,000".[19] Reports failed to mention that 50 percent of the units would be reserved for tenants who had previously lived in Whitman Park, and that the tenants would be financially responsible for utilities and repairs. Many reports also failed to mention that each potential family would be thoroughly screened and the minimum annual income was raised to between $7,000-8,000 as a concession to the opposition.[20] Ninety-five percent of Philadelphians on the public housing waitlist were non-white.[21] Tension was steadily rising between those who wanted the project stopped and those who claimed that the protests were a poorly disguised attempt to keep the neighborhood segregated.

In the spring of 1971 early in the dispute, WAIC President Fred Durding threatened that the protests could become violent.[22] Delaying construction, however, proved easier than Durding had anticipated. Residents were supported by the union construction workers as well as the Philadelphia Police, at the time headed by then-commissioner Rizzo. Whitman residents quickly learned were exempt from the "law and order" policies that the commissioner was becoming so famous for. Protesters engaged in vandalism, picketed without permits, and violated court orders without fear of arrest. As a result of these illegal actions, Multicon agreed to halt construction pending further orders by the court one month after the picketing began.[23] From early spring to mid-summer, the Whitman protesters and Mayor James Tate's administration exchanged threats and multiple court orders.[24] By the end of July, Durding bragged publicly that despite the injunctions, unions and police were still honoring picket lines.[25]

Growing impatient with their lame duck mayor, the WAIC filed a lawsuit against Multicon, the PHA, and the Redevelopment Authority. They charged the townhouse project was being built under an illegal contract that had failed to meet

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[17] Willliam J. Storm. *Philadelphia Daily Bulletin*, March 31, 1971. Philadelphia Evening Bulletin Clippings--Whitman Park, SCRC 169. TU SCRC.
[18] *Philadelphia Daily Bulletin*, May 1, 1970. Philadelphia Evening Bulletin Clippings--Whitman Park, SCRC 169. TU SCRC.
[19] William J. Storm. *Philadelphia Daily Bulletin*. March 23, 1971. Philadelphia Evening Bulletin Clippings--Whitman Park, SCRC 169. TU SCRC.
[20] *Philadelphia Daily Bulletin.* March 25, 1971. Philadelphia Evening Bulletin Clippings--Whitman Park, SCRC 169. TU SCRC.
[21] "Testimony by Yale Rabin" as found in "Resident Advisory Board by Rose Wylie, Trustee and Housing Task Force of the Urban Coalition V. Frank L. Rizzo, Individually and in his capacity as Mayor of Philadelphia." December 4, 1975. Housing Association of Delaware Valley Records. Series 12. Box 4. TU SCRC.
[22] *Philadelphia Daily Bulletin.* April 9, 1971. Philadelphia Evening Bulletin Clippings--Whitman Park, SCRC 169.TU SCRC.
[23] Harmon Gordon. *Philadelphia Daily Bulletin*. April 30 1971. Philadelphia Evening Bulletin Clippings--Whitman Park, SCRC 169. TU SCRC.
[24] *Philadelphia Daily Bulletin.* July 6, 1971. Philadelphia Evening Bulletin Clippings--Whitman Park, SCRC 169. TU SCRC.
[25] *Philadelphia Daily Bulletin*. July 21, 1971. Philadelphia Evening Bulletin Clippings--Whitman Park, SCRC 169. TU SCRC.

community approval requirements.[26] While they scrambled to find a justification for their opposition that would hold up in court, it was getting harder for Whitman residents to afford legal fees. As the 1971 mayoral election approached, their signs read, "Live Better--Go On Welfare", "This Land is Our Land--Whitman Taxpayers", "For Sale, 12,000 votes, 39th ward", and "We'll remember in November".[27] The Whitman residents were looking for a hero and when the election came, they found one.

Frank Rizzo emerged as a champion to the Whitman residents. By 1971, he had cultivated a public image, politicized the Philadelphia Police force, and translated his "law-and-order" strategy from policing to politics. His nomination by the Democratic Party was a strategic concession to the city's white ethnic population, whose attitudes about race and civil rights were driving them towards the Republican Party. Throughout his campaign for mayor, Rizzo promised that no public housing would be built against the wishes of the surrounding community. In a campaign speech, he said:

> I have seen all manner of people crying into their beer about welfare; and since this issue is a vote-getter, politicians are crying the loudest. Continuously, we are all called upon to provide for those who contribute nothing to society except greater burdens…This is not to say that I am against helping the needy.[28]

In this statement, the collective "we" referred to taxpayers opposed to welfare, while welfare recipients themselves were reduced to burdens. The mayor ignored the disadvantage that most welfare recipients encountered, yet acknowledged the existence of the needy. In doing so, he implied that these people belonged to two distinct categories. One day after the Whitman protests began, Whitman resident Sophie Horman wrote a letter to the editor of the *Philadelphia Daily Bulletin* echoing Rizzo's rhetoric:

> If homes are built for the irresponsible 'poor'-- for when the owner has not got his own dollars invested, he could care less about upkeep, repairs, and yes, even payments… Whom do we subsidize when dwellings costing 18,000 plus are being built for the poor? Certainly not the real poor, the fellow who has sweated, alongside with his wife, to save and struggle to pay for a home, and now to be taxed to death to pay for the homes of others.[29]

Horman and Rizzo shared the idea that there was a distinction between the "real poor" and others who were poor because they lacked talent or a sufficient work ethic. Among Rizzo and his supporters, it was understood that African Americans fell into the latter category. Public housing tenants, if they were black as the Whitman residents presumed, would not qualify as truly poor because of their skin color and the stereotypes that came with it. The neighbors in Whitman conceived of themselves as hard-working taxpayers, and in contrast saw public housing residents as free-riders who capitalized on the hard-work and contributions of others.

The residents of Whitman Park demonstrated a short memory and a double standard about welfare and government aid. Since 1963 when Whitman became an urban renewal area, over one quarter of residents themselves had received $2,718,278 in direct grants from the Redevelopment Authority and FHA to make improvements to their own homes.[30] Historian Timothy Lombardo explains that, "In contrast to the public housing tenants and welfare recipients they classified as undeserving, they defined their community as a class of hard-working people that earned their right to certain privileges."[31] Throughout the Whitman dispute, Rizzo made it clear that he would only

[26] Harmon Gordon. *Philadelphia Daily Bulletin.* July 7, 1971. Philadelphia Evening Bulletin Clippings--Whitman Park, SCRC 169. TU SCRC.
[27] *Philadelphia Daily Bulletin*. July 15, 1971. Philadelphia Evening Bulletin Clippings--Whitman Park, SCRC 169. TU SCRC.
[28] Daughen and Binzen. *The Cop Who Would Be King*. 154.
[29] *Philadelphia Daily Bulletin*, March 24, 1971. Philadelphia Evening Bulletin Clippings--Whitman Park, SCRC 169. TU SCRC.
[30] "Resident Advisory Board Et Al., V. Frank Rizzo Et Al," November 5, 1976. The United States District Court for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania. Housing Association of Delaware Valley Records. Series 12. Box 1. TU SCRC.
[31] Lombardo, "The Battle of Whitman Park". 404.

answer to the needs of those whose hard work was legitimized by the whiteness of their skin.

Backlash, Bureaucracy and Breakdown in Philadelphia's Municipal Government

Once elected, Mayor Rizzo cemented his alliance with the city's white ethnic community by taking legal action against Multicon to permanently end construction of the project in Whitman. The PHA and the Redevelopment Authority had insisted since the picketing began that they were "shocked" about the protests.[32] The housing agencies asserted community approval had not been an issue in the 13 years leading up to construction. [33] Despite this fact, when Multicon tried to back out of the project in spring of 1972, Rizzo changed the city's position on the initial contract. The mayor sided with the Whitman residents, echoing their charge that the contract with Multicon Inc. was void because it lacked community approval. When the contract defaulted on April 27th, Multicon had barely completed any construction. Their progress was impeded not only by protesters who physically blocked the site, but also by repeated vandalism, union support for the protestors, and nightly destruction of progress that the developers made during the day. Although he was no longer commissioner, Rizzo continued to control the police force, which assured protesters that they would not be arrested.

Multicon Inc. responded to the false allegations by the city government with a $1.5 million damages suit against the city of Philadelphia, the PHA, the Redevelopment Authority, and the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development.[34] The city's legal complaints against Multicon were contradictory and not well founded, but Rizzo ordered the city to sue the developer and halt their plans to resume building. Deputy Mayor Phil Carroll justified this "based on the fact that the builder's contract expired in April and that the city is tired of policing the site."[35] This was a blatant lie. The city administration was scrambling to find ways to halt construction through the court system, despite the fact that halting construction of Whitman Park was illegal discrimination by federal standards. This forced the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) to break their silence on the issue in July 1972.

HUD and the federal government rejected the city's claims that the contract expired and was signed without community consent. Title VIII of the Fair Housing Act stated that no person in the United States could be denied the benefits of any program or activity receiving federal funding. Between 1963 and 1975, the total amount of government funds spent in the Whitman Urban Renewal Area was over $11 million, with about $6 million coming directly from the federal government.[36] Rizzo responded to HUD's disapproval by simply ignoring their resolution method. When HUD realized there would not be compliance, they demanded $2.5 million from the city to cancel the project, including a $1.5 million payment to Multicon and a $1 million payment to the federal government for funds used to purchase the land. Rizzo had lost an important alliance with Richard Nixon, and the new presidential administration was less willing to overlook civil rights violations.

As the city, the housing institutions, Multicon, and the Federal Government battled in court over the contract and continued to stall construction, a stronger case was emerging out of Whitman Park. This time, the plaintiffs were the Urban Coalition and Resident Advisory Board

[32] "PHA Official 'Shocked' Over Whitman Protest." *Philadelphia Daily Bulletin*, April 11, 1971. Philadelphia Evening Bulletin Clippings--Whitman Park, SCRC 169. TU SCRC.
[33] "PHA Official 'Shocked' Over Whitman Protest." *Philadelphia Daily Bulletin*, April 11, 1971. Philadelphia Evening Bulletin Clippings--Whitman Park, SCRC 169. TU SCRC.
[34] *Philadelphia Daily Bulletin.* June 29, 1971. Philadelphia Evening Bulletin Clippings--Whitman Park, SCRC 169. TU SCRC.
[35] Dennis Kirkland, *Philadelphia Daily Bulletin.* June 22, 1972. Philadelphia Evening Bulletin Clippings--Whitman Park, SCRC 169. TU SCRC.
[36] "Testimony by Yale Rabin" as found in "Resident Advisory Board by Rose Wylie, Trustee and Housing Task Force of the Urban Coalition V. Frank L. Rizzo, Individually and in his capacity as Mayor of Philadelphia." December 4, 1975. Housing Association of Delaware Valley Records. Series 12. Box 4. TU SCRC.

(RAB). They represented the 14,000 people on the public housing waitlist and had spent the year following the start of the protests closely watching the case while building one of their own.[37] Leaders of the RAB and Urban Coalition included community activists Nellie Reynolds and Shirley Dennis as well as former mayoral candidate Charles Bowser. The plaintiffs charged that the underlying problem was not a contract disagreement, but a civil rights issue.[38] The plaintiff's lawyer, Jonathan Stein, told the media, "We'll show there was racial motivation in the community and in the minds of city officials and the mayor's office itself."[39] In October 1975, the Whitman Park Townhouse dispute went to trial as a civil rights case in Pennsylvania's Supreme Court.

The Whitman Dispute Goes to Trial

The ideology of white backlash had little power on its own, but with Mayor Rizzo in control of the city's institutions, racially and socially conservative policies dominated Philadelphia, drowning out the voices of those who called for reform. Rizzo's influence became clear in October 1975 when former chair of the Redevelopment Authority, John Greenlee, testified and revealed that Rizzo had ordered him to void the contract with Multicon Inc. on the grounds that, "he would not allow people in the housing authority to ruin nice neighborhoods."[40] Greenlee told the judge that he had explained the potential legal problems to the mayor upon hearing this, as well as the damages that would be owed to the Department of Housing and Urban Development and Multicon. Rizzo responded that there would be no compromise because, "the people felt that there would be black people moving in and there's no way in handling that."[41]

Rizzo turned the PHA and the Redevelopment Authority into puppets of his administration. The mayor proposed a "contract of agreement" to the PHA and Redevelopment Authority that gave his office full oversight over of operations, and more importantly control over construction of public housing. When the then-independent agencies refused to comply, Rizzo launched an investigation.[42] The investigation into the PHA and Redevelopment Authority distracted the media and the public from underlying deficiencies in Philadelphia's housing program while also serving as a source of blackmail. Mayor Rizzo forced the PHA to accept the contract by threatening to have Frosteena Key, the only board member who was actually a public housing tenant, removed from her home because her salary was allegedly too high to meet minimum income qualifications.[43] The mayor then ousted Greenlee and installed his finance director, Lennox Moak, whose opinion was that, "there should be no housing program other than demolition." [44] Rizzo's white constituency saw these developments as sure signs of victory.

Federal law mandated that public housing could not be built in racially impacted areas, which meant predominantly minority neighborhoods that suffered from low employment, poor infrastructure, and historic neglect. This provision was included in the Fair Housing Act in an attempt to disrupt the cycle of ghettoization and urban poverty. Rizzo and the Whitman Residents were fighting to keep the mechanisms of white supremacy in place. Under the more palatable guise of being anti-special privileges and anti-handout, Whitman opposition legitimized anti-civil rights policies and rhetoric in mainstream political culture. In doing so, they were able to maintain the cycle of oppression that ensured that

[37] "Testimony by Yale Rabin" as found in "Resident Advisory Board by Rose Wylie, Trustee and Housing Task Force of the Urban Coalition V. Frank L. Rizzo, Individually and in his capacity as Mayor of Philadelphia." December 4, 1975. Housing Association of Delaware Valley Records. Series 12. Box 4. TU SCRC.
[38] Jim Smith, *Philadelphia Daily Bulletin*. October 8, 1973. Philadelphia Evening Bulletin Clippings--Whitman Park, SCRC 169. TU SCRC.
[39] Harmon Gordon, *Philadelphia Daily Bulletin*. October 8, 1975. Philadelphia Evening Bulletin Clippings--Whitman Park, SCRC 169. TU SCRC.
[40] "Rizzo Wanted to Stop Whitman-Greenlee", *Philadelphia Daily Bulletin*. October 30, 1975. Philadelphia Evening Bulletin Clippings--Whitman Park, SCRC 169. TU SCRC.
[41] Ewart Rose, *Philadelphia Inquirer*. November 10, 1975. Philadelphia Inquirer Clippings Collection—SCRC 171. TU SCRC.
[42] Daughen and Binzen, *The Cop Who Would Be King.* 231-236.
[43] Daughen and Binzen, *The Cop Who Would Be King.* 198-199.
[44] Daughen and Binzen, *The Cop Who Would Be King.* 196.

they, the white working-class, would be at least marginally more economically secure.

The RAB and the Urban Coalition had the burden of working against the city government as well as the burden of proof. To win their case, the groups had to show that preventing the construction of Whitman Park disproportionately disadvantaged the city's African American community. In order to do this the prosecution had Yale Rabin, an M.I.T. professor and urban planning scholar, prepare a report to show the severity of racial divisions in Philadelphia neighborhoods. Rabin's report confirmed what was plain to see when walking around Philadelphia's neighborhoods; the city was segregated. Of the 54,000 families in Philadelphia living below the poverty line, which was defined as a monthly income of $500, 58 percent of the families were black.[45] Rabin concluded that not only was the city segregated, but the city government had a hand in engineering the racial divisions. Rabin explained,

> …blacks--particularly the lowest income blacks-- are isolated both racially and by their lack of purchasing power to the lowest cost, poorest quality housing in the city which is located in the black residential areas of the city…Now, given that understanding, the effect of the failure to build the Whitman project is to deny every black household in the city of Philadelphia who is in need of and eligible for public housing another opportunity to live outside of black residential areas of the city of Philadelphia.[46]

The report showed that the dispute over Whitman Park was much larger than one Philadelphia neighborhood. The denial of black access to homes in white neighborhoods was systematic.

The Rizzo administration, the WAIC, and the city's housing institutions had effectively fought to keep African Americans out of the white nonracially impacted neighborhoods. In doing so, they were also assuring that Philadelphia's black community remained in poverty or, at least, geographically isolated from white communities. This led well-known conservative Judge Raymond Broderick, a Nixon appointee, to assert that the project, "was a unique opportunity for these blacks living in racially impacted areas of Philadelphia to live in integrated nonracially impacted areas," in accordance with title VIII of the Fair Housing Act.[47] Hundreds, possibly even thousands, of public housing units were not built during Rizzo's mayoral tenure because HUD refused to finance projects in all-black areas, and that was the only place the city was willing to build them.[48] When asked if he had ever considered the racial impact of his actions, the mayor said, "I would have to say that it never entered my mind. But thinking it over, I would say that there is a possibility that that might affect the minorities-- that they might be shortchanged, but it would not change my position."[49]

Decision and Discontent: Whitman Loses their Power in City Hall

In November 1976, Judge Broderick ordered the construction of Whitman Park. He determined that Philadelphia's city government had been fostering racial discrimination, and argued that certain city officials must have been aware of the existence of racially motivated opposition. In his opinion, Broderick stated,

[45] "Testimony by Yale Rabin" as found in "Resident Advisory Board by Rose Wylie, Trustee and Housing Task Force of the Urban Coalition V. Frank L. Rizzo, Individually and in his capacity as Mayor of Philadelphia." December 4, 1975. Housing Association of Delaware Valley Records. Series 12. Box 4. TU SCRC.

[46] "Testimony by Yale Rabin" as found in "Resident Advisory Board by Rose Wylie, Trustee and Housing Task Force of the Urban Coalition V. Frank L. Rizzo, Individually and in his capacity as Mayor of Philadelphia." December 4, 1975. Housing Association of Delaware Valley Records. Series 12. Box 4. TU SCRC.

[47] *Philadelphia Daily Bulletin*. November 9, 1976. Philadelphia Evening Bulletin Clippings--Whitman Park, SCRC 169. TU SCRC.

[48] Jim Smith, *Philadelphia Daily Bulletin*. December 1, 1975. Philadelphia Evening Bulletin Clippings--Whitman Park, SCRC 169. TU SCRC.

[49] "Resident Advisory Board Et Al., V. Frank Rizzo Et Al,." November 5, 1976. The United States District Court for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania. Housing Association of Delaware Valley Records. Series 12. Box 1. TU SCRC.

> The evidence is uncontested that Mayor Rizzo, both before and after taking office in 1972, considered public housing to be black housing and took a stand against placing such housing in white neighborhoods. Further, the city must be charged with knowledge of the fact that, as pointed out therein, the cancellation of the Whitman Park Townhouse Project had an obvious disparate effect on the black community and that the natural consequences of the action taken by the city would be to produce that disparate impact.

The defense had failed to convince the judge that their argument had no racial components. Fear of low property values and undesirable neighbors was not sufficient legal cause for stopping the project. Accompanying the ruling, the judge ordered that the PHA must develop a plan within 90 days to further integrate all Philadelphia public housing.[50] Rabin's testimony, testimony from public housing tenants, and testimony from the mayor himself had made it abundantly clear that stoppage of the construction of Whitman Park was about race. It was an attempt to halt civil rights reform, and the Rizzo administration's deliberate action to protect the interests of his white supporters had made white protectionism seem legally viable and municipally endorsed.

The organized white backlash continued when the WAIC and the Rizzo administration refused to accept the ruling and filed a series of appeals. The decision did not settle the dispute, but instead brought a renewed anger and passion to Whitman opponents. Well known Whitman resident and Republican committeewoman Gert Hogan said after the ruling, "I don't care if 60 black people live next to me as long as they pay their own way. If I see one bulldozer out there—all it will take is one call and I'll have 500 people out there."[51] Hogan's scenario was not an empty threat. She and the other Whitman residents' protests were unaffected by the court's decision. The WAIC had been extremely well organized throughout the dispute and remained confident that the mayor would never allow arrests to be made. Editorialist Claude Lewis wrote in 1978 while the trial was awaiting appeal,

> The people, despite the court, have the iron willed--, if irrational support of Mayor Frank Rizzo. They know that they are right because Big Frank, who works in a $130,000 official and lives in a $150,000 house and who is the champion of the little guys, says they don't have to have new houses where weeds and garbage now grow.[52]

Frank Rizzo made the people of Whitman Park felt that they were above the law. The racial privilege that the police force and city officials had afforded protesters throughout the dispute seemed limitless. Fred Durding warned that, "If we don't win in the courts it will go back to the streets, that's when I see people getting killed and a lot of horrible things happening."[53]

In March 1978, the United Stated Supreme Court refused to hear the case. The residents of Whitman Park were incensed. After the Supreme Court announced they would not hear the case, Fred Durding told the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, "It's no secret that people are buying rifles, hand grenades and dynamite. There's nothing that I can do to stop them. They are ready to die for it. If the project is built, we're going to have a Vietnam in Whitman."[54] Threats of violence by the WAIC were present from the start of the dispute, but 1978 brought a renewed fervor to their backlash.

The people of Whitman were at war, but with whom? Was their violence directed toward the

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[50] "Resident Advisory Board Et Al., V. Frank Rizzo Et Al,." November 5, 1976. The United States District Court for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania. Housing Association of Delaware Valley Records. Series 12. Box 1. TU SCRC.
[51] *Philadelphia Daily Bulletin.* September 3, 1977. Philadelphia Evening Bulletin Clippings--Whitman Park, SCRC 169. TU SCRC.
[52] Claude Lewis, *Philadelphia Daily Bulletin*. September, 1978. Philadelphia Evening Bulletin Clippings--Whitman Park, SCRC 169. TU SCRC.
[53] Jan Schaffer, *Philadelphia Inquirer*. January 26, 1976. Philadelphia Inquirer Clippings Collection—Whitman Park, SCRC 171. TU SCRC.
[54] Murray Dubin, *Philadelphia Inquirer*, March 5, 1978. Philadelphia Inquirer Clippings Collection—Whitman Park, SCRC 171. TU SCRC.

federal government that was enforcing civil rights mandates, or were they threatening their prospective neighbors? Possibly both. Violent rhetoric and support from their leader had legitimized their cause, justified their anger, and preyed on their fear of slipping through the cracks of the American system. Whitman residents had pledged their allegiance to Rizzo, a man who once said, "the only thing these Black Power leaders understand is force", and whose main response to race riots was to purchase military equipment for the police force.[55] This message that underpinned the Rizzo administration was carefully delivered, yet explicit enough for the city's angry white ethnic population to understand easily: you should be afraid of African Americans, they are a problem for the city, and fighting civil rights with violence or protest is a viable solution.

As the anger persisted, the Carter administration lost its patience with Philadelphia's municipal government and their commitment to white backlash. At this point Rizzo was still a Democrat, even if only nominally. The president warned that unless the city complied with building Whitman Park, as well as public housing in other predominantly white neighborhoods, the White House would withhold $102.8 million dollars for job and housing rehabilitation.[56] The city was in the midst of a financial crisis. Philadelphia's municipal government had lost federal money that was withheld as a penalty, spent over $1 million to settle with Multicon, and paid 8 years of legal fees in an attempt to fulfill Rizzo's promise to "preserve the neighborhoods of the city at any expense."[57] Impending fiscal doom meant that the Rizzo administration was out of options. They could no longer afford to cater to white backlash and maintain segregation in Whitman Park. The day after the decision was announced, the Philadelphia Daily Bulletin read, "Rizzo Aides Not Happy, Will Comply". In that same article, South Philadelphia resident Ted Hudson, who had been advised by Durding not to speak to the press, told reporters, "As far as I'm concerned, it is a racial issue. We really don't want them down here."[58]

In his official response to the decision, the mayor gave a speech in Northeast Philadelphia announcing that he would no longer seek a third term. Rizzo announced that he was ending his mayoral tenure in order to become a spokesman for what he described as "white ethnic rights".[59] The audience was enthralled with his message and furious that Mayor Rizzo had been forced to comply with the federal government's ruling. The mayor said:

> You've been called a racist and I've been called a racist, you're not racist, you're good Americans…My parents and your parents got no special treatment. People like you and me, we're tired of being treated like second-class citizens.[60]

A resurgence of support following this speech inspired the Mayor to resume his campaign. Rizzo's supporters mobilized, but this time so did his opponents.

Rizzo's campaign was defeated by enthusiastic black voter turnout. Blatant disregard for civil rights law was not sustainable. Without the support of the Rizzo administration, the protesters were forced to lay down their pickets. Threats of violence decreased as police presence increased, protesters were arrested, and the prospect of new neighbors seemed like a real possibility. Whitman residents had to face that public housing tenants were real families about to move in across the street, rather than an aggregate, faceless nuisance that would ruin the neighborhood. On March 18, 1980, two months after Rizzo left office, three construction trucks with a police escort arrived at the overgrown six-acre lot bordered by Front, 2nd and Oregon streets.[61] The Whitman Park

55 Paolantonio, *The Last Big Man*. 94.
56 Murray Dubin, Philadelphia Inquirer, March 5, 1978. Philadelphia Inquirer Clippings Collection—Whitman Park, SCRC 171. TU SCRC.
57 Ernest Holsendolph, *Philadelphia Daily Bulletin*. November 22, 1976. Philadelphia Evening Bulletin Clippings--Whitman Park, SCRC 169. TU SCRC.
58 "Rizzo Aides Not Happy, Will Comply" *Philadelphia Daily Bulletin*, February 28, 1978. Philadelphia Evening Bulletin Clippings--Whitman Park, SCRC 169. TU SCRC.
59 Lombardo, "The Battle of Whitman Park". 418.
60 Paolantonio, *The Last Big Man.* 222.
61 Paolantonio, *The Last Big Man*. 236.

Townhouse Project was finally completed in 1982. By 1994, every townhome was privately owned.

Rizzo-Era Philadelphia shows that racism is insidiously popular when economic instability, increased competition, and political figures themselves, pit white citizens against minority citizens. Rizzo sought to preserve white ethnic Philadelphian's place in the middle class by keeping African Americans out of it, but ultimately federal law was more powerful than popular prejudice. Frank Rizzo embraced white backlash in mainstream political culture and made it the centerpiece of a broken municipal government that was not equipped with the checks and balances required to protect minority residents. Rizzo's brand of racial conservatism perfectly matched that of white ethnics living in Philadelphia neighborhoods like Kensington, Roxborough, Port Richmond, and Whitman Park. Although Rizzo's racialized "law and order" politics proved to be an electoral success during the early and mid- 1970s, the administration's unlawful commitment to white backlash could not survive past Rizzo's mayoral tenure.

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The United States vs. Big Soda: The Taste of Change

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Robert Lustig, a pediatric endocrinologist who specializes in childhood obesity once said, "Sugar is celebratory. Sugar is something that we used to enjoy. It is evident that now, it basically has coated our tongues. It's turned into a diet staple, and it's killing us."[1] In the past decade the prevalence of sugar in American processed food and diet has become a growing domestic concern. It is evident that now more than ever, sugar has found its way into almost every food and drink consumed by Americans, "The United States leads the world in consumption of sweeteners and is number 3 in the world in consuming sugary drinks."[2] Sugar alters the original taste of food and drink- it disguises itself using different names embedded in products such as high fructose corn syrup, maltose, and cane crystals in addition to artificial sweeteners like Aspartame, Neotame, and Sucralose.[3] The media has focused attention on this topic as the health effects of sugar consumption have become more apparent. Sugar has become the target in recent legislation measures nationwide. Taxing sugar related beverages is now legal in large United States cities such as Philadelphia (PA) and Berkeley (CA). These taxes are intended to turn Americans off from sugary beverages in order to help reduce obesity, diabetes, rotten teeth, and other health related conditions that result from an influx in sugar consumption. Further research into this topic shows that the soda tax remains a controversial topic nationwide. The paper will focus on how the creation and implementation of a soda tax differs from the west and east coast based on the desired use for the revenue.

In order to understand taxing of sugar drinks, it is imperative to look back on what has happened in legislation, in terms of the taxing of soft drinks. Beginning in the American colonies in the early 1700s, taxation on sugar existed and was regarded as undesirable and unpopular among the colonists. One of the earliest forms of sugar taxing was the Molasses Act, also known as the Navigation Act of 1733. This act was inflicted by the British on the colonists and entailed, "a tax on molasses, sugar, and rum imported from non-British foreign colonies into the North American colonies."[4] The colonists were under British rule at the time and this tax was imposed out of fear of competition with foreign sugar producers. The American colonists were unhappy with the tax and felt that the British would not be able to supply and meet the colonists demand in molasses. Molasses was a key ingredient in making rum, a product exported by the colonists in the Northeast. "The American colonists feared that the acts effect would be to increase the price of rum manufactured in New England, thus disrupting the region's exporting capacity."[5] In the end, the act was ineffective for the British. The colonists did not entirely escape taxing on sugar as the Molasses Act expired in 1763 and the Sugar Act surfaced and replaced it, nearly thirty years after the Molasses Act's original creation.

The Sugar Act of 1764 was created by the British towards the colonists in order to eliminate illegal smuggling and competition of sugar imports from places that were not British. During this sugar taxation, Britain sought out tighter control in order to pay back debt from the recent French and Indian War.[6] Many colonists were vocal about their anger for this tax and felt that Britain was overstepping

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[1] Robert Lustig, "Sugar: The Bitter Truth," Video, July 30, 2009, University of California Television (UCTV), https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dBnniua6-oM.
[2] "Sales of sugary drinks in 2014" *Healthy Food America*, Web, 2016, http://www.healthyfoodamerica.org/sugartoolkit_overview, See Appendix A.
[3] Mayo Clinic Staff, "Artificial Sweeteners and Other Sugar Substitutes," *Mayo Clinic- Nutrition and Health Eating*, Web, August 15, 2015, http://www.mayoclinic.org/healthy-lifestyle/nutrition-and-healthy-eating/in-depth/artificial-sweeteners/art-20046936.
[4] "Molasses Act, " *Britannica Academic*, s.v, Web, http://dbproxy.lasalle.edu:4510/levels/collegiate/article/53225.
[5] Ibid.
[6] Angelo T. Angelis, "Sugar Act," *Encyclopedia of U.S. Political History* (Washington: CQ Press, 2010). http://dbproxy.lasalle.edu:4345/content/topic/sugar_act_1764.

their power onto the colonies. They feared that the British government's rule impeded on the American constitutional rights.[7] The new tax hurt the colonist's production of rum and began to pave the road for other taxes that were imposed on the colonists, which contributed to the American Revolution.

During the twentieth century there were also taxes in place on soft drinks that were comprised of sugar. Under the War Revenue Act of 1917, "Title III, 'War Tax on Beverages,' section 313, imposed a graduated tax of $0.05 to $0.20 per gallon on all syrups for manufacturing soft drinks, $0.01 per gallon on 'all ginger ale, root beer, sarsaparilla, pop, and other carbonated waters or beverages."[8] The purpose of this tax and other taxes that were implemented by the Federal Government during this time was, "to encourage thrift and economy and to prevent extravagance as well as to provide revenue."[9] Congress thought that soft drinks were considered a luxury, not a necessity. The Great Depression began not long after the end of World War I and as the nation attempted to fix the economy, the government looked back to past wartime policies, like the Revenue Acts, in order to help boost the economy. The debate over the question if soft drinks were a luxury or a necessity became relevant and eventually the issue regarding excess taxes proposed on soft drinks fell to the wayside.Given these historical points, the purpose of taxing sugar related products in the early history of America was meant to increase revenue, boost the economy, and enforce a stricter trade policy on the young country. Now, as an independent nation, the focus of taxing sugar related products has shifted. There is no longer a need to tax sugary drinks for the overall well-being of the country. Rather, taxing on sugar related products, specifically on sugary drinks, is meant to target and tackle health related concerns associated with too much sugar. This switch in taxation reflects an overall shift in American attitude towards personal health, which outweighs the economical advantages.

The history of soft drinks originates back almost three hundred years with the early creation of soda water.[10] The first cola drink, later to be tagged the famous brand Coca-Cola, was made by a druggist whose purpose for the bubbled beverage was to cure hangovers and headaches.[11] In its early stages, soda was connected with medicinal use, not for enjoyment and refreshment. An accidental mistake of mixing the cola with soda water turned into a multi-million-dollar recipe for one of the most consumed sodas in the world. One of the main ingredients of Coca-Cola is sugar, which is why cities in the United States are targeting distribution companies for their distribution of these soft drinks.

In the early 2000s, Michael Jacobson and Kelly Brownell, two doctors who were the leading pioneers and proponents of using taxes on sugary drinks in order to promote the overall health of United States citizens, began to make headlines. During this time, the duo acknowledged the lack of programs available in the United States whose primary purpose was to promote a healthier lifestyle, through proper diet and fitness. Jacobson and Brownell proposed, "State and local governments levy taxes on foods of low nutritional value and use the revenues to fund health promotion programs."[12] Sugary drinks, referred to commonly as soft drinks, are encompassed under this proposal as well. They argued that, "legislative bodies find it more practical to tax well recognized categories of food that play little useful role in nutrition."[13] Jacobson and Brownell suggested creating a small tax on soft drinks because they felt it would be taken better by the public and the expected revenue would add up economically in total. They explained, "Because such small taxes are unlikely to have a significant effect on the price or consumption of food, they probably would not be

[7] Ibid.
[8] Ibid.
[9] Ibid.
[10] "Soft Drinks & Diet Sodas, "*American Beverage Association*, Web, 2016, http://www.ameribev.org/.

[11] Waverly Root and Richard De Rochemont, "The Great American Sweet Tooth" from *Eating In America: A History* (New Jersey: The Ecco Press, 1976), 421.
[12] Michael F. Jacobson and Kelly D. Brownell, "Small Taxes on Soft Drinks and Snack Foods to Promote Health," *American Journal of Public Health,* Vol. 90 no.6, (2000).
[13] Ibid.

strongly opposed by consumers."[14] This small tax to promote health can be contrasted to the earlier taxes on sugar in the colonial period as now these taxes are meant to boost revenue in order to pay for a specific program that help support healthier diets and physical fitness. Jacobson and Brownell helped pave the way for the idea of taxes on sugary drinks that are popular today.

In today's society, consuming sugar in food and drink continues to be a major health issue facing the nation. Taxing sugary drinks is intended to, "raise money for community initiatives for health and well-being while calling attention to the health risks from sugary drinks."[15] Any state in America can inflict this drink tax; however, it becomes complicated as to which drinks and what quantities are categorized as being too sugary to be taxed. Healthy Food America, a nonprofit organization intended to help overall health and decrease the intake of added sugars through lawmaking control action, explained that the sugary beverages being taxed would include a broad range of drink categories, "Sodas (such as Coke, Pepsi, Mountain Dew), energy and sports drinks (such as Monster, Red Bull, Gatorade, PowerAde), fruit flavored drinks (such as Sunny D), sweetened teas and coffee drinks (such as Arizona Iced Tea)."[16] Taxing sugary drinks is based on volume or quantity of sugar in the drink.[17] "Sugary drinks account for nearly half (46%) of the added sugars in the American diet and are the largest source of added sugars for all age groups."[18]

Many cities throughout the United States have acknowledged the health risks of excessive sugar and its prevalence in American drinks. "Most of us are familiar with the chief advantages of over indulgence in sugar- bad teeth, excess weight, dyspepsia, clogged arteries, with attendant risk of heart trouble."[19] Larry Tramutola, a political strategist in Berkeley, California explained, "Over the last 15-20 years in the United States and throughout the world, there has been an epidemic relating to the overconsumption of sweetened beverages."[20] It is because of individuals like Tramutola that the taxes on soda have been implemented in the United States. Berkeley (CA), Philadelphia (PA), San Francisco (CA), Oakland (CA), Albany (CA), Boulder (CO), and Cook County (IL) are seven major cities in the United States that are undergoing an excess tax on the sugary drink initiative. Over the past three years these taxes have been proposed and approved and are projected to start in 2017, with the exception of Berkeley whose tax has already been put in place. Implementing this tax is not an easy thing to do. Cities must account for the fact that the powerful soft drink and soda companies, nicknamed Big Soda, will be ready to fire back and fight against a proposed tax. Big Soda continues to fight against the soda taxes proposed in all the cities. In many instances, these large soft drink corporations have put their efforts and money into campaigning against these city councils proposed taxes and have been successful. In Berkeley and Philadelphia, however, Big Soda was unsuccessful in its fight.

Berkeley was the first U.S. city to have gone through the appropriate legislative measures in order to pass the tax on sugary drinks in November 2014. Many cities now look to Berkeley as a model for the fight for the health of America. Berkeley achieved its success in passing this tax because several members of the Berkeley community from all different backgrounds stood united on this issue. It was not lawmakers or officials who thought this tax should be enforced but rather it was widespread recognition and support amongst community members that Berkeley's health was hidden under a pile of sugar. This indicates there is growing awareness and concern of the harms that too much sugar can cause on the human body. Berkeley's residents were ready to fight back against Big Soda for the greater good of the people. Members of the local city organization, Berkeley Health Child Coalition which was established nearly a year before the petition was approved, created a petition

[14] Ibid.
[15] "Why take on sugar? Why now?" *Healthy Food America*, Web, 2016, http://www.healthyfoodamerica.org/sugartoolkit_overview.
[16] Ibid.
[17] Ibid.
[18] Ibid.
[19] Waverly Root and Richard De Rochemont, "The Great American Sweet Tooth" from *Eating In America: A History* (New Jersey: The Ecco Press, 1976), 418.
[20] Larry Tramutola, phone interview by Hannah Elliott, November 29, 2016, See Appendix D.

for its citizens, "asking City Council to include a tax measure on the November 2014 ballot."[21] The campaign was known as Berkeley vs. Big Soda. Soft drink companies in Berkeley were not happy with the petition. More than a majority of the final vote approved the tax and Berkeley claimed its title of the first city in the United States to take on Big Soda and win. The new legislation chapter 7.72 to the Berkeley Municipal Code wrote, "In addition to any other taxes imposed by the City, the City hereby levies a tax of one cent ($0.01) per fluid ounce for the privilege of Distributing Sugar-sweetened beverage products in the City."[22]

Since its creation in 2014, Berkeley's soda tax has generated $1 million for several programs.[23] In order to oversee the portfolio of programs now funded by the soda tax, a panel was created to monitor where the money was going and to ensure that it was going into the proper areas, "to support programs to reduce sugary drink consumption and improve children's health."[24] Laurie Capitelli, a Berkeley City Council member- District 5, initiated the proposal in the spring of 2013. She was a member of the steering committee and has served as the public contract point for outside inquiries since the passage of the measure.[25] She commented on the success of passing the tax: "I would consider our efforts to be wildly successful. Consumption is down. Revenue is supporting valuable programs and the message is spreading to communities to consider adopting similar measures."[26] Based on Capitelli's remarks, proponents of the Berkeley soda tax see that their efforts are moving forward to the change they want to see.

Tramutola played a large part in the Berkeley ruling. He was a consultant that was hired by the established committee to run the campaign. His role was to help draft what the initiative would be and helped officials determine the various parts of the initiative before it went to voters.[27] He supported the soda tax legislation ruling in Berkeley because he believed that sugar was a global problem that had hit the soft drink and health industries hard. Tramutola argued in favor of the tax because he believed that Berkeley could reduce the consumption of these beverages with virtually no expense, in order to save billions of dollars in health care cost and revenue towards health care programs within the city. Many supporters were in agreement with Tramutola's ideologies.

Tramutola is also currently advising other communities on the West Coast who want to take part in this soda tax measure. Oakland, San Francisco, and Albany are other California communities that have launched campaigns on the tax soda in their areas. They were equally successful campaigns and will begin the tax in the coming year. Boulder (CO) as well as Cook County (IL) passed similar measures this year. It is note-worthy that Berkeley, Boulder, Albany, San Francisco, and Oakland are the five cities whose soda tax was voted by the people, meaning the commissioners or council members of that area did not create the tax. Instead, it was created by the people and voted in favor for by the general public.[28] This shows that Berkeley has set a precedent for other cities in the United States. The success of their campaign has shown that the public has the power to make such a large change while also raising awareness in communities nationwide of the risks of soda drinks on a person's health.[29] Tramutola argues that a soft drink tax is the best solution to a growing problem that can't be ignored. He believes that the role of sugar in the American diet was a reflection on the power of the soft drink producing industries.[30] These multi-million-dollar

[21] "Berkeley vs. Big Soda," Web, 2016, http://www.berkeleyvsbigsoda.com/.
[22] "Sugar Sweetened Beverage Tax," *City of Berkeley Legislation*, Web, 2016, https://www.cityofberkeley.info/uploadedFiles/Clerk/Elections/Sugar%20Sweeetened%20Beverage%20Tax%20%20-%20Full%20Text.pdf.

[23] Ibid.
[24] "Berkeley vs. Big Soda," Web, 2016, http://www.berkeleyvsbigsoda.com/.
[25] Laurie Capitelli, e-mail to City Council Member, November 21, 2016, See Appendix E.
[26] Ibid.
[27] Larry Tramutola, phone interview by Hannah Elliott, November 29, 2016, See Appendix D.
[28] Ibid.
[29] Laurie Capitelli, e-mail to City Council Member, November 21, 2016, See Appendix E.
[30] Larry Tramutola, phone interview by Hannah Elliott, November 29, 2016, See Appendix D.

industries are powerful and have deep pockets and political connections. Tramutola also predicts that Berkeley will inspire other cities in the future to enact a soda tax and in the next few years there will be more attempts to do so. America is beginning to enjoy the benefits of healthier lifestyles.

The *New York Times* conducted one of the first studies to see the effects of a soda tax on consumers buying and consuming sugary drinks in Berkeley, San Francisco, and Oakland, in August 2016 and to see if taxing sugary related drinks actually led to the proposed health benefits it was intended to help. The study was conducted on the low-income communities in these areas and researchers concluded, "in the four months after the tax took effect last year, self-report consumption of sugary drinks fell by 21 percent in the Berkeley neighborhoods, but rose by 3 percent in the other two cities."[31] Data was gathered from in person surveys of residents in the low-income communities. Many argued that this method of research was ineffective and did not sufficiently uncover the full truth as to if the tax was deterring people from buying sugary drinks. The report stated, "Few people reported leaving city limits to avoid the tax. Only about 2 percent of people in the survey said they were buying drinks outside Berkeley because of the tax."[32] This survey was one of the first of its kind and therefore it does not give the public all the details they want to know. The city of Berkeley could not compare its findings to anywhere else because they took initiative as the first of its kind. Kenneth Margulies, a professor of medicine at the University of Pennsylvania, explained that a recent study in the American Journal of Public Health concluded, "SSB consumption dropped by 21% in Berkeley (compared to 4% increase in comparison cities) and water consumption increased by 63% in Berkeley (compared to 19% in comparison cities)."[33] These numbers indicate that the tax is deterring the consumption of sugary soft drinks and individuals are selecting a healthier drink of choice.

Tramutola explained that the consumption of sugary drink beverages is the highest in young people.[34] Looking at Healthy Food America's statistics proves Tramutola to be correct; "Adolescents, teenagers, and young adults consume more calories per day from these drinks than very young children or middle aged or older adults."[35] The reasoning behind the large consumption in the younger generations is due to the marketing and advertising of these soft drinks companies, "It is more probable that the nation acquired the habit of drinking Coca-Cola because of the aggressive and skillful advertising methods used to promote it."[36] For example, pop-singer, actress, and songwriter sensation Selena Gomez recently participated in Coca- Colas 'Share a Coke and Song' campaign where a music artist's lyrics were featured on Coca-Cola bottles. Gomez, a fashion and beauty icon, partook in the viral campaign posing with the bottle under her lips with the distinguishable Coca-Cola old school bottle hanging from her red painted fingers.[37] Other celebrities have also taken to the campaign allowing their lyrics to be on the bottles, evidently developing the consumer's connection to the drink and music. Icons and celebrities easily sway the younger generation's choices and if an advertisement appeals to them, adolescents are more inclined to consume it when they see it being endorsed by their favorite celebrities. It is because of these advertisements by Big Soda that the numbers of adolescents and children who consume soft drinks like Coca- Cola, Sprite, Canada Dry, and Root Beer are so high. These advertisements are highly impactful and influential.

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[31] Margot Sanger-Katz, "More Evidence That Soda Taxes Cut Soda Drinking," *New York Times*, August 25, 2016, http://www.nytimes.com/2016/08/25/upshot/more-evidence-that-soda-taxes-cut-soda-drinking.html?_r=0.

[32] Ibid.

[33] Kenneth B. Margulies, M.D., email to Professor of Medicine, December 6 2016, See Appendix F.

[34] Larry Tramutola, phone interview by Hannah Elliott, November 29, 2016, See Appendix D.

[35] "Sugary Drinks," *Healthy Food America*, Web, 2016, http://www.healthyfoodamerica.org/sugartoolkit_overview, See Appendix C.

[36] Richard De Rochemont and Waverly Root. "The Great American Sweet Tooth" from *Eating in America: A History.* (New Jersey: The Ecco Press, 1976), 422.

[37] "Selena Gomez- Share a Coke and Song," *Coca-Cola Company*, April 2016, See Appendix I. Hereafter, all references to this advertisement are from this source.

While it has been seen that the rate at which soda is consumed is highest in adolescents, teenagers, and young adults, it should also be taken into account the consumer's race and income. Based on a graph from a Physical Activity and Nutrition Study conducted in 2010, African American high school students consume significantly more sugary drinks in comparison to whites and Hispanics. [38] Additionally,

> Children from low education households have almost 40% increased changes of consuming these drinks than children from higher education households. Young adults from low-income households have almost 50% increased chances of consuming these drinks than higher income counterparts.[39]

These statistics show that the demographic of individuals who drink sugary drinks varies amongst races, age, and socio-economic status.

In contrast to the west coast soda tax where the soda tax revenue has been used for health education in the city, on the East Coast in Philadelphia a soda tax has been put into effect to pay for other city programs with no correlation to health benefits. The Mayor of Philadelphia, Jim Kenney, proposed the tax with the idea that the tax would bring in enough revenue to pay for prekindergarten, community schools, and recreation centers.[40] His actions were explained, as being a response to the growing changes in Philadelphia and to him it seemed like the most logical way to adjust to these changes in the best and smartest financial way possible. Prior to Kenney being in office, Philadelphia attempted a soda tax twice and failed each time.[41] Kevin Feeley, a public relations person in the Philadelphia area supported the tax because he believed that expansion of these programs was critical for the city and was essential to the stability of the city's neighborhoods.[42] Feeley commented, "It is the fairest and fastest way to provide funds for the critically important programs in our city."[43] The tax was voted in favor by the city council in the middle of the 2016 calendar year. The legislation writes, "The tax amended Title 19 of the Philadelphia Code, and added a new chapter, 194100, called the "Sugar-Sweetened Beverage Tax."[44] The Philadelphia soda tax will go into effect at the beginning of 2017.

The American Heart Association (AHA) had a strong showing at the Philadelphia council meeting in June 2016. Dr. Ken Margulies the former president of the AHA of Southeast Pennsylvania spoke on the matter at the council meeting.[45] In relation to the Philadelphia ruling, the non-profit organization spent $330,000 to help this tax pass.[46] The AHA was an avid organization in the recent soda taxes nationwide. The organization intended to support taxes as well as individual work that is targeting consumption of sugary drinks in order to help the nation's health.[47] In order to show

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[38] "Consumption can vary by race and type of drink" *Healthy Food America,* Web, 2016, http://www.healthyfoodamerica.org/sugartoolkit_overview, See Appendix B.

[39] "Why take on sugar? Why now?" *Healthy Food America,* Web, 2016, http://www.healthyfoodamerica.org/sugartoolkit_overview.

[40] Dann Cuellar, "Philadelphia City Council Passes Beverage Tax with 13-4 Vote," *6ABC Action News,* June 17 2016, http://6abc.com/news/philadelphia-city-council-passes-beverage-tax-/1388228/.

[41] Margot Sanger-Katz, "Making a Soda Tax More Politically Palatable," *New York Times,* April 3, 2016, http://www.nytimes.com/2016/04/04/upshot/making-a-soda-tax-more-politically-palatable.html.

[42] Kevin Feeley, e-mail to Public Relations Person, November 23 2016. See Appendix G.

[43] Ibid.

[44] "Sugar Sweetened Beverage Tax," *City of Philadelphia Legislation,* June 6, 2016, https://phila.legistar.com/LegislationDetail.aspx?ID=2595907&GUID=36060B21-D7EE-4D50-93E7-8D2109D47ED1&FullText=1.

[45] Kenneth Margulies, "Philadelphia City Council Passes Beverage Tax with 13-4 Vote," Video, *6ABC Action News,* June 17, 2016, http://6abc.com/news/philadelphia-city-council-passes-beverage-tax-/1388228/.

[46] Jonathan Kirch, e-mail to Government Relations Director, December 8, 2016, See Appendix H.

[47] American Heart Association News, "AHA Continues Work to Limit Sugary Drink Consumption," *Healthy Living Blog,*

their support and get their message across in the Philadelphia campaign, the AHA did not work alone in order to help this tax get passed. A multi-disciplinary team of volunteers and AHA staff met with councilmembers in an effort aimed at helping the tax bill to pass. The team created signs that were present during the meeting and took to the media to get their point across.[48] Jonathan Kirch, a Government Relations Director in the Delaware and Philadelphia area, worked directly with city council, an organization called Philadelphians for a Fair Future, and the mayor to help the tax on soda get passed by the Philadelphia city council. Kirch explained in context to rising public consciousness of the role of sugar in drink in America, "I think this new tax is a fundamental game changer for public health in America as it relates to cardiovascular diseases, hypertension, diabetes, and other conditions. Our understanding about how our food system and our dietary norms are driving massive population health problems and enormous human suffering is finally surfacing."[49]

As it continues to remain a controversial issue, there was much discrepancy amongst Philadelphians, Big Soda companies, and others- making comparisons of the tax to a modern prohibition by taxing something that the government doesn't want people to have or consume.[50] Though Tramutola was a member of the Berkeley campaign he commented that passing a similar law was a major step for a big city like Philadelphia. He explained, "The way Philadelphia handled the situation opened up the possibility of looking at a tax in opposite ways than that of California."[51] Further, he remarked that other cities could look at the legislation and see the health incentives and see the money go elsewhere.[52] Many were surprised with the direction that Mayor Kenney's tax will be taking, as he has not mentioned any health related benefits for the tax; rather he remarked, "There's really serious health benefits in pre-K."[53] What Mayor Kenney did not mention in his soda tax campaign was the growing obesity problems in Philadelphia. Margulies of University of Pennsylvania concluded that in addition to high rates of diabetes, blood pressure, and premature death caused by cardiovascular disease, "The prevalence of childhood obesity in Philadelphia is over 20% and the prevalence of adult obesity is above 33% - This is the highest rate of any major city in the U.S."[54] The mayor has not stressed this big health crisis, but many other health and medical professionals have. Kirch advocated, "These beverages are causing an enormous burden of disease and by driving down the overconsumption of these products thousands of lives will be saved. Tens of thousands of cases of type two diabetes will be avoided. It's that simple."[55]

This contrasts with what Berkeley had done in the sense that Mayor Kenney broadened what the money could be used for which aligned with the priorities of the council members. The expected results of these two taxes differ and show a divide in the United States that contrast what is best for their cities when it comes to the revenue generated by taxing soda. Berkeley sees the tax as a way to help reduce the growing diabetes and obesity rates that are increasing in children and adults, whereas the Philadelphia tax revenue is focused on more public interest and bettering the physical city. The big push for the soft drink tax stems from different parties as well. On the west coast, the tax was created and pushed for by the residents and on the

October 10, 2016, http://news.heart.org/aha-continues-work-to-limit-sugary-drink-consumption.
[48] "Sugary Tax," *American Heart Association,* June 16, 2016. See Appendix J.
[49] Jonathan Kirch, e-mail to Government Relations Director, December 8, 2016, See Appendix H.
[50] Dann Cuellar, "Philadelphia City Council Passes Beverage Tax with 13-4 Vote," *6ABC Action News,* June 17, 2016, http://6abc.com/news/philadelphia-city-council-passes-beverage-tax-/1388228/.
[51] Larry Tramutola, phone interview by Hannah Elliott, November 29, 2016, See Appendix D.
[52] Ibid.
[53] Margot Sanger-Katz, "Making a Soda Tax More Politically Palatable," *New York Times,* April 3, 2016, http://www.nytimes.com/2016/04/04/upshot/making-a-soda-tax-more-politically-palatable.html.
[54] Kenneth B. Margulies, M.D., email to Professor of Medicine, December 6, 2016, See Appendix F.
[55] Jonathan Kirch, e-mail to Government Relations Director, December 8, 2016, See Appendix H.

east coast, it was a legislative decision by the Mayor.

This topic leads to ongoing, further research in the food industry. While this analysis has focused solely on taxing soda and sugary drinks, it can be explored further, as to which states have started taxing other foods deemed unhealthy by policy makers in an effort to improve national public health programs. Additional research could be taken to study implementation of taxes on unhealthy food and drinks on an international level and compare and contrast these measures to the United States. Cities in Europe, South America, Asia, and South Africa are looking into these domestic measures in order to create taxes of their own.[56] The sample size for this research paper was small, as the soda tax has only begun to be campaigned. Therefore, this leaves more room for research in the topic of the soda tax in the future in order to prove the validity and reliability of the conclusions drawn from the research.

Regardless of the action that is being taken, the consumption of sugar in food and drink in America is a growing health epidemic facing the nation. Capitelli explained,

> Sugar is a problem that goes way beyond just beverages. Sugar is a pervasive ingredient in our diet. It is a pervasive attempt to sweeten everything and convince the public tastes that sugar is necessary for food to taste 'good.' Liquid sugar is extra harmful partly because it is metabolized so quickly impacting bodily functions almost immediately.[57]

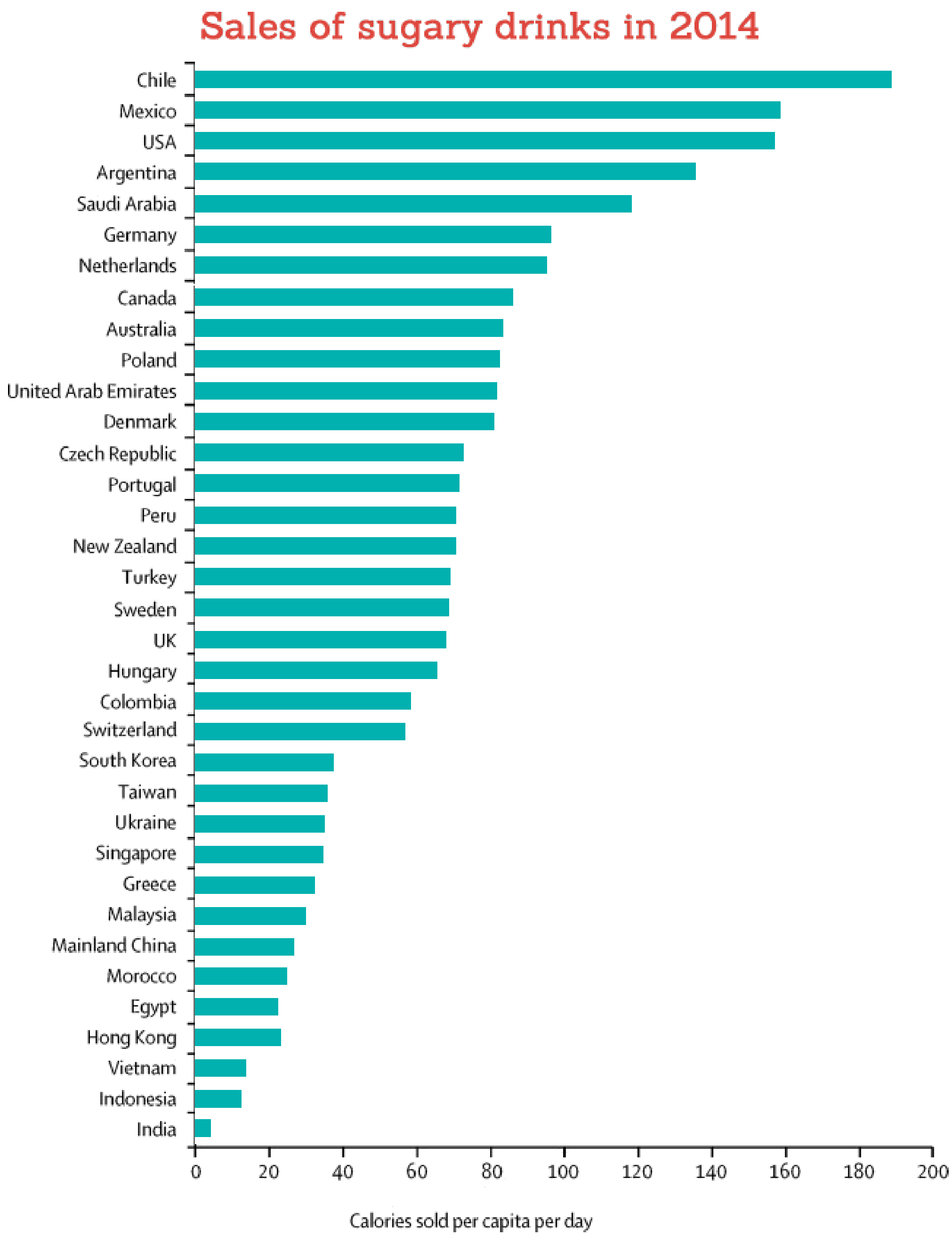
A change in the nations attitude towards the health of America is slowly evolving. The American myth of "the more, the better" in context to the sugar in drinks has become detrimental to the health of Americans. The fact that revenue gained from the west coast and east coast sugar taxes serve different purposes shows another division between the American states. It is not uncommon to see the Philadelphia Eagles football team lift a Gatorade to their mouths on live TV. It is not uncommon to see a Philadelphian bite into a sugary sweet Tasty Kake, a symbol of Philadelphia and evidently America. American studies, which is the interdisciplinary study of American society and culture both past and present, allowed the research of the role of sugar in drink in America to be critically analyzed in context to the world today. The soda taxes, enacted on the east and west coasts have developed a better understanding of the role of sugary drinks in America and the potential avenues in which the soda tax revenue could be spent.

[56] Ibid.

[57] Laurie Capitelli, e-mail to City Council Member, November 21, 2016, See Appendix E.

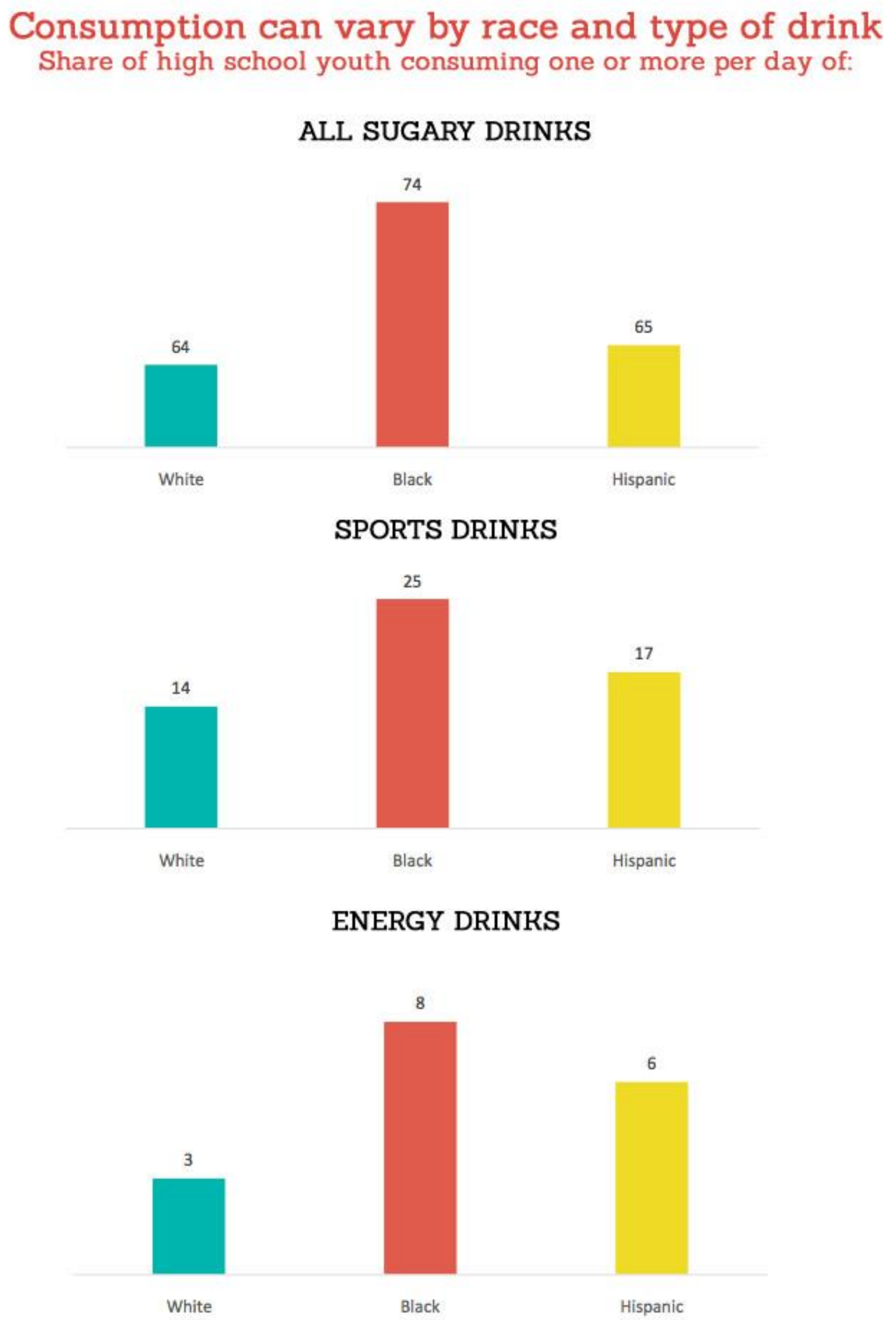
Appendix A

"Sales of sugary drinks in 2014" *Healthy Food America*



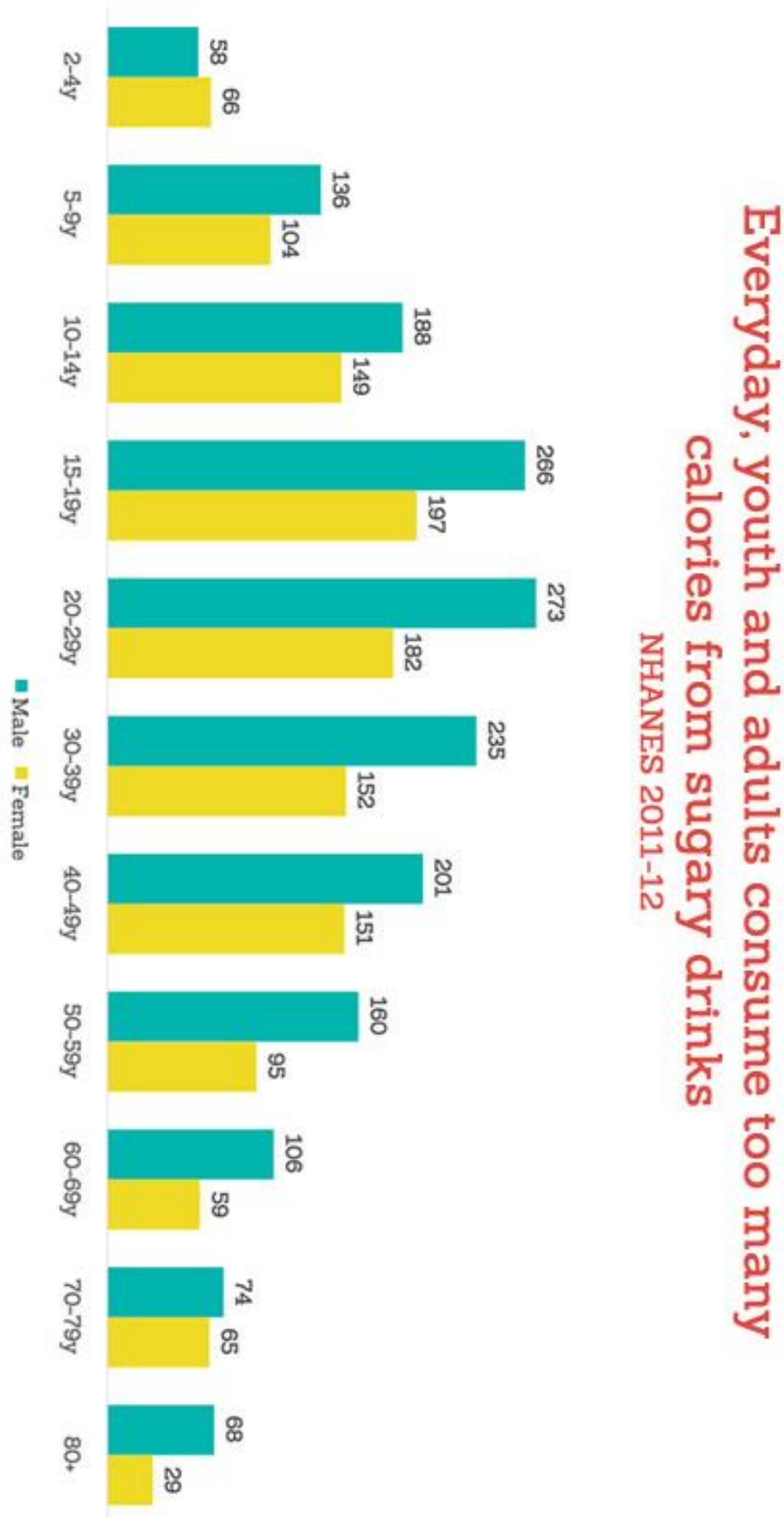
Appendix B

"Consumption can vary by race and type of drink"
Healthy Food America



Appendix C

“Sugary Drinks” *Healthy Food America*



Appendix D

(Phone Interview with Larry Tramutola, 29 November 2016)

Questions:

1. I read a NY Times article that quoted you saying, "I think Philadelphia may change the whole conversation about soda taxes." Could you explain this in more depth?
2. What role did you play in the soda tax legislation ruling in Berkley?
3. Why do you think this is so important?
4. The NY Times article also explained that you are advising other California communities who want to take part in this measure. How are you doing this?
5. What does this tax tell us about the role of sugar/food/drink in America?

Appendix E

(E-mail to Laurie Capitelli, 21 November 2016)

Hello. My name is Hannah Elliott. I am a junior at La Salle University located in Philadelphia, PA. I am an Elementary/ Special Education and American Studies major. The theme of my American Studies course this semester is examining the role of food and drink in American culture from the Puritans to the present. For my final paper I have chosen to research the soda tax that was enacted in cities in the U.S. I was wondering if you would be able to help me further my research and answer some questions that I have regarding the tax. It would mean a lot to me and would benefit my education.

Best,

Hannah Elliott

Questions:

1. What role did you play in the soda tax legislation ruling?

2. What does the actual legislation say concerning the soda tax?

3. Why do you think this is so important?

4. Is there any other area where this tax is has been put in California?

5. What does this tax tell us about the role of sugar/food/drink in America?

Appendix F

(E-mail to Kenneth B. Margulies, 6 December 2016)

Hello. My name is Hannah Elliott. I am a junior at La Salle University located in Philadelphia, PA. I am an Elementary/ Special Education and American Studies major. The theme of my American Studies course this semester is examining the role of food and drink in American culture from the Puritans to the present. For my final paper I have chosen to research the soda tax that was enacted in cities in the U.S. I recently came across a 6ABC News article of you speaking at the meeting where the tax was approved. I was wondering if you would be able to help me further my research and answer some questions that I have regarding the tax. It would mean a lot to me and would benefit my education.

Best,

Hannah Elliott

Appendix G

(E-mail to Kevin Feeley, 23 November 2016)

Hello. My name is Hannah Elliott. I am a junior at La Salle University located in Philadelphia, PA. I am an Elementary/ Special Education and American Studies major. The theme of my American Studies course this semester is examining the role of food and drink in American culture from the Puritans to the present. For my final paper I have chosen to research the soda tax that was enacted in cities in the U.S. I was wondering if you would be able to help me further my research and answer some questions that I have regarding the tax. It would mean a lot to me and would benefit my education.

Best,

Hannah Elliott

Questions:

1. I read an NY Times article that said you support the tax. What is your reasoning behind this?

2. Can you tell me anything about the organization you are involved with, Philadelphians for a Fair Future?

3. Why do you think this is whole issue is so important?

4. Is there any other area where this tax is has been put in California?

5. What does this tax tell us about the role of sugar/food/drink in America?

Appendix H

(E-mail to Jonathan Kirch, 8 December 2016)

Hello. My name is Hannah Elliott. I am a junior at La Salle University located in Philadelphia, PA. I am an Elementary/ Special Education and American Studies major. The theme of my American Studies course this semester is examining the role of food and drink in American culture from the Puritans to the present. For my final paper I have chosen to research the soda tax that was enacted in cities in the U.S. I was wondering if you would be able to help me further my research and answer some questions that I have regarding the tax. It would mean a lot to me and would benefit my education.

Best,

Hannah Elliott

Questions:

1. This was a big step for Philadelphia. What did you do in order to help this tax get passed?

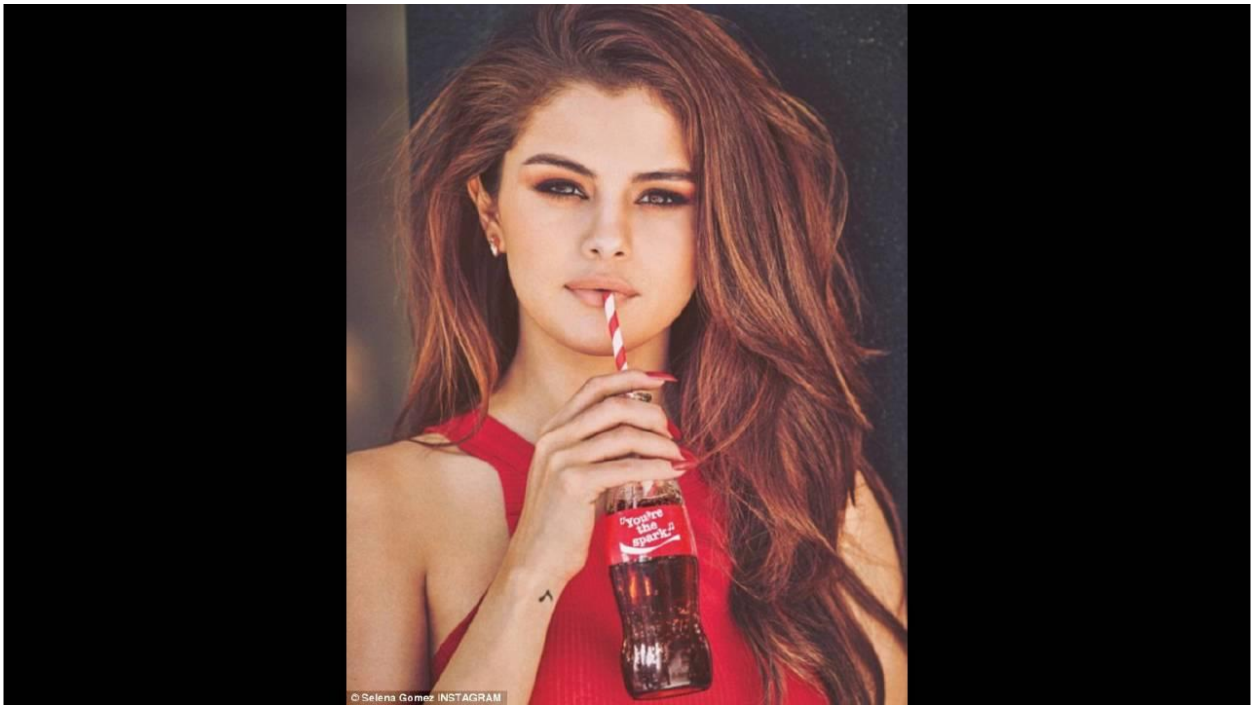
2. Why do you think this is whole issue is so important?

3. How will this affect our city in the coming year?

4. What does this tax tell us about the role of sugar/food/drink in America?

Appendix I

("Selena Gomez- Share a Coke and Song," *Coca-Cola Company)*



Appendix J

("Sugary Tax," *American Heart Association)*

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Building the Bridge Between Advertising and Social Change

Jackie Salg
Franklin and Marshall College

Introduction

The Internet has increased the media's presence in the lives of Americans by way of social media and video streaming websites. As Americans continue to access endless streams of media content, they are also constantly inundated with advertisements. Whether they are tucked away on the side of a webpage, embedded in newsfeeds, or unavoidable interruptions before video clips, advertisements have become significant in the everyday lives of Americans. Not only are they significant in frequency of appearance, but more importantly, as products of media, they possess meaningful cultural value. Scholar, Douglas Kellner rightfully argues that media and advertising provide the tools for us to forge our identities; our notions of gender, class, ethnicity and race, nationality, sexuality, and of 'us' and 'them.' Media images help shape our view of the world and our deepest values…and how to conform to the dominant system of norms, values, practices, and institutions"[1](Kellner, 7). Due to the significant roles that media and advertising play in individuals identity formation and worldviews, it is necessary to consider the role that ads play in reproducing or maintaining hegemony. Utilizing James Lull's definition of hegemony as "power or dominance that one social group has over others[2]" (Lull, 33), scholars have argued that advertisers, employed in an industry motivated by profit and once labeled as, "hidden persuaders," have worked in favor of maintaining hegemony and the dominant ideology. (For the purposes of this paper, the dominant group is considered as being comprised of White, middle to upper class men who would like to maintain a capitalist based, patriarchal society and hegemony.) Historically, media corporations and advertising agencies have engaged in exclusive employment decisions by hiring mostly White, middle to upper-class males to fill executive positions. The business sector also has a history of being dominated by White men. Therefore, it is reasonable to conclude that corporations utilize the media as "tools to perpetuate their power, wealth and status[3]" (Lull, 33). However, despite the instinct to conclude that media corporations, belonging to and controlled by the dominant group, use their power to reproduce hegemony, recent advertisements challenge this assumption.

Advertisers have been forced to produce ads that speak to a broad audience or target frequently neglected groups of consumers. Increasingly, advertisers in the U.S. aim to target minorities and people of color who have experienced a history of misrepresentation or a lack of representation in advertisements and the entertainment industry. Historically, advertisers have encoded dominant meanings within ads with the hope that viewers decode the meanings and construct a dominant-hegemonic position of the ads[4] (Hall, 101). Advertisements encoded with dominant meanings tend to target White consumers and feature White actors. However, recent advertisements that feature people of color reveal that advertisers have begun to insert meanings in ads that are less straightforward. In this way, scholars should consider the potential that media corporations, traditionally regarded as working in favor of hegemony, can in fact, produce work that is counter-hegemonic and can be in service of subordinate groups.

Two ads that display this potential are the "Just Checking" and "Gracie" television ads for Cheerios cereal. Both ads feature a biracial family: a White mother, Black father, and mixed, young daughter. The ads' representation of a multiracial family can be regarded as a visual challenge to hegemony. However, closer analysis of this

[1] Douglas Kellner, "Cultural Studies, Multiculturalism, and Media Culture," Gender, Race, And Class In Media, ed. Gail Dines and Jean M. Humez (California: Sage, 2011) 7.

[2] James Lull, "Hegemony," Gender, Race, And Class In Media, ed. Gail Dines and Jean M. Humez (California: Sage, 2011) 33.

[3] Lull, 33.

[4] Stuart Hall, "Encoding, Decoding," 1977: 101.

representation and of the other possible interpretations of the ad challenges the extent to which the ads can be considered as counter-hegemonic. An ad that features a biracial couple is counter-hegemonic but that classification is complicated by the fact that the couple never appears together in the same frame. Despite these complications, from the ad analysis in this paper, there emerges the opportunity to form a bridge between the goals of the advertising industry and the work towards social change that is done within the social sciences.

Ad Analysis

In order to analyze the extent to which the ads can be considered as counter-hegemonic, it is necessary to identify the denotative (or manifest) and connotative (or latent) signs within the ads. General Mills hired the advertising agency, Saatchi and Saatchi to produce the first ad, "Just Checking[5]." The ad aired on television in 2013 and was uploaded on General Mills' YouTube page the following day. The ad begins with the camera focused on a kitchen table where a White woman is seated. A young girl with a mixed complexion walks up to the table and places down a box of Cheerios before she checks in with her mother: "Dad told me that Cheerios is good for your heart, is that true?" Reading off the back of the Cheerios box, the mother replies, "Says here that Cheerios has whole grain oats that can help remove some cholesterol and that's heart healthy." The daughter smirks, grabs the Cheerios box, and runs out of the kitchen. In the next scene, the camera is focused on a Black man waking up on a couch in the living room. There is a large pile of Cheerios placed on top of the left side of his chest. As he wakes up, with a confused expression on his face, he calls out, "Jan?" A few piano notes play as the screen is replaced with the word, "Love," in the same font style and with the same yellow background associated with the Cheerios brand.

The denotative signs of the kitchen table, mother, and little girl all have connotative meanings associated with families. The Cheerios box may signify a healthy breakfast cereal for young children. The Cheerios brand itself is often associated as a family oriented and classic American brand[6]. The mother's confirmation that Cheerios is "heart healthy" hints at the potential goal of the advertisers to target African-American consumers. Although the brand has a history of advertising the health benefits of eating Cheerios, African-Americans, in particular, have a high risk of heart disease and high blood pressure[7]. Saatchi and Saatchi's strategy to target African-American consumers may have been executed by placing emphasis on the cereal as "heart healthy" along with the representation of a Black father. However, the scene of the young daughter, just checking in to confirm her father's knowledge of Cheerios as "heart healthy" and her placement of Cheerios over his heart, work to connote meanings associated with love and family. The focus on the "family love narrative" and the health benefits of Cheerios make for a positive representation of an interracial family. The representation of an interracial family and the fact that the representation focuses on the love within the family, challenges traditional ads that feature predominantly all White families, all Black families, or ads that feature people of color but not in a positive light or portraying a loving family. In this way, the "Just Checking" ad can be classified as counter-hegemonic and powerful for people of color. In fact, many people of color praised the ad when it aired on television. Consumers who identified as "mixed" expressed gratitude over the fact that the ad was made; one commenter wrote "Many thanks for reflecting what my family looked like.[8]" In this way, the ad's challenge against the

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[5] "Just Checking," https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yOmXfX7Lxow

[6] Robert Klara, "Why 74-Year-Old Cheerios Is Still America's No. 1 Cereal," Ad Week, 9 Sept. 2015, 9 Nov. 2016 **http://www.adweek.com/news/advertising-branding/why-74-year-old-cheerios-still-america-s-no-1-cereal-166715.**

[7] "African-Americans and Heart Disease, Stroke," American Heart Association, July 2015, 9 Nov. 2016 http://www.heart.org/HEARTORG/Conditions/More/MyHeartandStrokeNews/African-Americans-and-Heart-Disease-Stroke_UCM_444863_Article.jsp#.WHlCCWNuKkg

[8] Braden Goyette, "Cheerios Commercial Featuring Mixed Raced Family Gets Racist Backlash," The Huffington Post, 31 May 2015, 9 Nov. 2016 http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2013/05/31/cheerios-commercial-racist-backlash_n_3363507.html

lack of representation of interracial families was powerful for people who identify as "mixed."

The second ad, "Gracie[9]," aired during the 2014 Super Bowl. The ad began with Gracie and her father sitting across from each other at the same kitchen table seen in the "Just Checking" ad. There is a Cheerios box, milk jug, and banana in between them and they each have a bowl and spoon in front of them. Gracie's father points to individual Cheerios as he explains, "Hey, Gracie. You know how our family has daddy and mommy…" Gracie points out another Cheerio and says, "And me!" The camera zooms out to show Gracie's mother at the counter, with a visible baby bump. Gracie's father continues to explain, "That's right. Pretty soon you're going to have a baby brother." With a sassy attitude, Gracie points out another Cheerio and claims, "And a puppy." Gracie's father replies, "Deal," and glances over at his wife, who has her eyebrows raised. The scene is replaced by the same "Love" and yellow background as the "Just Checking," ad.

The same denotative signs of the family at the kitchen table or in the kitchen, breakfast, and the addition of the banana connote healthy eating and a loving family. However, the "family love narrative" is strengthened even more so in the "Gracie" ad with the images of the mother's baby bump and the conversation Gracie's father has with her about her baby brother. These details connote images of a growing family and many individuals can relate to Gracie or her parents, either by recalling the memory of being told that they will soon have a sibling or recalling the memory of breaking the news to the kids. The addition of a puppy also connotes ideas about the traditional nuclear American family: mother, father, married (Gracie's father is shown wearing a wedding ring in "Just Checking") with one daughter, one son, a puppy, and a white picket fence. The use of Cheerios to literally draw the growing family shows how the product comes to symbolize family love. In some ways, perhaps the advertiser is implying that the consumption of Cheerios, a healthy food product, will lead to a healthy growth in family. Again, the portrayal of a loving and growing interracial family make the ad counter-hegemonic given the history of a lack of representation of interracial families.

However, a closer analysis of the representation of the multiracial family complicates just how powerful the ad is for mixed individuals. As previously mentioned, the couple never appears in the same frame. Although more advertisers are creating ads that target people of color, they may fear that White consumers are not ready to see more frequent representations of minorities in ads. Advertisers' decision to separate the couple provides insight as to what "creative people in media think Americans want – or are ready for…this readiness has been translated according to what television executives believe…white audiences will accept[10] (Squires, 97). Furthermore, it is important to consider the advertisers' motivations behind the decision to feature an interracial family in their ad. Advertisers do not necessarily seek to produce ads that are counter-hegemonic or that will drive social change. Rather, advertisers are trying to create ads that will lead consumers to purchase a product or service. Yet, as previously mentioned, advertisers have realized that they have to speak to a broad audience, which in reality is a racially diverse audience. I consider the advertisers' decision to cast the multiracial family as an economical decision rather than da decision driven by a desire to affect social change. The motivations behind the decision are important because they influenced how General Mills and Saatchi and Saatchi positioned the ad in the media and their positioning weakened the ads' challenges to hegemony.

When the "Just Checking" ad was uploaded to YouTube, it received a substantial amount of racist backlash. One commenter "expressed shock that a black father would stay with his family[11]" while another commenter responded with claims that the "commercial is pure propaganda" and that "It's all a part of the anti-white race mixing agenda.

[9] "Gracie," https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QLvW77foVN4

[10] Catherine R. Squires, The Post-Racial Mystique: Media and Race in the Twenty-First Century, (New York: UP, 2014) 97.
[11] Goyette, The Huffington Post.

Apparently General Mills supports genocide[12]." However, rather than stand by the ad as a rare, powerful, and positive representation of a multiracial family, General Mills and Saatchi and Saatchi chose to focus on the representation of a loving family. In an interview about "Gracie", Camille Gibson, vice president of marketing for Cheerios, stated that "General Mills did not intend to be provocative when it introduced the first commercial, nor does the company intend that now. Rather the spots reflect that 'there are many kinds of families and we celebrate them all.[13]'" In this way, General Mills engaged in "post-racial illusions in the media through a 'celebration' of differences" where advertisers fill spots with "multiracial people in particular [to] help facilitate a sense of safe diversity[14]" (Squires, 7). General Mills claimed that the inclusion of the interracial family was done in order to "celebrate" difference, yet, the fact that the family is racially mixed and the ad features a daughter with a light complexion, hints that the advertisers wanted to celebrate, but not too loudly. They went through a Goldilocks-like experience to find just the right level of celebration of difference that they thought White audiences could handle and that would also successfully target minorities. Advertiser may have though that an all-Black family, a Muslim family, a Hispanic or Asian family, or a family with two mothers or two fathers, was a celebration of difference that White audiences were not prepared for. However, the representation of an interracial family was "just enough" amount of celebration. In this way, the deliberate use of an interracial family to lower the risk of alienating White consumers weakens the ads' classification as counter-hegemonic. Furthermore, there are other dominant codes that can be identified within the ads that may have been purposefully encoded into the ads to alleviate concerns about the representation of an interracial family. For example, with the exception of two short lines in "Just Checking," Gracie's mother never speaks. She is always shown in the kitchen; in "Gracie," she was shown slicing apples at the kitchen counter. Her only roles in the family seem to be to confirm her husband's knowledge about the health benefits of Cheerios, to help prepare meals, and to have children. These signs tied to Gracie's mother connote ideas about domesticity, femininity, and masculinity. Such ideas are hegemonic in that they promote the subordinate role of women in society and expect women to occupy a status below their husbands at home. Consider the fact that Gracie's father is the parent who tells her that she will soon have a baby brother; her mother doesn't say a word during the entire commercial. In fact, Gracie strikes a deal with her father to also add a puppy to the family. This conversation positions Gracie's father as the negotiator and authoritarian of the family. In this way, although General Mills was taking a risk by featuring an interracial family in a Super Bowl ad, they embedded dominant codes about women in society that work to reproduce hegemony. The ads portrayal of the interracial couple as married and heterosexual can also be considered to follow hegemonic ideas about marriage, family planning, and sexuality. Again, the ad does not feature an interracial homosexual un-wed couple and homosexual couples are members of the subordinated or oppressed groups in American society. Perhaps advertisers thought consumers would have considered such a representation as "too counter-hegemonic" Furthermore, it is not unreasonable to then hypothesize that the advertisers deliberately embedded dominant codes in order to shift focus off of the significance of representing an interracial family.

Echoing the statements made by General Mills, Saatchi and Saatchi also decided to focus on the family love narrative. In fact, in most interviews that dealt with "Just Checking" or "Gracie", the advertising firm rarely acknowledged the fact that the ads even featured an interracial family. For example, the answer the ad agency provided when asked why they decided to use the same interracial family once again, and this time for a Super Bowl ad, reveals that they did so with advertising strategy in mind. Peter Moore Smith, executive creative director Saatchi and Saatchi explained, "I think being part of the big game shows how integral

[12] "Gracie," https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QLvW77foVN4

[13] Stuart Elliott, "An American Family Returns to the Table," The New York Times, 28 Jan. 2014, 9 Nov. 2016 https://www.nytimes.com/2014/01/29/business/media/an-american-family-returns-to-the-table.html?_r=0

[14] Squires, 7.

Cheerios is in the lives of families in America. Cheerios is one of the most-loved brands in the country and it belongs in such a big marquee venue. To me, the game is really the right place for the brand to be…"[15] Additionally, the data on the success of the "Just Checking," advertisement might have been another motivation for utilizing the same interracial family, with the Super Bowl, a television event know to viewed by a significant number of individuals, as the perfect outlet for the family's second act. According to reports by AdWeek , "Just Checking," spiked Cheerios' online branding by 77%[16]. A content marketing firm also compared Cheerios to how often consumers were viewing the content of eight other breakfast cereal and found that Cheerios beat their average content views by 137%[17].

As previously mentioned, statements such as these reveal that even more so than General Mills, the ad firm's decision to cast an interracial family was not primarily driven by a desire to progress social change. But that is not to say that the ad firm was not aware of the significance of their casting decisions for the two Cheerios commercials. Moore Smith also stated that "When people saw a multiracial family in a Cheerios ad, that did make a difference.[18]" Saatchi and Saatchi knew that they were successfully targeting at least some portion of minority consumers with their two Cheerios commercials. Which caused some individuals to question whether or not the ad agency was exploiting the lack of representation or issues regarding interracial couples. In other words, was the ad agency pandering to a portion of minority consumers? Again, Moore Smith focused on the family love narrative by stating that "If we're milking anything, it's this delightful little actress and a little girl's special relationship with her father[19]."

Regardless of Moore Smith's defense against accusations of pandering, even Lynne Collins, a spokeswoman for the ad agency explained, "It's important for us to make sure the work reflects the people we're trying to sell products too.[20]" This statement in particular, takes away from the power of the ad to exist as counter-hegemonic when it comes to issues of race representation. The statement positions the ad, its purpose, and the intentions behind it, to be aligned with goals to reproduce hegemonic ideas about capitalism. In order to add strength to the ad, or at least stand by it, Saatchi and Saatchi could have explained that given the history of interracial relationships in the United States, the advertising agency and General Mills decided that given Cheerios' connotation as a classic American brand, they had the privileged opportunity to help establish solidarity and increase positive representations with interracial couples and their children. In fact, here is where the bridge between the advertising agency's goals and social change begins to emerge.

The Bridge Between Advertising and Social Change

Although "Just Checking" and "Gracie" aired in 2013 and 2015, the topic of interracial relationships in the United States is still considered a "hot" topic. To begin it's important to consider the controversial history of interracial relationships in the United States. Starting with slavery, White male slave owners often raped their Black female slaves, whose children still lived to experience oppression and a lack of rights. After the Civil War, D.W. Griffith's film, the *Birth of a Nation*, really popularized the notion that Black men were sexual threats to White women so much so, that the KKK used the mythical threats as justification for their acts of terrorism and violence on the Black community. Interracial marriages and relationships in the United States were illegal until 1967, when the case of Loving v. Virginia, legalized interracial marriage. The case overturned Virginia's Racial Integrity Act[21], which had prevented the legal

[15] Elliott, The New York Times.
[16] Christoper Heine, "Cheerios' Interracial Ad Spiked Its Online Branding by 77%," AdWeek, 7 June 2013, 9 Nov. 2016 <http://www.adweek.com/news/technology/cheerios-interracial-ad-spiked-its-online-branding-77-150098>
[17] Heine, Adweek.
[18] Elliott, The New York Times.
[19] Elliott, The New York Times.
[20] Stuart Elliott, "Vitriol Online for Cheerios Ad with Interracial Family," The New York Times, 31 May 2015, 9 Nov. 2016 http://www.nytimes.com/2013/06/01/business/media/cheerios-ad-with-interracial-family-brings-out-internet-hate.html
[21] "Mildred Loving Biography," Biography, 7 Nov. 2016, 15 Dec. 2016 http://www.biography.com/people/mildred-loving-5884

recognition of the marriage of Mildred and Richard Loving. Mildred was a Black woman and Richard was a White man. However, the discrimination faced by those who are part of an interracial couple or marriage, or even biracial/multiracial individuals, has not disappeared. Furthermore, the topic of interracial couples has also increasingly found itself in the media. For example, in 2016, the film, *Loving*, which portrayed the story of Loving v. Virginia, made its debut[22]. Even more significant, the insurance company, State Farm, published a tweet that included a photo of an interracial couple. In their ad, a Black man is on one knee, and proposing to a White woman. State Farm captioned the tweet, "Who said yes? Cheers to the newly engaged this holiday season! Be sure to #ProtectTheBling![23]" However, the insurance company's social-media advertising received media coverage due to racist comments that were made online in response to the representation of an interracial couple. Many individuals on Twitter tweeted at the ad with racist comments such as "This is disgusting and no one wants to see this," or threatened to break their relationship with State Farm and switch insurance companies[24]. Once again, rather than focus on how tweet was a social media advertisement for insurance protection of personal valuables, State Farm could have used the media coverage of the racist backlash to their ad as an opportunity to highlight the importance of positive representations of interracial couples. The insurance company could have even issued statements in solidarity with interracial couples. Looking further ahead, they could have decided to release more ads featuring interracial couples. For example, perhaps years later, the same couple could be seen in a home with their biracial children, a home protected by State Farm insurance.

The racist backlash that continues to erupt after companies decide to release advertisements featuring racist backlash highlights just how powerful and counter-hegemonic the ads truly are. Despite the previously discussed complicated hegemonic messages that exist within these ads, the fact that the ads also maintain a lot of media coverage in the days surrounding their premiere is significant. Their media coverage means that the positive images or commercials of interracial couples are being reproduced and viewed by many individuals within those days. Even just those images or commercials featuring positive portrayals of interracial couples can make a difference.

Recent work has been done to explore an "extended contact hypothesis (ECH) framework, mass-media portrayals of interracial relationships may encourage positive attitudes towards such relationships[25]" (Lienemann & Stopp, 398). The results of a recent study supported an extended contact hypothesis framework and found that even though interaction with media was considered indirect contact, "extended contact with Black-White relationships via media portrayals was associated with more positive attitudes toward interracial relationships[26]" (Linemann & Stopp, 411). The implications of these findings for media and advertising firms are significant. Individuals may be more willing or apt to "turn on their television, log onto the Internet, or read a magazine displaying interracial relationships than to interact with an interracial couple. Thus, the media has the potential to reach large sections of the population, which may not be possible with in-person interactions[27]" (Linemann & Stopp, 412). In this way, although Saatchi & Saatchi may have casted a multiracial family in their ads for the purposes of marketing to a segment of multiracial consumers, the social effects of the ads' visual representations of a multiracial family can also serve to challenge individuals' traditionally hegemonic or racist

[22] "Loving," IMDB 4 Nov. 2016, 15 Dec. 2016 <http://www.imdb.com/title/tt4669986/>

[23] Sabrina Rojas Weiss, "State Farm Ad Featuring Interracial Couple Targeted By Racist Attacks, " Refinery 29, 26 Dec. 2016, 26 Dec. 2016 http://www.refinery29.com/2016/12/134037/state-farm-ad-twitter-racist

[24] Daniel Barn, "State Farm Ad Depicting Interracial Couple Ignites Fury of Racist Twitter Trolls," Complex, 24 Dec. 2016, 26 Dec. 2016 <http://www.complex.com/life/2016/12/state-farm-advertisement-racist-twitter-trolls>

[25] Lienemann, Brianna A., and Heather T. Stopp. "The Association Between Media Exposure of Interracial Relationships and Attitudes Toward Interracial Relationships." *Journal of Applied Social Psychology* 43.52 (2013): 398.

[26] Linemann & Stopp, 411

[27] Linemann & Stopp, 412

thinking about interracial families. In this way, scholars have begun to identify the potential for advertising agencies to drive social change. Two scholars explore this opportunity:

> "…we are not claiming that viewing these images has a massive impact on Whites. [But] in pursuing public notice for its clients' wares, it is possible that advertising agencies, which are nothing if not creative, could be stretching cultural limits, exercising a potential to nudge Whites towards racial comity. Treating Blacks and Whites equivalently, showing them in comfortable contact across and within racial groups, could both reflect and spur such progress.[28]"

In this way, and building off the arguments of these scholars, there is the opportunity for the media to also help drive social change when it comes to advertisements that feature interracial couples. The majority of media coverage on ads with interracial couples focuses on the racist backlash and commentary that they receive. In fact, "a fear of controversy and a cleaving to the conventional may be leading agencies to create messages that subtly reinforce the mainstream cultures racial divisions and apprehensions[29]," (Entman and Rojecki, 162). Rather than focus on the controversy, perhaps media news outlets and media commentators can use these ads as opportunities to report on the history of interracial couples in America. These ads can be used by media outlets as opportunities to educate the American public on the discrimination of faced by interracial couples in America. Perhaps social media movements can also emerge from coverage of these ads as well. For example, media outlets and commentators often ask the public to share videos or photos or use hashtags in order to express solidarity with movements or groups of individuals. (Think hashtags such as #NoDAPL, #BlackLivesMatter, or asks to share viral videos). In regard to "Just Checking", or "Gracie," perhaps the #IStandWithGracie or #GracieFamilyLove could have been pushed by General Mills, Saatchi and Saatchi, or media outlets along with coverage that explains the ads' significance. A social media movement could emerge alongside the social media advertisement campaign for Cheerios. The social media campaign could prove to be successful with the widespread use of the hashtags, #IStandWith Gracie or #GracieFamilyLove. Asking social media users to share the video if they support Gracie and her family could also cause the video to become viral and its constant shares would prove to be free advertising for Cheerios. Along with coverage of State Farm's tweet for insurance for personal valuables that featured an interracial couple, media commentators and blogs or media personalities could have encouraged people in interracial relationships to share pictures of themselves, or asked individuals to re-tweet State Farms tweet to show solidarity with interracial couples. Altogether, the use of hashtags constant sharing of the advertisements would have allowed Cheerios and State Farm to get media and the public to build a social media movement out of their social media advertising campaigns. More importantly, such constant media coverage or appearance in social media of positive representations of interracial couples would have been increased the ads' significance as counter-hegemonic in regard to race representation.

Furthermore, advertising agencies and corporations should be encouraged to produce ads that are counter-hegemonic. Media outlets, figures, and commentators should seek to bolster the power of counter-hegemonic ads by discovering ways to build social movements out of social media advertising campaigns. More importantly, scholars should focus on the ads, particularly working to critique the accuracy of the representations within the ads, as well as their effectiveness in advancing social change. Altogether, such partnerships would build that bridge between the goals of the advertising industry and social change. Here, there opportunities for industries that traditionally work to serve hegemony to do just the opposite; exploring the nuances of race representation can in fact pay dividends for corporations. Although "the media are not only a powerful source of ideas about race. They are also one place where ideas are articulated,

[28] Robert Entman and Andrew Rojecki, "The Black Image in the White Mind: Media and Race in America, " (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000) 162.

[29] Entman and Rojecki, 162.

worked on, transformed, and elaborated[30]" (Hall, 82). I hope to see more scholarship devoted to taking advantage of the opportunities to advance social change as discussed in this paper.

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[30] Stuart Hall, "The Whites in Their Eyes: Racist Ideologies and the Media," Gender, Race, And Class In Media, ed. Gail Dines and Jean M. Humez (California: Sage, 2011) 82.

Collegiate Masculinity and the Rise of American Youth: Culture During the Roaring Twenties[1]

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Gin, Gentlemen, and Generational Conflict

> And there are certain definite duties of the student at Harvard...He must be a gentleman. A gentleman respects tradition. And the traditions at Harvard are quiet traditions. Nothing so bespeaks a vulgar and impoverished intellect as noise in word or action.
>
> -*The Harvard Crimson*, 1926[2]

> *College Windows, a FLIRTATION,*
>
> *Moonshine, gin, HALLUCINATION;*
>
> *This is part of EDUCATION*
>
> *Living in our GENERATION.*
>
> - *The Punchbowl*, 1925[3]

During the 1920s, youth symbolized modernity, progress, and development as a young generation of Americans espoused new values and served as a lightning rod for social change. College men became emblematic of these transformations as they confronted the values of their educational institutions and asserted unique aspects of their identities, which they believed made them separate and distinct from the previous generation.[4] Through on-campus protests, open defiance of Prohibition, and a cavalier attitude towards academics, collegiates defined a new type of masculinity that challenged authority and prioritized peer approval. In addition to these changes, historians cite the increased prominence of college sports (particularly football) and fraternities as evidence of a dramatic transition from an internal, character-based model of masculinity to an external, personality-based model.[5] However, a close examination of college records and student publications reveals that many young men attending Harvard, Yale, and the University of Pennsylvania in this decade sought to retain key aspects of character-based masculinity (such as honor, integrity, and self-sacrifice) while incorporating features of the more modernized version (such as social popularity, physical appearance, and self-indulgence). Their lived experiences call into question the existing historiography by suggesting that notions of masculinity did not shift in an abrupt or absolute manner in the 1920s.[6] Campus activities that promoted male bonding and school spirit became more significant in this era but were present in previous decades, showing a continuity in forms of masculine affiliation and rituals across generations. Further, many young men at elite universities struggled to incorporate disparate and opposing notions of masculinity into their identities, adopting a complex, multifaceted construct that

[1] Winner of the 2017 Francis J. Ryan Award for Most Outstanding Undergraduate Paper
[2] "THIS FREEDOM," *The Harvard Crimson*, September 24, 1926, 2.
[3] "Dapper Dan's Determination," *The Punchbowl*, 1925.
[4] John Modell, *Into one's own: From youth to adulthood in the United States, 1920-1975* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 160.
[5] Tom Pendergast, *Creating the Modern Man: American Magazines and Consumer Culture, 1900-1950* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2000), 112.
[6] Warren Susman, *Culture as History: The Transformation of American Society in the Twentieth Century* (Smithsonian Books: New York, 1984), 273-276. See also Roland Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream: Making Way for Modernity, 1920-1940* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 210; Kevin White, *The First Sexual Revolution: The Emergence of Male Heterosexuality in Modern America* (New York: New York University Press, 1993), 27; Gaylyn Studlar, *This Mad Masquerade: Stardom and Masculinity in the Jazz Age* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 4.

simultaneously anchored them to the past and allowed them to embrace the new values of a modernized society.

Peer Culture and Intergenerational Conflict

In the 1920s, due to increased enrollment in college[7] and the establishment of a "network of peer relations," youth suddenly burst onto the social scene and became influential in American society.[8] The devastation of World War I affected the mentality of young people in a significant way, creating a profound sense of disillusionment coupled with an urgency to live life to its fullest.[9] Consequently, the younger generation sought to differentiate itself from the older generation, blaming their elders for leading the nation into war. In his 1920 article, "These Wild Young People," John F. Carter., Jr. makes the resentment of youth explicit:

> I would like to observe that the older generation had certainly pretty well ruined this world before passing it on to us…We have been forced to live in an atmosphere of 'to-morrow we die,' and so, naturally, we drank and were merry...We may be fire, but it was they who made us play with gunpowder.[10]

In this indictment, Carter distances youth from the older generation, a dynamic that fueled the importance of peer affiliations.

As the primary sphere of influence for youth shifted from authorities to peers, this transition was especially dramatic for college men who operated within a subculture separate from the outside world.[11] From the time freshmen arrived on campus, they confronted a new social order and sought the acceptance of their peers. In 1925, Yale's Eli Book provided the following advice to freshmen: "here in college we find ourselves in a world teeming with men of about our own age whom we meet at every turn, going to the same places, doing pretty much the same things, living all about us in the Oval. From among these we are going inevitably to choose our associates and our friends."[12] As reflected in this statement, students valued college as an avenue through which they could form social connections, strategically positioning themselves for later success.[13] Although the locus of influence from parental authority to peer approval is naturally altered when youth leave for college, the transition may have been more dramatic during this era as young men felt compelled to differentiate themselves from the older generation and became self-empowered through the expansion (and idealization) of youth culture.[14]

In their eagerness to identify with peers, college men emphasized modern values, adopting habits of dress and behavior that helped them fit in.[15] They conformed to a set of standards that defined a new type of masculinity, setting them apart from their fathers.[16] A 1923 ad featured in *The Harvard Crimson* captures this inclination. As a young, clean-shaven man compares himself to a picture of his heavily mustached father, he draws

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[7] Robert Campbell and Barry N. Siegel, "The Demand for Higher Education in the United States, 1919-1964," *The American Economic Review* 57, no. 3 (1967): 487.

[8] Paula Fass, *The Damned and the Beautiful: American Youth in the 1920s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), 6.

[9] Eric J. Leed, *No Man's Land: Combat and Identity in World War I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 75.

[10] John F. Carter, Jr., "These Wild Young People," *Atlantic Monthly*, September 1920, 302-303.

[11] Lois A. West, "Negotiating masculinities in American drinking subcultures," *The Journal of Men's Studies* 9, no. 3 (2001): 372.

[12] "Dedication to Class of 1929," Eli Book, Yale University, Spring 1925, ybb 929, 14.

[13] "Reason and Remedies," *The Harvard Crimson*, November 28, 1923, 2.

[14] Jessica Samuolis, Kiera Layburn, and Kathleen M. Schiaffino,"Identity development and attachment to parents in college students," *Journal of Youth and Adolescence* 30, no. 3 (2001): 381.

[15] Fass, *The Damned and the Beautiful: American Youth in the 1920s*, 233.

[16] Ibid., 246.

attention to the contrast in their appearances: "AND DAD WAS MY AGE WHEN HE SAT FOR THAT!"[17]

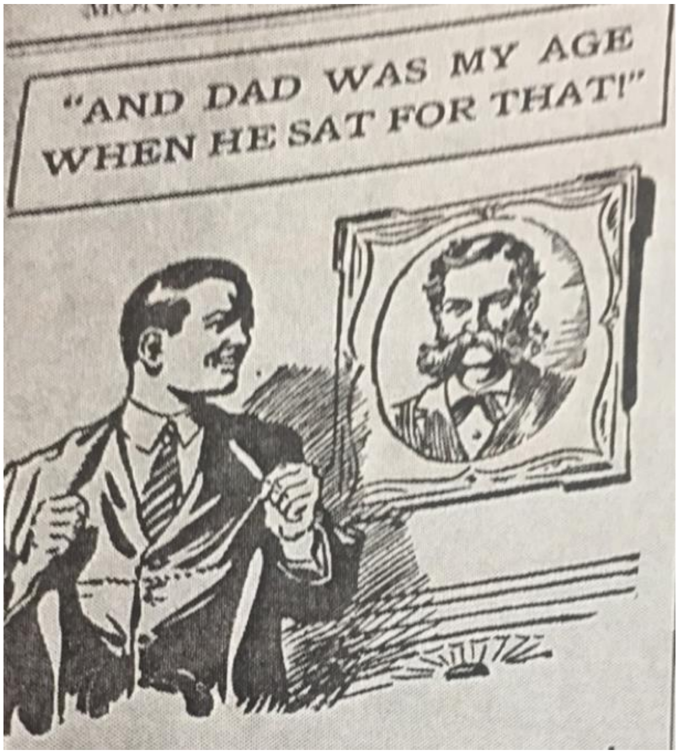

Figure 3.1: This ad plays off a stark contrast between a young man and his father. [18]

On a superficial level, this ad conveys the message that a more youthful look can be achieved by purchasing the featured shaving cream. However, on a symbolic level, the dual image in the ad exaggerates the clash between generations of men who subscribed to different values. Highlighting these contrasts served to ground young men in a changing world. By rejecting certain characteristics they saw in their fathers, collegiates defined their identities in opposition and aligned themselves with their peer culture.[19]

Anchored by their social communities, emboldened college men challenged institutional authority and envisioned themselves as the vanguard of cultural change. Their sense of self-importance is evident in a speech by Hannibal Hamlin on Yale's Class Day in 1927: "CLASSMATES-You are the apostles of change…You are 1927, typifying nothing and representing everything…The Class of 1927 is pointed to as the end of an old era, as the beginning of a new era, and as the transition between the two."[20] Hamlin's impassioned speech suggests that collegiates recognized their time as a liminal period between old and new values. They viewed themselves as unique and also the product of generations who came before them. Elite universities fostered a sense of connection to the past as they reminded students of their place in a long lineage of cultivated leaders. Schools expected students to appreciate their pedigree and to make the institution a cornerstone of their identity. Yale collegiate, E. J. Begien made this agenda evident in his address to the freshman class of 1926: "You are coming to New Haven to be for four years a part of that process whereby Yale men are made...[and] each man...will add to the store for the generations to come."[21] These socially conservative institutions promoted Victorian values, and collegiates carried the mantle of their school's legacy upon their shoulders. While college men in the 1920s still clung to an institutional identity that offered them social prestige (expressing pride about being a "Yale Man" or a "Harvard Man"),[22] they also railed against the old order and tested the bounds of established authority.

Boys Behaving Badly

College men of this era had a reputation for displaying self-indulgence, personal vanity, and lack of restraint.[23] In mass media depictions, collegiates were depicted as rambunctious,

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[17] "AND DAD WAS MY AGE WHEN HE SAT FOR THAT," *The Harvard Crimson*, September 24, 1923, 3.

[18] "AND DAD WAS MY AGE WHEN HE SAT FOR THAT," 3.
[19] James E. Cote and Charles G. Levine, *Identity, formation, agency, and culture: A social psychological synthesis* (Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2002), 3.
[20] "Class History," Yale Class of 1927, ybb, 1.

[21] E.J. Begien, "Editorial," Eli Book, Yale University, June 1922, Volume XI, Number 1, 34.
[22] "School of law receives large anonymous gift," *Yale Daily News*, March 10, 1925, 1.
[23] Laura Davidow Hirshbein, "The Flapper and the Fogy: Representations of Gender and Age in the 1920s," *Journal of Family History* 26, no. 1 (2001): 117.

rebellious, and immoral.[24] While this portrayal was stereotyped and flat, a review of student records reveals that it held more than a grain of truth. Archival sources indicate that college men bonded with each other by transgressing laws, bending rules, and behaving mischievously. These peccadilloes were a central way in which young collegiates enacted their masculinity, illustrating the connection between behavior and gender construction.[25] Feminist theorist Judith Butler explains that individuals rehearse, perform, and repeat gendered actions in order to fulfill social scripts. [26] Men of the 1920s "performed"[27] their manhood through rebellious actions during Prohibition, a so-called "Dry Decade."[28] Historian Paula Fass further identifies alcohol consumption in this era as a ritualized masculine behavior: "unlike the other moral issues of the twenties, drinking was a male-centered problem…Drinking had always been a male prerogative."[29] Collegiates consumed alcohol at parties and at football games, openly demonstrating their disregard for the law.[30] They used alcohol as a signifier of manly defiance and carefree living. Historian Nicholas Syrett explains that since drinking in the 1920s represented "a defiance not only of the college administration but also of federal law," drinking became a key way to demonstrate masculine bravado within one's peer group.[31] For example, the 1927 Yale Class book included humorous comments from students that linked college life with alcohol consumption. When asked, "What do you think is Yale's greatest need?" a student responded: "Repeal of 18th Amendment,"[32] and when asked, "What is your chief regret in regard to your college career?" one student said: "Prohibition" while another quipped: "Not drinking more."[33] Rather than feeling the need to hide the fact that they engaged in this illegal activity, collegiates at Yale (and other Ivy League schools) openly flaunted their drinking habits. By failing to enforce the law, school administrators provided an opportunity for collegiates to bond through rebellious acts.

Many college men broke with the gentleman-like conduct that was stressed by their upbringing and were prone to mischievous behavior. They played practical jokes, engaged in demonstrations, and took collective action over minor grievances. For instance, students at Harvard, who were tired of being served the same food, protested through an "egg rebellion,"[34] and Yale athletes, celebrating their football victory over Harvard, carried away the goal post as "Souvenirs."[35] In the classroom, students often created chaos, showing little interest in academics or respect for their professors. In fact, students sometimes threw objects (such as raw eggs) at their professors during lectures.[36]

During this era, school-wide rituals became immensely popular, particularly thosethat pivoted on class rivalry. At the University of Pennsylvania, these events occurredwith such regularity that they became a routine part of college life: "Throughout theschool year, the freshmen would struggle to meet the challenges set by the sophomores as a rite of passage into the privileged world of the University."[37] For example, in the 1920s, architecture students at the University of

[24] John E. Conklin, *Campus life in the movies: A critical survey from the silent era to the present* (Jefferson: McFarland & Company, Inc., 2008), 6.

[25] Judith Butler, "Performative acts and gender constitution: An essay in phenomenology and feminist theory," *Theatre journal* 40, no. 4 (1988): 526.

[26] Butler, "Performative acts and gender constitution: An essay in phenomenology and feminist theory," 526.

[27] Ibid.

[28] Kathleen Drowne and Patrick Huber, *American Popular Culture Through History: The 1920s* (Santa Barbara: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2004), 41.

[29] Fass, *The Damned and the Beautiful: American Youth in the 1920s*, 310.

[30] Ernest Hatch Wilkins, *The Changing College* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1927), 122.

[31] Syrett, *The Company He Keeps: A History of White College Fraternities*, 201.

[32] "Class Votes," Yale Class of 1927, ybb, 333.

[33] "Class Votes," 332.

[34] "Eggs Are Unpopular in Smith Halls; Proctors Put Down Rebellion but Ringleaders Still Hope for Hash or Fish," *The Harvard Crimson*, October 11, 1923, 1.

[35] "Exuberant Elis, Flushed With First Victory Over Harvard in Seven Years, Carry Goal Posts Away as Souvenirs," *The Harvard Crimson*, November 26, 1923, 1.

[36] "Rites of Passage: Student Traditions and Class Fights," University of Pennsylvania, accessed December 10, 2016, http://www.archives.upenn.edu/histy/genlhistory/pa_album/ch6.pdf.

[37] "Rites of Passage: Student Traditions and Class Fights."

Pennsylvania initiated an annual ritual where sophomores and juniors fought over the right to wear smocks (to signify the dominance of their class), resulting in mudslinging and tearing clothes off one another.[38]

Figure 2.2: This 1929 photo at the University of Pennsylvania shows the Smock Fight.[39] According to scholar Amey Hutchins, students "hurled eggs and mud."[40]

Several of the rituals at the University of Pennsylvania became so popular that they drew spectators from the city of Philadelphia to campus. However, the level of rowdiness was sometimes difficult to contain, and there were a few occasions when such events brought negative attention to the school. Such was the case with the annual Pants Fight, an end of the year event that started in 1922 where freshmen and sophomores engaged in a brawl, culminating in the losers being stripped of their pants.[41] In May 1923, when a group of enthusiastic freshmen publically advertised this fight by appearing on a trolley car wearing only their undergarments, "they drew gasps of horror from maids and matrons by trying to board a Woodland Avenue trolley car in which girls and women were passengers," and were promptly arrested for their indiscretion.[42] Interclass rivalries (which expanded in the 1920s) were valued by school administrators as a way of promoting class unity and school spirit. In fact, the annual Flour Fight and the Poster Fight, which were physically dangerous (sometimes resulting in concussions and broken bones) were routinely attended by faculty spectators who cheered and hissed at participants during the event.[43] It seems that university administrators and collegiates alike considered these organized fights as a natural part of manhood and as a way for new students to prove their worth as college men.[44]

Figure 2.4: Students at the University of Pennsylvania engaged in the annual Pants Fight to show their class pride.[45]

While most of these rituals were intended to provide an outlet for expressing the playful vitality of youth and to foster male bonding, some incidents erupted into wide-spread rioting that created chaos and spilled over into the local community.[46] Rioting at Harvard, Yale and the University of Pennsylvania had a contagion effect, starting on one campus and

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38 Amey Hutchins, *University of Pennsylvania* (Charleston: Arcadia Publishing, 2004), 116.
39 "Smock Fight," University of Pennsylvania, accessed September 18, 2016, http://dla.library.upenn.edu/dla/archives/detail.html?id=ARCHIVES_20050920010.

40 Hutchins, *University of Pennsylvania*, 116.
41 Michael D'Antonio, *Forever Blue: The True Story of Walter O'Malley, Baseball's Most Controversial Owner, and the Dodgers of Brooklyn and Los Angeles* (New York: Penguin Group, 2009), 17.
42 "Rites of Passage: Student Traditions and Class Fights."
43 Ibid.
44 Ibid.
45 Ibid.

46 Michael Moffatt, "College Life: Undergraduate Culture and Higher Education," *The Journal of Higher Education* 62, no. 1 (1991): 47.

then spreading to the others in succession.[47] In 1925, *The Harvard Crimson* published an editorial that applauded a recent incident of rioting at Yale: "Judging by newspaper accounts of it, the annual freshman riot at Yale was a great success."[48] While endorsing the rebellious behavior of Yale students, these comments may also have egged on collegiates at Harvard to act in a similar manner. Archival records indicate that rioting at the University of Pennsylvania increased in frequency over the course of the decade with one riot in 1920, two riots in 1928, and four riots in 1929.[49] Some students regarded these incidents as a source of amusement and an outlet for their pent up energy.[50] For example, in the aftermath of a riot in 1929, students justified their behavior by stating: "We didn't have any fun for a long time."[51] Thus, their pursuit of pleasure sanctioned the destruction of property and sometimes even led them to block authorities from controlling the situation.[52] As seen in the photograph below, students at the University of Pennsylvania were suspected of burning down a fraternity house and then jeering at firemen when they arrived on the scene.


Students at Penn Suspected by

SEEN AROUND PLACE JUST BEFORE BLAZE WRECKED BUILDING

Interfered With Firemen Until Driven Away, Says One Lieutenant.

ARRESTS ARE RECALLED

Roistering Penn students are suspected by police of setting fire early yesterday to a former fraternity house at Thirty-ninth and Spruce streets.

Firemen battled an hour with the blaze, which burned out the interior of the former Zeta Beta Tau house on the northeast corner. Dozens of students fled in pajamas from the Theta Chi house next door.

Definite suspicion of the students was voiced by Police Sergeant William Scull, of the Thirty-second street and Woodland avenue station, after an investigation by district detectives and fire officials.

Sergeant Scull declared that it was learned that a number of roistering

Ruins of Suspected Incendiary Fire

Figure 2.4: Students during the 1920s were brazen and rebellious. This photo shows the damage caused by student fires in 1929.[53]

A well-publicized riot between Harvard students and the local police force in 1927 illustrates the empowerment of youth and peer bonding among college men. While attending a show at University Theatre, students (who may have been intoxicated)[54] threw "eggs and vegetables at the actors" and produced a "shower of coins" on the stage.[55] As students left the show, a "great deal of horseplay from the crowd" resulted, and when police rushed to the scene, they hit a student over the head with a stick.[56] During the subsequent legal proceedings, collegiates took a bold stance; they defended one another in court by shifting the blame to local police officers, rather than taking responsibility for their own actions.[57] Students testified that the police officers were deliberately violent towards them and were overheard bragging to one another: "we licked [the collegiates] good

[47] Henry L. Pearson, Proctor 462, Yale University, Freshman Year, Records of the Dean, Ru 813, series 1, box 38.
[48] "Bright College Years," *The Harvard Crimson*, June 2, 1925, 2.
[49] "Student Traditions: Rowbottom: Documented Rowbottoms, 1910-1970," University of Pennsylvania, accessed September 18, 2016, http://www.archives.upenn.edu/histy/features/traditions/rowbottom/list.html.

[50] "Student Traditions: Rowbottom: Documented Rowbottoms, 1910-1970."
[51] Ibid.
[52] "Students Fight Firemen, Not Fire," *Yale Daily News*, May 5, 1928, 2.
[53] "Student Traditions: Rowbottom: Documented Rowbottoms, 1910-1970."
[54] Statement of Harvey B. Manger, UAI 20.927.2, Student Riots 1927, 1.
[55] Statement of Philip Dalton, Harvard University, UAI 20.927.2, Student Riots 1927, 1.
[56] Statement of James Simpson, Harvard University, UAI 20.927.2, Student Riots 1927, 1.
[57] "TRIAL WITNESSES BOLSTER DEFENCE," *The Harvard Crimson*, March 1, 1927, 1.

and proper."[58] An editorial from *The Harvard Crimson* entitled "RIOT OR ASSAULT?"[59] reinforced the perception that the students were victimized by declaring: "there was no riot until wagon loads of police charged the crowd…The police, in other words, created a riot before quelling it."[60] Testimony offered on both sides of this incident suggests that generational *and* class differences played a part in fueling the conflict between these men.

In some instances when young men acted out, authorities allowed them great latitude and were reluctant to impose sanctions even when their infractions were dramatic. Following the Freshman Riot of June 4, 1923, Yale parents and administrators exhibited ambivalence about enforcing institutional compliance, suggesting that masculine standards of behavior were in flux.[61] During this event, freshmen threw bottles out of their dorm windows, dumped buckets of water outside, shot firecrackers at lamps, threw burning paper, and even destroyed city property, forcing the fire department to come.[62] Administrators estimated that three hundred and forty-one of the seven hundred and eighty-nine members of the class (a staggering 43%) participated in the riot.[63] School officials initially felt pressed to respond in a harsh manner as these students not only vandalized public property but also stepped outside the bounds of what was considered appropriate conduct of a Yale Man.[64] After much deliberation, administrators decided to ban participants from sports for the first term of the following year.[65] While this was the most lenient option out of several that had been considered,[66] it was enough to trigger a wave of protest letters from parents who--in almost every instance--insisted *their* son was being punished too harshly, was an honorable boy, and had barely contributed to the ruckus.[67] Under pressure from angry alumni and parents, school authorities quickly overturned their ruling.[68]

As revealed in their letters, Yale parents ascribed the riotous behavior of their sons to youthful impulses and did not consider their actions to reflect poorly on their character. This attitude suggests that they adopted changing views of masculinity and granted greater tolerance for behaviors that might have been considered unacceptable in their own generation.[69] Through their interference, the older generation validated peer influence and endorsed the concept of adolescence as a distinct stage of life that extended through the college years.[70] This propensity is evident in the way that a Yale parent admonished the administration (rather than his own son) by appealing to a naturalized view of gender: "Extra curriculum activity furnishes the main outlet for the surplus team of youth, and by repressing it, you destroy your safety valve and thereby increase your hazard…boys will be boys."[71] While the young men involved in this riot displayed acts of defiance, their parents excused their poor behavior and

58 Statement of Franklin Quinby Brown, Jr., Harvard University, UAI 20.927.2, Student Riots 1927, 2.
59 "RIOT OR ASSAULT," *The Harvard Crimson*, February 14, 1927, 2.
60 "RIOT OR ASSAULT," 2.
61 AB Hersey to Walden, Yale University, Freshman Year, Records of the Dean, RU 813, Series 1, Box 38, 1.
62 AB Hersey to Walden, Yale University, Freshman Year, Records of the Dean, RU 813, Series 1, Box 38, 1.
63 Yale University, Freshman Year, Records of the Dean, RU 813, Series 1, Box 38.
64 "School of law receives large anonymous gift," 1.
65 Roger C. Adams to Dean P.T. Walden, Yale University, Freshman Year, Records of the Dean, RU 813, Series 1, Box 38, 2.
66 "Penalty," Yale University, Freshman Year, Records of the Dean, RU 813, Series 1, Box 38, 1.
67 Roger C. Adams to Dean P.T. Walden, Yale University, Freshman Year, Records of the Dean, RU 813, Series 1, Box 38, 2. See also George L. Adee to Dean P.T. Walden, October 11, 1923, Yale University, Freshman Year, Records of the Dean, RU 813, Series 1, Box 38; W.A. Deming to Dean P.T. Walden, August 20, 1923, Yale University, Freshman Year, Records of the Dean, RU 813, Series 1, Box 38.
68 "Nearly 500 Undergraduates Affected by Faculty Ruling," *Yale Daily News*, October 1923, 2.
69 Thomas B. Luerney Jr. to Dean P.T. Walden, June 30, 1923, Yale University, Freshman Year, Records of the Dean, RU 813, Series 1, Box 38, 1.
70 Michael Kimmel, "Guyland: Gendering the Transition to Adulthood," in *Exploring Masculinities: Identity, Inequality, Continuity, and Change*, ed. C.J. Pascoe and Tristan Bridges (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 107.
71 Edward L. Burke. to Dean P.T. Walden, Yale University, Freshman Year, Records of the Dean, RU 813, Series 1, Box 38, 2.

irresponsibility, rather than upholding the institution's moral code. This attitude not only signaled a shift in the expectations of male behaviors but also reflected a sense of elite privilege. These incidents illustrate how manifestations of college masculinity reflected a complex mosaic of on-campus culture, class values, and broader social changes.

Secret Societies and Fraternal Masculinity

Forms of exclusive male bonding were prioritized at this time due to a confluence of factors. At the turn of the century, there was an influx of immigrants to the United States from eastern European countries, leading to cultural heterogeneity.[72] The University of Pennsylvania's Quaker heritage and its greater degree of diversity made the process of absorbing these students less disruptive (and less threatening) than at Harvard and Yale, institutions that prided themselves on their traditional Anglo Saxon roots.[73] As their social environment was altered by newcomers (from more diverse and less desirable backgrounds), it became more important for students to carve out special spaces for themselves on campus.[74]

Yale University with "its distinctive--and professedly meritocratic--social system" bestowed prestige upon a select group of students who were "tapped" for membership into secret societies during the spring semester of their junior year.[75] Although these societies (including Skull and Bones, Scroll and Key, Wolf's Head, and Elihu) represented a longstanding tradition at Yale, membership took on special meaning in the 1920s as a way of reinforcing class distinctions within the student body.[76] Since selection for senior societies was based heavily on a student's contribution to Yale's community through leadership positions, the competition was fierce to rise to the top of the school's social hierarchy.[77] However, this system became self-selecting as certain groups of students were denied leadership opportunities (and sometimes even membership) in extracurricular clubs. Students who had come to Yale directly from public schools (rather than private schools) and those who were Jewish were at a disadvantage as the former were rarely "tapped" for membership and the latter were consistently excluded.[78] Social class was clearly a requirement of initiation. Yale's secret societies thus ensured a separate social space--one of enviable distinction--for young men of means who reflected its Anglo-Saxon ideal.

Select clubs were also a part of the undergraduate culture at Harvard University and the University of Pennsylvania (albeit to a lesser degree). Through the years, generations of Harvard men vied for spots in Final Clubs (such as Porcellian, AD, Fly, Spee, and Delphia), which mirrored the function and status of Yale's senior societies.[79] These Final Clubs had a long tradition of selecting well-groomed men from the most prominent social circles who went on to become national leaders (such as Theodore Roosevelt), highlighting the importance of this avenue for establishing connections.[80] These clubs favored students who were legacies and came from elite boarding schools, similar to the selection process at Yale.[81] The University of Pennsylvania also established senior societies (such as the Mortarboard and Friars and Sphinx) in the early twentieth century.[82] These clubs were not cloaked in the same mystery as those at Yale and Harvard; however, they were also based on leadership and sociality. Thus, there was an imperative at all three universities for students to develop their social

[72] Jerome Karabel, *The chosen: The hidden history of admission and exclusion at Harvard, Yale, and Princeton* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2006), 49.
[73] Karabel, *The chosen: The hidden history of admission and exclusion at Harvard, Yale, and Princeton*, 56.
[74] Ibid., 88.
[75] Ibid., 53.
[76] William H. Jarrett, "Yale, Skull and Bones, and the beginnings of Johns Hopkins," *Baylor University Medical Center Proceedings* 24, no.1 (2011): 28.
[77] Karabel, *The chosen: The hidden history of admission and exclusion at Harvard, Yale, and Princeton*, 54.
[78] Ibid., 53.
[79] Ibid., 98.
[80] Ibid., 15.
[81] Ibid.
[82] Arthur Morius Francis, *Secret Societies: The Collegiate Secret Societies of America* (Charleston: CreateSpace Books, 2015), 12.

capital so that they might be recognized as the quintessential collegiate by their peers.[83]

While fraternities were less selective than these senior societies, they were also an important part of campus culture, providing a way to assert aspirational masculinity. Although fraternities had existed for a long time at these elite universities, they increased in status and prominence during this time.[84] In fact, the 1920s witnessed a large growth in fraternity membership, indicating the rising popularity of this form of male homosociality.[85] Nicholas Syrett notes both the continuity and progression of this tradition:

> The seeds of 1920s fraternal masculinity had been planted long before the dawn of the twentieth century: the reverence of athletics and of other extracurricular involvement, the exclusivity...None of this was particularly new. Novel, however, was the degree to which all of these elements were emphasized among fraternity men... Fraternity men's actions were by definition the most cutting edge, the most worthy of emulation--in short, the most collegiate. To be popular on campus, one played by fraternity rules almost without exception or one did not play at all.[86]

Fraternities had special appeal as they not only perpetuated social distinctions within the student body but also provided a clear model of masculinity, regulating standards of behavior at a point when ambiguity, uncertainty, and role confusion characterized college life.[87] They offered young, impressionable men the chance to bond with others who held similar values and behaved in comparable ways.[88] During rush, fraternities enabled student-judges to exclude classmates who did not meet their subjective notions of social worth. An article from *Yale Daily News* described the process of selecting fraternity brothers, declaring: "The essential requirements are…conventionality and conformance to a certain social standard."[89] Here, it is important to note that students constructed these standards so that the fraternities mirrored their own values. Thus, through this process, fraternities reinforced a limited notion of masculinity that was passed down from one generation of brothers to the next, ensuring continuity and conformity within the system.

From the start, fraternities aimed to promote a specific form of masculinity. In fact, the process of rushing was likened to dating, in which a potential brother experienced "calling and hold-offs."[90] As students attended smokers[91] at the best (most prestigious) fraternities, "judges" would question them about their family background, financial status, dating life, and activities.[92] In addition to having the right pedigree, students would have to demonstrate a fun-loving nature and a certain mischievousness, endemic to masculinity at this time. In a 1923 letter to the editor of *Yale Daily News*, a recruit recalled how he was spurned during this process. When the student explained at a fraternity house that he did not drink alcohol, his interviewer promptly "emptied his mouthful of cigarette smoke into [his] face and passed onto the next candidate."[93] Thus, in this situation, peers selected the type of men they wanted to associate with, favoring those who displayed similar rowdiness and disregard for institutional authority.

The impact of fraternities was significant as they not only selected collegiates whom they deemed to be worthy but the individuals they chose subsequently increased their social capital on

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[83] The exclusivity of these organizations is even reflected in the fact that the author could not gain access to their archival records in any of the three universities.
[84] Helen L. Horowitz, *Campus life: Undergraduate cultures from the end of the eighteenth century to the present* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 131.

[85] Syrett, *The Company He Keeps: A History of White College Fraternities*, 188.
[86] Ibid., 227.
[87] Ibid., 188.
[88] Ibid., 189.
[89] "FROM FRATERNITY TO CLUB," *Yale Daily News*, November 13, 1928, 2.
[90] "THE NEW FRATERNITY," *Yale Daily News*, November 22, 1928, 2.
[91] "Class History," *The Record*, University of Pennsylvania 1920 Undergraduate Yearbook, 145.

[92] "COMMUNICATIONS: A Reply," *Yale Daily News*, October 22, 1923, 2.
[93] "COMMUNICATIONS: A Reply," 2.

campus, setting in motion a self-perpetuating system of elitism. An editorial from *The Pennsylvanian* noted: "seldom is it that a worth-while man does not receive a bid from at least one house."[94] This statement reflects the belief that if a collegiate was not pursued by at least one fraternity, he was not considered to be socially desirable. Such a rejection was perceived by other college men as a sign of personal deficiency rather than reflecting a flawed selection process that favored cronyism.

Since men on campus were judged on their fraternity affiliation, freshmen felt pressured to get in with the good crowd from the start of their tenure in college. A 1923 editorial from *The Pennsylvanian* acknowledged that successful rushing mattered to freshmen "because it will have a great bearing on the three and one-half years that remain of [their] college career."[95] The social clout of fraternities (an intangible quality) was concretized through the fraternity pin, which became a coveted possession. As a status symbol, it elevated the prestige of its owner through conspicuous display. In fact, the fraternity pin carried so much social currency that it was featured prominently in collegiate films of this era.

Figure 2.5: Scenes from movies of this era (such as this still from The Fair Co-Ed) often featured a close-up of fraternity pins, as a way to indicate their importance to the audience.[96]

Some men regarded their fraternity membership to be a key marker of their masculine identity, granting them social prominence on campus. In *The Plastic Age,* Hugh Carver notes that his pin was "a sign that he was a person to be respected and obeyed; it was pleasant to be spoken to by the professors as one who had reached something approaching manhood."[97] Since fraternity culture promoted material consumption, appearance, and social conformity, advertisers played off these ideas to convince college men to buy their products.[98]

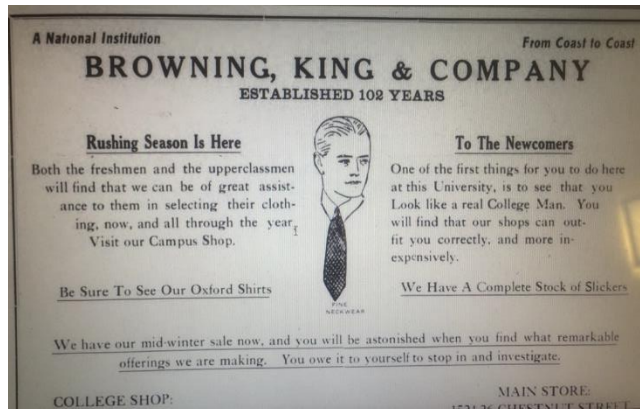

Figure 2.6: Advertisers used the image of the fraternity man to emphasize the importance of consumerism and appearance.[99]

These ads revealed the ways in which fraternities endorsed and encouraged modernized elements of masculinity that were socially oriented and appearance-based.[100]

However, fraternities were not entirely linked to social status and superficiality; they also reinforced values of fidelity, civic duty, and scholarship. Some fraternities considered the moral standing of men before admitting them. For example, Harvard's chapter of Kappa Sigma summarized their selection process as follows: "We do not, therefore, pick men simply because they are

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[94] "THE BIG QUESTION," *The Pennsylvanian*, January 22, 1923, 4.
[95] "RUSHING SEASON," *The Pennsylvanian*, January 17, 1923, 4.
[96] *The Fair Co-Ed*, Film, directed by Sam Wood (1927; Hollywood: Cosmopolitan Productions).

[97] Percy Marks, *The Plastic Age* (New York: The Century Co., 1924), 286.

[98] "BROWNING, KING & COMPANY," *The Pennsylvanian*, February 9, 1925, 2.
[99] "BROWNING, KING & COMPANY," 2.
[100] Bill Osgerby, "A pedigree of the consuming male: masculinity, consumption and the American 'leisure class,'" *The Sociological Review* 51, no. S1 (2003): 60.

athletes or literary wonders, but we try to get men of character."[101] Fraternities also encouraged community engagement through chapter-based programs and activities. For instance, Kappa Sigma at Harvard revealed plans to maintain scholastic achievement and peer advising. Their "Big Brother" or "Daddy" system was "intended to bring the newly initiated and younger men into closer contact with the chapter work, and, through the watchfulness of one of the older brothers, keep the younger fellow up in his studies if need be."[102] This program indicates that while promoting male bonding, fraternities also upheld the values of loyalty and service. One article from *The Pennsylvanian* explained that fraternities helped students "become better men; better qualified to assume positions of leadership; better qualified to help others."[103]

Thus, fraternities sought to prepare men to take their place as leaders in business, industry, and professional fields.

College Sports: Integrated Models of Masculinity

Similar to fraternities, college sports reflected a nuanced construction of masculinity that combined social appearance with internal convictions. During the 1920s, displays of male physicality were celebrated, giving rise to the "Golden Age of Sports."[104] Scholar Michael Oriard postulates that interest in football grew in an uncertain time of masculinity: "Concern about…football was inevitably highest when American life seemed softest, in the 1920s."[105] Through football (an aggressive contact sport), masculinity was publicly contested and proven.[106] In the aftermath of World War I, college educators received a national directive to focus on sports. The records of President Lowell of Harvard provide testimony to the growing interest in college athletics. Among his archived documents is a 1920 message from P.P. Claxton of the United States Commission of Education stressing the importance of physical endeavors for young males: "The highest ambition of every boy should be to become a man as nearly as possible perfect in body, mind and soul; fit and ready for all the responsibilities of manhood …Every boy should want to excel in boyish sport, and win and hold the respect of his fellows."[107] President Lowell retained this communication, which aligned with his commitment to expand athletic programs. College football, in particular, had wide-ranging appeal, connecting to notions of nationalism, masculine strength, and fidelity, qualities that were especially prized at this time. A 1928 issue of the *Saturday Evening Post* provides a visible representation of the new ideal of male athleticism. Its cover places the iconic image of a pilgrim side by side with a football hero, suggesting that these male figures were both emblematic of America's culture, past and present. [108]

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[101] John M. Bailey, "A Word from the G.M.-The Renaissance," Harvard University, HUD 3474.212, Kappa Sigma, Annual Letters, 1922, 5.

[102] Bailey, "A Word from the G.M.-The Renaissance," 5.

[103] "FRATERNITY LIFE," *The Pennsylvanian*, January 25, 1925, 4.

[104] Michael Oriard, *King Football: Sport & Spectacle in the Golden Age of Radio & Newsreels, Movies & Magazines, the Weekly & the Daily Press* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 11.

[105] Oriard, *King Football: Sport & Spectacle in the Golden Age of Radio & Newsreels, Movies & Magazines, the Weekly & the Daily Press*, 335.

[106] Adi Adams, Eric Anderson, and Mark McCormack, "Establishing and challenging masculinity: The influence of gendered discourses in organized sport," *Journal of language and social psychology* 29, no. 3 (2010): 280.

[107] P.P. Claxton to Oscar Davis, December 26, 1919, Harvard University, UAI. 5. 150, Records of President Eliot, Box 231, Folder 694, 10.

[108] Leyendecker, "Thanksgiving," *Saturday Evening Post*, November 24, 1928, 1.

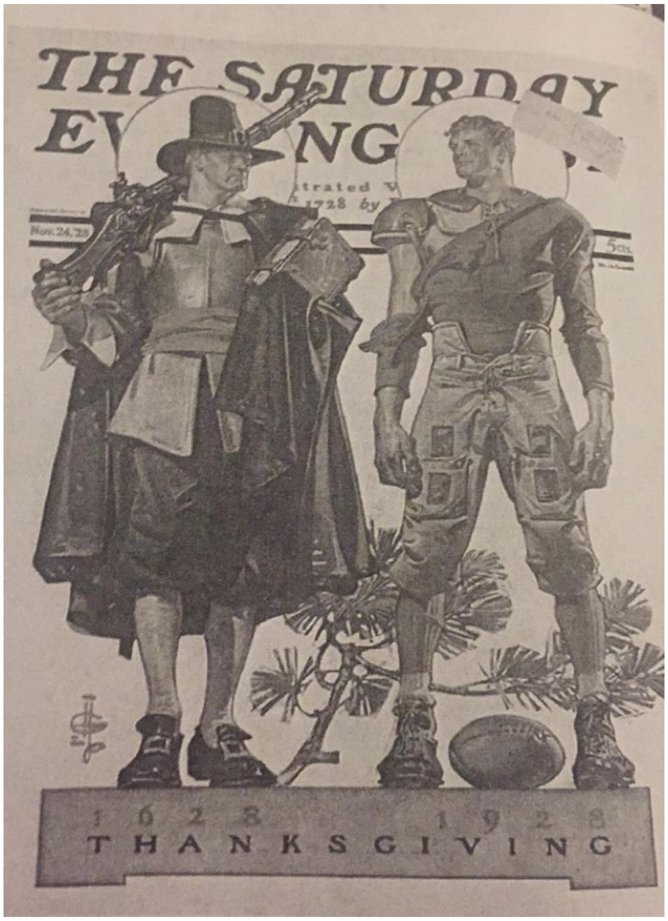

Figure 2.7: During the 1920s, football grew in importance and was seen as an All-American sport. [109]This cover of the Saturday Evening Post is reproduced in Oriard's, King Football: Sport & Spectacle in the Golden Age of Radio & Newsreels, Movies & Magazines, the Weekly & the Daily Press.[110]

While football had already been an important part of college life, it became commercialized in an unprecedented manner during this era as college enrollment increased, and universities invested in expanding their athletic programs.[111] In preparation for future Yale-Harvard games, the Yale Bowl was constructed, a massive stadium that could seat 80,000 individuals (the largest stadium since the Roman Coliseum).[112] By the 1920s athletics often dwarfed academics, an increasingly common scenario satirized in *The Freshman*, a film where Tate University was described as "a large football stadium with a college attached."[113] The immense popularity of college football is further demonstrated by its rapidly growing fan base. Oriard explains that "[a]ttendance at college football games increased 119 percent in the 1920s, exceeding 10 million by the end of the decade, slightly more than for major league baseball."[114] As further evidence of this craze, news pertaining to football was plastered across the front pages of *The Harvard Crimson* and *The Pennsylvanian* on a daily basis and given significantly more coverage than other stories.[115] As the weekends approached, these periodicals included glossy inserts that featured pictures of the school's football team, bios of individual players, and statistics about the home team and its rivals. Additionally, college newspapers regularly reminded students about upcoming games against important rivals and included ads that encouraged them purchase cars, raccoon coats, and other big-ticket items in connection with attending these events.[116]

Football became so visible that it naturally led to a glorification of the men who played it, increasing their popularity and prominence on campus.[117] Since an athlete's success "sold" his

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[109] Leyendecker, "Thanksgiving," 1.

[110] Oriard, *King Football: Sport & Spectacle in the Golden Age of Radio & Newsreels, Movies & Magazines, the Weekly & the Daily Press*, 142.

[111] Matthew P. McAllister, "College bowl sponsorship and the increased commercialization of amateur sports," *Critical Studies in Media Communication* 15, no. 4 (1998): 363.

[112] "A Brief History of Yale," Yale University, accessed April 12, 2016, http://guides.library.yale.edu/yalehistory.

[113] *The Freshman*, Film, directed by Fred C. Newmeyer (1925; Hollywood: The Harold Lloyd Corporation).

[114] Oriard, *King Football: Sport & Spectacle in the Golden Age of Radio & Newsreels, Movies & Magazines, the Weekly & the Daily Press*, 6.

[115] Howard James Savage, Harold Woodmansee Bentley, John Terence McGovern, and Dean Franklin Smiley, *American college athletics* (New York: Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1929), 272.

[116] "HOW WILL YOU LOOK AT THE PENN-BROWN AND THE PENN-YALE GAMES," *The Pennsylvanian*, October 6, 1925, 4.

[117] David O. Levine, *The American college and the culture of aspiration, 1915-1940* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988), 134.

school to the broader public, students respected the sports heroes who brought honor to their institution.[118] To this point, an editorial from *Yale Daily News* described school spirit as "the flames which burn at the altar of the God of football,"[119] and an editorial in *The Harvard Crimson* remarked that athletes "cease to be mortal."[120] This deification elevated football to a sacred sport whose heroes were idolized by their peers. Percy Marks captured this tendency in his novel *The Plastic Age*. As a professor upbraids his students for their shallow values, he exclaims: "Who are your college gods? They are the athletes…And they are worshipped, bowed down to, cheered, and adored."[121] The professor's dismissal of "false gods" reflects the tension between the older and young generations as youth often prioritized athletics over academics and challenged the importance of traditional values.[122]

However, while college sports featured externally-based aspects of masculinity (such as social status, physical vanity, and the pursuit of personal glory), they were also essential to campus life as they promoted character development in young men (such as loyalty, hard work, and honorable conduct).[123] In fact, the football hero epitomized the ideal man because he straddled two worlds, the old and the new, seamlessly manifesting aspects of both the traditional model of masculinity and the more modernized version, earning both the praise of his elders and the esteem of his peers. The struggle to integrate these opposing forces is illustrated in F. Scott Fitzgerald's short story "The Bowl." In this tale, protagonist Dolly Harlan plays football for the good of his team as well as to attain popularity and prestige. When his girlfriend Vienna tries to get him to quit football, she exposes his need for male attention, which was satisfied through the sport: "You're weak and you want to be admired. This year you haven't had a lot of little boys following you around…You want to get out in front of them all and make a show of yourself and hear the applause."[124] However, Dolly rejects this view and frames his participation as a noble act: "If I'm any use to them—yes [I'll play]."[125] Fitzgerald's story indicates how football not only served as a way of gaining popularity but was also linked to traditional values, including self-sacrifice, loyalty, and filial obligation.

Elite universities endorsed athletic competition as a vehicle for promoting character development,[126] often prioritizing this extracurricular activity above academics.[127] Mather A. Abbott, a crew coach at Yale, explained that a thorough and sustained involvement in athletics would help to develop "character and manhood" in college men.[128] Coaches like Abbott were entrusted with reinforcing moral values in the students that they trained and by modeling ideal behaviors themselves: "The coach is more than a teacher; he is a character-builder; he molds personalities."[129] By tying physical pursuits to personal virtues, college sports grew in importance and were self-justifying. Administrators held athletes to high moral standards and expected them to demonstrate honesty, great effort, and fair play while competing for their school. The "Athletic Code of Ethics," which appeared in a 1922 issue of *The Pennsylvanian* explains that the student-athlete must: "strive to carry more than [his] own burden, to do a little more than [his] share…To be unselfish in endeavor,

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118 "Students and Athletes," *The Pennsylvanian*, 1927, 2.
119 "LIGHTWEIGHT FOOTBALL," *Yale Daily News*, October 30, 1929, 2.
120 "A CHIMERA TO KILL," *The Harvard Crimson*, October 13, 1923, 2
121 Percy Marks, *The Plastic Age* (New York: The Century Co., 1924), 194.
122 Marks, *The Plastic Age*, 304.
123 Oriard, *King Football: Sport & Spectacle in the Golden Age of Radio & Newsreels, Movies & Magazines, the Weekly & the Daily Press*, 332.
124 F. Scott Fitzgerald, "The Bowl," *Saturday Evening Post*, January 21, 1928, 14.
125 Fitzgerald, "The Bowl," 14.
126 David Macleod, *Building character in the American boy: The Boy Scouts, YMCA, and their forerunners, 1870-1920* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2004), 82.
127 "Scholastic Problems," *The Harvard Crimson*, January 17, 1921, 2. See also "And After College," *The Harvard Crimson*, November 1, 1923, 2; "College Grades," *The Harvard Crimson*, September 30, 1921, 2; "Asleep," *The Harvard Crimson*, January 6, 1921, 2; "Raising the Standard," *The Harvard Crimson*, October 27, 1924, 2; "Fashionable Study," *The Pennsylvanian*, March 20, 1923, 4.
128 "MAKE ATHLETICS MORE IMPORTANT—ABBOTT," *The Harvard Crimson*, January 13, 1920, 2.
129 "PSYCHOLOGOY PROFESSOR SEES COACH AS CHARACTER-BUILDER," *The Pennsylvanian*, 1926, 4.

caring more for the satisfaction which comes from doing a thing well than for praise."[130] The imperative to maintain a "sportsmanlike ideal of honor" indicates that college sports promoted gentlemanly conduct among athletes, including honorable conduct and fair play.[131] By competing in this manner, sports produced "the greatest pride deep down in the individual that he is a Yale man or a Harvard man."[132] Thus, college athletics provided students with a way to construct a nuanced concept of masculinity that integrated new and old values into their social repertoire.

Conclusion

The 1920s was a decade of youth as the younger generation became suddenly visible and influential. Embracing new values, college students symbolized the broader national trajectory toward modernity and became objects of social criticism. As they emphasized the ways in which they were different from the previous generation, collegiates increasingly turned to peers to assert themselves and to shape their identities. In doing so, they challenged institutional authority, often created chaos on campuses, and prioritized the pursuit of social relations over academic studies. While these behaviors indicate new features of masculinity, there is also evidence of continuity in the extracurricular activities that collegiates pursued. Although senior societies, fraternities, and athletics existed in previous generations, they became more prominent during this era, fulfilling an important social function. These opportunities for male bonding reinforced conformity within select groups and maintained a culture of elitism. As students stretched to meet the competing demands of parents, school administrators, and peers, they navigated disparate social systems and expectations, weaving together multiple forms of masculinity rather than adhering strictly to one template. For these college men, the shift to a modernized version of masculinity was not monolithic or abrupt but instead, was fluid and integrative. [133]

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[130] "AN ATHLETIC CODE OF ETHICS," 4.
[131] "SCOUTS," *Yale Daily News*, March 29, 1922, 2.
[132] "Professional Football," *Yale Daily News*, December 1, 1921, 2.
[133] Susman, *Culture as History: The Transformation of American Society in the Twentieth Century*, 273-276. See also Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream: Making Way for Modernity, 1920-1940*, 210; White, *The First Sexual Revolution: The Emergence of Male Heterosexuality in Modern America*, 27; Studlar, *This Mad Masquerade: Stardom and Masculinity in the Jazz Age*, 4.

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Streamline Moderne Design in Consumer Culture and Transportation Infrastructure: Design for the Twentieth Century

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Situated in the time between World War I and World War II, the design community sought a new design for a new century, free of the trappings and encumbrances of the past. The impact of this new design idea would be far-reaching and serve as a remarkable milestone in the American experience, ushering in modern contemporary mass-produced consumer culture, and stylistically and philosophically the successor to contemporary design practice. The Art Deco style pioneered in the years following World War I, exhibited at the L'Exposition Internationale des Artes Décoratifs et Industriels Modernes of 1925 (translated to English as the *International Exhibition of Modern and Industrial Decorative Arts)*. Art Deco, while certainly new, but was not entirely free of the ornamental motifs of the past. Additionally, Art Deco prioritized the handcrafted, high-end, and exclusive, providing exceptional design for those who could afford it.

Streamlining was just that, stripping away the excesses of the past, of even a just few years prior. Streamline Moderne, also referred to as Art Moderne evolved from Art Deco as a more accessible style that was influenced by that present moment, the fast paced, contemporary life, taking cues from motion, speed, and transportation infrastructure—adopting an aerodynamic image. Key to Streamline Moderne over Art Deco was the widespread availability of items and products meant for everyday use by a far-reaching group of Americans. Defining elements of the Streamline Moderne style as marketed to consumers are efficiency to fit into the fast-paced lives of the users, not so different from marketing today. The clean, rounded lines exude elegant simplicity and ease of use for the modern household. For those who could afford this forward-thinking new style at the height of the Great Depression made clear that they didn't want to be stuck in the past, but adopt the radically new and different progressive design that did not recall historical periods or ornamentation for decoration, but derived inspiration inwardly from the spirit of that moment in that day.

Developed following World War I in Europe and first exhibited in Paris, Art Deco was a response to the devastation of the continent following what was described as the "Great War". Looking towards the future, designers for the upper-class created furnishings, decorative objects, and finishes in an angular yet organic style. This however was not entirely a departure from the past. Art Deco's organic design elements recalled the Art Nouveau style of the previous two decades, with a more modern and urban influence (Meikle 93). Seeing this as the en vogue style, it was quickly adopted by affluent Americans and American designers, who had little to show themselves at the 1925 exposition. The Art Nouveau style's association with the past was too great for it to be a sustainable design idea, and by Art Deco still too similar though more removed. While Streamline Moderne is successor to Art Deco, it existed in its earlier years concurrently with the latter. It is a further abstraction of that style, rounding the angular edges, making the style less harsh and more approachable, and shaped by the speed of progress.

Similar in inspiration by speed and transportation, the Italian Futurist movement, by artists such as Umberto Boccioni, which predates the Art Deco period are angular and aggressive (White 105). One heavily linked idea of Futurism that is strongly correlated with Streamline Moderne is "dynamism". While the figures, shapes, and objects are angular, they are not static. These shapes connote motion, much like in Streamlining. However, the futurists looked to the future but with the same combative adherence to the past that weighted the Art Deco style and its predecessors despite offering a vision of what was to come, it nonetheless was also commentary on what had happened. Streamline Moderne is also influenced by and related to the Bauhaus. This German style was first cultivated and inspired much like Art Deco in the years following World War I, but more similar to the Streamlined Style that would follow. The Bauhaus promoted a universal set of design guidelines, and a commonality between all artistic practices--architecture, decorative arts, furnishings, paintings, and other trades which prioritized abstraction as a reflection of modern life (Maulsby 146). Lucy Maulsby speaks of the rise of "Mass Culture" and the relationship of modernity and how people would live in it "in a fundamentally new way of inhabiting the world" (Maulsby 147). The "freedom", "anonymity", and "sophistication" of the Bauhaus, like Streamline Moderne appealed to Americans (Maulsby 146).

The accessibility, and perhaps mundane nature of Streamline Moderne is what makes it interesting because the extraordinarily significant nature of what this style accomplished as far as advancing design forward, while remaining so ubiquitous and ordinary. Architecture, furniture, decorative objects, automobiles and vehicles, and household appliances and fixtures all designed in the Streamline Moderne style held a prominent place in 1930s and 1940s American households. For the first time, a larger body of the American population was exposed to and maybe able to afford "good" design that was not only aesthetically considered, but also new tools for a new century through time-saving products and transformative inventions, but also novelties of and for consumer fascination.

> Designers struggled to find a machine aesthetic both intellectually defensible and commercially viable. They sought a new style that would honestly express the technological modernity of American life. But that style also had to appeal to consumers. (Meikle 113)

Streamlining was presented as hopeful, a clear and proud statement about moving towards the future in the present day at that particular moment in time. Designers opted to make use of inexpensive and readily available materials to manufacture these consumer goods. The materials included were smooth materials found both in nature and man-made "such as plastics, composite metals, and wood laminates reflected the national obsession with speed at a time when efficiency and productivity were passwords to a fast-paced future" (Kardon 28). The interest in streamline modern design pervaded every aspect of design.

It was at the World's Fairs of 1933 in Chicago, and 1939 and New York; that the promise of Streamline Moderne as a realized style was presented to a global audience. Chicago's *Century of Progress Exposition* promised a bold, bright future to exhibition-goers. Featuring the Burlington's Zephyr train, manufactured by the Budd Company of Philadelphia, the first streamline designed train, Buckminster Fuller's extraordinarily futuristic Dymaxion Car Number 3, and the Chrysler Airflow (Hanks and Hoy 36). Each of these items exuded early on a sense of movement and dynamism, all in their names alone. The New York World's Fair of 1939, similarly featured streamlined design in every possible application, continuing to demonstrate a model of the supposed future of the world, with the motto of "building the world of tomorrow with the tools of today", which Hanks and Hoy describe as the "ultimate endorsement for streamlining" (Hanks and Hoy 36). This endorsement of streamlining as it was applied to so many products and ideas was executed not only in the name of progress, but progress for a cause. Streamline Moderne and the act of "streamlining" as a verb, looking beyond the very basic tenet of increasing efficiency, sought to improve the lives and experiences of users.

Drawing inspiration from the pure forms of machinery, a preoccupation with the nature of innovation was not a new concept by the 1930s. A similar predilection towards the enshrinement of the "machine" was seen as a commanding force in the years following the American Civil War, as evidenced by the 1876 Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia, and perhaps even earlier than that with the rise of the "Industrial Revolution". A new modern industrial revolution was taking place that would dramatically alter the means by which Americans would purchase, look at, and interact with household objects and in the larger picture, design as a whole. What is clear is a linear timeline of industrial innovation that paved the way for modern consumerism, sustained by desire for objects to make life better and easier. It is in this realm of the domestic sphere at allowed Streamline Moderne to take off.

> As a consumer culture assumed social dominance for the first time in history, the commercial practice of design became more significant than ever. New products—automobiles, phonographs, radios, toasters, washing machines, refrigerators, vacuum cleaners—had to be given forms reflecting modernity…Consumers had to decide how much to modernize domestic surroundings. Would acquiring a modern-looking radio for the living room stimulate a desire to replace traditional furniture with something more up-to-date? Or would it serve as a token of modernity among the comforts of a traditional interior? Or would timid consumers avoid modern styles and instead select a radio disguised in eighteenth century trappings? Manufacturers and designers had to determine what consumers wanted and then provide it—but with subtle innovations to keep them slightly off balance, disposed towards novelty and further consumption. While nineteenth century pattern designers and decorative artists had supplied furnishings that supported traditional domesticity, industrial designers of the early twentieth century sought to give coherent shape to mass-produced artefacts in an era self-consciously referred to as the machine age. (Meikle 90)

This assertion by Meikle makes clear the motives and function of the Streamline Moderne style. Beyond serving as simply jumping off point to reject historical precedents and move forward, Streamline Moderne was a proving ground to test the functionality and aesthetic of every and any item imaginable. It also provided a medium for connecting Americans with products and services. Taking a page from the successes of the Sears, Roebuck and Company catalog which in the Gilded Age made products of every type and purpose available to almost everyone, designers, businesses, and corporations. Magazines such as *House and Garden* featured large enticing colored advertisements marketing these products as thrilling. The March 1936 issue features an advertisement for the Kelvinator DeLuxe Refrigerator features two men wearing tuxedos and a woman in a gown demonstrating a large new refrigerator. Above this illustration is the text: "Once again...there's a thrill in the kitchen!" (Kelvinator DeLuxe 5). Perhaps a surprising way to describe a refrigerator, this mode of advertising was more appropriately used for automobile sales, it demonstrates that these products could all be marketed the same way utilizing the same appeal.

In *Art and the Machine; An Account of Industrial Design in 20th-century America,* a book written concurrently with the rise of Streamlining, the authors' words express the excitement that streamlining offered not only to the consumer but in the greater context of the power and potential of design to serve as a representative mode of change:

> We are thrilled to be eyewitnesses to a battle for supremacy between two types of common carriers, as one epoch of railroad domination ends and another begins to be established, seeing historic significance in the struggle: a struggle which is intensified in its dramatic aspects because high power is no more powerful a weapon than its expressive form, because efficiency will be no more a determining factor than appearance—which results from industrial design…The streamline as a scientific fact is embodied in the airplane. As an aesthetic style mark, and symbol of twentieth century machine-age speed, precision, and efficiency… (Cheney and Cheney 97)

In the groundbreaking 1934 exhibition, *Machine Art,* at the Museum of Modern Art in New York, later distinguished architect, Philip Johnson curated an exhibition unlike any other. For this was not a traditional display of traditional art objects. Like the 1876 *Centennial Exposition* in Philadelphia, this exhibit celebrated the machine and the practice of industry**.** The *Machine Art* exhibition served a very familiar function in revering and presenting the industrial as art, to find beauty in the simplicity and functionality of a particular item, without an unproductive veneer. Differing from the earlier 1876 exhibition, over fifty years prior, which had massive machinery, engines, and inventions, *Machine Art* displayed more everyday objects, many which visitors likely used or saw in their own homes that morning. Considering the formal design and functional use of these ordinary objects, which included dishes, tea kettles, car pistons, flatware, and ashtrays (Marshall 2-3). Similar to 1876, the intention of these exhibits was to present and display these objects, whether industrial or domestic to convey the simplistic and pure beauty in the object itself and not from outside or artificial ornamentation. Objects for household use and objects for use on an airplane, or in a laboratory, or factory are beautiful because of the functionality of that object and the expression of that functionality in its design as solely that. According to Jennifer Marshall, these objects presented the objects in the exhibition: "activated by the functionality and use of the object as a representation of that functionality and efficiency" (Marshall 4).

The year prior, the museum had exhibited a show by Johnson, *Objects: 1900 and Today*, comparing the evolution of the decorative arts over the span of thirty years to include examples of ornate and organic Art Nouveau pieces up to sleek, streamlined functionality of Bauhaus. This show demonstrated the simplification and evolution of similar forms (Marshall 25-26). What Machine Art was able to accomplish is the acceptance of these abstracted, often industrial, or domestic objects to be considered beautiful (Marshall 27). "There's no denying it: Machine Art was a show for shoppers" (Marshall 109). The show was successful in putting modernity and the machine on the minds of Americans. Philip Johnson, however as against the notion of streamlining, for the same that its principles were being overused and inauthentic in their application, particularly taking aim against the designs of Raymond Loewy. Marshall cites the example of a pencil sharpener:

> That pencil sharpener might've looked smoothly aerodynamic, but when was the last time a pencil sharpener had to glide quickly through space? In fact, totally contrary, pencil sharpeners function most efficiently when they are solidly mounted to the desk. Here the streamlined shape was a metal casing put over an old-fashioned machine, not only obscuring the turning, spiraled blades of its working interior, but pretending to a 'look' of functionalism at cross purposes with a function! (Marshall 122)

However, in disagreement to this point, the use of the streamlined design allowed for that object to take on a contemporary identity, allowing it to evolve, even if the use of a new design was not needed. By transgressing the design of ordinary objects to take on a more artfully and carefully considered form it asserted a clear adherence to the principles of modernism, which in its rejection of the past was also a radical transformation of what it meant to be designed. While machinery and technology heavily inform the Streamline Moderne style, it is also hypocritical in that it does present the idea of modernity, but the item that is produced is still but a decorative covering of the internal components, however minimalist, streamlined, aerodynamic, and futuristic they may appear to be. In a book review, for Donald Bush's work, *The Streamlined Decade*, Robert Craig sums up Bush's understanding of Streamline Moderne through the use of the teardrop form as:

> ...the essence of streamlining the 'teardrop' employed by Norman Bel Geddes and others as the ideal form and indeed the symbol of progress resulting from the application of technology and art to the design process. (Craig 779)

Besides the transportation infrastructure designed in an aerodynamic manner, the vast majority of streamlined objects did not *have* to be. Despite the positivity and general enthusiasm for streamlining on the part of the public and the consumer market, streamlining did come at a cost to the traditional nature of craft, even how craft had been practiced just several years prior with the acceptance of the handmade in Art Deco. Streamline Moderne rejected the handmade, in favor of the machine made for the sake of efficiency and uniformity, in this mindset, necessities for a society pushing forward. The "handmade" in the context of the Art Deco movement refers to the role of individual craftspeople who designed and made expensive limited production items with valuable and precious materials. Where Art Deco was accessible to only the wealthy, Streamline Moderne was if not *actually* accessible, was at least marketed towards a wider array of Americans, and was produced on a massive scale with man-made and economical materials.

> The ever-reaching threat of industry and the machine-made and the separation of the designer from the maker, impinged on the purity of the handmade object. At the same time, the contribution of industry to the period was a critical one. Industry's mandate was to modernize products and their means of manufacture. Streamlining swept through the design universe, rounding corners, smoothing surfaces, attenuating forms, proselytizing speed. Modernism was like a cult, practiced with fervor and compliance to the doctrine. Everything in American life was affected; craft would be irrevocably altered (Kardon 30).

As previously stated, the emphasis on speed, motion, and transportation are beyond critical for the emergence and adaptation of Streamline Moderne in the home. The design of automobiles and trains in this streamlined style would serve as the inspiration for household appliances, objects, and furnishings seeking to capture that same spirit. In his 1932 book *Horizons*, Norman Bel Geddes said "To-day, speed is the cry of our era, and greater speed one of the goals of to-morrow" (Meikle 116). A number of years before, the automobile began to influence and dominate the American way of life. The introduction of Ford's "Model T", first put into production in 1908 provided a reliable means of transportation, and a sense of independence for Americans. For $500, a family could own a car. The "Model T", accessible and affordable enough for the now growing American middle class got America hooked on the idea of speed. Like Art Deco design, the automobile, initially essentially a novelty plaything for the wealthy, began to be seen as viable means of transportation for a the American public, should it be made affordable and accessible—that same shift was seen with Streamline Moderne, which evolved from Art Deco and marketed for a wider audience of consumers, at a lower price point (Meikle 102). The earliest cars, like the "Model T", were angular, boxy and utilitarian. However, the same interest in aerodynamics result in dramatic design changes, and would influence automobile design for around twenty years.

Streamlining pervaded not only automobile manufacture and design, but every mode of transportation of the time: trains, buses, and airplanes included. In the design of trains, Raymond Loewy was responsible for the design of the Broadway Limited for the Pennsylvania Railroad, while Henry Dreyfuss was responsible for the New York Central Railroad's Twentieth Century Limited, in 1937 and 1938, respectively demonstrate the need to outdo one's competition, particularly in the fast-paced urban environment. The designs of these trains bear a resemblance to contemporary bullet trains—the intention remains the same, speed. These competing designs each provided comfort and luxury in travel for the passengers on board, a departure from older trains (Hanks and Hoy 29). Additionally, providing structural and mechanical improvements, a smoother ride, increased speed, while increasing safety, reduction of wind resistance (the purest justification for streamlining) and fuel efficiency (Cheney and Cheney 133). The trains represented a romanticism and interest in the nature of travel, a dramatization. (Cheney and Cheney 130). Lucille Guild's notable design for "Vacuum Cleaner: Number 30" for Electrolux, bears a compelling resemblance with Loewy's design for the Broadway Limited Train, featuring a similar bullet shaped design, and horizontal striping, along with a rail or track-like sled at the bottom. Hanks and Hoy also describe the vacuum as "emphasizing a train-like form" which it would appear, even upright vacuums also did (Hanks and Hoy 89).

Related to the association of Streamline Moderne to transportation, the adoption of this style was by transportation companies themselves a marketing opportunity to convey the ambitions, reliability, and service of the business. That is precisely what Greyhound did, in the systematic design of buses and stations for a uniform and confident design. Greyhound commissioned architect W.S. Arrasmith to make this vision a reality (Sargent 445). Quite apt for a business whose identity and branding even today is associated with speed, Streamline Moderne proved an appropriate and consummate application of an artistic form which praises the same reliance and endorsement of speed and velocity as not something to simply be admired, and not a way of life, but *the* way of life in the modern, urban, twentieth century.

The prevalent qualities of Streamlining extended to the far reaches of everything that was or could be designed, used, or experienced. The argument made is the expression of these attributes in both consumer products, household appliances and furnishings, and well as how the same style was manifested in transportation design as the ultimate statement of adherence to the principles of Streamlining which in itself seeks to be informed by movement and speed--a key reason for the adoption and association with transportation. Coinciding with this was an allure for items with no relationship or association with movement, transit, or speed to suddenly reflect these ideas. Much of the focus of Streamline Moderne design in the design, marketing, and sale of consumer products was in the kitchen, where for centuries, housewives toiled, initially over an open hearth, then moving to more rudimentary stoves. With the advent of electricity, the modern housewife, maybe even the working wife would not have to struggle to keep up a proper home. New ingenious appliances mechanized tiresome work, previously done by hand, while also saving precious time. This ease of use alleviated this strain on the modern woman, making life easier. Therefore, it was fitting to incorporate those same design elements that exuded the idea of speed and innovation in products that aimed to accomplish or promote the same. "The perfect design for any object could be derived from the 'function which the object is adapted to perform, the materials out of which it is made, and the methods by which it is made'" (Meikle 114).

At the same time, while streamlining offered a new freedom for women and was emblematic of the changing role of women, it continued affirmation by society, which deemed that women belonged in the home. However, with the ability to vote with the 1920 passage of the nineteenth amendment, and the specific marketing of streamlined products towards women making purchasing decisions for the home--it made clear that women practiced some agency, and having time and energy saving products would make life as a housewife better and easier, it remained however still a part of the hegemony of a patriarchal society. Although the futuristic and progressive designs may have been symbolic of an attempt or hope to break with this tradition as a part of Streamlining's larger goal of breaking with the past.

This is not the only evolution and attempt at change in response to Streamlining. Thinking about this evolution of these appliances themselves, which we now consider nothing less than a definite necessity, many of these products were new and novel inventions at the time. From the beginning of the twentieth century, and three decades in, we see the modern American home develop, all within the context of Streamline Moderne. Looking at a timeline, we see these significant appliances and products enter the market earlier, and are then further developed and perfected by Industrial Designers in the 1930s, and going forward. 1903: "Lightweight electric iron", 1905: "Electric filaments improved", 1907: "first practical domestic vacuum cleaner, 1909: "first commercially successful electric toaster", 1913: "first refrigerator for home use", "first electric dishwasher on the market", 1919: "first automatic pop-up toaster", 1927: "First iron with an adjustable temperature control", Mid-1930s: "Washing machine to wash, rinse, and extract water from clothes", 1935: "First clothes dryer", and 1947: "First top-loading automatic washer" ("Household Appliances Timeline"). Mail order businesses, like Sears and Montgomery Ward were early adopters of Streamline Moderne to stand out amongst the brick-and-mortar competition as consumer's dollars became scarce during this, the height of the Great Depression (Meikle 108).

In 1931, Montgomery Ward established a "Bureau of Design", headed by Swedish designer, Anne Swainson. It is clear that Montgomery Ward began to take the design and marketing of their products seriously. Sears, Roebuck took a different approach, focusing on the design of key products, hiring Industrial Designer, Henry Dreyfuss to design a washing machine, which was introduced in 1933 as a "designer appliance" (Meikle 108-109). The result was a clean and shiny appliance that would certainly make life easier. In 1935, Sears introduced the Raymond Loewy designed "Coldspot" Refrigerator. This appliance, which prioritized a simple elegant design that highlights its ease-of-use "… in the door release, a long vertical bar that someone with both hands full could operate with the nudge of an elbow" (Meikle 110).

In the consideration of the role that the refrigerator played in streamlined design, and how it was marketed to consumers, historian Shelley Nickles delves deep into this analysis. Again, the need, or perhaps desire for streamlined appliances comes from the approach that an object designed to look efficient will be efficient. Nickles describes the ideal consumer for a time, money, and energy saving appliance for the home: "a homemaker in a depression economy, without servants or helpers, who found herself opening the refrigerator door with both hands full. She valued thrift, efficiency, convenience, and modern food preservation methods for her family" (Nickles 694). Nickles argues that this example was needed to shift the refrigerator from a luxury item, to everyday household object, not a status symbol, but a necessary tool for any modern household. The icebox simply would not do any longer as the twentieth century progressed (Nickles 696).

> By the mid-1930s, the design of refrigerators and other household equipment would be transformed by the new modernist, 'streamline' aesthetic. Historians have tended to emphasize the dramatic quality of this change, as did industrial designers themselves. Therefore, consumers' rapid acceptance of streamline modernism has seemed remarkable. But as the foregoing discussion illustrates, household economists and other reformers already succeeded in simplifying refrigerator design by calling on values such as hygiene and efficiency. What designers contributed was a new aesthetic vocabulary and rationale…Designers found a visual vocabulary that expressed modernity but, just as significantly, was restrained within the boundaries of household values as they were being defined through the role of the servantless housewife. (Nickles 708)

In order to accomplish this, the refrigerator had to be redesigned to fit this new market—overseen by Industrial designers, making clear that was a carefully orchestrated craft meant to express this message. Frigidaire, in their model to attract more customers sought to do so by radically reconsidering the American consumer landscape. In this, they drew their consumer base from every class and position in society (Nickles 698). The research conducted demonstrated that there was a growing need to reach consumers at the lower end of the spectrum who at that point were the ones making refrigerator purchases (Nickles 698). As an attempt to attract potential customers, many companies gave away sets of serving pieces—like plates, jugs, and pitchers. These items, known as "Refrigeratorware" were meant to incentivize the purchase of a new refrigerator. Appropriately, these pieces were also designed with streamlining in mind (Stewart).

For those Americans who in the midst of the Great Depression were unable to afford these same conveniences, Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal came to the aid, with the Electric Home and Farm Authority (EFHA), a New Deal program that has seemingly been underrepresented in analysis of New Deal programs. The EHFA worked to provide families in need, particularly in the rural South, with appliances at low prices and competitive payment plans, allowing up to five years to finish paying. "The electrified, modern American kitchen took shape within a government-managed economic, social, and technological infrastructure" (Mock). The EHFA pushed for "Model T Appliances"—"appliances for the masses", just as the automobile had done nearly thirty years prior. "By 1935, Electrical World confirmed that 'the appeal of modern electrical appliances has become so strong and public interest has been so increased as a result of the wide publicity that has grown out of President Roosevelt's enthusiasm for the social benefits that come from electricity in the home'" (Mock).

It is important to note that Streamline Moderne design extended its reach into every possible type of item. “Nothing is too small or too obscure to be redesigned and made expressive of the new ideal of form” (Cheney and Cheney 217). David Hanks and Anne Hoy’s work American Streamline Design, captures and documents the carefully rendered designs of numerous objects, everything from architecture to, staplers and tape dispensers, vacuums to toasters, hair dryers to power tools, and everything in between. The nature and scope of Streamline Moderne design is so extensive that a complete analysis cannot be undertaken in this short of a work, however the context given of particular interest in the role of kitchen appliances designed in the Streamline Moderne style as marketed to consumers as necessary items for a modern-day lifestyle, inspired by the need for speed, motion and movement of that day, as represented first by the physical motion of transportation.

This definitively specific style speaks to a difficult time in American and world history, following the aftermath of World War I and a devastating flu epidemic. At that particular moment, the United States was in the middle of the Great Depression, when outlook on American society seemed hopeless. Industrial designers and corporations established a new stylistic vocabulary. This vocabulary, a style that would become to be implemented widely in every marketable designed object would be drawn on the successes of the Art Deco movement, but would be a new style that did not recall tradition, whose only inspiration was looking forward and moving into the future. The harsh and sharp edges of the Art Deco style would be rounded and smoothed--gliding through space; familiar forms from nature and classical antiquity would be rejected. While it can be said that the entire language of design has always been a dynamic discipline and that every change is a turning point in its own right, this particular departure from tradition was especially groundbreaking for setting the course for future changes to come--and with those changes, continued progress took place. These changes did not take place in a vacuum but in the context of the twentieth century, where conflict, violence, revolution, civil rights, and so much more clashed and played out not just on a national, but a global stage. Streamline Moderne itself continued to evolve and ultimately resulted in the adaptation of new styles which emulated American society’s sentiments on modernity in the acceptance of the International Style and then Midcentury Modern and Brutalism. It is not a surprise that American society ascribed to lofty ambitions for the future, depicting an ideal world going forward through the 1930s, and again in the 1960s at the height of threat of nuclear war, just as the United States looked towards space. *The Jetsons* in particular depicts a futuristic, space-age society that in an animated universe exists as Streamline Moderne in its most idealized and widely embraced form. Streamline Moderne was a reflection of modernity and the ambitions of a nation moving forward in the progressing twentieth century, which would come to be regarded as “the American century”. It was in the era of Streamlining that ushered in the age of contemporary American consumer culture and the proliferation of goods and services never before seen. The radical and rounded design vocabulary instituted in the twenties, thirties, and forties set forth a transformational change in the way design is thought about an incorporated into everyday life for Americans.

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The Curious Case of Sydney Gruson and the Obsessions of Guatemala and the United States

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By 1954, the United States was gripped by the fear of the ever-expanding Communist tide. The expansion of Soviet Russia into Eastern Europe, the fall of China to the reds, and the war over the Korean peninsula had all shaken America's nerves. As the only non-Communist super-power, the United States felt that it was its duty to first halt the spread of Communism and then push it back and replace it with democracies. Any government that had even the slightest hint of Communism must be removed for the safety of the United States and democracy. The United States State Department and CIA became obsessed with rooting out Communism and Communists, and Guatemala became caught in the CIA's crosshairs. This obsession lead to a lack of perspective and inability to see the other side's point of view that caused the CIA, the United States State Department, and the Eisenhower administration to cause the downfall of Guatemalan President Jacobo Arbenz Guzman and end the October Revolution of 1944. Both sides were guilty of tunnel vision. All the CIA could see was red Communists quickly taking over the government of Guatemala and creating a beachhead for Moscow and the USSR to infiltrate the North American continent and the United States' sphere of influence. While the people of the United States and their government may or may not have had justification for this fear, the real tragedy was their inability to see and understand why and what the reality was on the ground in Guatemala. Arbenz and his foreign minister were just as guilty in bringing about their demise. Arbenz and Toriello's inability to understand the United States' fear of Communism, and their own obsession with United Fruit Company contributed in a significant way to the end of their administration.

There was one reporter in Latin American that had the ability to see things from both perspectives, and due to both sides obsessions, Sydney Gruson was expelled from Guatemala twice, once by the Guatemalan government and once by the CIA. Gruson, through his contacts at the State Department in Guatemala and his Guatemalan contacts, was one of the only reporters able to see the whole picture unfolding in Guatemala. By researching his reporting for the *New York Times,* we can uncover the obsessions of both sides and their inability to understand the opposition's concerns. Gruson and his reporting are the perfect prism with which to view this debacle of tunnel vision.

This tunnel vision is covered very differently by four books that discuss the CIA coup in Guatemala, and each has their own somewhat narrow point of view. In Schlesinger and Kinzer's book Bitter Fruit, they are too concerned with the influence and power of the United Fruit Company just like Guatemalan President Arbenz and his administration. They make great pains to link the administration of Eisenhower and the hierarchy of United Fruit Company via financial investments, previous employment and possible future employment. While these connections absolutely existed, the United Fruit Company had assets of almost $580,000,000 in 1954[1]. More people in the U.S. had connections to United Fruit than they realized. In fact, the United States citizens and its government were being influenced by one of if not the first truly 20th century public relations campaigns. Thomas Corcoran was a lobbyist for United Fruit, and he was a Roosevelt "brain truster" who had connections with the CIA through his good friend Walter Bedell Smith, who was the director of the CIA in the early 1950s (and later Undersecretary of State)[2]. Edward Bernays, the P.R. mastermind, had connections with the owner of the *The New*

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[1]Sydney Gruson, "United Fruit Company is a Vast Enterprise," *The New York Times*, July 3, 1954, E4

[2] Stephen Schlesinger and Steven Kinder, *Bitter Fruit: The Story of the American Coup in Guatemala* (Harvard University: Harvard University Press, 1982), 91

York Times, the publisher of Scripps-Howard newspapers, as well as the editors of *The Christian Science Monitor*, *The New Leader*, and the San Fransisco *Chronicle*[3]. Thomas Cabot was brought in as President of the United Fruit Company in 1948, and Cabot's brother was the Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American affairs up until the 1954 coup in Guatemala[4]. United Fruit was also able to enlist the help of Henry Cabot Lodge, John McCormack and Alexander Wiley, who were all senator and representatives.[5]

While all these people were able to use their significant influence in the early 1950s to coerce private and public opinion about the dangers of the Guatemalan government, by the time the Eisenhower administration took power, the focus of the majority of the United States' power and time was on the Communist dilemma in Guatemala and not on United Fruit Company. Schlesinger and Kinzer use their extensive experience in journalism to write a wonderfully cinematic book with peaks and valleys, rights and wrongs, and good and evil. The bully of their book is United Fruit Company, and while looking out for its own interest in overthrowing the Arbnez administration, the United Fruit Company's influence is overblown in this book so that a slick narrative could keep its readers glued to *Bitter Fruit.* In reality, the influence of UFCo wasn't as strong as the authors would have you believe. Communism and its presence in Guatemala was the overwhelming factor in the CIA's decision to overthrow the Guatemalan government.

Schlesinger and Kinzer also paint a wonderful painting of the expulsion of Sydney Gruson in June of 1954. Allen Dulles, the director of the CIA, and Julius Adler, the business manager of *The New York Times*, were described as having a clandestine dinner meeting to scheme together to get Gruson, and his "pro-communist" reporting, expelled from Guatemala before the overthrow of Arbenz. While this dinner may have happened, Kinzer and Schlesinger make the meeting out to be the evil head of a dastardly organization influencing the gullible and malleable press[6]. *Bitter Fruit*'s narrative is a cinematic wonder, and it would make a fantastic movie; however, at times the authors seem to go a little beyond the facts, to convince their audience that the evil United Fruit Company was pulling the strings of the government.

Richard Immerman's account of the Guatemalan coup, on the other hand, will never be turned into a movie, and if it did, it would fail miserably. Not to say that Immerman did not have his facts and narrative straight, but that Immerman's *The CIA in Guatemala* reads like a textbook at times, and the movie would probably be just him reading the book at his desk, with occasional sips of scotch between chapters. Along with the difference in writing styles, is the difference in interpretations of the reasons the CIA sponsored the coup. Just a look at the titles says it all: *Bitter Fruit* vs. *The CIA in Guatemala*. While Immerman acknowledges the influence of the United Fruit Company, he surmises that the overthrow of Guatemala was due to the perceived presence and influence of Communists in the Guatemalan government. It was, according to Immerman,the hysteria and obsession of Americans and their government with the spread of Communism that caused them to cry wolf. "Practically all United States citizens were 'professional patriots and Russian haters,' and so they remained into the 1950's,[7]". Immerman believed that it was Americans' fear of Communist Russia and its expansionist policies that lead to the CIA backing Armas and his insurrectionists.

Surprisingly enough, even though Sydney Gruson wrote numerous pieces on the infiltration of Communists in the Guatemalan government, and Gruson was eventually expelled because he was getting very close to discovering the connection between the CIA and Castillo Armas, their chosen liberator of Guatemala, and thus Gruson would have discovered the connection between the CIA's obsession with halting the Communists in Guatemala, Immerman devotes very little to the

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[3] ibid, 80
[4] ibid, 82
[5] ibid, 90
[6] ibid, 154

[7] Richard H. Immerman, *The CIA in Guatemala: The Foreign Policy of Intervention* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1982), 101

Gruson story. In fact, he doesn't even mention the fact that Gruson was later kept out of Guatemala by the CIA. Immerman could have strengthened his case about the United States' obsession with Communism in Guatemala by discussing Gruson's second expulsion, and the CIA's belief that Gruson's "conscious fifty-fifty treatment[8]" of the Guatemalan situation in late May of 1954 was an example of the CIA's narrow view of Guatemala and their inability to see that the Communists in Guatemala were not as powerful as the CIA believed.

Nick Cullather, author of *Secret History*, made better use of the second expulsion of Gruson, helping to prove his case that the CIA's obsession with Communism in Guatemala was the reason that Arbenz and Guatemala was targeted. Cullather, who only made statements backed by evidence supplied by the CIA, stated that the CIA was worried about reporting back in the United States. The CIA and "[   ] speculated that either Arbenz had extracted a quid pro quo in exchange for lifting the expulsion, or that Gruson was unwilling to risk offending Guatemalan officials a second time[9]." Cullather surmised that since Gruson was not parroting the CIA line, and was instead reporting Foreign Minister Toriello's statements, the CIA was not willing to take the risk of having their obsession with the minuscule Communist presence exposed and possibly ruin their chance to overthrow the Arbenz administration. Cullather asserted that the fear of Communism was overblown and the cold war ethos in the Eisenhower administration and the CIA was the reason behind this. Because Cullather's book was written for the CIA, it reads like a recently released CIA document. Succinct and to the point, Cullather wasted no ink in his book, and he certainly saved plenty with all the redactions, which often left as many questions as answers. *Secret History* is clearly a government document, with little emotion, that got stretched out on a rack used during the inquisition.

Gleijeses' *Shattered Hope* on the other hand is written solely with the experience of the people involved in the coup in mind. Gleijeses' reliance on interviews of key figures and their close associates reveals a perspective of the coup that the other three books cannot offer. His interviews with Guatemalan priests and opposition figures reveal the fear of the spread of Communism in Guatemala that the other books are unable to convey. "The… agrarian reform law… [was] a ruthless political too that accomplished a bloodless revolution… Communism and Christianity are irreconcilable,[10]" said an interviewed America priest. This hatred and fear was not something that the previous three books were able to convey. Quotes like "tyrannical Communist minority," "reign of terror," and "Communist wolves" in "sheep's clothing" from American officials were able to demonstrate their hatred and fear of the Guatemalan Communists. "Speaking 'with a voice full of emotion,'" Arbenz stated "I say goodbye to you, my friends, with bitterness and pain,[11]" is a line that would not appear in *Secret History*, *CIA in Guatemala*, or even in *Bitter Fruit*. Gleijeses was able to convey the fear, terror, joy and sadness that accompanied both sides of this unfortunate historical event.

It is because of this ability to show both the Guatemalan and United States' <u>emotions</u> that Gleijeses was able to explain the Gruson the best of all the authors. Gleijeses was able to show that Gruson's "sober style" and that fact that he "rarely resorted to sensationalism," actually caused Gruson to offend both the CIA and the Guatemalan government[12]. Neither side was willing to let realistic and unbiased facts get in the way of their ultimate goals, and it is because of this that the story of Sydney Gruson in Guatemala is so unique and historically important to understanding what was actually happening in Guatemala and going through the collective minds of the CIA and the Guatemalan government.

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[8] Anonymous, "REPORTING ON GUATEMALA BY NEW YORK TIMES CORRESPONDENT SYDNEY GRUSON," CIA Memo, May 27, 1954

[9] Nick Cullather *Secret History: The CIA's Classified Account of Its Operations in Guatemala, 1952-1954* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press), 94

[10] Piero Gleijeses *Shattered Hope: The Guatemalan Revolution and the United States 1944-1954* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press), 212

[11] ibid 347

[12] ibid 260

It is a travesty that Sydney Gruson got no more than two paragraphs in any of these books regarding the CIA sponsored coups that overthrew the democratically elected government on Guatemala. Gruson's experience with his expulsion by initially the Arbenz administration and then the CIA could aid each author's thesis immensely and dramatically. He managed to anger both the United States and Guatemalan government enough through his reporting of the facts, that he was expelled by both. His reporting on United Fruit Company and the Communist influence in the Guatemalan government, which there was, as well as his reporting of the realities of the situation on the ground in late May and early June of 1954 would have been able to confirm the theories and reasons for the coup that every one of these books put forth. Gruson's experience, in being expelled by both sides of the conflict, is extremely uncommon and certainly did not happen to any other reporters during the conflict between Guatemala and the United States. His reporting showed that the Guatemalan government was fixated on the problems caused by United Fruit Company in Guatemala, and his reporting showed that the CIA, and the American people, were obsessed with the Communist scourge spreading throughout the world, and their fear that its tentacles could reach the North American continent and the United States' sphere of influence. Sydney Gruson deserves our attention and at the very least his own wikipedia page.

Born in Dublin, Sydney Gruson began working for *The New York Times* during World War II. He was transferred to Mexico City to become the *Times'* Latin America correspondent in late 1951, and he immediately came under the scrutiny of the CIA. In one of his first articles after being transferred to Mexico City, Gruson apparently "immediately published" a story involving a mutual assistance pact between the United States and Mexico. This agreement focused around the Mutual Security Assistance Program was unannounced, and Gruson's source in the State Department was apparently off the record. The United States State Department was furious and the CIA became aware when the "Mexican Communist press" picked up his story and began reporting it throughout Mexico and the rest of the hemisphere. Due to the resulting "anti-American atmosphere," the CIA began to investigate Gruson and his wife, and it was not long before they found out that the FBI already had a file on him[13]. The CIA believed that Gruson's article had affected the Mexican presidential elections that were ongoing at the time of this article's publishing, and Gruson even stated in the article that "There is considerable opposition here to do anything that might limit Mexico's right to trade wherever she can," in reference to the fact that due to agreement between the two countries, Mexico would not be able to buy "any item of 'primary significance' in the production of munitions or making war." Little did anyone know that one of Gruson's first articles foreshadowed the uproar that would result from the Alfhem incident, when the Guatemalan government bought arms from communist controlled Czechoslovakia, but this was more of a turning point for Gruson and the CIA and their relationship, unbeknownst to Gruson. He was no longer just a regular reporter, but a dangerous one that would not play by the rules and was not regurgitating the State Department's views and beliefs[14].

The Arbenz administration also came to the conclusion that Gruson was a dangerous reporter spreading dissension and hatred via his reporting, but it wasn't until February 2, 1954 that he was expelled from Guatemala. The Foreign Ministry of Guatemala issued the following statement on February 2:

> In view of the fact that Sydney Gruson, correspondent for *The New York Times* who is in this country, has systematically defamed and slandered this republic and its Government, through the press, and being one of the most active agents of the campaign of defamation which is being developed in a malicious and increasing manner by certain information organs in the United States against Guatemala with the purpose of prejudicing the good relations

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[13] LINCOLN, "Guatemalan Matters: Sydney Gruson," CIA memo, June 2, 1954

[14] Sydney Gruson, "Mexico Awaiting U.S. Arms Mission," *The New York Times*, Jan. 25, 1952, 5

> between the two countries, The Ministry of Foreign Affairs resolves in the name of national decorum and based upon Legislative Decree 337, [that he] is expelled from this country as an undesirable.[15]

The Foreign Ministry went on to say that Gruson was guilty of "general unfriend[liness]" and was being expelled because of a sentence Gruson used in an article printed on November 6, 1953. At the end of that article Gruson concluded that "President Arbenz G[u]zman has become a prisoner of the embrace he so long ago gave the Communists.[16]" The Foreign Ministry went on "we can understand the differences in opinion because this is a democracy. But when a foreigner casts scorn on the dignity of the Presdient that is intolerable.[17]" Even if we disregard the statement about the inability to question a president's policies in a democracy, we still should be vexed at why it took three months to expel Gruson from Guatemala when the Guatemalan government could just revoke his travel visa whenever it chose. What was he writing in this period, and could this actually be an insight to why he was really expelled by the Guatemalan government?

The answer is unequivocally yes. It was actually Arbenz's obsession with the United Fruit Company and Gruson's reporting on the company how it was being affected by the land reform that caused Gruson to be expelled from Guatemala. In fact, during this time period Gruson's reporting on the Communist influence in Guatemala decreased, while his 'favorable' reporting on United Fruit Company increased. The day after Gruson published his article speaking of President Arbenz's 'embrace,' Gruson published an article discussing how the land reform in Guatemala was affecting The United Fruit Company. Gruson said that 174,000 acres of 263,000 acres at United Fruit Company's Bananera plantation will be expropriated, and that 85% of the land that United Fruit Company will keep is "hilly woodland unsuited for plantations." Gruson goes on to quote a State Department aide, who was speaking on behalf of United Fruit: "Such a high disproportion raises a very serious question of discrimination despite assertions to the contrary." Gruson also goes on to reference United Fruit officials who claim that the plantation will become a "losing proposition," and that the company might just close the plantation. Only once does the article even mention Communists, just saying that they have influence over the Guatemala government that wants American companies, including United Fruit, out of their country.[18] From a Guatemalan perspective, this article could seem very biased towards United Fruit, but upon closer inspection, the most damning lines are quotes from either United Fruit or the State Department. Gruson does not go out of his way to slander the Guatemalan government or Arbenz.

Gruson continued his reporting about the United Fruit Company in Guatemala and UFCo's relations with the Guatemalan government. In the November 11 issue of *The New York Times*, Gruson wrote an article mostly about the renegotiations of a contract between United Fruit and Costa Rica, but the article featured a quote that can be quite telling about why the Guatemalan government became very irked by Gruson's reporting: "in Guatemala, where Communists-inspired propaganda has led to continual Government harassment…[19]" The important phrase is not "Communist-inspired propaganda," but actually "Government harassment." Many other American reporters were covering the Communists' influence exclusively, but Gruson actually showed the negative interaction between United Fruit and Arbenz. In typical Gruson fashion, not only did this article anger the Guatemalan government, but it also elicited a response from the President of The United Fruit Company which stated the inaccuracy of Gruson's article and his assertions.[20]

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15 Special to the New York Times, "Guatemala Ousts Two News Men," *The New York Times*, Feb. 3, 1954, 07

16 Sydney Gruson, "Guatemala Reds Increase Powers," *The New York Times*, Nov. 6, 1953, 3

17 Special to the New York Times, "Guatemala Ousts Two News Men," *The New York Times*, Feb. 3, 1954, 07

18 Sydney Gruson, "Guatemala Stalls Seizing Fruit Land," *The New York Times*, Nov. 7, 1953, 5

19 Sydney Gruson, "United Fruit Talks Pose U.S. Problem," *The New York Times*, Nov. 11, 1953, 3

20 Kenneth H. Redmond, "Letters to the Times," *The New York Times*, Nov. 19, 1953, 30

Throughout this three-month period from November 6, 1953 to Gruson's expulsion on February 2, 1954, Gruson wrote only nine articles on Guatemala, as he was covering all of Central America. Five of his articles concern United Fruit Company, and he continually uses the phrase "harassment by the Guatemalan Government." In fact, only one of his nine articles is about Communism in Guatemala, and the article is actually about the Communist presence throughout Latin America. In this article, he states: "Guatemala, actually, has proved no better a breeding ground for communism than the other Central American republics," and that communism in Guatemala had "won no popular support." Gruson went on to say that the communists do head several committees in the government, but "The Communists have made no significant gains in enlisting important Army officers on their side," and "there is no sign that the Army's rulers are overly concerned about the [Communist] situation.[21]" These statements were probably something that the Arbenz administration would agree with. Arbenz never hid the fact that there were Communists in government and often stated that they were not as powerful as the United States made them out to be, which is what Gruson reported in this article. This style of reporting is not "generally unfriendly" or in any way a defamation of the Guatemalan republic or of Arbenz, who is not even mentioned. Arbenz in fact is not mentioned by name in any of the articles during this three month period; however, in most of Gruson's articles during this period some iteration of the phrase "official Guatemalan harassment of United States business concerns" appeared, and it appeared multiple times if the article is about United Fruit Company.[22] It seems likely that the Guatemalan government wanted Gruson out because of his writings on United Fruit Company and its interaction with the Guatemalan government. There was no reason to wait three months to revoke Gruson's visa to Guatemala if Arbenz and the Guatemalan government believed in fact that he was defaming the government, but because of Gruson's reporting on United Fruit Company and its relationship with the Guatemalan government throughout this three-month period we are able to conclude that it was Guatemala's obsession with United Fruit and not the defamation of Arbenz that was the reason for Gruson's expulsion by Guatemala.

Guatemala did oust another reporter along with Sydney Gruson on February 2, 1954, and in his writings actual defamation of the government can be see, and it shows the contrast of the two reporters views of the Communist influence. Marshall F. Bannell, a reporter for Reuters and *Vision* magazine, was also expelled for 'antagonistic' views of the Guatemalan government, but his views on the Communist influence in the Guatemalan government were far more extreme than Gruson's. Bannell described life in Guatemala as "just like being behind the Iron Curtain," and he elaborated by saying that the "black hats," the secret police, were "increased greatly," that "all mail and cables, incoming and outgoing, are opened and scrutinized," and every car leaving Guatemala City was being searched. Bennell also claimed that most Guatemalan government and labor leaders made frequent trips behind the Iron Curtain, and that the Guatemalan Congress sent a congratulatory message to North Korea for "repulsing the imperialist aggression.[23]" Bannell summed up his observations by claiming that "[Guatemala] is dominated by Communists and is being used as 'international headquarters for further infiltration into Central America.[24]'" Bannell's reporting demonstrated an actual 'campaign of defamation' against the Guatemalan government; however, Bannell was never accused of a 'campaign of defamation.' That quote and the Guatemalan Foreign Ministry's statement was only about Sydney Gruson. The Foreign Ministry never issued a statement about Bennell despite his "general unfriendl[iness]" and "disrespect" for President Guzman. Bannell's extremity and Guatemala's lack of statement about Bannell only reenforces the fact

[21] Sydney Gruson, " Central America Feels Communist Pressure," *The New York Times*, Jan. 2, 1954, E4
[22] Sydney Gruson, "Latin Americans are Vexed at U.S. For Scoring Reds but Not Dictators," *The New York Times*, Dec. 23, 1953, 8
[23] Anonymous, "Guatemala 'Iron Curtain' Devices Cited," *The Washington Post*, Feb. 11, 1954, 6
[24] Anonymous, "Guatemala is Assailed," *The New York Times*, Feb. 11, 1954, 14

that Gruson was expelled not for his views of the Communist influence over the Guatemalan government, but in fact because Gruson was writing about the 'harassment' of the United Fruit Company by the Guatemalan government.

Despite the fact that Gruson had "systematically defamed and slandered [the Guatemalan] republic and its government," he was allowed to return to Guatemala on May 20, 1954. There were varying beliefs as to way he was allowed back in including: United States pressure for freedom of the press, "vigorous protests from Ambassador Peurifoy,[25]" and that Gruson had made a deal with Guatemalan Foreign Minister Toriello for more favorable reporting. This last theory, put forth by the CIA, is actually accompanied by another theory that Gruson's initial expulsion was actually a Communist attempt to make Gruson and his writing appear less Communist even though he clearly was a Communist.[26] The CIA was already disturbed by Gruson's "fifty-fifty" reporting and his "liberal point of view," and no matter how Gruson was able to re-enter Guatemala, the CIA would immediately be angered by his reporting.[27]

Gruson's first article written after his re-admittance set off alarm bells throughout the CIA, State Department and eventually Gruson was discussed at a National Security Council meeting attended by all the department heads of the United States government and President Eisenhower. On May 20, 1954 Gruson wrote that the Guatemalan people were "unequivocally" united in support for the Arbenz administration and its right to buy arms for self-defense. Even opposition newspapers were printing articles defending the government and its arms purchase. Guatemalans believed that their country should be able to participate in free trade throughout the world with whomever they wanted. In his next three articles, Gruson continued with the theme that the Guatemalans were united behind a rising tide of nationalism and believed that the United States had chosen the wrong issue to attack the Arbenz administration. Throughout these articles, Gruson is giving Guatemalan Foreign Minister Toriello more ink than articles throughout the three-month period from November 1953 to February 1954, but during that period Toriello was actually Guatemalan ambassador to the United States until being expelled in late January. Toriello seems to like hearing himself talk a lot more than previous ministers and this is reflected in Gruson's reporting, but Gruson still mentioned any statements by the State Department and still reported that "Communists have significant influence" on the Guatemalan President. It may seem like Gruson's reporting began to skew towards a more favorable view of the Arbenz administration, but Gruson was in fact just continuing his reporting that he was known for and just reporting the quotes he was given. Unfortunately for Gruson, the CIA felt that his style of "fifty-fifty" reporting had no place in Guatemala.[28]

While writing his series on the fervent nationalism sweeping across Guatemala due to the *Alfhem* incident and the United States' reaction, Gruson's name began appearing in more and more in CIA memos. Right after Gruson's publication of the "unequivocal" article, the Deputy Director of Plans for the CIA, Frank Wisner, wrote a memo questioning the articles reliability and sources. Wisner goes on to question Gruson's motivation, suggesting that perhaps he is under the influence of the Communists and that this should be brought to the attention of the top executives of *The New York Times*.[29] This memo implied a level of manipulation of the media that was confirmed in a later memo on June 14, 1954 when Wisner wrote about "the piece that we have worked up and given

[25] Stephen Schlesinger and Steven Kinder, *Bitter Fruit: The Story of the American Coup in Guatemala* (Harvard University: Harvard University Press, 1982),

[26] Frank G. Wisner, "Sydney Gruson, NEW YORK TIMES correspondent in Guatemala City," CIA memo, August 9, 1954

27 Anonymous, "REPORTING ON GUATEMALA BY NEW YORK TIMES CORRESPONDENT SYDNEY GRUSON," CIA Memo, May 27, 1954

[28] Sydney Gruson, "U.S. Stand on Arms Unites Guatemala," *The New York Times*, May 21, 1954, 1
Sydney Gruson, "Guatemala Says U.S. Tried to Make Her Defenseless," *The New York Times*, May 22, 1954, 1
Sydney Gruson, "Guatemala Hints U.N. Case on Arms," *The New York Times*, May 23, 1954, 1

[29] Frank G. Wisner, CIA Memo to Sr. Rep. Guatemala City, May 21, 1954

to *Time* Magazine, entitled 'The Friends of Guatemala.[30]'" Because Gruson was not regurgitating the views of the CIA and the United States State Department, the CIA felt he needed to be removed from the country, but that would take time and a delicate hand.

In the meantime, Gruson would keep on reporting about the situation on the ground in Guatemala. In his May 25 article, Gruson reported about the misconceptions of both the Guatemalans and the United States.

> Most [Guatemalan] officials seem unable to realize that [The United States'] concern is rooted in the Communist problem. Those who do realize it consider it to be unjustified. Most officials… convinced themselves that if the trouble over the United Fruit Company could be straightened out, everything else would fall neatly into place.

Gruson goes on to say

> Even if a working agreement between the fruit company and the Government we're to be reached tomorrow, nothing would be changed unless the agreement was accompanied by steps to halt the Communists' tightening grip on the land-reform administration, worker-peasant union and the Government's propaganda machinery.[31]

Gruson was the only person to realize that the Guatemalan's tunnel vision was negatively affecting their relationship with the United States. Their obsession with United Fruit meant nothing to the CIA and the Eisenhower administration who were obsessed with the fact that there were Communists in the Guatemalan government. In a personal letter to James Reston, a *New York Times* editor, Gruson wrote that he was saddened by the trouble he is causing the Ambassador Peurifoy who "made his annoyance very evident," and the only way to make Peurifoy happy would be to follow the State Department line exactly, but this would not be what Gruson or Reston would want or believe was the truth. Later in the letter Gruson stated that he believed the United States had made two basic mistakes: emphasizing the *Alfhem* incident and the State Department's close relations with the fruit company. Gruson goes on to say that "the State Department should push often and hard to get across the thought that we are not against their reforms but only against the allowing of Communists to take over their reforms for their own purposes." Gruson understands that the two sides are stuck on their own views of the cause of the deteriorating situation and neither are willing to budge, and because of that, everything will only get worse.[32]

The same day that Gruson wrote the letter to Reston, the CIA had clearly had enough of his "fifty-fifty" reporting and were doing everything they could to defame him, claiming that he "had systematically distorted the true facts about Guatemala and had injured the national dignity," and that Gruson "'unwittingly and inadvertently' had written 'for publication in US newspapers what the Communists have wanted him to write.[33]'" In another memo on the same day the CIA who had a "wide consensus of opinion" that Gruson was a danger and that he was possibly a puppet of the Arbenz regime.[34]

While the CIA was working on possible ways to silence Gruson, Secretary of State Dulles had grown so concerned with Gruson's "Communist line" in his reporting that Dulles actually voice his concern in a National Security Council meeting involving President Eisenhower

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[30] Frank G. Wisner, "Guatemalan Friendship Societies — Gruson piece of 14 June 1954, New York TIMES," CIA memo, June 14, 1954

[31] Sydney Gruson, "Guatemalans Fail to Grasp Concern of U.S. Over Reds," *The New York Times*, May 26, 1954, 13

[32] Sydney Gruson to James Reston, Personal Letter, March [May] 26, 1954

[33] Anonymous, "REPORTING ON GUATEMALA BY NEW YORK TIMES CORRESPONDENT SYDNEY GRUSON," CIA Memo, May 27, 1954

[34] Frank G. Wisner, CIA memo to Senior Rep, Guatemala City, May 27, 1954

who went on to say that "*The New York Times* was the most untrustworthy newspaper in the United States." The President then went on to allow Authur Sulzberger, editor of the *Times*, to be approached with Dulles' concerns.[35] The concern of Gruson's "fifty-fifty' reporting had reached the top of the food chain and the chain of events that lead to Gruson's second expulsion had begun, if Gruson could not spew the CIA and State Department's Communists line, then he must not be allowed in Guatemala.

Gruson, unaware of his imminent removal, kept on his fair and balanced reporting. "Washington stand for something more than merely anticommunism… to improve the living standards, the social welfare and educational level of the people of Central America," "The nature of the political friction between the United States and Guatemala has served the United States poorly," "Is there any means of changing the situation here [Guatemala], short of changing the Government? Apparently not," are all quotes from Gruson's article written on May 29. Gruson had stumbled onto something that the CIA was not willing to let out, that there must be a regime change in Guatemala. Gruson had now become dangerous to the success of PBSUCCESS, and he must be silenced.

In a memo to the headquarters to PBSUCCESS Alan N. Reelfoot, CIA operative, noted that Gruson had been "harmful to PBSUCCESS" via his reporting the "offiical Guatemalan line." Since Gruson was unwilling to report the CIA line, he clearly must be a Communist, in league with Arbenz and his Communist fiends. Reelfoot also mentioned that Gruson is close friends with all the leftist correspondents, and that Gruson would often have rowdy parties in Mexico City that often ended with violence and that "democratic thinking people" no longer would accept invitations to his parties.[36] The CIA probably planned to defame Gruson if Sulzberger didn't remove him, but due to the fact that the CIA "DENIED IN FULL" the final two pages of that memo, uncertainty survives. One thing is certain however, the CIA considered Gruson and dangerous leftist who could have spoiled their plans and uncovered their plot to overthrow Arbenz.

CIA Chief Allen Dulles was able to neutralize Gruson by convincing Arthur Hays Sulzberger to remove Gruson from Guatemala for the duration of the coup. Gruson may have been the only American reporter who would have given the situation on the ground a fair view, and this was something that the CIA could not tolerate. The CIA's obsession with the Communists in Guatemala, and throughout the world, had blinded the agency to the reality of the situation in Guatemala and the fact the Gruson was the only reporter who was actually reporting the reality of the state of affairs on the ground in Guatemala. Even after the overthrow of Arbenz, Wisner still believed that Gruson remained a "man to be watched.[37]"

The result of the Gruson situation in Guatemala was that not only that Sulzberger's reputation was sullied, though not until after he passed away, but also that *The New York Times'* reputation was also tarnished.[38] In an article at salon.com Patrick L. Smith claims that "the *Times* will bear a variant of the responsibility it bears for its corruptions in 1954 and thereafter." Smith claimed that because of the *Times*' capitulation to the pressure of the CIA, it can no longer be trusted during any of its war reporting, specifically on the Ukrainian war.[39] The CIA claims it has since backed away from media manipulation, though it would not be surprising to see another Sydney Gruson appear from somewhere in the middle east.

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35 "Foreign Relations, 1952-1954, Volume IV, American Republics (Guatemala Compilation)," National Security Council minutes, May 27, 1954

36 Frank G. Wisner, "Sydney Gruson," CIA memo, June 2, 1954

37 Frank G. Wisner, "Sydney Gruson, NEW YORK TIMES correspondent in Guatemala City," CIA memo, August 9, 1954

38 Tim Seiner, "Role of the C.I.A. In Guatemala Told in Files Of Publisher," *The New York Times*, June 7, 1997, 25

39 Patrick L. Smith, "Our embarrassing, servile media: Does the New York Times just bring everything the government tells is?," salon.com, accessed April 21, 2016

After hearing about the Sydney Gruson experience, people hopefully would begin to question everything they read and hear in the media.

The curious case Sydney Gruson is an example of the United States' and Guatemala's tunnel vision during the early part of 1954. His "fifty-fifty" reporting showed that both sides were obsessed with only their point of view, and anyone who viewed their situation differently had to be silenced. Guatemala's fixation with United Fruit Company and the CIA's fixation on the Communist influence led to third years of chaos and carnage in Guatemala. Guatemalans and the Arbenz administration viewed their worsening relations with United Fruit Company as a direct cause of the their deteriorating relationship with the United States. Gruson reported this in his *New York Times* articles, but because he did, he was labelled "disrespect[ful]" and expelled from Guatemala. The CIA on the other hand, were no longer willing to let any reporter in Guatemala or in the United States print anything that wasn't the exact CIA line of reporting. Both the Guatemalans and the CIA had their blinders on and were unwilling to recognize the other's gripes and concerns. Perhaps if both the CIA and the Guatemalan government had read Sydney Gruson's reporting with an open mind instead of immediately condemning it, the coup would not have been necessary.

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