

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 this 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 submitted for the spring 2015 issue of the journal.

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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 Editor—

We at *New Errands* are proud to present the outstanding papers for the spring issue of *New Errands*. These papers have been selected because they represent exemplary undergraduate research and demonstrate an appreciation for and critical understanding of American culture. Topics in this issue range from the Vietnam War, to beauty, to opera in the 20th century and demonstrate the diverse research interests of American Studies students.

Encouraging undergraduate study and research of American culture and society is our goal at *New Errands*. By recognizing and publishing the exceptional work of undergraduate students, we are able to meet this goal. Our hope is to inspire a new generation of American Studies scholars and provide a forum to share their work.

We look forward to continuing this tradition in the years to come.

Tiffany Weaver

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Opera in 20th Century America: Overcoming the Racialization of Sound

Esther Adams
Barnard College

The summer of 2015 will bring a revival of *Voodoo*, a Harlem Renaissance opera by H. Lawrence Freeman, in its first performance since its 1928 premiere. It is being revived by the Harlem Opera Theater at the Miller Theater at Columbia University. The opera was the first opera written by an African-American produced in the United States. Advertised at its premier as “A Negro Jazz Opera” (Poster, 1928, H. Lawrence Freeman Papers), the opera is set on a Louisiana plantation just after the Civil War. It focuses on a love triangle between three former slaves, one of whom turns to voodoo and magic to win the affection of her lover and to be rid of her rival. The opera combines western classical music with passages of period dance music, and includes re-settings of several African-American spirituals, such as “Swing Low, Sweet Chariot” (H. L. Freeman, 1914, *Voodoo* Manuscript, H. Lawrence Freeman Papers). Written, conducted, played, and sung by African-Americans, Freeman’s opera uses elements of Grand Opera-- the fusion of the vital elements of music, drama and dance-- combined with rhythms and melodies of jazz and African-American music-- to challenge what I want to suggest is the constructed racialization of sound. Examining the preserved papers of H. Lawrence Freeman, I will explore and undermine the racialized properties of the history of sound and music, using Eric Lott’s *Love & Theft*, a historical and theoretical study of blackface minstrelsy in America, as a jumping off point. Shawn Marie-Garrett’s article, “Return of the Repressed” will guide me through my analysis of H. L. Freeman and his African-American contemporaries, who de-racialized sound by asking the questions what is black? What is white?

Harry Lawrence Freeman was born in Cleveland, Ohio in 1869. The son of free landowners, his mother possessed a beautiful voice, and her son exhibited musical ability from a young age. After being inspired by a performance of a Wagner opera, Freeman realized early on that in order to get his works produced he would have to take matters into his own hands, and make musical

opportunities for himself. He founded a number of Grand Opera companies, the first of which was the Freeman Grand Opera Company in Denver, Colorado. Freeman returned to Cleveland in 1893 to receive a formal musical education from Johann Beck, the conductor of the Cleveland Symphony Orchestra, from whom Freeman earned the title, “the colored Wagner.” For a ten-year period, Freeman went where the work was, and composed a number of popular songs, including some songs for Ernest Hogan’s Rufus Rastus Company, which put on blackface minstrel comedies (Biography, 2008, H. Lawrence Freeman Papers).

Earning recognition in Cleveland and Chicago, Freeman and his family moved to New York City in 1908. Even here, Freeman noted the lack of opportunities for African-American artists, so he founded the Friends’ Amusement Guild in their Harlem brownstone, which produced theatre, opera, and concerts. Continuing to work in musical comedy while also working on operatic compositions, Freeman became interested in a fusion of the two, which he called “Jazz Opera.” Continuing to create opportunities, he founded the Negro Choral Society, the Negro Grand Opera Company, and the Freeman School of Music. Freeman continued to gain recognition, eventually performing excerpts of his compositions at Carnegie Hall and the Chicago World’s Fair. Freeman’s son, working as his manager, sought to get his father’s works produced in ‘mainstream’ and ‘legitimate,’ or in other words, white venues, such as the Metropolitan Opera, rather than historically black venues, but this was never achieved. However, H. L. Freeman continued to work for the benefit of black artists, founding the Aframerican Opera Foundation in the late 1940s, a group he hoped would promote black composers and singers, and offer opera in a more accessible setting. Unfortunately, this project, along with the publication of his monograph, *The Negro in Classical Music and Opera*, was cut short by Freeman’s death in 1954 (Biography, 2008, H. Lawrence Freeman Papers).

The H. Lawrence Freeman Papers are held in the archives at Columbia University. The collection contains material related to American opera and the artistic performance of African-Americans from around 1890-1950. The collection holds a range of papers, from personal letters to manuscripts and libretti, from production photos to budgets for shows, but what I was most interested in

were the advertising materials and newspaper clippings preserved, which exhibited examples of the language used during the late 19th century into the early 20th century by white critics and audience members to construct, mediate, and justify the racialization of sound. As evident in Freeman's unpublished monograph and copies of programs from concerts by African-American operatic singers, Freeman and his contemporaries used the creative agency of opera to undermine the racialized theories of sound and music that persisted in the late 19th century into the 20th century, largely as a result of minstrelsy.

The field of "vernacular" music studies, under which minstrelsy falls, is ripe with scholarship, especially concerning the intersection of race and music, as seen in Eric Lott's book *Love & Theft*. Lott's book, however, is not about African-Americans, or African-American music; it is about white performers, and white audiences, who have constructed a black 'folk' culture, which African-Americans, most specifically African-American artists, have been made to bear, repressing not only their history but also their artistic and creative agency. Therefore, and perhaps somewhat surprisingly, I am going to turn to the 'high-cultured,' supposedly 'white' field of opera, in order to examine the role that African-Americans have played-- a topic largely unknown and unstudied. Due in large part to its association with high art, opera is thought to require conscious artistic decisions. "Vernacular" art, by contrast, is frequently dismissed insofar as it connotes spontaneous, naturally occurring musical expressions. This idea of spontaneity can be romantic in its idealized form, as it connotes genuine, authentic expression. With relation to minstrelsy, which both appropriates and constructs African-American 'folk' melodies in order to adhere to and further construct racial stereotypes, the idea of 'folk' is incredibly dangerous. The risk with 'folk' arts is the tendency to look at them as natural products, thus leading to a biological essentialism that itself corroborates gendered, classed, and raced hierarchies. While minstrelsy gave many black performers jobs, and provided acceptable circumstances for such artists to enter the public sphere, it was nonetheless an economic industry that marketed "blackness" as the commodity, constructed by and for the white population. Black performers often had to subscribe to self-commodification. Minstrelsy may be the

national American art form, but it is a white art form, dressed up under the guise of a black 'folk' culture and supported by the so-called naturalness of the stereotypes that it performs and perpetuates. Fortunately, there is nothing natural about opera. It is not authentic; in fact it is loudly inauthentic, with white, male, European composers and librettists culturally appropriating African and Asian cultures, with men playing women, and women playing men. It makes no attempt to realistically portray reality. As a result, anybody, regardless of race, is accorded the creative agency to compose and sing the operatic repertoire. And, while African-Americans may not have been unconditionally accepted on the stage of historically white venues from the get-go, opera provided a wide-open arena in which black artists and musicians like Freeman could take the lead and create their own musical opportunities in one of the only genres and art forms that accorded black artists agency.

Lott claims that popular art forms are a "crucial place of contestation, with moments of resistance to the dominant culture as well as moments of supersession" (Lott 2013, 18). While I do not refute this, I would like to advance Lott's argument by shifting the focus from minstrelsy and Lott's theoretical deconstruction of its racial ideologies, to the "high art" of Grand Opera, where, I argue, African-Americans were not resigned to the options of either resisting or superseding the dominant white cultural construct, but could instead pragmatically undermine racial ideologies of sound, by mediating a relationship between music racialized as 'white,' (opera) and music racialized as 'black' (jazz and spirituals). Lott is correct in writing that "blackface minstrelsy's century-long commercial regulation of black culture practices stalled the development of African-American public arts and generated an enduring narrative of racist ideology, a historical process by which an entire people has been made the bearer of another people's 'folk' culture" (Lott 2013, 17). Nonetheless, by limiting his scope to popular culture, he skips over a whole population of artists who both re-appropriated 'black' culture, and created an entirely new fused culture through the artistic model of opera. The operatic model is traditionally recognized to hold all aspects of its creation- the music, staging, costumes, dancing- in equal importance, equating the western musical tradition with that of the African-American spiritual and jazz traditions.

This is not to deny the challenges and hurdles that black musicians and artists have had to overcome, not least of which was the persistent effects of minstrelsy, which was often considered “colored opera”(Lott 2013, 15). An anonymous contributor to Horace Greeley’s *New York Tribune* is thus quoted in *Love & Theft*: “Absurd as may seem negro minstrelsy to the refined musician, it is nevertheless beyond doubt that it expresses the peculiar characteristics of the negro as truly as the great masters of Italy represent their more spiritual and profound nationality”(Lott 2013, 16). This quote equates minstrelsy and opera, but at the same time reifies the racial associations with each art form. Minstrelsy is associated with the “negro,” or more specifically, the “peculiar characteristics of the negro,” while opera, as a ‘white’ art form, is associated with the high, “spiritual and profound” culture of Europe. This quote is ridiculous to begin with, but only becomes more ridiculous as black musicians prove their capabilities not simply to perform, but to star in both minstrel shows and opera.

There is no doubt that African-Americans were presented with challenges in breaking into the predominantly European, ‘white,’ and high class art form. Their achievements constantly had to be justified, but in doing so, many critics were supportive in their appraisals, using the ‘universality of art’ and the lack of racial distinctions, to justify and make a case for the black artists. Such reviews appeared on poster advertisements for Freeman’s concerts.

‘Art makes no distinctions,’ and art such as yours should command the respect and admiration of broad-minded musicians. –
Wilson G. Smith, Music Critic

As ‘art is universal,’ the undersigned hopes that all persons interested in the development of home talent will not fail to cooperate in making this work a success by giving it a fair and impartial hearing. –
Johann Beck, Conductor of the Cleveland Symphony Orchestra

To appreciate its [Freeman’s composition] merit it must be noticed that so capable a judge as Professor Beck puts it on a program with Beethoven’s immortal Fifth Symphony

and Mendelssohn’s Concerto for the violin.
–Cleveland Press, 1900

The Harman Gold Medal Award was presented to H. Lawrence Freeman in 1930 for being the first gentleman of color to compose and produce a grand work of originality. I have examined them thoroughly.”- Unknown

Madame Selika and Signor Velosko were the only representatives of the Selika opera Company here last night. They are artists of very high ability. If Anton Dvorak were to hear them, he would not despair of his genius of American music located in colored people, for the work of these two artists is as finished as the work of any of the best concert singers. – Wooster Daily Telegram

The singers and composers were always specifically marked as ‘colored’ or ‘black’ in programs, posters, and reviews. Just as H. L. Freeman was a “Colored Wagner,” one of the most famous African-American sopranos of the day was known as “The Black Patti” after the famous Italian prima donna Adelina Patti. Americans initially refused to see African-American artists as more than spectacle, which wasn’t helped by the fact that audiences were conditioned with specific expectations of black performers. These expectations came from their familiarity with minstrel shows, not to mention that black opera companies that often performed on the same stages as minstrel companies. Indeed, many of the African-American performers performed in both types of companies, as performance opportunities were rare. As we see from the excerpts from reviews above, black artists needed to be validated, approved and legitimated by white artists and critics.

The question remains: how did African-American artists manage to break into such a predominantly ‘white’ field, especially when very few African-Americans were finding success in other performing arts fields, such as Broadway and Hollywood? How did H. L. Freeman cross what Lott terms the beginning of the “Great Divide”- the division, by the 1840’s, between minstrelsy and lower million amusements, and the opera and ‘legitimate’ theater (Lott 2013, 67)? Opera was a relatively young import into the United States,

arriving only about 100 years before Freeman's opera *Voodoo* had its premiere. Perhaps the audience for the imported Italian opera was still too preoccupied with looking to Europe for legitimization to notice the emergence of Freeman's creation of American Grand Opera. Ironically, as they looked to Europe, working-class Americans were in the process of constructing a "national culture owing to 'Ethiopia,' not Europe" (Lott 2013, 103). In the process the highbrow audience found only legitimization for the black artists in American producing and achieving the same level of music as the imported European artists. While blacks were excelling in opera based on the 'white,' European model, whites were busy constructing their national culture from the 'blackness' of minstrelsy, which Walt Whitman called the "native grand opera in America," made up of banjos and what he called the "nigger dialect" (Lott 2013, 103). This is all merely speculative, though, as there was in fact very little mention of the imported Italian opera in the archives. The archival material only focused on African-American opera, an appropriation in its own right, I suppose. But, as opera was not originally an American art form, but a welcome import, the roles of both the characters and the performers were still fuzzy, and therefore still malleable.

Shawn Marie-Garrett propels Lott's theoretical argument forward by examining different questions of minstrelsy and race that still continue to plague art, specifically theater, today. Quoting Lott, Garrett writes that, in order to move the discussion forward, "one must attempt 'to investigate the ways in which racist entertainment was once fun, and still is to much of the Caucasian population of the United States' (Lott as quoted in Garrett 2002, 36)- to 'fess up and face up to the giddy pleasure actors and audiences of all kinds experience in the performance of stereotypes'" (Garrett 2002, 36). Garrett says there are three types of art being made today. The first is a resurrection of stereotypes "in order to be parodied, satirized, or exorcised." In the second, "the artist is interested in celebrating some idea or aspect of 'blackness' or in 'salvaging icons.'" The third and hardest type to interpret, however, due to the lack of a clear point of view is a practice of art making which is "more interested in the way whites and blacks play their own 'race' as well as that of the other, in life as well as on the stage, and in the consequence of these habits. This kind of work does not say black is

beautiful, stereotypes are cruel and shameful, and whites are to blame. Instead, it asks, what is black? What is white? What is between them? What would one be without the other?" (Garrett 2002, 40). African-Americans, led by H.L. Freeman, in the operatic art form asked these questions, and forced the (primarily) white audience to ask these questions as well. What is black and white, when the sound that both emit is the same and of equal quality?

Just as H. L. Freeman's operas combined western classical music techniques with elements of jazz and spirituals, recital programs of well-known 20th Century African-American singers also combined classical art song with African-American spirituals. Copies of programs contained in the H.L. Freeman Papers presented composers ranging from Handel and Brahms to arrangements of spirituals by Freeman himself, as well as spirituals. But, as I am concerned with the creative agency, I have to ask about the artist's intentions for combining composers of both musical traditions. Was it to fulfill audience expectations by performing "blackness" through the spirituals? Or were the spirituals for the sake of the artist and those African-Americans in the audience, a celebration of their past and history? Or, was it to exhibit their mastery of both musical forms, to show a black singer singing songs both traditionally raced as 'white,' and as 'black,' debunking the myth and construction of racialized sound and music?

Their programs were clearly thought out, and consciously curated, especially as many groups of African-American singers, most notably The Jubilee Singers and the Hampton Jubilee Singers, were variously celebrated or degraded based on the repertoire they performed. Included in the H.L. Freeman Papers was a copy of an unpublished book from the early 20th century with an unknown author, *Cultivated Traditions of Black Musicians: Studies in 19th Century Afro-American Musicians*. This manuscript gives two quotes concerning the repertoire choices and reception of the two groups of Jubilee Singers. "The Jubilee singers sang, more or less in the style of whites, having four-part harmonies sung on European musical models. This was not their own choosing, however, at least not totally. Their songs were arranged for them- in a manner which 'respectable' people would accept it." Contrastingly, "the singing of the Hampton Jubilee Singers was criticized for allowing

barbarous elements to remain in their songs... a larger contingent of blacks than hitherto written about considered their singing a white man's conception of a black musical art" (Performance Documentation, 1978, H. Lawrence Freeman Papers). These quotes clearly show how the style of music was racialized through interpretation. But if African-American singers could sing convincingly in both 'black' and 'white' styles, is this not sufficient evidence to support Lott's conclusion that "'Blackness,' then, is not innate but produced, a cultural construction"(Lott 2013, 37), and, conversely, 'whiteness,' too, a cultural construction?

There are no racialized properties of sound. After hearing the African-American tenor, Roland Hayes, Freeman wrote in his unpublished monograph, "The author would like to be present at the Metropolitan Opera House during a regular scheduled performance of this same opera [Verdi opera], with Roland Hayes singing this self-same aria from behind a screen-wholly invisible. It would be vastly interesting to note the affect upon this fashionable and fastidious audience when the screen was removed" (Freeman, unpublished, H. Lawrence Freeman Papers). However, while there are no racialized properties of sound, there are racialized properties of the history of sound, as exhibited with the different reactions from white audience members to 'white' musical styles and 'black' musical styles. These differing styles, however, at least in the United States have both been defined by the dominant white culture, forcing the blacks to commit to one of the two equally bad options. Through opera, though, African-American artists saw an opportunity to take creative agency in order to create their own musical opportunities. Opera enabled them to create a musical style that fused both the 'white' and the 'black' musical styles. While this sound has yet to be heard on such stages as the Metropolitan Opera, the achievements of Freeman and his contemporaries helped propel many African-American artists since onto such stages.

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Is Beauty a Promise to Happiness?

Brook Chervenik
Miami University

When I was a little girl around the age of five I was introduced to make-up. I fell head over heels in love with it. Needless to say, my love for make-up hasn't changed and it has expanded to all types of products for skin, hair, and body. I wake up in the morning and I wash my face because there are advertisements that tell me a clean face is beautiful. I brush, and perhaps whiten my teeth because having white teeth is important to being beautiful. When I apply make-up for the day time, I don't use as much eye liner as I would if I were going out at night because there was a magazine post about the correct amount of eyeliner based on certain occasions. Up until college I was unaware that the methods I was taking in order to be what society deemed as beautiful was all because I wanted to be happy with my appearance. It is through my passion for cosmetics that I have come to wonder, why. Why is beauty so important to our culture, specifically women, and why is it framed as "happy"?

Females choose to transform their bodies assuming that the change will lead them to happiness. Achieving, maintaining, and adapting to what the cosmetic industry propagates as beautiful creates a mutual narrative among females in America. The cosmetic industry imposes and enforces a cultural standard that beauty can be a means to happiness, originally influenced by men and men's institutions. As time has gone by, this illusion has become oriented in identity, performance for the other, beauty methods and routines, and myths circulated in American culture. When the cosmetic industry capitalizes on the marketing of transformation through products a never ending search for happiness, a tumultuous cycle in unattainable standards of beauty, and continued male dominance is the result.

The importance of one's appearance, particularly for women, is not a new phenomenon. There is a long history of this trend. The concept dates back to Cleopatra in 69 BC. According to Mark Tungate, author of *Branded Beauty*, it is uncertain that Cleopatra was by definition "beautiful", but she is considered "the earliest

example of an icon of beauty" due to her beauty routine (9). Egyptians "believed that not only cleanliness, but also beauty, was next to godliness", they would participate in methods such as cleansing baths, teeth cleaners, exfoliation with clay and ash, remedies for wrinkles on skin, kohl used for eyeliner, etc.. There is also evidence of a highly profitable beauty trade in Egypt (11). For the Egyptians beauty was an expression of their status, fair skinned elite were often compared to sun-tanned workers. Ancient Greeks hone in on "highly developed body consciousness('s)" of their peoples (12). This created the idea that beauty was "a matter of proportion" (12). Through the Dark Ages and the rise of Christianity we can examine the increase of purity and the pressure to look "virginal (or), forever young" (14). Women paid a painful price of broken bones and collapsed lungs for beauty in the 16th century when corsets were made to accentuate the bust and shrink the waist. In the 19th century the use of skin creams and facial cleansers were advertised to all classes and "by the turn of the century, the fabrication of 'beauty products' was evolving into an industry" (18). Elwood Watson explains in his article *The Miss America Pageant: Pluralism, Femininity, and Cinderella All in One* that, "defining beauty is an elusive, if not impossible, task" he goes on to explain that "as culture evolves, so does the definition of beauty" (Watson 115). Because culture is constantly changing, both the ideals of beauty and the ways to achieve a certain image have transformed. Appearance is a crucial marker of identity, and attaining that certain appearance has remained the ultimate goal because it is thought to lead to happiness.

Our body and appearance is a part of our identity and in American culture, identity is important to being an individual. Yasemin İnceoğlu explains in his article *New Beauty Icons: Freedom or Conviction to the Human Body* that in today's capitalistic society, "the general status of private property is also applied to the body" (13). By viewing the body as private property, humans, more specifically females, can choose to invest in their appearance. The cosmetic industry offers numerous methods for people to think they are bettering themselves by investing in their body as an object. What we choose to consume and how we decide to transform our bodies with cosmetics, whether it be applying make-up, cleanliness routines, cosmetic surgery, or skin care products, etc. reflect the ways

in which we use our bodies as private property. The methods of modification indicate how “the body has become a liberation object in appearance” (13). Mainstream hegemonic ideals set by the cosmetic industry influence females to rediscover themselves through the concept of liberation. Once the female has liberated her body to reach a certain standard by way of products in the cosmetic industry, she becomes happier with her identity. As societal standards of beauty change through time, women continue to follow them. Reaching the cultural norms of beauty has become a sort of religion for females because what they are really searching for is happiness in the way that they look.

Females not only monitor their own perception of their body for themselves, but also for the other. According to John Berger author of *Ways of Seeing*:

The men are as they behave and women are as they appear. The men gaze the women and the women observe their being gazed. Thus a female becomes transposed herself into an object, especially into a visual object, something to be gazed.¹ (47)

Women often observe themselves unaware that they are subconsciously performing for the “male audience” (İnceoğlu 10). An underlying theme of this concept is explained through The Narcissus Myth, a story of Narcissus, “a beautiful youth in ancient Greece who fell in love with his own reflection in a pool...and eventually died...because he could never fully possess himself” (11). In today’s society we can link this to the act of looking into a mirror or taking a selfie. As people constantly bombard their minds with images of themselves they acquire a desire for “self-exhibitionism” by putting themselves on display (12). This is a psychological pressure of Narcissism, where the female constructs an ego from her own image while observing herself as something to look at from the other’s perspective. Women have become visual objects in society. They are constantly on display and because the cosmetic industry perpetuates that certain standards of beauty will give them happiness, women participate in “self-exhibitionism”. In this search for happiness women become caught in a trap of socially wanting to be accepted by others based on their appearance and psychologically wanting to be accepted on their appearance by their own self. The problem is that women can never fully possess the high standard of

beauty exhibited by the cosmetic industry, so the search for happiness is never ending.

The beauty transformation of a female is repeated on a daily, weekly, monthly, or yearly basis. On a daily basis a female may apply make-up during her morning routine or skin cream to take care of her complexion. Many females find it important to keep nails and hands groomed, in turn they go and get manicures and pedicures on a week to two week basis. Salons across the world provide hair, nail, and esthetic treatments. Females even participate in physically painful procedures such as plastic surgery to reach cultural norms. In conjunction to the repetitive methods that females use to maintain beauty standards are new products introduced to consumers by the cosmetic industry. Whether it be the new red lipstick that is slightly more pink than last season’s line or the new foundation that promises less wrinkles than ever before, the ever changing market influences females to continue in their method’s to be beautiful by consuming the product. The method’s that females use to become beautiful come down to the ultimate goal of happiness. The author Sara Ahmed presents theoretical approaches to happiness in her book *The Promise of Happiness*. Ahmed explains that happiness has become an “individual responsibility” and “an instrument, as a means to an end” (10). The cosmetic industry offers new ways to be beautiful each time a female steps into a mall or make-up store. Thus, women partake in methods of beauty because it is a social responsibility to themselves to become happy by making themselves more beautiful. The cosmetic lines take advantage of the females unconscious responsibility to be happy by producing and advertising products that act as “instruments” to be used to be beautiful and thus, happy. The female is aligning herself with what culture has perpetuated to be a method to happiness.

The products produced by the cosmetic industry can also be viewed as, what Ahmed calls, “happy objects” (21). Ahmed examines philosopher John Locke’s idea that “happiness is a form of pleasure” through objects “that affect us in the best way” (22). It is not the cause of pleasure from the happy object, but the experience of pleasure. John Berger’s point that “publicity proposes it will make us richer, even though we will be poorer by having spent out money” in *Ways of Seeing* adds to this argument (131). Take for example, a “happy object” within the cosmetic industry, lipstick, pictured in Figure 1.



Figure 1

First, the female draws her attention to the product in the advertisement. She knows that buying the lipstick will consequently result in less money. But what the advertisement promises is happiness from beauty. The pleasure suggested by the advertisement, is the use of the lipstick. Once she applies the lipstick she will become “richer” and happier in experiencing the form of pleasure that the lipstick has to offer. All types of products within the cosmetic industry become “happy objects” when they are used.

It is through the methods and use of products in the cosmetic industry that women begin to align themselves socially. Females try to replicate the images portrayed by the cosmetic industry in the media because they are advertised as happy. And happy is a social virtue. Ahmed states that “‘happy objects’ can become ‘unhappy’ over time, in the contingency of what happens” (45). This can be directly related to the beauty methods of females that are sustained by products in the cosmetic industry. If a female participates in the method of putting on make-up every morning, she also must take it off at night. When the mask is removed, she finds unhappiness with her natural appearance. Causing her to reapply the make-up as a method in the morning to make her happier. The eye awakening issue is that females are only unhappy with their appearance because of what is represented as a beauty standard in media. If women view images of ever changing beauty standards they will continue to try and align with them. They become unhappy when they are unable to achieve them. With the portrayal of happiness comes a deeper feeling rooted in unhappiness. Even though this is a vicious cycle, the cosmetic industry sustains and increases its profits because of it.

Beauty is an ongoing fascination for American culture. Women feel the need to look the best for themselves and for the people around them. This need to feel beautiful is catered by the culture surrounding it. Appearance has remained an important part of identity, but the standards of beauty have constantly evolved. In today’s culture, beauty is what sets females from males. Femininity has caused women to be defined by their looks, in turn they want to be beautiful. As expectations and standards are set women become more vulnerable to what is called “looksism” (Freedman 2). The term “looksism is a form of social control that influences how people see themselves and how they are seen by others” (2). Women are victims of this social control starting at a young age when females begin psychologically considering their appearance. During youth many females are introduced to the Barbie Doll, exemplified in Figure 2 and 3.



Figure 2



Figure 3

Barbie has a long slender body that is impossible to achieve in proportion, incredibly large eyes with very long eye lashes, long thick hair, and more. When a young girl is given a Barbie doll, she is taught to play with Barbie as if Barbie is herself. Barbie teaches and represents what culture defines as femininity and beauty. During early years females are vulnerable to their surroundings, and although Barbie is not the only influential toy on the

market, what she represents is exploited through time. As females age they become self-conscious of their appearance. This is evident in a study done by Yasemin Inceoglu. Inceoglu conducted a field study to find a relationship between women and beauty. In 30 in-depth interviews women were asked to provide a definition of a beautiful woman. Many of their answers were synonymous with the traits of a Barbie doll. Some of the features the women included were “big, colorful and beaming eyes, buxom lips, long legs, shining, flat white teeth, slim, beautiful long hair, well-groomed, smiling, attractive, natural, sex appeal” (22). When females believe that they are to acquire such standards for themselves, they too believe that they should acquire them for others. Women begin changing themselves physically so that they feel good emotionally, thus fulfilling societal expectations of beauty.

The idea of being beautiful and pretty in American culture is equated to happiness.

It happens every day, American’s are constantly bombarded with images of beauty. Whether they are walking down the street, watching TV, or opening a magazine, images of femininity consume their minds. The media offers consistent reminders that appearance is extremely important in our culture. What makes appearance so important to American culture is the way it is equated to happiness. Success is also often times associated with the happiness of an individual. The ways in which women use cosmetics to change their appearance for others legitimizes what Lois Banner calls “Cinderella mythology” (Banner 249). Disney’s story of Cinderella communicates how Cinderella was ignored as a housekeeper, but when she transformed into a beautiful princess she was able to have everything that she wanted and live happily ever after. Every person who has watched Cinderella understands that it was her external features that won the Prince over. The hidden theme in Cinderella exemplifies the Cinderella mythology, the idea that “beauty is all a woman needs for success and, as a corollary, that beauty ought to be a major pursuit of all women” (249). In order to achieve happiness women think they must become

more beautiful. Adjusting to the exterior pressures of American culture where beauty is a highly valued commodity is difficult for women.

Myths operate strongly in society because social contexts are built upon them. When people share common beliefs, they are circulated and illuminated into something that is thought to be real. Culture has never failed in producing its own myths. In regards to the correlation between beauty and happiness arises the myth of femininity. Myths about femininity that developed in the past still effect the way women are viewed and how they view themselves today. For example, in athletics, if a male executes poorly in sports his peers may tell him he “runs like a girl” or “fights like a girl”. This demonstrates how females are viewed as the weaker sex in the use of language. Women portrayed in media are often made to look glamorous and beautiful. An example in today’s culture that is circulated very frequently is Marilyn Monroe, pictured in Figure 4.



Figure 4

Author of *The Many Lives of Marilyn Monroe*, Sarah Churchwell positions that “the scale of the myth is impossible to measure” (7). As an American icon Monroe is stereotyped as an icon of desirability and uber femininity. She represents the Cinderella narrative through her transformation from a plain girl

named Norma Jean to the beautiful and sexual Marilyn Monroe. She is made to seem that she found success in becoming beautiful. The media circulates representations of Marilyn that make her seem happy and beautiful all the time. When her sad private life is hidden behind her captivating gaze in her public life her meaning becomes blurred. Along with the blurring of Monroe’s public and private sphere and the consistent “attempts to establish a truth about a mythical figure”, arises Churchwell’s simile, a “cultural apocrypha” (8). A “cultural apocrypha” is a religious metaphor that demonstrates the meaning of “what we believe we know, not what we know” (8). As Monroe is continually disseminated in culture, females view her as the epitome of beauty, but what she really is, is hidden. Females think they should replicate that standard and self-exhibit themselves because Monroe receives the desire of men by doing so.

Resulting in the indication that females are visual objects upon which to be viewed. In result they are reduced to their body as an object. What femininity is interpreted as in current culture illustrates the reign of male dominance. ²As male dominance is perpetuated in culture, so do the standards to be youthful and beautiful in appearance. If beauty continues to stay aligned with being happy then male power will continue.

An idea that stems from the myth of femininity is the “beauty myth”, a term coined by Naomi Wolf in her book *The Beauty Myth: How Images of Beauty Are Used Against Women*. Wolf discounts the mythological nature of beauty where it exists objectively and universally because it is “necessary and natural because it is biological, sexual, and evolutionary” (12). Instead, she states that the standard of beauty is “a currency system like the gold standard” (12). She goes on to say that “the beauty myth is not based on evolution, sex, gender, aesthetics, or God ... It is actually composed of emotional distance, politics, finance, and sexual repression. The beauty myth is not about women at all. It is about men’s institutions and institutional power” (13).

Although beauty standards have had a long history across many cultures, the “beauty myth” was constructed during the Industrial Revolution when new technology could reproduce images of what women should look like in all sorts of ways (Wolf 15). Women became enclosed in the private sphere as housewives who performed housework and child rearing. The roles of women continued to transform with the release of Betty Freidan’s eye opening book, *The Feminine Mystique*. Wolf explains that “since the women’s movement had successfully taken apart most other necessary fictions of femininity ... the economy, law, religion, sexual mores, education, and culture were forcibly opened up to include women more fairly” (16). In today’s society the “beauty myth” has reemerged in a new and very strong way. The dissemination of images constructed by the

cosmetic industry that model the cultural standard of beauty illustrate how the “beauty myth” has been “summoned out of political fear on the part of male dominated institutions threatened by women’s freedom” (16). Wolf calls the reaction to the changes in gender relations a “collective reactionary hallucination” by both men and women. What Wolf is suggesting is that the timeless images and meanings of beauty portrayed in the public contradict the real situation of women. American culture has created the woman to be “beauty-without- intelligence or intelligence-without-beauty; women are allowed a mind or a body but not both” (59). The separation of mind and body in culture causes females to become so preoccupied with reaching certain standards of beauty that they “reinforce the hallucinations in a rising economic spiral” (17). The separation also causes culture to remain dominated by the male.

The issues that arise are in the way that the cosmetic industry uses images to prescribe standards of beauty. It is through the cosmetic industry’s useful market manipulation that females unknowingly fortify the “beauty myth”. Take for example Figure 5, an advertisement by Dior featuring



Figure 5

Natalie Portman in 2012 that was under scrutiny because Portman’s eyelashes were overly exaggerated and said to be naturally unachievable.

Beyond the airbrushed and modified aspects of the advertisement emanates a deeper meaning. Females view this image and unconsciously consider her to be a beauty standard to strive for. Although Portman does not look happy, she is conveying a gaze upon the consumer. The advertisement is exemplifying the “beauty myth” through the way that it is setting a beauty standard in terms of how long a females eye lashes should be. In turn the advertisement suggests a behavior, that the female can achieve this look by consuming and using the product. In the book *Ways of Seeing*, the author John Berger explains how an

advertisement such as this one can convince a female to consume.

“Publicity persuades us of such a transformation by showing us people who have apparently been transformed and are, as a result, enviable. The state of being envied is what constitutes glamour. And publicity is the process of manufacturing glamour.” (131)

Dior, as apart of the cosmetic industry is manufacturing a beauty standard. Females succumb to the “beauty myth” in the very act of envying the beauty standard. The advertisement conveys that the mascara gives the female the opportunity to be made glamorous and envious of what she could be. Being envied by oneself and by others is a form of reassurance and happiness for females. The promise of the advertisement, to create a “New Look” is also representative of the vicious cycle of the “beauty myth”. Dior is expressing a beauty ideal that is “new” and different from a previous beauty ideal that the female may have had. When beauty standards shift and conflict with other beauty standards, women are convinced to transform and align with what is popular. Because females are persistently chasing new beauty standards it is no wonder that they find unhappiness and negative body images of themselves based on the old standards that were previously popular. The cosmetic industry capitalizes on the marketing of transformation. This results in a never ending search for happiness, a tumultuous cycle in unattainable standards of beauty, and continued male dominance.

It is no question that the cosmetic industry takes advantage of females in society. Changing what images media circulates is an impossible challenge in itself, when the cosmetic industry has become extremely successful. The industry revenues billions of dollars a year, and the numbers only continue to increase. The money represents a correlation between capitalism and the beauty ideal. In today’s capitalistic society, humans fight for what they think will make them happy. Everything that they do, is in search for happiness as the end goal. If being beautiful is a part of a female’s happiness she is contributing to the successful aspect of capitalism. And if the search for happiness within beauty standards does not, and cannot end because the cosmetic industry is constantly changing the standard, then capitalism will reign. If happiness is a social responsibility that aligns people into groups then people will continue to

search for it as the end goal. But what is the end goal, if the discussion and meaning of happiness is always changing. Just like beauty standards that change and circulate in culture, so do meanings of happiness. The idea up for thought is whether happiness is a goal, or a myth that has been created by American’s to continue capitalism. Because myths are built upon social constructs of culture, they are created for a reason. It is not just the cosmetic industry that is profiting from selling the idea of happiness. If happiness is perpetuated as a social tool, an alignment with others, and a social responsibility towards others then the way it works as a myth can correlate to the triumph of capitalism.

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Images

Figure 1

<http://www.disneydreaming.com/2011/12/30/emma-stones-2012-revlon-lipstick-advertisement/>

Figure 2

<http://www.ourmuddyboots.com/barbie/>

Figure 3

<http://www.ivstatic.com/files/et/imagecache/636/health/slideshow/barbie-full-250.jpg>

¹ *Ways of Seeing* is based on a BBC television series that aired in 1972 that challenged the way that culture views and perceives images.

² This idea stems from Naomi Wolf's argument about the "beauty myth" that is elaborated on later in the paper.

Figure 4

<http://eselcine.com/frases-marilyn-monroe/>

Figure 5

<http://static.guim.co.uk/sys-images/Guardian/About/General/2012/10/23/1351011010349/An-advert-for-a-Christian-010.jpg>

Archaeology and Cultural Lineage in *Of One Blood*

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The racial commentary in Pauline Hopkins' *Of One Blood; or, The Hidden Self* (1903) is initially explicit: as she proclaims in the title, all races are "Of One Blood," the product of a shared history. In reality, however, Hopkins presents a far more nuanced argument about the nature of race and knowledge. Several of Hopkins' characters explore this issue by embarking on an archeological expedition to Ethiopia that mirrors a practice of expedition common among certain Americans at the time of the novel's publication. This expedition is interesting because of its historical and textual contextualization within a transition in the field of archaeology from an atmosphere of amateur antiquarianism to one of scientific professionalism. This positioning allows Hopkins to question the modes of knowledge that both techniques represent. In so doing, she displays what is invisible to Western ways of knowledge by exploring an Africanist approach to thought. The nature and results of the archeological expedition to Africa in *Of One Blood* suggest that the inclusion of African Americans in historically white intellectual spheres was inadequate without the recognition and respect of a unique African American mode of knowledge. Hopkins's claim that humanity is "of one blood" (193) is not an argument for a desegregated western academia but for the inclusion and recognition of African American cultural lineage.

Throughout the nineteenth century, archaeology had been primarily the realm of antiquarians – wealthy amateurs who collected relics for display in their homes and in national museums. As Warren King Moorehead of *Popular Science* wrote in 1889, "[a]n individual may dabble in [archaeology] to the extent of making a collection for his own amusement; he may... become more or less of a scientific archaeologist" (Moorehead 250). Moorehead goes on to describe briefly the characteristic artifacts in the archeology of North America at the time, and his assumptions are clear: the goal of archaeology is to amuse the dabbling antiquarian. The amateur archaeologist can retrieve objects and identify them, a skill easily acquired by a brief education in typology. As European empires

expanded, these casually collected artifacts became the intellectual spoils of imperialism.

Though archaeology had evolved into a more professional discipline by the turn of the twentieth century, its ethos remained that of the imperial antiquarian project. For example, expeditions and research in Egypt, the quintessential site of this style of archeology, provide a similar narrative of exploration to that presented by *Of One Blood*'s expedition to Ethiopia. According to A.L. Frothingham Jr. and Allan Marquand's "Archaeological News" brief in an 1896 issue of *The Journal of Archaeology and History of the Fine Arts*, contemporary projects in Egypt included clearing rubble and flood waters in search of monuments and "relics of antiquity," projects that were funded by organizations such as The Society for the Preservation of the Monuments of Ancient Egypt and other European and American institutions and museums (Frothingham and Marquand 62). Though some cited concern over the fact that "invaluable scientific facts [were] being destroyed through the ignorance and haste of explorers," the exploitation of Egypt's archaeological resources continued for the sake of advancing museum and personal collections (Frothingham and Marquand 63).

The contemporary approach to Ethiopia was similar, though Ethiopia was not the antiquarian's playground that Egypt had become by the turn of the twentieth century. Ethiopia was unique among African nations in its relative ability to resist European imperialism, but still faced significant economic, and eventually political, invasion. Even after the battle of Adwa, in 1896, which marked the historic defeat of the Italian imperial army by Ethiopia, Italy annexed Eritrea, taking part of Ethiopia's land. Long before the battle, however, Italy had viewed Ethiopia as a protectorate, using the nation as a setting for the capitalist development of Italian citizens. This heavy economic imperialism, coupled with the danger of political takeover narrowly avoided in the battle of Adwa, paints Ethiopia as an especially interesting representation of the African experience of European imperialism (Hess).

Captain M.S. Welby's account of his non-archaeological journey to and through Ethiopia, which he refers to as Abyssinia, in a 1900 issue of *Harper's Monthly* provides some insight into the conditions, logistics, and goals of travel in Ethiopia during the time. Welby frequently refers to his

experience as a harsh journey with only sporadic material comforts. His treatment of the people whose land he explores is patronizing, as he refers to the home of a gracious host who shelters him from a storm as a “primitive circular wattle hut” (Welby 142). As Welby continues on, his narrative is framed by interaction with various foreign imperial presences. Welby’s attention is directed towards what he sees as vast potential for economic development. Focusing on imperial capitalist progress, he surveys land that could be cultivated, advocates the addition of cattle to the landscape, and scopes out wet areas that could be drained to provide proper roads. Welby and other explorers emphasized material gain, be it obtained by modernizing missions or by treasure hunting.

In *Of One Blood*, Professor Stone’s expedition is tempered by an intellectual goal: to redeem the legacy and history of the Ethiopians who once “manifested great superiority over all the nations among whom they dwelt” (63). Although Stone hopes to wash away prejudice with science, his is an amateur exercise in antiquarianism similar to those undertaken in Egypt in the era. The amateurism of the expedition is clear: Reuel, the biracial doctor turned Ethiopian king whose story propels the text, is only recruited for the mission because it “lacks such a medical man,” (58) and because he is recruited by his wealthy, well connected friend, Aubrey Livingston, as a favor, auspiciously to mend the doctor’s economic woes. Likewise, Reuel discovers his true history and identity not after a careful scholarly study, but rather as the consequence of amateur blundering: he stumbles on an aimless walk, crushing a skull and allowing himself to be kidnapped by his future subjects (111).

In addition to this amateurism, the antiquarian tradition involved a key interest in treasure as a means to financial gain. Accordingly, Aubrey Livingston adequately summarizes the object of Reuel’s expedition: “to unearth buried cities and treasure which the shifting sands of the Sahara have buried for centuries” (58). As we soon learn, “The expedition with which Reuel Briggs found himself connected was made up of artists, savans, and several men – capitalists – who represented the business interests of the venture” (75), a group joined, fittingly, by Charlie Vance. As a wealthy, white, tourist who comes along “for the sake of the advantages of such a trip” (63), Charlie epitomizes the early form of cultural tourism that

antiquarianism encouraged. This characterization of an amateur, imperialist, expedition provides several key modes of inquiry. First, the focus on material treasure and upper-class leisure emphasizes the involvement of the imperial tradition. In addition, the limited success of the white, relatively unqualified participants underlines and refutes the assumption that white men are innately advantaged in expertise. Perhaps most importantly, the amateur nature of the expedition, coupled with its eventual failure, highlights not only Hopkins’ rejection of amateur, imperially founded and funded knowledge, but also her dismissal of the alternative mode of knowledge offered by a new American professionalism.

At the turn of the twentieth century, a new area of focus was emerging in the practice of archaeology, one that sought to discover the origins of both the human species and human societies. Although antiquarian modes of knowledge were downplayed and rejected as limited and exploitative, they were replaced with comparably imperfect alternatives. In *Of One Blood*, Professor Stone is especially significant as a figure of this transition away from antiquarianism. He distinguishes his empirical methodology from those who take a less scientific approach:

You and I, Briggs, know that the theories of prejudice are swept away by the great tide of facts. It is a *fact* that Egypt drew from Ethiopia all the arts, sciences, and knowledge of which she was mistress...I have even thought...that black was the original color of man in prehistoric times. (87-88)

Stone’s faith in the “great tide of facts” identifies him as an exemplary, if idealistic, new “professional” archaeologist. For Stone, Ethiopia is the prehistoric source of civilization to be redeemed with science rather than a vault of valuables to be brought back to the civilized world.

Professor Stone embodies, in many ways, the type of archeologist who would have been engaged in serious debates about new discoveries and theories in the realm of human evolution at the turn of the twentieth century. In an 1893 edition of *The American Naturalist*, E.D. Cope proclaimed, “the ancestry of man is a question to be solved by paleontology” (“The Genealogy of Man” 22). Cope’s scientific tone, as he theorizes a human descent from lemur ancestors, an argument that leans heavily on dentition and other bone

similarities, underscores the scientific goals of this era of archaeology. His conclusion that humans may have evolved either as one species in Europe or as multiple species, or races, divided by geography, moreover, emphasizes empirical archaeology's intense focus on defining human lineage. This focus was not a consensual push forward, however. It was a constant debate, filled with evolving evidence and contradicting professional opinions, as is clear from an article Cope published just two years later. Here, he discusses the heated debate stirred by the discovery of "some bones of an interesting quadrumanous mammal allied to man" ("The Neanderthal Man in Java" 192) in Java with the potential to "[bridge] the gap that has long separated the [man] from the apes" ("The Neanderthal Man in Java" 193). This continuous fascination with human heredity is what characterized the new science of professional archaeology.

Although this new identity for the discipline of archaeology was progressive in that it moved away from the imperialist project and towards a less prejudiced conception of human history, it was not the source of ultimate truth for Hopkins any more than antiquarianism was. In Ancient Meroe, Professor Stone hopes to find a dead source of knowledge to be dusted off and pored over, a dead reality whose rich history lies solely in the past. In reality, however, Reuel's discovery uncovers a preserved but very much living world, one fortified against the invasion of western research and treasure hunting. For Hopkins, then, Stone's progressive attitude over-professionalizes the question of racial origins and misses the eventual truth that emphasizes Tellessar's living heritage over any notion of a carefully packaged past. The eventual truth that Hopkins' narrative uncovers is one of lineage, a concern that is central to this text. Just as they were to scientific archaeologists like Professor Stone, the closely connected ideas of lineage, inheritance, and nativity are crucial to Hopkins's argument. This preoccupation with human, cultural, and individual origins establishes archaeologically discoverable human lineage as key to understanding reality, history and destiny. This heightened interest in origins and lineage reflects, as it did in the academic climate of the time, a shift towards an understanding of the world in which racism was decreasingly justifiable. The science of human lineage denies the separation of racial origins, but to Hopkins, it does not go far enough in respecting the cultural lineage of people of African

descent. *Of One Blood* thus seeks to illuminate the worth of Ethiopian traditions, primarily those of mystical knowledge.

By virtue of his mixed biological race and his mixed cultural experience, Reuel Briggs is the product of two distinct lineages of power and knowledge. The first is the tradition of white academia in which he attempts to pass for a successful white doctor by concealing his "hidden self," both his racial identity and his proclivity for mysticism. This is also the lineage in which Professor Stone participates, a discipline of understanding consistently reworked to bring in new information without incorporating any new forms of knowledge. Reuel's inclusion in this lineage, be it by his passing as white or by eventual desegregation, is not enough to repair racial injustices, and the modes of knowledge that it presents are not sufficient in the discovery and understanding of the novel's eventual "truth." The second lineage, by contrast, is the one that Reuel must undertake his journey to Ethiopia in order to discover, is his inherited right to a mystical and deeply physical tradition of hidden power. This lineage produces his "hidden self" and holds the key to the novel's understanding of race, origins, and history.

Upon entrance into Telassar, Reuel's position as a returning king in this somewhat mysterious lineage comes into view almost immediately. He is greeted by his Prime Minister, Ai, who asks, "[b]ut why, my son, did you wander at night about the dangerous passages of the pyramids? Are you too, one of those who seek for hidden treasure?" (113) Reuel's identity, which is vague within the white American tradition, becomes clear within this one. He is both Ai's prophesied leader and his metaphoric son, the unknowing heir to a vast truth that quickly becomes real to him as he transforms from an amateur treasure-seeker into King Ergamenes. As such, Reuel literally takes on the mantle of his true tradition by discovering the truth about his own identity and about the fate of ancient Ethiopia that his archaeological expedition could only have hoped to uncover.

The concept of the self as something that can be divided, pretended, hidden, and discovered is prevalent, though criticized, throughout *Of One Blood*. Like Reuel, who discovers his true identity over the course of the expedition, his relatives and companions experience comparable mystical epiphanies. For example, Dianthe, Reuel's half

sister and periodic fiancée, travels through the novel in an epic search for the real self that she loses and can only find once Reuel uncovers their family history. Additionally, Hopkins brings immediate attention to the issue with her subtitle: *The Hidden Self*, which plays homage to William James' mystical psychology of hysterical women. *The Hidden Self* (1890) is James' explication of what he describes to be "a sort of dust cloud of exceptional observations, of occurrences minute and irregular, and seldom met with, which it always proves less easy to attend to than to ignore" (James 361). This line of thought validates both a mystical way of knowledge and the importance of the self, or "selves" as a metaphor for and representation of knowledge. If knowledge of the whole self is the ultimate knowledge, that which is hidden injures both the self and society at large.

In Hopkins' text, the type of mystical knowledge that provides answers about history and identity is reserved for characters of African descent. Reuel's premonitions of his sister Dianthe, both before he meets, saves, and marries her and once he has been separated from her by the expedition to Ethiopia are experiences, like his faith in mysticism, that are unique to him. Additionally, Mira's shadowy appearances are reserved for Reuel's family. While his white acquaintances scoff at Aubrey Livingston's ghost stories, Reuel's reality includes both otherworldly beings and the possible reversality of death. Dianthe, too, has mystical experiences - she envisions Reuel as her savior and discovers her full identity only after receiving a written message from the shadow of her mother, Mira, and receiving her family's full, twisted, history from her grandmother, Aunt Hannah. The fact that white characters, though made of the same blood as their counterparts, cannot access the spiritual realm or their corresponding hidden selves is key to Hopkins argument. The white tradition of knowledge has so thoroughly ignored alternative modes of knowledge that it is missing the greater truth of the issue. Thus, Hopkins argues that African Americans do not need simply to be included in the white mode of knowledge, but rather that they need to have their alternative tradition of knowledge, built on specific cultural experiences, recognized, respected, and revered. By this inclusion, Hopkins explains her homage to William James: mystical knowledge need not remain closed to people of European descent but can be integrated with science in order to explain what is otherwise inexplicable.

Hopkins' argument depends on her providing several potential modes of knowledge and truth, all of which she carefully discredits in order to present an alternative form of knowledge. That form of knowledge, which seems to provide the ultimate truth in the text, is the highly mystical one that she limits to her characters of African descent. Not only is the narrative one in which the ultimate archaeological discovery is one of a living rather than dead culture, but Reuel is also a medical doctor who can literally produce life out of death. Truth and knowledge are thus living, changing, and deeply spiritual entities.

The knowledge that Reuel/Ergamenes recovers alongside his sovereignty is distinct from both the knowledge acquired by amateur fortune-hunting, and by empirical or professional knowledge; instead, it is a mystical tradition that exceeds both commercial and scientific desires. Reuel suddenly discovers that he can speak Ai's Arabic with ease as he absorbs his Prime Minister's narrative history of Telassar. His identity within this history is delineated similarly in that:

[i]t was a tradition among those who had known him in childhood that he was descended from a race of African kings... The nature of the mystic within him was, then, but a dreamlike devotion to the spirit that had swayed his ancestors; it was the shadow of Ethiopia's power. (125-6)

Additionally, Reuel's true identity as King Ergamenes is one that cannot change with time: though individuals and academic fads come and go, Telassar will always have a King Ergamenes and a Queen Candace. This inherited knowledge of self is a tradition ascribed solely to characters of African descent in this text. It is the source of Aunt Hannah's wisdom and Mira's shadowy appearances. This is the knowledge that provides the ultimate truth about race, identity, history, and lineage in *Of One Blood* above and beyond any white scientific advancement.

The initially bizarre mystical happenings of *Of One Blood* become far more comprehensible when understood as the answer to the question that Hopkins poses when she rejects both antiquarian and scientific archaeology as modes of discovering the truth about the past and about identity. Both of the types of knowledge that she dismisses are artifacts of white inquiry, and as such cannot fully comprehend a reality shaped and experienced by anyone outside of the white race. Rather than

simply desegregating entry into the public and academic spheres, Hopkins advocates for a radical reconsideration of what and who can create and inform knowledge in the first place.

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Clifford Case: The Unknown Maverick of the Vietnam War

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Forty years after its conclusion, the war in Vietnam remains fresh in the memory of many Americans. Tens of thousands of young men never returned home; many more returned wounded, disabled, or with permanent psychological damage. The war caused some politicians to completely alter their views of foreign policy, becoming either anti-war, or pro-war. These changes continue to reverberate today. Political scientists, historians, politicians, and people who directly witnessed or were somehow affected by the events of this war, have tried to make sense of what happened fifty years ago abroad, at home, in politics, and in the minds of people. Countless books have been written about presidents, generals, and members of administrations; however, there has been surprisingly little written about a very important member of the United States Senate, the distinguished Senator from New Jersey, Clifford P. Case II. Case also took an early leading role in the debate over Vietnam War. Yet, the point is not merely that Case was an important participant in the debate over the Vietnam War, but also that his positions regarding the war were complex and have not been well understood. In scholarly literature on the American political history of the Vietnam era, there is very little discussion of Case, and what does exist is inadequate to fully grasp the complexities of Case's positions on the issue of U.S. intervention in Vietnam. Based primarily on examining a substantial amount of Case's documents from the 1950s into the early 1970s, this paper will shed light on and develop a more complex, sophisticated and nuanced understanding of Clifford Case's positions at different moments in the debate over U.S. intervention in Vietnam. A supporter of the war at first, Case took an increasingly somber view of American involvement in Vietnam as the war progressed.

Several historians have addressed the relationship between the Republican Party and the

Vietnam War. Terry Dietz, in a very limited earlier work, *Republicans and Vietnam, 1961-1968*, provided a study of opposition politics at the time when John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson held the White House and Congress.¹ Dietz argues that the question that concerned Republicans most at that time was "How could the minority party challenge Lyndon Johnson's prosecution of the war, not undermine America's international standing, protect the men in the field, and still perform its role as the loyal opposition?"² He investigates whether the Vietnam War could have ended differently if the Republican leaders' positions arguing for national unity in regard to U.S. foreign policy in Vietnam had been heard. Dietz concludes that the war could have indeed ended differently if the Senate had worked with the House Republicans, led by then Michigan Congressman Gerald Ford. While providing an early insight into the Republican Party's politics and raising important questions about its role on the national level in light of the conflict in Vietnam, Dietz says nothing about the role of Clifford Case.

In *Congress and the Cold War*, Robert David Johnson describes the changes in Congress, and the roles Congress played during various periods of the Cold War. Johnson challenges the common argument that the U.S. Congress was weak in handling the Cold War. Instead, Johnson argues that understanding the Congressional response to the Cold War requires a more flexible conception of the Congressional role in foreign policy.³ He focuses on three facets of legislative power: the use of spending measures, the internal workings of a Congress dominated by subcommittees, and the legislators' ability to indirectly affect foreign affairs through public opinion. While his argument is sound, Johnson fails to provide appropriate attention to Clifford Case, specifically to his position on the overall question of U.S. intervention in Vietnam. Instead, Johnson briefly points to Case's criticism of the Johnson administration, and Case's position on the issue of the arms race, neglecting the many nuances of Case's complex positions.

In a more recent book, *Vietnam's Second Front: Domestic Politics, the Republican Party, and the Vietnam War*, Andrew Johns focuses on the American presidency during the period of war in Vietnam. He looks at the push and pull that took

¹ Terry Dietz, *Republicans and Vietnam, 1961-1968*, (Connecticut: Greenwood Press, Inc., 1986), Xii-Xii

² Dietz, Xii.

³ Robert David Johnson, *Congress and the Cold War*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 1.

place between the Republican and the Democratic parties as they attempted to maintain their presidents in power, diminish their political opponents, and prevent the grim news about the real situation in Vietnam from seeping through to the American public. Johns examines the choices Presidents John F. Kennedy, Lyndon B. Johnson, and Richard M. Nixon made in light of the Vietnam War, arguing that their political needs were driving their decisions concerning Vietnam. He discovers that presidential policies of all three presidents in regard to Vietnam were driven by one thing: the fear of becoming the first American president to lose a war. Johns focuses primarily on Republicans, devoting the latter half of his book entirely to Nixon and his party's political maneuvering. Johns' work provides the best indication, to date, of Clifford Case's positions on the debate over intervention in Vietnam at different moments of time, beginning with his view on the issue with the Mansfield-Aiken report of 1966, and ending with the Case-Church amendment and the antipathy that it created among the right wing anti-communists.

However, while Johns does describe Case's positions at different moments in the debate over the Vietnam War, he does not paint a full picture of Case's views and his positions on Vietnam throughout the period of the entire war. Instead, Johns only briefly refers to Case's stance and actions from 1965 to 1973, without going into much detail about Case's overall positions, his arguments, or the laws and amendments that he supported or passed. Furthermore, some of Johns' positions are contradictory. For example, early on in his book, Johns asserts that Case was neither hawk, nor dove.⁴ Toward the end of the book, however, Johns calls Case a Republican Dove, contradicting his previous statement.⁵ In this context, a hawk is someone favoring the war in a debate over whether to go to war, or whether to continue or escalate an existing war. A dove on the other hand is the opposite of hawk. Dove is someone in politics who prefers peace and discussion to war and works actively to resolve international conflicts without the threat of force. While providing the best representation, to date, of

Case's important role and his opinion on the issue of U.S. intervention in Vietnam, the book still fails to take into account the complexities of Clifford Case's opinion, or to devote substantial space to him. Case's role in the Republican Party and the Senate was more substantial and important than Johns portrays.

While the above books make important contributions, through my archival research I've found that Case was much more complex in terms of his position on the war in Vietnam than either Johns or Johnson portrayed him to be. For example, Andrew Johns calls Case a dove; However, Case was alternately a hawk and a dove at different moments in the Vietnam conflict. To advance our understanding of Clifford Case and his positions on the U.S. involvement in Vietnam War, I am going to demonstrate the complexities and shifts in Clifford Case's opinion on the war in Vietnam. Through better understanding Clifford Case's positions in regard to Vietnam, we better understand the complexities of American politics during this time period.

Clifford Case was born in 1904 in Franklin Park, New Jersey.⁶ In 1925, Case graduated from Rutgers University, and, in 1928, received a degree in law from Columbia University.⁷ Case, later, worked in the New York law firm of Simpson, Thatcher, and Barlett, where he rose to the rank of partner.⁸ In 1937, Case ran for his first position in public office, winning a seat on the Rahway Common Council.⁹ Five years later, in 1942, Case was elected as a Republican to the New Jersey Assembly, and in 1944, won the 6th Congressional District race for the U.S. House of Representatives.¹⁰ Being a staunch advocate of human rights throughout his political career, Case resigned his House seat in 1953 in order to become the president of the Fund for the Republic, a part of the Ford Foundation dedicated to eliminating restrictions on freedom of thought and expression.¹¹ In 1954, Case was chosen by Republicans to represent their party in the U.S. Senate.¹²

While in the Senate, Case became a champion and an ardent supporter of civil rights and social legislation.¹³ He was the only Republican in

⁴ Andrew L. Johns, *Vietnam's Second Front: Domestic Politics, the Republican Party, and the War*, (Kentucky: The University Press of Kentucky, 2010), 103.

⁵ Johns, 237

⁶ John A. Garraty and Mark C. Carnes, *American National Biography*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 531.

⁷ Garraty and Carnes, 531.

⁸ Garraty and Carnes, 531.

⁹ Garraty and Carnes, 531.

¹⁰ Garraty and Carnes, 531.

¹¹ Garraty and Carnes, 532.

¹² Garraty and Carnes, 532.

¹³ Garraty and Carnes, 532.

the Senate to endorse President Kennedy's proposal to provide medical insurance for the elderly.¹⁴ A supporter of President Lyndon Johnson's Great Society programs, Case eventually found himself at odds with Johnson's Vietnam policies.¹⁵ Just like with Johnson, Case initially supported the policies of Richard Nixon. However as time went on, Case became increasingly critical of Nixon's political decisions, voting against and overriding several of Nixon's proposals and appointments.¹⁶ Even though Case disagreed with two presidents, he was still very popular with constituents, comfortably winning senatorial reelections in 1960, 1966, and 1972, and setting several election records in the process.¹⁷

In accordance with the majority of politicians at this time period, Clifford Case was anti-communist.¹⁸ However, Case's form of anti-communism was different from that of more conservative, right wing, extreme anti-communists, such as those which Joseph McCarthy and Barry Goldwater espoused. Case opposed and critiqued McCarthy's political stance, announcing in 1954 that if elected in the U.S. Senate, he would "vote to deny Senator Joseph R. McCarthy membership on any committee with investigative functions."¹⁹ Case's form of anti-communism was more liberal. First of all, the fact that Case was an advocate of civil rights differentiated him from more conservative figures in the Republican Party who were not enthusiastic about the civil rights movement. Some of these radicals regarded the civil rights movement as penetrated by communists, and a part of the world communist movement. Secondly, Case was less concerned with the danger of communism inside the United States. His anti-communism was directed towards communism outside the United States.²⁰ At the same time there were anti-communists, such as Joseph McCarthy who focused on the danger of

communism inside the United States.²¹ This demonstrates the tensions that existed between conservative and liberal anti-communists within the Republican Party. Republicans, similar to the Democrats, felt an obligation to be loyal to their party, despite different views within the GOP. Some scholars argued that the reason Kennedy and later Johnson were reluctant to deescalate the war in Vietnam was their fear of being criticized for losing South Vietnam to communism. Therefore, it is important to be attentive to Clifford Case's form of anti-communism from the standpoint of Kennedy's, and later Johnson's, fear of criticism for their loss of Southeast Asia to the communists.

After nearly twenty-four years in Congress, and nearly forty years in politics, Case was ultimately defeated in a 1978 Senatorial election.²² The main reason for his defeat was that Case became quite distant from his constituents, especially in failing to respond to the concerns of people in his state and about the high taxes they confronted. As Garraty and Carnes put it, in a sense, Case "was becoming a remote figure in his home state... and New Jersey, the nation's most suburbanized state, was ripe for the taxpayers' revolt beginning to sweep the country."²³ Despite his defeat, Case remained politically active, serving as the head of Freedom House and leading a successful fight against the Reagan administration's decision to sell AWACs to Saudi Arabia.²⁴ Case died in 1982 from lung cancer at the age of 77.²⁵

The 1950s

The 1950s was a decade of increased prosperity for American citizens. World War II, the largest and bloodiest war that mankind ever waged, had recently ended. The United States was left with enormous production capabilities, generating increased revenue which was spent on education,

¹⁴ Garraty and Carnes, 532.

¹⁵ Garraty and Carnes, 532.

¹⁶ Garraty and Carnes, 532.

¹⁷ Garraty and Carnes, 532.

¹⁸ Clifford Case, Speech at Colby Junior College, 1963, Clifford Case Papers Box 14, Alexander Library, Rutgers University, 4.

¹⁹ Garraty and Carnes, 532.

²⁰ Clifford Case, *Statement for Star Ledger*, April 30, 1959, Clifford Case papers, Box 1, Alexander Library, Rutgers University.

Clifford Case, *Article for 1965 Republican Review of Union County*, 1965, Clifford Case papers, Box 14, Alexander Library, Rutgers University.

Clifford Case, *Article for morning newspapers of Friday, February 4, 1965*, Clifford Case papers, Box 34, Alexander Library, Rutgers University.

Clifford Case, *Article for Red Bank Register*, January 19, 1965, Clifford Case papers, Box 14, Alexander Library, Rutgers University.

Congressional Record, 5 May 1965

Trenton Times, *Case hails Senate's cut off of Angola aid*, December 29, 1975.

²¹ Garraty and Carnes, 848-849.

²² Garraty and Carnes, 532.

²³ Garraty and Carnes, 532.

²⁴ Garraty and Carnes, 532.

²⁵ Janet Podell and Steven Anzovin. *The Annual Obituary 1982*, (London: St. James Press, 1982), 103.

housing, transportation, and other necessities. The United States also became a participant in two conflicts during this decade: the Korean War and the Vietnam War.

At this time, most politicians supported U.S. involvement in Vietnam, without realizing that the United States was committing itself to a seemingly endless conflict. However, there is little record available currently of Clifford Case's positions concerning Vietnam in the 1950s. It appears, based on some statements that he made, that Case supported U.S. involvement in Vietnam as an anti-communist. After all, there are multiple documents where Case spoke of Communism as a menace, and of the United States as a cure and defense against the communist aggression. In one such statement in February of 1959, Case stated, "We are the champions of freedom in a world which in considerable part has never experienced its blessings. We are the chief bulwark of defense against totalitarian aggression, aggression against the moral and intellectual as well as military level."²⁶ As can be seen, not only does the above statement demonstrate Case's anti-communist stance, it also portrays the United States as a defender against the communist aggression. Therefore, based on the evidence above, it seems plausible that Case supported the war in Vietnam, but we do not have much direct evidence of that.

The 1960s

The 1960s were difficult years for the United States, during which several traumatic events took place. The escalation of the war in Vietnam, emerging protests, and several catastrophic failures of the Johnson administration, were among the most significant of these events. It was also an interesting time period with regard to Clifford Case's position concerning the Vietnam War. The decade started with Case continuing to support the war. Yet, it was not long before he began to question the policies of presidential administrations regarding Vietnam.

In 1963, Case had not given any public statements on Vietnam. Case, like most politicians in Congress, continued to vigorously attack the foreign policy and politics of Communism. This fact is well

demonstrated in the following excerpt from a Clifford Case speech, delivered repeatedly during several inaugural ceremonies. In his speech, Case pointed out,

...To the Communists every problem is something to exploit, every difficulty an opportunity to create more difficulty, every smoldering grievance or frustration an invitation to stir up turmoil and unrest. The free world's faith in itself and in the survival of freedom in a world at peace is pitted against the faith of the Communists that freedom is outdated and that the triumph of their grimly materialistic philosophy is inexorable...²⁷

Furthermore, there is evidence that at this time the majority of politicians and American citizens continued to support the policies of the Kennedy and later the Johnson, administration in Vietnam. As Adam Berinsky points out, "the first real hints of opposition within Congress came... in 1966."²⁸ In addition, Osgood and Frank assert that the public consensus for the Cold War and Vietnam eroded only in 1966, "leading the opponents of U.S. Vietnam policy to point to American support for dictatorial anticommunist governments in South Korea, the Dominican Republic, Guatemala... as evidence that American assertions that it supported freedom throughout the world were false."²⁹ Therefore, at this time, even though he has not yet spoken publicly regarding Vietnam, Case continued his anti-communist stance, while both Congress and the public maintained their support for the war in Vietnam.

Lyndon B. Johnson, as John F. Kennedy before him, and Richard Nixon after him, feared becoming the first president in American history to lose a war. With that in mind, Johnson escalated U.S. involvement in Vietnam, but was still not able to harvest the fruits of glory. With such a platform, it is understandable that eventually Congress began to question the policies that these presidents were pursuing, and the objectives they were hoping to achieve in Vietnam.

²⁶ Clifford Case, Draft Statement, 1959, Clifford Case Papers, Box 14, Alexander Library, Rutgers University.

²⁷ Clifford Case, Speech at Colby Junior College, 1963, Clifford Case Papers Box 14, Alexander Library, Rutgers University, 4.

²⁸ Adam J. Berinsky, *In Time of War: Understanding American Public Opinion from World War II to Iraq*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2009), 112.

²⁹ Kenneth Osgood and Andrew K. Frank, *Selling War in a Media Age: The Presidency and Public Opinion in the American Century*, (Florida: University Press of Florida, 2010), 107-108.

Clifford Case was among the first members of the Senate to actively critique Lyndon B. Johnson's Vietnam policies. In fact, judging from his papers, and contrary to Berinsky, Case began to speak out against the Johnson administration's policies in Vietnam as early as June 1965. In one speech, Case provides such a critique, stating:

President Johnson spoke Tuesday of new and serious decisions in the making and the Secretary of Defense intimated Wednesday that these decisions would be forthcoming upon his return from Saigon next week. All indications point to requests by the President for additional defense appropriations and—more importantly—specific legislative authority to call up a large number of reservists and to extend the terms of service of members of the Active Forces. These are grave steps for the country and will affect directly the lives and families of thousands of our citizens... I have taken the position that, so long as our military operations remain compatible with our stated objective of negotiations, there has been no real alternative to our present course—and I have supported that course. Now that we are to be asked in all probability for a fresh mandate, we shall look to the President to give us a full account both of the existing situation in Vietnam and of his administration's aims. We, in the Congress, must and will examine his proposals with the utmost care and deliberation.³⁰

Though not as elaborate and thoughtful in its content as some of Case's other speeches, this speech nevertheless demonstrates a critique of, and a concern about, the Johnson administration's decision to further escalate the war in Vietnam. Case indirectly showed his disagreement with Johnson's decision to further escalate U.S. involvement in Vietnam, arguing for a thorough review of the President's proposal. Some can argue that, at that moment in time, Case was relatively inactive in his efforts to critique Johnson's policies in Vietnam. That is certainly true, however, this was merely the beginning of Case's long battle against Johnson's, and later Nixon's, policies in Vietnam. Additionally,

this speech also demonstrates that Case's previous position supporting Johnson's policies in Vietnam had shifted toward a more cautious, more deliberate position.

A more substantial criticism of Johnson's policies came from Case in November 1965, when he charged Johnson with misinforming the American public in regard to public policy. An editorial in *The New York Times* summarized the charge as such: "Senator Clifford P. Case of New Jersey complained today that the Johnson administration had misled the American people by denying having received a bid for negotiations with North Vietnam last year. He said it was 'completely intolerable that our government should deliberately misinform our citizens.'"³¹ After his criticism, the Department of State admitted that North Vietnam had been offering negotiations in August of 1964, but that request was rejected. Case responded by saying that "there may well have been good reason for doing so... There can be no justification; however, for the subsequent and repeated denials by the highest officials of our Government that any such offer had ever been made."³² Case wanted negotiations to be public, and clearly did not trust the clandestine actions of the Johnson administration. Furthermore, the fact that Johnson and his administration lied to the American people that the North Vietnamese were not interested in negotiations demonstrates that the President and his administration did not want the peace to take place. Not only that, but the government actually did not want the American citizens to know that there were attempts made to come to peaceful solution. In this context, Case also wanted the President and the administration to admit that there was already a chance to end the war, but the government was reluctant to take that chance.

Despite his relatively slow start as a critic of President's policies in 1965, Case was not alone. Senators Frank Church, Jess Miller and Ernest Gruening were among a group of senators who also expressed their disapproval of the situation in Vietnam. Senator Church, in one of his Congressional speeches, praised the *New York Times* for its ability to "restrain itself" from joining the president's bombing bandwagon. Instead, the newspaper, in its editorial "Negotiate or Escalate",

³⁰ *Congressional Record* S 16489, 16 July 1965

³¹ *New York Times*, *Case Says Capital Misinforms Public on Foreign Policy*, November 21, 1965.

³² *New York Times*, *Case Says Capital Misinforms Public on Foreign Policy*, November 21, 1965.

urges the United States to push for negotiation, rather than bombing and escalation.³³ Senator Miller, in his Congressional speech, pointed to the inadequacy of American troops' military equipment in Vietnam. Miller alluded to the growing complaints from U.S. servicemen in South Vietnam of being forced to fight with shoddy weapons, shortages of ammunition and a lack of equipment. As evidence, Miller provided a full article by Peter Arnett, "Weapons in Vietnam Shoddy, Soldiers Say- New American Complaints Also Include Shortage of Ammunition," discussing the problem to which Miller pointed.³⁴ Senator Gruening, in his speech in the Senate, expressed his opinion about the President's request for additional funding in Vietnam, deeming such request as unnecessary; and critiqued the policies that President Johnson was following in Vietnam.³⁵ Case was not the only critic of presidential policies, as he was joined by Senators Church, Miller, and Gruening.

There were also senators who supported President Johnson on his decisions about Vietnam. Senator McGee, in his speech regarding Vietnam, pointed out, "...we have seen increasing signs in recent weeks which indicate that the restrained yet forceful policies of the Johnson administration are beginning to have a positive effect upon the outcome of the conflict in Vietnam..."³⁶ As further support of his position, McGee provides an article entitled "Red China's Adamant Opposition to Negotiated Vietnam Accord Leading to an Isolated Peiping..." Most senators supported President Johnson and his policies in Vietnam during 1965.

As the war continued, Case's criticisms became more severe. In January of 1966, Case critiqued President Johnson's decision to resume the halted bombing of North Vietnam. Case argued that "all Americans will regret, as I do and as I am sure the President himself does, the necessity for his decision to resume the bombing in North Vietnam."³⁷ Regardless of his increasing critique of Johnson, Case's position regarding Vietnam remained largely the same. In 1966, he continued to

believe in the importance of Vietnam in the resistance against communism, and that the war could yet be won through the adoption of new policies. In his remarks, prepared for delivery at the annual Congressional dinner of the New Jersey State Chamber of Commerce, Case pointed to what he believed were the objectives of the United States in Vietnam. Case argued;

...For my part, I believe [that our objectives in Vietnam are:] to contain Red China and block her from over running all of Southeast Asia and outflanking India, and to help South Vietnam resist a take-over by terror from within or aggression from without- and thus to prove that the West is not as helpless as a sitting duck against the Communist technique of aggression in the nuclear age: the 'war of national liberation....'³⁸

To Case, fighting communism in Vietnam was essential in the pursuit of containment. He believed that the United States had to protect South Vietnam from what he perceived to be communist aggression for its own sake, and also to prove that the United States could resist communist aggression. Additionally, Case began to argue for a negotiated political settlement to the crisis in Vietnam. In his statement on October 19, 1966, Case stated, "A negotiated settlement in Vietnam is, I am convinced, in the best interests of all concerned. As a member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, I shall continue to press for those initiatives that are most likely to bring peace with security and stability to Vietnam and all of Southeast Asia."³⁹ It is clear that, in 1966, Case continued to sincerely believe in the importance of Vietnam and its security to American foreign policy, and also, that the United States could still win the war through the adoption of new policies, particularly negotiations.

Beginning in March 1966, Clifford Case abruptly halted his critique of President Johnson to become his "strong supporter on Vietnam."⁴⁰

³³ *Congressional Record* S 4223, 8 March 1965.

³⁴ *Congressional Record* S 4403, 9 March 1965.

³⁵ *Congressional Record* S 9392, 6 May 1965.

³⁶ *Congressional Record* S 8958, 3 May 1965

³⁷ Clifford Case, *Statement by Senator Clifford P. Case On the President's statement of January 31, 1966 Regarding operations in Vietnam*, 1966, Clifford Case papers, Box 34, Alexander Library, Rutgers University.

³⁸ Clifford Case, *Partial Text of Remarks by Senator Clifford P. Case, member, Foreign Relations Committee, prepared for delivery at annual congressional dinner of the New Jersey*

States Chamber of Commerce in the hotel Statler-Hilton, Washington, D.C., Thursday Evening, February 3, 1966, Clifford Case Papers, Box 34, Alexander Library, Rutgers University.

³⁹ Clifford Case, *Statement by Senator Clifford P. Case on Vietnam*, October 19, 1966, Clifford Case papers, Box 14, Alexander Library, Rutgers University.

⁴⁰ *New York Times*, "Case 'a Strong Supporter' of Johnson on Vietnam," April 3, 1966.

<http://search.proquest.com.proxy.libraries.rutgers.edu/hnpnew>

Suddenly, Case voted for the authorization of funds for President Johnson's Vietnam campaign, and voted to table the amendment to repeal the Tonkin Gulf resolution of 1964.⁴¹ The resolution granted President Johnson a full set of powers and the support of Congress for all actions necessary to respond to the North Vietnamese attacks on U.S. vessels in the Tonkin Gulf, and to prevent further communist aggression in that region.⁴² In its editorial *Case 'a Strong Supporter' of Johnson on Vietnam*, New York Times also points to the shift. The editorial read,

Senator Clifford P. Case said today he had 'come to be a quite strong supporter' of the administration's general line of policy in Southeast Asia. The New Jersey Republican, a member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee which has conducted public hearings on both Vietnam and China policy, said in an interview taped for television use in his home state: 'After a great deal of consideration and thought, I've come to be a quite strong supporter of the general line that the administration here is following in the war in Vietnam.'⁴³

There are however, not any clear indications in Clifford Case's papers for the reasons behind his shift in support of President Johnson's Vietnam policies. One possible explanation could be the shift in President Johnson's policies in Vietnam, which is highly unlikely considering that criticisms of the administration continued unabated. The other possible explanation could be that Case ran for reelection. At this time, the majority still continued to support the President, and Case's opposition to the majority position would have hurt his popularity and undermined his reelection. Yet, no information was found to support this possibility. Still, it is interesting that Case shifted his criticism of Johnson and became

his supporter. The reasons behind this shift though need to be investigated further.

Clifford Case's support for the Johnson Administration's policies on Vietnam was rather brief. As soon as June, 1966, Case resumed his critique of President Johnson, working this time together with fellow Republican Richard Nixon. Evidence that points to their collaboration is the friendly content of the letter, written by Nixon and addressed to Clifford Case. The letter reads,

Dear Cliff:

In a recent column I wrote for the North American Newspaper Alliance I tried to summarize some of the issues of 1966. I am sending a copy to you with the thought that you may find some good ammunition for your campaign.⁴⁴

Additionally, Nixon's critique of President Johnson in his article for the North American Newspaper Alliance is surprisingly similar to the critique Case made in February, in his remarks at the annual congressional dinner of the New Jersey State Chamber of Commerce. Similar to Case, in his remarks, Nixon argues that Johnson was losing the support of the people over the Vietnam crisis "not because the people oppose his policy, but because they simply do not know what that policy is."⁴⁵ Similarly, Case asserted in his remarks,

The American people... are deeply disturbed and disquieted about Vietnam not because they do not understand... or disagree with our objectives or our motives [in Vietnam]... What they are disturbed about... is whether we are going about those objectives in the right way, whether they are attainable at all or without unacceptable cost by the means we are using... Our nation's objectives and intentions must be known to and approved by the whole people.⁴⁶

yorktimes/docview/117187988/7B2C06CBE2014D8FPQ/1?ac
countid=13626 (accessed March 25, 2014)

⁴¹ Clifford Case, *Floor statement by senator Clifford P. Case on bill to authorize supplemental defense appropriations for Vietnam*, March 7, 1966, Clifford Case papers, box 34, Alexander Library, Rutgers University.

⁴² 88th Congress, Second Session, Senate, Report No. 1329, *Promoting the Maintenance of International Peace and Security in Southeast Asia*, 6 August 1967.

⁴³ *New York Times*, "Case 'a Strong Supporter' of Johnson on Vietnam," April 3, 1966.

<http://search.proquest.com.proxy.libraries.rutgers.edu/hnpnew>

yorktimes/docview/117187988/7B2C06CBE2014D8FPQ/1?ac
countid=13626 (accessed March 25, 2014).

⁴⁴ Richard Nixon to Clifford Case, June 16, 1966, in Clifford Case papers, Box 2, Alexander Library, Rutgers University.

⁴⁵ Richard Nixon, "Vietnam." *North American Newspaper Alliance Column*, June 4, 1966.

⁴⁶ Clifford Case, *Partial Text of Remarks by Senator Clifford P. Case, member, Foreign Relations Committee, prepared for delivery at annual congressional dinner of the New Jersey States Chamber of Commerce in the hotel Statler-Hilton, Washington, D.C., Thursday Evening, February 3, 1966*, Clifford Case Papers, Box 34, Alexander Library, Rutgers University.

The friendly content of Nixon's letter to Case and the relative similarities between their criticisms of President Johnson and their approaches to that topic make it plausible that Case and Nixon were working together against President Johnson.

1967- The Beginning of an end

In 1967, Case's overall position with regard to Vietnam changed profoundly. The most important event to account for this shift was Case's trip to Vietnam in May. The purpose for this mission was to "assess for [himself] the situation as it [was] and the alternatives that may be open to [the United States]."⁴⁷ Case visited Japan, China, Vietnam, Thailand, Singapore, and the Philippines.⁴⁸ While in Vietnam, he met with a variety of people: army generals, servicemen, journalists and politicians.⁴⁹ Upon his return, Case gave a speech on his mission, relating his somber views on the overall situation in Vietnam:

I return with a view of the war that, I regret to say, can only be described as somber. The scope and intensity of the conflict in South Vietnam show no sign of diminishing... I saw and heard nothing to indicate any possibility of a negotiated peace in a foreseeable future, short of a willingness upon our part to abandon our objectives... we are left with that 'long, slow and painful process' of helping the government of South Vietnam to bring security and stability to the countryside and to win the confidence and support of its people... Over-optimism and misleadingly cheerful reports of progress, of which we have had an over-abundance, serve not only to deceive the American people but to deepen the cynicism of the war-weary people of South Vietnam and to hamper the development of a viable political system there...⁵⁰

As can be seen, the old cheerful Clifford Case, who argued for the continual pursuit of American objectives in Vietnam, and who sincerely believed in these objectives himself, has suddenly given way to a more skeptical, more realistic politician, who realized the whole complexity, endlessness, and political complications that American involvement

in Vietnam entailed. Case saw firsthand that the conflict was nowhere near its end, and that the American tactics were not delivering any significant results. The war was still at its peak and there were no peace negotiations between North and South whatsoever. The United States, on the other hand, was bearing astronomical costs, both in people and money. Additionally, the government of the South Vietnam backed by the United States, was continuously losing the support of its people. Furthermore, the increasingly optimistic reports on American involvement in the war were not only putting in jeopardy the trust of American people in their government, but also hampering the developments of democracy in the South Vietnam itself. These are just some of the aspects Clifford Case witnessed firsthand while on his trip that made him change his views.

It is important to point out that Case's speech was a dramatic moment in the developing criticism of the Johnson Administration policies. That fact is reflected in a political cartoon published in the *Washington Post*. The cartoon titled, "Hello- Is This My Good Old Friend And Fellow- Democrat, Bill Fulbright?" shows President Johnson bruised, wearing a cast with a phrase "Sen. Case Speech on Vietnam" and calling someone (presumably Bill Fulbright).⁵¹ To the cartoonist, Case's speech clearly represents a pivotal, damaging moment for Johnson's Vietnam policies and his presidency. But the cartoon also serves as evidence that Case's speech received much attention; therefore, the cartoon demonstrates that Clifford Case's speech was a dramatic moment in the developing criticism of the Johnson administration policies that attracted the attention of Americans.

The speech is not the only evidence of the pivotal role Case's mission played in shifting his position toward American involvement in Vietnam. Case's records after his trip reveal how his experiences changed his approach in the Senate. Case began to argue for the transition of military operations to South Vietnam, with the South Vietnamese taking a more active role in the military operation in Vietnam. In his remarks for Sunday newspapers, on June 25, 1967, Case argued, "Our

⁴⁷ Clifford Case, *Report by Senator Case on his fact-finding mission to Southeast Asia*, Congressional Record S7663, June 5 1967.

⁴⁸ Clifford Case's schedule, *Senator Case's Appointment: May 5-27*, Rutgers University Libraries.

⁴⁹ Clifford Case's schedule, *Senator Case's Appointment: May 5-27*. Rutgers University Libraries.

⁵⁰ *Congressional Record S 7663- 7664*, 5 June 1967.

⁵¹ Herbert L. Block, *Hello- Is This My Good Old Friend And Fellow- Democrat, Bill Fulbright?*, Cartoon, *Washington Post*, 28 September, 1967, (April 12, 2014).

goal should be to insist upon, and assist in getting, maximum effectiveness from the very large numbers of men in the South Vietnamese forces... otherwise, we risk losing the very objective we seek—an independent and viable nation in South Vietnam.”⁵² Even though Case was arguing for the handoff of the initiative to the South Vietnamese army, he did not believe that the United States should withdraw from Vietnam. Case asserted, “I do not believe we can withdraw. I came to this position with great reluctance because like so many of us I had been hoping against hope that I would find it possible in some way to justify our cutting our losses and ending our involvement in Vietnam at one stroke...”⁵³ At this moment in time, Case believed that the United States should not withdraw from Vietnam.

It was in July of the same year that Case finally admitted that the United States should have a right to withdraw from Vietnam, but only if the South Vietnamese government and the military would not take an active part in doing their job. He argued, “We have, and we must maintain, the right to withdraw from Vietnam if it is clear that despite our best efforts the Vietnamese themselves will not permit the accomplishment of the objectives we both seek.”⁵⁴ This quote demonstrates a change in Case’s stance toward withdrawal of American forces from Vietnam. In September of 1967, Case openly started to push in the Senate the idea of the complete withdrawal of the U.S. forces from Vietnam. During his argument with Senator Brooke of Massachusetts, Case stated, “I am advocating that we break out of this dilemma into which the South Vietnamese Government has been allowed to draw the United States.”⁵⁵ Some might point to Clifford Case’s statement within the same argument that he was not advocating withdrawal.⁵⁶ However, considering the fact that Case alluded to and began urging to initiate the U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam earlier, it is clear that Case was in fact advocating withdrawal privately, but not ready to call for it publically. In 1967, Case’s position concerning Vietnam began to

shift to one promoting peace and withdrawal, a direct result of his Asian tour.

In 1968, Case continued the overall political rhetoric that he began in 1967, arguing for the withdrawal and de-escalation of the war in Vietnam. In his interview entitled, “Senator Case Speaks to the Issue,” Case pointed out, “...my present feeling is that the time has come when we in Congress should make more clear than we ever have so far, and this is, I think, my position from here on out: it’s time to stop escalating and start de-escalating.”⁵⁷ However, in the summer of 1968, Case increased his pressure when he began urging President Johnson to initiate a program of U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam.⁵⁸ It is important to mention that partisanship is not relevant to understanding Case’s relationship to President Johnson’s decisions in Vietnam. Case agreed with the general policies President Johnson was following in Vietnam up to this point. As had been demonstrated earlier, Case mainly critiqued some of the Johnson Administration’s decisions in Vietnam. This would indicate that Case’s critique of President Johnson had little to do with partisanship, and more to do with Case’s analysis of what the correct policies were in Vietnam.

1970s- The End

In 1970, Case’s involvement in Congressional debates mysteriously stops for one year. While Congressional records for this time period are littered with discussions related to Vietnam, Case was not present for many of these. The reasons for Case’s passive nature in relation to Vietnam in this time period are unknown. It is possible to assume that Case simply wanted to give Richard Nixon time to integrate his plan to end the Vietnam War and implement his policy of Vietnamization. However, there is not any clear evidence indicating that possibility. Even with the lack of information, there nevertheless can be a sense of what Case was thinking about Vietnam. Based on the records of Case in 1970, he continued to maintain the same political position as in the previous several years; he continued to advocate for de-escalation and

⁵² Clifford Case, *Statements from the Office of Senator Clifford P. Case for release*, June 25, 1967, Clifford Case papers, Box 34, Alexander library, Rutgers University.

⁵³ Clifford Case, *Statements from the Office of Senator Clifford P. Case for release*, June 25, 1967, Clifford Case papers, Box 34, Alexander library, Rutgers University.

⁵⁴ Clifford Case, *Vietnam, Congressional Record S 9245*, 10 July 1967, Clifford Case papers, Box 14, Alexander Library, Rutgers University.

⁵⁵ *Congressional Record S 13523*, 22 September 1967.

⁵⁶ *Congressional Record S 13523*, 22 September 1967.

⁵⁷ University 300, Interview with Senator Clifford P. Case, *Senator Case Speaks to the Issue, 1968*, Clifford Case papers, Box 14, Alexander Library, Rutgers University.

⁵⁸ Clifford Case, *Unpublished Article*, 1970, Clifford Case Papers, box 14, Alexander Library, Rutgers University.

withdrawal of American forces from Vietnam. Case was arguing for setting a fixed date of U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam. Case argued, "...by fixing a date for our withdrawal and sticking to it so long as that date is reasonable, we will be taking the only course which might lead to successful negotiations..."⁵⁹ But it was not merely a withdrawal for which Case argued. As evidenced by the above quote, Case also supported the possibility of negotiations between the United States and North Vietnam. Furthermore, Case voted for the Special Foreign Assistance Act of 1971, prohibiting the financing of the Cambodian conflict by the United States. This also points to the continuation of Case's position in favor of de-escalation and withdrawal in regard to Vietnam, as the United States was involved in Cambodia as well as Vietnam. Furthermore, in December of 1970, Case presented the Senate Resolution 495- a resolution to establish a select committee on national security policy.⁶⁰ The resolution was intended "to provide an effective mechanism by which the Senate can regularly and continuously examine the foreign policy objectives and the security requirements of the United States and the military capabilities needed to meet such objectives and requirements."⁶¹ It is clear that the resolution was intended to prevent future manipulations of Congress by the President, as a way to prevent future wars similar to the one in Vietnam. As Case himself asserted,

More recently, aroused by the Vietnam War and now sharply heightened by the Cambodian incursion is a spreading awareness of [the danger of the power center created in the White house]. We are shocked by the apparent impotence of Congress to check the president's ability to expand or contract American commitment and to initiate military operations practically at will and on an almost instantaneous, ad hoc basis.⁶²

It is clear that in 1970 Clifford Case's position on Vietnam remained largely similar to his previous position at the end of the 1960s, even though his

activity in Congressional debates regarding Vietnam decreased significantly.

In 1971, Case's position on Vietnam endured few, if any changes. As in the previous several years, Case continued to push for disengagement and for setting a withdrawal date of American military personnel from Vietnam.⁶³ Case also joined in his support for the Vietnam Disengagement Act, stating, "[I support this act] with understanding that the date set for withdrawal is subject to adjustment before the act comes to a vote... I believe that the middle of next year should be an appropriate time to fix the end of our involvement, and by this I mean a complete end to our involvement."⁶⁴ As a result, in 1971, Case continued his advocacy of disengagement and a withdrawal of American forces from Vietnam

Clifford Case's anti-war position culminated in 1973, when together with his fellow Senator Frank Church, Case authored the Case-Church amendment. The aim of the amendment was to stop and prevent any further U.S. involvement in South-East Asia. The Amendment said,

Notwithstanding any other provision of law upon enactment of this act, no funds heretofore or hereafter appropriated may be obligated or expended to finance the involvement of United States military forces in hostilities in or over or from off the shores of North Vietnam, South Vietnam, Laos or Cambodia unless specifically authorized hereafter by the Congress. Notwithstanding any other provision of law, upon enactment of this act, no funds heretofore or hereafter appropriated may be obligated or expended for the purpose of providing assistance of any kind, directly or indirectly, to or on behalf of South Vietnam unless specifically authorized hereafter by the Congress.⁶⁵

Within a few years, Case moved from the position of giving Nixon time to implement his policies, to openly working to undercut them. The amendment itself had a divisive effect on Congress, producing some heated discussions. The majority supported the amendment throughout the ratification process,

⁵⁹ *Congressional Record* S 14645, 31 August 1970.

⁶⁰ *Congressional Record* S 20377, 16 December 1970.

⁶¹ *Congressional Record* S 20377, 16 December 1970.

⁶² *Congressional Record* S 20377, 16 December 1970.

⁶³ Clifford Case, *CPC remarks supporting statement of Senator Brooke Calling for date for withdrawal from Vietnam*, April 14, 1971, *Congressional Record* S 4875.

⁶⁴ Clifford Case, *The Vietnam Disengagement Act*, April 15, 1971, *Congressional Record* S 4899.

⁶⁵ Amy Belasco, Lynn J., Hannah Cunningham Fischer, and Larry A. Niksch. *CRS Report for Congress: Congressional Restrictions on U.S. Military Operations in Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, Somalia, and Kosovo: Funding and Non-Funding Approaches*. Federation of American Scientists website, January 16, 2007, p. 34.

including Senators Biden, Clark, Eagleton, Hatfield, McGee, Percy, and others. There were of course Senators who had doubts, and others who vehemently opposed the amendment. Some Senators did not want to desert the South Vietnamese people and refugees, leaving them without help to defend against their communist neighbor. Senator Aiken, for example, during one discussion of the Case-Church amendment stated, "I was wondering whether any consideration was given to the welfare of the refugees in South Vietnam in the event North Vietnam overcomes that part of the country. Do we agree to let North Vietnam take over control of the people of South Vietnam?"⁶⁶ Aiken was not alone in his critique. Some Senators wanted to provide for a cease fire to protect the South Vietnamese. Senator Griffin, during the same debate, pointed out, "Frankly, I am disappointed that the Senator from New Jersey and the senator from Idaho would come in with a new proposal that leaves out one of the two important conditions... that there must be agreement to an internationally supervised cease-fire... as well as the release of our prisoners of war."⁶⁷

Even with the criticisms, doubts, and disagreements, Senatorial majority supported the amendment. This fact is well demonstrated in the many voting records for the amendment. One record shows fifty-four senators voting in favor of the amendment, with just twenty-eight voting against, and eighteen senators not voting at all.⁶⁸ The support of the amendment was in fact so strong that the critics of the Case-Church amendment eventually gave up their efforts of opposing it. As Senator Thurmond stated, "... the Senate and the entire Congress have approved this particular amendment several times... In view of that fact, I think it would be useless to oppose it. We will accept the amendment and take it to conference."⁶⁹ The amendment was passed, bringing to an end Clifford Case's crusade against U.S. involvement in Vietnam.

Conclusion- A Political Dinosaur

Clifford Case was a man of contradictions, in terms of his policies in regard to Vietnam, and yet a powerful and calculating Senator who enjoyed enormous respect from both his fellow Senators and his constituents. Case was a man who in his thirty-three years in federal office managed to break several election records and enact laws and services that New Jersey residents continue to enjoy to this day,

such as community colleges, Medicaid, Medicare, and others. An interesting aspect of Case's political career is that he represented a political figure who almost does not exist anymore, that is, a liberal, moderate Republican. Today, almost all Republicans are either conservative, or very conservative. In that respect, Case represents a political dinosaur. American political life has changed drastically since the Vietnam era. This paper demonstrates that through shedding light on the complexities of Clifford Case's positions in regard to Vietnam, and American participation in that war. Emerging as an advocate of American involvement in Vietnam and a supporter of American policies in that country, Case slowly but surely evolved into a firm anti-war advocate, arguing for the withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam and critiquing American policies in that country. This paper also demonstrates new aspects in understanding internal political dynamics of the Vietnam War period, such as how politicians' positions evolved over time and how Clifford Case influenced the American politics of Vietnam. Moreover, a better understanding of the internal workings of American political model during this time emerges. Clifford Case was a complex and important man who receives little attention in historical literature. Further scholarly attention to Case will help better explain not only domestic and foreign politics during the Vietnam era, but, also, how they have evolved in the years after.

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Disrupting and Reimagining the Workplace through Casual Fridays

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Imagine every Monday through Friday, from nine to five every week, putting on formal business wear as you head to the office or classroom. If you are a woman, you make sure to put on your pantyhose and heels, matched with your pencil skirt and conservative button down, ironed blouse. If you are a man, you find your cuff-links, tie your tie, and make sure your suit is freshly ironed and your shoes freshly shined. As you enter into your workplace's formal atmosphere, all of your peers and superiors wear the same outfit. You immediately feel the importance of looking fancy to reflect the professionalism of the company for which you work. The person who comes in with their shirt wrinkled or their hair unkempt is stigmatized; their co-workers wonder why they would come to work in such a sloppy manner. This institutional behavior that has defined corporate America for decades has been disrupted by a folk ritual that changes the office structure.

"Casual Fridays" are a modern liminal anti-structure that deconstructs the office hierarchy. Even more so, Casual Fridays symbolize a revolution against the traditionally rigidly structured corporate and executive America that emerged in professionalism-focused post-World War II America. Today, more office environments focus on technology and skills, itself a shift from the male-dominated and image-oriented "executive" office environment. Through the vernacular creation of Casual Fridays, Americans are able to appease both the practical and traditional realities of the office, helping to construct what is considered to be "appropriate" office environment behavior.

In order to understand the power of Casual Fridays in America, one must first understand the text, texture, and context of the ritualistic performance. A "Casual Friday" is a Friday that is typically determined by upper-management to be a day where employees can dress in casual, leisurely clothing rather than rigid, formal, office clothing. These "Casual" escapes typically occur only on Fridays, a day that signifies the start to the weekend, and a celebration of the end of a long

work week. Where people dismally refer to Mondays as "a case of the Mondays" or Wednesdays as "Hump Day," Fridays are a celebratory type of day where people say "Thank God it's Friday!" or "Cheers to the Weekend!" Rebecca Black's hit song "Friday" goes: "It's Friday, Friday/ Gotta get down on Friday/ Everybody's lookin' forward to the weekend, weekend." These rhetorical references can be seen as the typical American view towards Fridays.

Employees who are at the lower levels in a company are usually not the people who decide on having a Casual Friday—it is a decision most often made by superiors, such as the office manager, CEO, or principal. There are some instances, however, where management may hold an employee vote to determine when and if a Casual Friday occurs. Normally, Casual Fridays are often seen as a "gift," "reward," or "incentive," given to the workers of the office, from management. A key point to remember is that Casual Fridays are institutionalized, a conscious effort by upper management to give their employees a morale boost. This act of "giving" to the lower ranked constitutes of the workplace symbolically reinforces the hierarchy of the organization. Although some of the supervisors creating the Casual Friday do participate, occasionally, in very conservative occupations, upper-management continues to wear business clothing. To illustrate this division, in my high school, the teachers participated in Casual Friday while the school principal and other administrators wore traditional business attire. The principal's lack of participation reinforced his place as superior to those indulging the ritual.

Although the performance is ritualized, the form varies. Some companies choose to have Casual Fridays on a weekly basis, some on a monthly basis, while others reserve Casual Fridays for special occasions. In some professions, employees are encouraged to donate a few dollars to a charity in order to participate in a Casual Friday. By tying the Casual Friday performance to a charity, a feeling of good will is created towards the participating company. Some high schools and universities encourage faculty to have "school spirit" Fridays, by wearing clothing of the institution they represent. Similarly, some unconventional institutions create "themed Fridays," or "spirit weeks" as an extension of the Casual Friday motif, encouraging even more extreme office dress such as a Pajama Friday or

Flashback Friday. In addition, Casual Fridays can be observed in an even more non-traditional ways for employees who wear a uniform. For instance, a floor of nurses and doctors may observe “Crazy Sock Friday.” Casual Fridays can even be observed by students, as many schools requiring uniforms will allow a once a month or marking period Casual Friday.

Overall, Casual Fridays are not reserved for just one segment of the population or type of profession – they adapt and vary based on the institution. The multiple types of Casual Friday performances that exist reflect the informal, folkloric nature of the performance, and the fact that it varies based on the institution and people who are participating. As Lynne McNeill states in her book *Folklore Rules*, there is commonly a variation of the same tradition, and folklore does not work in a “tidy circle” where each group performs a ritual in the exact same way (7). As a folkloric ritual, a Casual Friday performance is never exactly the same between groups.

The type of dress that constitutes a Casual Friday varies on the profession, company, and management, but there are some general consensuses. First, Casual Fridays are not meant to be *too* casual. There is a delicate balance between street clothes and office attire, and the Casual Friday participant must range somewhere in the middle. For example, wearing flip flops, pajamas, sweatpants, ripped jeans, over-the-top shirts, and overly revealing or dirty clothing would be heavily stigmatized, if not wholly unacceptable, and this person would be seen as abusing the Casual Friday tradition’s established norms. Wearing clothing that is only acceptably worn during leisure time creates a stereotype that the office is not a professional place, and that the employees are not able to be taken seriously as professionals in an organization.

Conversely, if an employee chooses to continue to wear career attire while the rest of the office observes Casual Friday, they are looked at as a person who does not fit in with the rest of the culture, or a person who is a boring *goody two shoes*—someone who works too hard to impress management and follow the established rules. Because of these informal boundaries, both positive and negative, a person must consider their choice of clothing for Casual Fridays. Ironically, even on Casual Friday an employee does not want to stick out as different, or as a person who negates the

office’s custom, but as a willingly conforming participant.

For conservative work environments, such as a corporation on Wall Street, a Casual Friday may only consist of women wearing slacks instead of skirts, and men ditching their ties for the day, looking less like Jordon Belfort at his desk in *Wolf of Wall Street*, and more like casual Mark Zuckerberg in the boardroom in *The Social Network*. In more casual work environments, such as schools, employees are allowed to wear jeans, and a less stiff, traditional shirt. For example, I work at a human resources office and my boss “dressing down” would be him taking off his suit jacket, wearing a collared shirt, tie, and business pants. At my high school, dressing down would consist of my teachers wearing jeans and an Oxford shirt. This shows the variation in the understanding of “casual” between various workplaces. In many workplaces, Casual Fridays are most associated with the choice to wear jeans.

Many times the managers creating a Casual Friday will outline what is or/is not acceptable so that the employees are aware of their boundaries. Some magazines and blogs even have sections devoted to helping professional women wear appropriate Casual Friday outfits, such as Liana Satanstein’s *Vogue* article titled “When is Casual Friday too Casual?” The general rule of thumb with Casual Fridays is to “dress down” from the traditional office attire – again, rhetorically reinforcing the top-down social dynamic. An yet, in an effort to still maintain conformity, attire that is “moderately professional,” is specified, often overtly, by management. The act of remaining professional while performing the Casual Friday ritual is subjective, as many people have different ideas about what constitutes professionalism, but it all remains in context of the established office environment.

In order to make the Casual Friday ritual more relatable and understandable, one can also look at a variation of the form: the tradition as it occurs at my high school, Bermudian Springs High School in York Springs, Pennsylvania. A highly institutionalized practice, at the beginning of the school year faculty who want to participate in Casual Friday contribute 20 dollars into a scholarship fund for seniors majoring in education. For the rest of the year, faculty are allowed to wear jeans every other Friday. The ritual was created about six years ago by the previous school

principal, Russell Greenholt, and it continues on every year. Most teachers in the school participate, usually wearing dark denim and a button down, collared shirt. Sometimes, they will align the Casual Friday to fall on student spirit Fridays, and teachers are able to wear jeans and Bermudian Springs High School logoed tops. This is just one example of a workplace where the nation-wide Casual Friday ritual is organized and performed within the context of its environment.

The texture of the Casual Friday ritual is all about creating happiness and comradery amongst the employees in the workplace—an artificial and constructed community that can partake in a performance that creates informal bonds, and a shared experience. The explicit point of a Casual Friday ritual is to break up the monotony of the workplace and to do something to make the workplace less formal. This can be read as a precursor or extension of the weekend. People in popular television shows such as *Growing Pains* say “thank God it’s Friday!” and the ritual of Casual Friday helps to further amplify this common feeling. When a person gets out of bed on a Friday morning they can get excited about dressing in a more comfortable and personalized way for work, in addition to the fact that they have the entire weekend ahead of them. They are able to dress in a more individualistic way, which also creates excitement because co-workers are able to see one another on a more personal, less work-oriented level. The ritual is attributed to their managers who allow it, which helps to create positive feelings between supervisors and their employees.

This “gift” can be viewed as a kind, appreciative gesture, or it can be viewed by some as a patronizing way to keep the employees happy. Despite this, Casual Fridays are understood throughout society as a happiness-inducing ritual amongst most people, both those who participate and do not participate. People who do don’t participate in Casual Fridays at their jobs can say “Wow, your workplace really sounds like a great place to work!” when they hear a friend’s company participates in a Casual Friday. Although I have never had a job that does a “true” Casual Friday, I remember viewing it as an exciting ritual in high school because I could see how upbeat and personable my teachers were when they were wearing their jeans and looking forward to the weekend. Although a simple ritual, Casual Friday has become a staple in culture.

The context of Casual Fridays begins in Hawaii in 1966. According to the Philadelphia International Festival of the Arts, then-Bank of Hawaii president, Wilson P. Cannon Jr., allowed employees to wear Hawaiian print shirts to work on Fridays, starting the tradition of “Aloha Fridays.” In popular culture, Hawaiian shirts have the image vacation, leisure, and informality. A person wearing a Hawaiian shirt would be imagined on a beach, on the islands of Hawaii that are separate, yet still a part of American culture. By creating a tradition with a distinct Hawaiian identity, Cannon was able to create a pride and identity in a state that historically was not integrated in American culture. The idea of Hawaiian shirts contrasts with the image of working with a bank, which is distinctly removed from the concept of leisure, relaxation, and fun.

According to PIFA, Aloha Aluminum in Pittsburgh created the first Casual Friday in the continental United States in 1991 and as it spread to large corporations such as IBM, the ritual became popularized across the United States. Today, Casual Fridays occur all over the country and Christina Binkley of the *Wall Street Journal* believes this practice, although originally marginalized, has contributed toward American’s overall normalization of “business casual” style. Instead of three piece suits and dress sets, young professionals are moving towards more comfortable, relaxed styles. Almost every American can point to someone they know who has participated in Casual Fridays, and this trend has been increasingly depicted in the mass media in productions such as *The Office* and *Office Space*, as well as in memes and cartoons. While the idea of Casual Friday has spread to other countries, the context of the ritual is distinctly American, beginning with Hawaiian “Aloha Fridays.”

Three of Bascom’s folkloric functions can be directly applied to the ritual of Casual Fridays: escapism, validating culture, and social control. Combined, these all help to make Casual Fridays a folkloric performance that has an informal role in establishing and enforcing American office culture. First, a community is able to use Casual Fridays as a form of escapism, a way to get away from reality. The reality for many people is that they live in a world filled with corporate hierarchies, supervisors, and strict, rigid requirements like dress and personal conduct codes. By participating in Casual Friday, a person is able to reject the strict rules that hold them

metaphorically captive in their professions by dressing in a way that is usually "unacceptable" in the work place. By viewing their co-workers and themselves in a casual, more personal way, people are able to escape the restrictions they often feel in nine-to-five jobs where they are surrounded by chains of command, and restrained outward appearances. In addition, the office is a very sterile place that often makes people feel restrained and valued only as a means of production. Stark white walls, fluorescent yellow lights, and gray cubicle walls create an emotionless, not individualized workspace. By participating in a Casual Friday, an employee can create a personalized work experience and emotional escape from the sterilized atmosphere they work in, just as they would by hanging pictures in their cubicle or changing their desktop background.

Casual Fridays also validate culture. In the past 50 years there has been a cultural push away from the typical model of a businessman's aesthetics. Today's millennial generation rejects the idea of a boardroom filled with men in suits and ties, carrying their briefcases, looking like an amorphous group of impersonal decision-makers. Young Americans value executives who look like Mark Zuckerberg, CEO of Facebook, who is almost always seen wearing jeans and a tee-shirt or sweatshirt. He often looks like a common, everyday American you would see walking down the street. Companies today seem to value the individual rather than conformity, as seen in rapid acceptance of tattoos in the work place, and the prevalence of tele-commuting. Senior managers in many occupations understand that people are more able to resonate with those that look and act like themselves, so they change their style accordingly. The "average" person is the approachable type of person that could be a neighbor or a friend who is relatable and able to be talked to on a more personal level. Therefore, Casual Fridays help to further validate the cultural value of dressing in a professional, yet approachable type of way that compliments the working class, the "average Joe," and most importantly, the individual.

Finally, Casual Fridays work as a form of social control. During a Casual Friday, it is stigmatized to wear clothing that is too casual, because that deviates from the prescribed cultural norm that is often described to employees during their orientation. It is also criticized to wear traditional business clothing on a Casual Friday,

because it shows that a person is unwilling to participate in the office culture. By creating a Casual Friday, social control is created in the occupation because clear parameters and boundaries for accepted behaviors are established. Even though Casual Fridays seemingly value the individual and break traditional office norms, they create a new type of structure where individuals are *still* informally told what is culturally conventional. Casual Fridays allow for a bit of individual difference and expression, yet they socially control individuals from breaking the parameters of "too casual" (flip flops and ripped jeans) or "not casual enough" (traditional office attire).

In addition, Casual Fridays can in some cases provide social control for the performers of the ritual because they are given this tradition in a patronizing, belittling sort of way. An employee may not be happy with their company's management, but because they are given a Casual Friday tradition to enjoy, some of the employer's misgivings can be forgiven, and they can have a positive outlook towards the company that they would not normally have. Management can make workers feel more positively towards their jobs and institution, simply by changing the dress code once a week, reinforcing the supervisor regulating the employee, office hierarchy.

It is important to look at what texts are combined to create the overall folkloric performance of Casual Fridays. First, the tradition is set in a formal, structured environment (typically the office), with people who are in formalized occupations. The office is not a place that many would typically find folkloric, but the Casual Friday ritual and tradition is able to emerge from the conventionally structured office environment. Many other office traditions emerge in a similar way, as Alan Dundes contends in his work, *Urban Folklore From the Paperwork Empire*. Casual clothes are not a folk object, but the way they are used creates a folk performance. Fridays are an institutional part of culture, but Casual Fridays allow them to contribute to the folk performance. People combine their informal usage of clothing with their informal usage of a day of the week in order to create a ritual in a traditionally formal environment, the office.

Casual Fridays are able to be considered rituals because they are routines that are given power in an irrational way, just as George Gmelch highlights when discussing rituals in baseball. People's spirits are uplifted through Casual Fridays,

although nothing spectacular is happening besides a slight change of clothing. However, this change of clothing allows people to feel that they have power in the occupational hierarchy that they would normally not have. The ritual of Casual Fridays grows from success—every week people enjoy them and they create a more positive atmosphere, so the ritual continues. Overall, the convergence of formalized objects being used in an informal way within a formal atmosphere helps to create a powerful ritual and folk performance. Casual Friday is a ritual that utilizes a *communitas*—a term Victor Turner describes as community who has a sacred attribute from going through a liminal experience as a group (360). Turner explains that during a liminal stage, there is a removal of social structure, causing personal interactions to change as a group of individuals emerge from a lower status to a higher status (361). Participants in the ritual believe they are empowering themselves beyond society's norms by putting themselves in a liminal state, solely identifiable by their dress. However, the participants are being told that they can empower themselves through this ritual, making it more of a prescribed performance than one created independently.

The office community enters into the liminal period as a structured and regimented group, following societal standards set forth by decades of corporate culture. During the liminal period the group enters a period of transition where the social structure is broken through the shared change in dress. Instead of entering into work and seeing everyone dressed in a monotonous, prescribed manner that the employees see as “normal,” everyone comes in dressed more as they would outside of work, with an individualized style that reflects who they are. All preconceived notions and office manual inoculations are overturned, and the employees have a new understanding of one another. The boss is still the boss, but now on Casual Friday, the boss and his employees remove their clothing-based hierarchy.

Upon re-entering the society, the office hierarchy is reconstructed and changed, with (ideally) more comradery and a sense of equality and individualism upon the employees. The participants give the ritual power by enjoying it and making it a requested and anticipated activity that symbolizes the celebration of the end of a work week. As a ritual utilizing liminal *communitas*, power is invested in Casual Fridays through the

typically middle class workers who enjoy, and request the ritual as a push against the hegemony they experience, creating a more equal work environment.

An important thing to keep in mind is that Casual Fridays are most often associated with middle-aged individuals working in corporate environments, because they are most often depicted in the media this way in shows like *The Office* or movies like *Office Space*. Many young people are not yet qualified for jobs in an office or professional occupation; therefore the people who most often participate in Casual Fridays are individuals who are a bit older, and more established in their careers. The result is that Casual Fridays are not usually celebrated by children, young adults, or senior citizens. Participants are most often not at the top of the office totem pole, because they are the intended audience rather than “allowing” or creating the tradition. Therefore, Casual Fridays are usually given power by this middle-aged, or mid-career working class. This position of being in the “middle” creates an anxiety in the group to have some sense of control of their jobs, rather than having their fates predetermined by their supervisors. This group attempts to resist the hegemony of corporate culture, thus empowering the lower level “cogs in the machine” to a more equal standing of those in higher positions. However, hegemony ultimately wins as upper management begins to participate in and embrace the Casual Friday, making the tradition a part of corporate culture.

In order to truly understand the ritual of Casual Fridays, we must look at how the tradition has manifested itself in the mass media. In the popular television sitcom *The Office*, there is an episode titled “Casual Friday.” The entire office is disrupted by the ritual, with Toby, the company's HR representative, ultimately canceling Casual Friday because of the chaos that is created. In the episode, Angela, the uptight accountant complains to Toby about her co-worker wearing sandals that expose his feet to the office, and Meredith wears an extremely revealing dress with no undergarments underneath it, exposing herself to the office. Overall, the episode is extremely comedic, as the characters who improperly participate in the ritual create mayhem. This popular culture reference shows us that in an office environment people want to express themselves, yet if a person gets too personal it crosses the line, the folkloric boundary,

and causes discomfort among co-workers. Casual Fridays are able to serve as a social reinforcement, creating the line between pushing against the corporate structure, fighting for individuality, and acting in a way that is unprofessional and intolerable. At the end of the episode, all of the employees are very disappointed that Casual Fridays are canceled, thus reinforcing the perceived surge of morale that the ritual brings to its participants.

In addition to mass media, Casual Fridays are often the subject of jokes in popular culture through cartoons and memes. There are a variety of Someecards, online e-cards that parody traditional greeting cards, which create punchlines about Casual Fridays. One reads: "In addition to Casual Friday I propose the following: Punch a Co-worker Monday, No Pants/Shirt Tuesday, Drunk at Work Wednesday, and Call in Sick Thursday"; another: "I wish Casual Friday meant we could show up to work drunk"; while yet another says, "If showing up in a robe and tiara with a box of wine is wrong, then maybe I don't fully comprehend how casual Friday actually works." All three of these Someecards discuss drinking in the workplace, a practice that is taboo and ridiculed in many work environments. These jokes about Casual Fridays disrupt the monotony, professionalism, and focus on productivity normally seen in the workplace. They combine outside of work, leisure time, with the idea of being stuck in the office.

Jokes about being stuck in the office resonate with so many people that they are widely shared across social media. One Someecard that reads "I'd rather enter the Hunger Games than enter the office on Mondays" has been shared by over 31,300 people (Someecards). Through Casual Fridays, the office is re-imagined as a less rigid and work focused, and more fun, and recreational place to be. We can conclude that Casual Fridays are effectively a mini-revolution against the strictness of the office, pushing a typically inappropriate behavior against the typical hierarchy of a work place. While "drunk at work Friday" would be an outlandish and unprofessional ritual, "Casual Friday" is a milder way of allowing employees to step over the line between work and leisure.

To further the point, the fashion blogger Dawn Wood says, "If you work in an office environment, the chances are that for four days of the week you are required to wear smart and sometimes restrictive clothing, right? Of course if

you're working for a corporate company such as a law firm or an accountancy practice, maintaining etiquette and formal dress are paramount." Etiquette, formalities, and overt restriction are destroyed, even if temporarily, through a Casual Friday performance. Casual Fridays are a ritualistic outcry of the middle class voices of America. In the United States, corporations, tiered organizational structures, and offices are the environments that many people find themselves spending 40 hours a week, at least 50 weeks a year working in. People working in these structured, professional work environments have little self-expression, are stifled with answering to a chain of command, and often choose their occupations for the sole purpose of money. People often complain about being "corporate drones," "living in their cubicles," or being pushed down by "the man." The need to subvert these restrictions or express individuality is allowed to manifest in this ritualistic performance. In support of this idea that workers actively look for ways to escape institutional restrictions, one can see that "Hump Day" has become another folkloric performance. Although not an overt ritual like Casual Friday, we can see in cartoons and media that "Hump Day" is a fun and comedic way of describing the mid-week slump, another aspect of Monday-Fridays spent in a structured atmosphere.

Instead of simply feeling bored, oppressed, and dissatisfied in their work, traditions like Casual Friday give employees the ability to cry out against their organizations, staging a weekly mock rebellion celebrating their 2 days of weekend freedom that are about to start. These sanctioned rebellions, Casual Fridays, create a neutered anti-structure where middle-class employees are able to come together as comrades in a liminal state and fight against the hierarchies that oppress them. While Casual Fridays are not demonstrations that permanently create change, they generate morale and a sense that overcoming a rigid social structure is possible. The workers in an office are able to take something that their supervisors have given them – a day of casual dress to celebrate the weekend – as a revolution against the positions they hold. Even the most obedient employees are able to embrace one day of disrupting the structure of their workplace. However, this disruption is staged, since it is a ritual often *given* to the employees by management as a way to improve moral, ultimately reinforcing the traditional business hierarchy of upper management having control of the workplace. Regardless, Casual

Friday is a powerful American ritual that is here to stay, as long as people continue to give it power. The next time a person discusses their excitement for a Casual Friday, consider the three functions the ritual performs in society, the power the ritual is given, as well as the disruption Casual Fridays create in a company's hierarchy. Casual Fridays are a folkloric performance that seemingly reimagines the work place, ultimately reinforcing the middle class's role in the hierarchy of American business culture, through the weekly disruption of the traditional office environment.

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Cracked Out and Plugged In: America's Emerging Culture of Addiction

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Overview and Hypothesis

America is the largest most culturally diverse country in the world and is home to many competing ideologies, practices, habits, norms, and values. Diversity within the US population continues to grow at a higher pace than ever before. At the same time, the largest and most culturally diverse generation called “the millennials” enter America’s workforce and universities (Howe and Strauss, 2000). Typically individuals born between 1982 and 2002 are categorized as, millennials, generation Y, or digital natives (will be used interchangeably throughout text). However vast the diversity of this generation, there remains a 21st century common denominator that exists between this diverse population. Recent U.S. data reports, 84.2% of Americans use the internet on a regular basis (The World Bank, 2014.), and 80-90% ingest caffeine regularly (Various Cited Sources). Even higher rates of usage have been observed in millennials at a 95% caffeine usage (Alison Bryant Ludden and Amy R. Wolfson, 2009) and a 93% internet usage rate according to Pew Research Center. These numbers indicate a far reaching epidemic of usage, but little is known on the affect that the relationship has on the general populous, specifically the millennial generation.

Millennials remain a unique group to study in American culture, they maintain specific qualities such as being; “special, sheltered, confident, team-oriented, conventional, pressured, and achieving.” (Howe, Neil, and William Strauss.2000) However, other qualities identified in millennials offer questions regarding their future competency. Millennials have a tendency to have shorter attention spans, run away from their problems, abide by their own code of conduct, and depend on others. (Much, K., Wagener, A. M., Breitkreutz, H. L. and Hellenbrand, M, 2014) Additionally, through much research it is known that millennial's suffer from higher levels physical and mental afflictions including, anxiety, social phobias, narcissistic personality disorder, obesity, ADHD, and Asthma than witnessed in previous generations.

Much of this has be attributed to a culture of staying indoors, and overbearing hyper-involved parents commonly referred to as “helicopter parents” (Howe, Neil, and William Strauss.2000 pp 93).

Research is scarce on the topic, and demonstrates the lackadaisical approach sociologists and researchers have taken on the generation’s addictive behavior. Using Edward Khantzians widely accepted Self-Medication Hypothesis (SMH) as a framework, this text attempts to prove that millennials use internet and caffeine in order to alleviate negative characteristics observed present within the overwhelming majority of American millennials. Furthermore, research suggests there remains serious health and social consequences of internet and caffeine addiction, that work to exacerbate concrete underlying problems already observed within the generation such as anxiety, ADHD, narcissism, lack of problem solving skills, and a dependence on others(Stein, Joel, and Josh Sanburn, 2013). With growing numbers and acceptance in society, a culture of addiction emerges where it becomes commonplace and socially acceptable to suffer from dependency, especially when an individual expects little to no risk from the dependence. Addiction to items that an individual considers “non- threatening” creates a new set of norms and values within American culture that promotes abuse and excess (Strahan, Esther Yoder, et al.). This culture of addiction may be a result of the desire for these individuals to “self-medicate” by using substances that they view as harmless to curtail increased feelings of anxiety and inability to focus.

This research intends to demonstrate that millennials use their most widespread dependencies (internet and caffeine) to compensate for negative physical and mental characteristics associated with the generation as per the SMH. Additionally by decoding the negative effects of caffeine and internet dependence, this text demonstrates how these habits exacerbates the detrimental qualities of digital natives. Furthermore, it will investigate if the generation’s low expectancies for negative repercussions for internet and caffeine abuse, and societal acceptance of dependency, has created a “culture of addiction” within America’s youth. Ultimately confirming or disproving the hypothesis that, caffeine and internet addiction in the millennial generation are products of the need to self-medicate against detrimental physical and mental characteristics common of the generation. In turn,

these addictions will prove to exacerbate existing problems that have been observed within digital natives, and create a culture of addiction due to widespread cultural acceptance of caffeine and internet in the US.

The Millennial Experience and its Challenges

Studying Millennials allows for a unique insight on the American experience in present day culture. With technology growing faster than the individual can keep up with, the youth generation demonstrates a higher mastery of the technological skills needed in order to maintain pace with the increasingly global media environment.

Technological advances shape the brains of the digital natives and have allowed for a mastery of new devices that leaves older generations perplexed.

Recently, as Millennials begin to enter the workforce in staggering numbers, there has been a surge of research released detailing strategies for dealing with digital natives. Due to the influx of Millennials in the workforce, describing their characteristics, and uncovering common personality traits have been made priority in some areas of Academia and corporate America.

Most notably and most widely reported is the digital native's ability to understand and use technology to their advantage in a manor unrivaled by previous generations. (Leemann, James (2012)) However, there remains lesser known facts regarding personal experience of Millennials. In *Millennials Rising*, Howe and Strauss detail 7 traits that distinguish millennial youth from any other generation. This includes being; special, sheltered, confident, team-oriented, conventional, pressured, and achieving. Howe and Strauss trace these traits back to a common sense of identity due to being raised in hyper-sheltered environments due to overbearing or "helicopter" parents. Regardless, Howe and Strauss' work was hailed as the landmark example of conditions in the millennial generation. They expect digital natives to be the next "hero generation" comparing them to the greatest generation that fought in World War II. (Howe and Strauss, *Millennials Rising*, 2000) However, other researchers have viewed, millennials hyper-sheltered upbringing in a more negative light

In another study which attempts to add to previous description by Howe and Strauss, Kari Much et al reveal in *Working With the Millennial Generation: Challenges Facing 21st-Century Students From the Perspective of University Staff*,

through interviews with key college professionals, that millennials may not be the "hero generation" they were previously thought to be. The researchers contend that millennials harbor unique qualities that lead to interesting questions regarding the future of the millennial in the US. Analysis done by Kari Much et al concluded that millennial students tend to ignore what may be expected of them, resist being accountable for their actions, and depend largely on others for problem solving. Additionally they lack coping skills, and typically have intense feelings of loneliness and stress. "Rather than running at their problems, millennial tend to avoid them and create a crisis", additionally they note that, "millennials have a tendency to blame others and believe that they are the exception to the rule in regards to school policy" (Much et al). These are not the only trends the researches notice, Much goes on to say, "the millennials have often been described as pressured and hyper-focused on achievement, they also frequently experience increased stress and feelings of being overwhelmed" (Much et al) The researchers determine that much of these characteristics are due to millennials being coddled and lauded by parents and authority figures throughout their childhood. This comes as college consulship report a surge in parental involvement in the college process. This displays a very different view of "helicopter parents" upbringing of millennial, the authors describe a bleaker scenario, where the hyper-influence of parents cause deep seeded issues in the minds of millennials. They report that their interviews;

" yielded two corresponding themes: parental involvement, and expectations problems to be solved by others. Interviewees did not see students as active problem solvers, even when faced with circumstances that require action. Instead, they viewed these students as generally not taking the initiative to seek a solution without consulting their parents. Additionally, even when students consult their parents, the perception is that students believe that others (parents or other authority figures) should solve their problems for them" (Much et al 2010 pp 42)

Many other researchers agree with Much's sentiments on millennial and even chose to add their own observations into the mix. Jean Twenge asserts that digital natives are often "overconfident, have high expectations, report higher narcissism, (and) are lower in creativity" she goes on to state that

they, “received higher grades in high school despite doing fewer hours of homework than previous generations”. (Jean M. Twenge, 2013). Which may indicate a generation that is not only coddled by their parents, but by society as well. This may have devastating cultural effects as Twenge noted, “social/relational issues, such as overprotective and controlling parents (helicopter parents), may inhibit individuation and independent action” (Jean M. Twenge, 2013) Demonstrating that the generation must learn to compensate for, high levels of stress, lack of problem solving skills, low creativity, and a general feeling of exceptionalism

These issues are exacerbated even further when their tendency for extreme narcissism is taken into account. In a Times Magazine article titled “*The Greatest New Generation*” Joel Stein cites a few statistics regarding narcissism in Millennials. He states” The incidence of narcissistic personality disorder is nearly three times as high for people in their 20s as for the generation that's now 65 or older, according to the National Institutes of Health; 58% more college students scored higher on a narcissism scale in 2009 than in 1982” (Stein, Joel, and Josh Sanburn, 2013). Additionally he cites the fact that “that 40% believe they should be promoted every two years, regardless of performance” contributing to the difficulty for millennial's entering the work arena.

Moreover, millennials exhibit greater frequencies of ADHD, depression, anxiety, social phobias, and other mental disorders. This will be explored at length later in this document, but has significantly contributed to the propensity for millennials to compensate for their characteristics.

All of these attributes contextualize the uniqueness of the millennial compared to past generations, this generation has a large amount of weakness to compensate for. As Millennial's age a culture of addiction could emerge that may be a result from a need for self-medication. Has this generation chosen caffeine and the internet in order to compensate for their lack of focus and social skills as self-medication? Are the millennials shortcomings a manifestation of their addictions to caffeine and internet? Or is it a result of them?

Self-Medication Theory as a Basis for Americas Growing Culture of Addiction

The existence of the self-medication hypothesis provides context for addictive habits observed in millennials and serves as a framework throughout the course of this text. Research into this

hypothesis began in the mid-1970s, headed by Edward Khantzian, mainly focusing on the use of heroin as a coping mechanism. However since then, the self-medication hypothesis has undertaken a broader definition and has enjoyed much mainstream acceptance in the media and medical communities (Khantzian 1997). The self-medication hypothesis (SMH) is defined by “The use of drugs to treat self-diagnosed disorders or symptoms”, according to the hypothesis, an individual's choice of drug is not coincidental, but instead a “result of a psychological condition being compensated for” (Khantzian 1985). Further investigation by Khantzian in 1997, yielded results that assert “there is more evidence that psychiatric symptoms rather than personality styles, lie at the heart of drug use disorders”. He goes on to specify two crucial aspects of SMH, “ (1) drugs of abuse produce a relief from psychological suffering, and (2) the individuals preference for a particular drug is based on its psychopharmacological properties”(Khantzian 1997). He goes on to say “Self-medication factors occur in a context of self-regulation vulnerabilities—primarily difficulties in regulating affects, self-esteem, relationships, and self-care. Persons with substance use disorders suffer in the extreme with their feelings, either being overwhelmed with painful affects or seeming not to feel their emotions at all” (Khatzian 1997)

Consequently, this means that in order to compensate for a perceived mental deficiency, an individual will hand select a substance to abuse Taylor made to ease their deficiencies. The implications of this theory to my research is tremendous. SMH provides a theoretical cause for addictive behavior in millennials, given their wide range of observed negative characteristics. Khantzians SMH has enjoyed much wide spread acceptance since its inception, and has also been observed in millennials. A study of substance abuse in teens found that in 2004 drug dependent teens “ manifest relatively high rates of dual diagnosis...of substance use disorders and other mental health disorders” stating that “ Up to 75% of youth in treatment for substance use disorders have other psychopathological problems in addition to substance use...for example depressive, and anxiety disorders, social phobia, PTSD, conduct disorder and oppositional defiant disorder” (Sussman, Steve, Silvana Skara, and Susan L. Ames, 2008, 1802-1828) Demonstrating both the existence of Self-Medication theory in millennials, and also the

existence of common mental disorders among the group.

The negative characteristics that millennials can self-medicate against is a long list, however this text attempts to narrow it down. This list includes but not limited to: ADHD, anxiety, stress social phobias, depression, narcissism, exceptionalism, a lack of creativity, and a tendency to avoid problem solving. According to SMH the drugs abused by this generation will reflect the mental and physical tensions common of the group. Although a wide variety of substances and practices could ease these tensions in millennial, caffeine and the internet are examined as exacerbating factors for these negative characteristics, and also as an outlet of self-medication to ease common stressors. Within this attitude of self-medication, America's culture of addiction reveals itself, especially given the high incidence of addiction in Millennials.

Evidence of Americas Emerging Culture of Addiction

Millennials are observed via research and anecdotal references to have a high level of adolescent addiction, reflecting The US's growing culture of addiction within its youth. One anecdotal account by Ginny O'Keefe, the CEO and founder of the Amethyst House treatment center for addiction in Columbus Ohio, describes a change in society reflected in the demographic of patients receiving treatment at her clinic. "In the past the average population would have been around 35, now the population is younger...between the ages 18 and 23" (Townsend, Tracy.). Her experiences are not uncommon in the US considering that, "In 2007, the proportions of 8th, 10th, and 12th, graders who reported that they had used an illicit drug in the prior 12 months were 15%, 31% and 39% respectively" (Sussman, Steve, Silvana Skara, and Susan (2008): 1802). Additionally "5% of adolescents in the United States qualify for a diagnosis of substance abuse disorder" while New Jersey High school students are found to have substance abuse and dependency rates of "13.4% and 3.9% respectively" (Susman 1802). Proving representations of Americas growing Culture of Addiction likely, as addiction rates soar amongst American adolescents.

Although a large quantity of research has been done in the name of self-medication theory, little has been done in the realm of internet addiction. However, studies have been conducted in order to determine whether the phenomenon of self-

medication exists amongst millennials. In a 2011 study by Esther Yoder researchers attempted to conceive connection between social anxieties and binge drinking habits of university students in the US and in the island of Cyprus. Their research has three very important additions to this thesis, First that "Literature from both US and European studies demonstrate that social anxiety disorder is a major disorder that affects a great many college students" and that social phobias have increased in recent years up from 19% of undergrads to 22% in 2003 (Strahan, Esther Yoder, et al. 2011 pp. 302). Displaying the heightened propensity for social phobias to be present in digital natives. Next, that "The basic finding of this study was of a significant curvilinear relationship between social anxiety and alcohol use for men" (Strahan. 2011. pp 308). Suggesting a concrete link between the millennials' stressors and substance abuse, and also demonstrating concrete evidence of SMH in work in the millennial generation. Lastly Strahan et al's work, "confirms the important role of alcohol expectancies in predicting levels of drinking" (Strahan. 2011. pp 308), where American students attributed more positive effects of alcohol usage than their Cyprus counter parts, and also engaged in dangerous alcohol usage behavior at a much higher rate than Cyprus students. This revelation can be extrapolated into the culture of addiction in Millennials. Due to the fact that millennial who perceive little to no harmful effect of a habit (such as caffeine or internet usage) are more likely to become dependent on the habit. This could prove to be a manifestation of a belief of exceptionalism, and a tendency for narcissistic behavior in digital natives.

Through an analysis of Millennials, it remains clear that addiction emerges in habits that the individual has determined to have little or no negative effects. Habit dependencies can form in millennials from a need to remedy mental detriments under the umbrella of the SMH. Addiction, and mental disorders are on the rise in the millennial generation reflecting society's culture of addiction. This has led to a culture of addiction exacerbated by caffeine, and single serving coffee culture that acts as a possible gateway to an adult life governed by addiction.

Decoding Caffeine Dependence in Millennials Using SMH

Millennials have adopted Caffeine consumption as a remedy for their lack of attention

span, lackadaisical approach to problem solving, high rates of ADHD, and to improve concentration. Positive expectations associated with caffeine usage among millennial has contributed to widespread, cross generational usage of the drug, and perpetuates a belief that substance addiction is acceptable in the US.

Currently adolescents in the US exhibit high amounts of caffeine usage, this is partly due to the advent of energy drinks in the mainstream, and the proliferation of single serve coffee franchise across the US such as Starbucks and Dunkin Donuts. Not to say that generations before digital natives have not enjoyed caffeine usage, but recently, a caffeine culture have surfaced in Americas Youth. In 2009 a sample of US high school students demonstrated that 95% have reported recent caffeine use. (Alison Bryant Ludden and Amy R. Wolfson, 2009). Which is considerably higher than the national rate typically estimated around 80%. This data begs the questions, what is the cause for this discrepancy in caffeine usage? How does this demonstrate an emerging culture of addiction in the US?

Marketing methods by energy drink manufacturers specifically target Americas Youth population. Beverage companies such as Monster and Redbull, rely on niche marketing tactics, such as using campus representatives, and social media to promote products to millennials. This in turn caters to digital native's internet dependency, and "adolescents have more caffeinated product options than in the past" (Alison Bryant Ludden and Amy R. Wolfson, pp. 331). Furthermore, higher caffeine content exist in these new energy drinks, than in the caffeinated beverages of the past. This creates higher propensity for millennials to become reliant on caffeine, and thus they display little to no negative expectations for habitual usage due to widespread caffeine consumption cross-generationally.

Additionally, the proliferation of single serving coffee franchises also feeds into millennial's tendency for caffeine use. According to Loxcel Geomatics Starbucks operates in just over 12,000 US locations as of November 2014 ("Loxcel Starbucks Store Map FAQ, Nov 2014), and "the company's revenues increased at a compound annual growth rate of 11% from \$9,774.6 million in FY2009 to \$14,892.2 million in FY2013" ("Starbucks Corporation SWOT Analysis, 2014). Starbucks attributes much of its prolonged success to the growing single serving coffee culture in the

US. However, much of its success stems from its marketing tactics to younger generations. Starbucks caters to Millennials specifically for a number of reasons, first it caters to their technologically connected lifestyle by providing a location where an individual can relax and use the internet. Next, Starbucks caters to millennials narcissistic tendencies by providing the individual with a personal experienced, by making beverages to order and even writing the customer's name on the cup. Lastly, millennials feel the need to share their Starbucks experience with peers via social media, creating a caffeine culture within this generation.

The proliferation of these single serving coffee franchises may indicate a different narrative within America's youth. This is the tendency for millennials to self-medicate against ADHD, lack of focus, and inactivity by using caffeinated products. It has already established that Millennials exhibit higher rates of ADHD than any other generation, according to the CDC "approximately 11% of children 4-17 years of age (6.4 million) have been diagnosed with ADHD as of 2011" ("Data & Statistics, Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 29 Sept. 2014). This data supports the claim that a large population of millennials use caffeine in order to self-medicate against their inability to focus and inactivity. "Decades ago, caffeine was even suggested as a possible treatment for attention deficit hyperactivity disorder (ADHD), but was subsequently ruled-out as a first line approach" (Walker, LR, AA Abraham, and KP Tercyak, (2010)). Potentially, caffeine acts to alleviate ADHD symptoms by "compensating for lower levels of mental arousal and to enhance cognitive performance among ADHD-affected individual" (Walker, LR, AA Abraham, and KP Tercyak, pp. 75), and replenishes neurotransmitters associated with ADHD. Furthermore, "Adolescents with ADHD were nearly twice as likely to use caffeine as were adolescents without ADHD" (Walker, LR, AA Abraham, and KP Tercyak, 73), suggesting that there is indeed a self-medication component to adolescent caffeine usage.

These patterns are not limited to millennials with ADHD, Studies shown a correlation between individuals suffering from psychiatric illness, and caffeine usage. Cynthia Larson and Kate Carey detailed this phenomenon in their research regarding the subject. They note that "mental health patients consume more caffeine, on average, than the general population" at a rate of 7 times the

average amount (Larson, Cynthia A., and Kate B. Carey. (1998) pp. 373). This lead, to their hypothesis that some psychiatric patients are using caffeine as a means to cope with their affliction. They even cite the SMH in their text stating, "Caffeine literature has supported the self-medication theory by demonstrating a positive relationship between caffeine consumed and severity of depression, suggesting that depressive symptoms may trigger patients to use caffeine" (Larson 374). The fact that clinically depression is observed in high amounts in adolescence is another factor that explain wide spread caffeine usage in millennials. But, what other negative characteristics common of millennials can caffeine medicate against? Larson also revealed that "Increased consumption of Caffeine by mental health patients may be a response to psychiatric symptoms such as... lack of energy, inability to concentrate" (Larson 374), as research has shown the drug to be "significantly related to better long term memory performance and faster locomotive speed" (Hameleers, P. A. H. M., et al. (2000) pp. 573). Further correlating high levels of caffeine usage in America's youth with Khantzian's self-medication theory in order to combat lack of motivation and focus within the generation.

How Caffeine Dependence Exacerbates Negative Traits in Millennials: A Cyclical Effect

In research, caffeine dependence is observed to demonstrate many negative physical and mental side effects. Many of which coincide with negative traits observed within the millennial generation. It has already been established throughout this text that high levels of, stress, anxiety, and depression characterize digital natives, likewise caffeine has been observed to exacerbate these symptoms in medical studies. Rockett and Putnam stated "female students who reported "addiction" to caffeine showed an excess risk for being chronically depressed and in poor health and/or physically disabled. Caffeine-"addicted" males showed an excess risk for being severely stressed" (Rockett, Ian R. H., and Sandra L. Putnam. (2002) pp.39), evidencing caffeine's ability to enhance stress and depression in millennials. Similarly, Many researchers such as Larson and Kelly conclude similar results, they state throughout their study on caffeine and mental illness that "Caffeine can produce direct effects on a person's psychological state" and that caffeine abuse tends to "exacerbate(s) current symptoms...of anxiety,

depression, and irritability" (Larson 373), further proving the drugs ability to worsen these disorders commonly found in Americas youth. Additionally, A study by Rogers et al states withdrawal from caffeine produces difficulty focusing, and lethargic effects, which also acts to magnify negative characteristics in an individual (Rogers, Peter, et al. (2013). The study goes on to discuss the lack of desired affects in frequent users, and also the harmful effects of withdrawal on motor skills and alertness. Therefore, they conclude, in everyday life medium-high caffeine users are forced to maintain a constant caffeine dosage to operate without the negative effects of withdrawal, further perpetuating a culture of addiction. The fact that caffeine dependence is highly prevalent in millennials, possibly as self-medication, and that it has tendencies to exacerbate anxiety, depression, stress, and lack of focus, illustrates the cyclical pattern of usage that is ripe for a culture of addiction in millennials.

The pattern works as follows: Millennials attempt to compensate for their lack of focus, and motivation, by self-medicating. The most accepted and assessable form of medicating against these traits is caffeine. Dependence forms, thus negating caffeine's "medicinal" benefit, thus causing the need to use more. As caffeine abuse rises in the individual, so do the negative effects of the drug, creating a cyclical culture of addiction that may lead to more serious addictions in the future.

Societal Acceptance of Drug Addiction: Evidence of Growing Culture of Addiction

High levels of addiction within millennials has much to do with widespread acceptance of addictive behaviors such as caffeine use. Adolescents have shown little to no negative expectations regarding harmful effects of caffeine usage, partially due to societies acceptance of usage, partially due to lack of visible side effects of usage. In a large scale study on adolescent caffeine usage in adolescents, the authors concluded through survey techniques that "Examination of adolescents' caffeine expectancies reveals that generally adolescents do not expect much to happen to them when they use caffeine" the author goes on to say that "adolescents are unaware or unconcerned about possible effects" (Alison Bryant Ludden and Amy R. Wolfson, pp.339) In another study pertaining to caffeine addiction in Tennessee high school students, researches revealed that "Regarding welfare, caffeine-"addicted" students of either sex

were more likely than non-"addicted" counterparts to perceive caffeine use to be of little or no harm" (Rockett, Ian R. H., and Sandra L. Putnam. (2002) pp.39). Both studies concluded lack of negative expectations associated with caffeine were very dangerous due to the adverse effects of addiction, withdrawal, and the ubiquity of the drug. The fact that caffeine addiction is "non-stigmatized is very dangerous because it sets the precedent in youth culture that substance dependency is acceptable due to mass usage in the . Caffeine addiction has been shown to have a gateway effect into addiction, dependent behavior associated with the drug translates into future addictions. "Substance use by adolescents may follow certain progressive patterns. Research conducted by Collins and colleagues has shown that caffeine may be an early step (i.e., gateway) drug because "heavy caffeine use" has been shown to be related to a progressive pattern of type of drugs used" (Sussman, 2008, pp 1803). Ludden and Wolfson agree with Sussman's findings after observing planned caffeine use in adolescents, they suggest this "could be evidence of a developing pattern of dependence as these adolescents were also much more likely to report that they used caffeine to get through the day" (Ludden and Wolfson, 2009, pp 337). This demonstrates how expectancies specifically associated with caffeine usage influence future addictive behavior and creates a culture where addiction possess the ability to become epidemic in millennials.

A Discussion on Internet Use in Millennials

Similar to the way millennials use caffeine to cope with intragenerational deficiencies, the internet offers another means for coping. While digital natives have been observed to use caffeine to combat, lack of focus, inactivity, and ADHD, they use the internet to combat other existing issues within the generation such as, lack of problem solving skills, anxiety, depression, high levels of stress, and to escape reality.

Internet addiction is classified as a medical disorder and is defined as a psychological dependence on the internet akin to addiction to food, sex, or gambling. (Kandall, 1998, pp.11) Much like Caffeine, the internet possess the ability to induce dependence in the Millennial, and closely affects the millennial population more than any other generation. The Pew Research Group noted in a comprehensive statistical analysis of millennials that "Over the last five years,

Millennials' use of social networking sites exploded compared to older generations. In 2005, only 7 percent of Millennials used social networking sites; now 75 percent do. In that time frame, Gen Xers' use of social networking sites grew by 43 percentage points, Boomers' (ages 46-64) use increased by 25 percent points"

(<http://www.pewsocialtrends.org>) According to an academic 2001 study into internet addiction by Alex Hall and Jeffery Parsons "IBD (internet addiction) is typically found among those who are young or well-educated individuals. For example, a longitudinal study of the Internet use of 93 families found that teenagers in both White and minority families accessed the Internet more often than did their parents" (Hall and Parsons, 2001). Supporting this, Jonathan Kandalls investigation on the topic yield similar results, he states that "Use of the Internet on college and university campuses has shown explosive growth in the last few years, paralleling, if not outpacing, the strong advances in the society at large" (Kandall 11). He continues on to cite a 1994 University of Michigan study that showed" freshmen and sophomores averaged 10 hr. per week on-line, with 18% on the Internet at least 20 hr. per week" (Kendall 12), which has almost certainly increased since 1994 due to extreme proliferation of internet technology. It remains no secret that digital natives portray high levels of internet usage, however, figures regarding addiction rates and demographics are hugely variable. Hall and Parsons explain that methods in collecting this date have been flawed, but, more recent long term studies concluded after" a six-year study of Internet usage by children conducted from 1996 to 2002, shows that 25% are heavy users, spending more than ten hours online each week and these heavy users comprise of kids from the age of 13 to 18" (Neging, P, 2013). Further adding fuel to the fire, trends in internet growth and addiction show no signs of slowing down, "because Internet use and IBD will likely increase as this technology matures. In fact, a recent survey of 2,689 households found that weekly internet use increased in direct proportion to access and to high-speed capacity" Therefore, this evidence establishes the logical conclusion that Millennials demonstrate higher levels of internet usage and addiction than any other generation and will not slow down any time soon.

Decoding Internet Addiction in Millennials Using SMH

Given that Millennials exhibit higher levels

of internet usage than other generations, the next step to this research is to demonstrate how digital natives use the internet to compensate for physical and mental detriments using the Self-Medication Theory. Interestingly enough, similar patterns to caffeine addiction have been noticed in individuals suffering from IAD, most notably is the propensity for the addictive behavior to be a manifestation of an existing disorder in the individual. Displaying telltale signs of the existence of Khantzian's self-medication through internet addiction. The research of Jonathan Kandall concluded, "An individual exhibiting Internet addiction is often dealing with underlying psychological issues" he reasons that "Internet use aids in the person's avoidance of the problem and creates a buffer between the person's conscious mind and the negative thoughts and feelings the underlying issue generates" and even relates this behavior directly to Khantzian's self-medication theory by claiming "Much like the drug or alcohol abuser who gets high to deal with underlying mood or tension, a process known as "self-medication," the pathological Internet user, by going on-line, exercises a similar coping mechanism" (Kandall 12) Later in his study he emphasizes the vulnerability millennials have to succumbing to internet addiction, he explains "The most important factors contributing to the vulnerability of college students are the psychological and developmental dynamics with which late adolescents and young adults must contend" (Kandall 14). Kandall is not alone in his conclusions, Hall and Parsons noted this vulnerability as well stating "Developmental stressors, coupled with free access to Internet services, may contribute to college student's vulnerability to Internet Behavior Dependence" (Hall and Parsons, 2001) With the confluence of evidence suggesting that internet addiction is the result of self-medication, the next logical step is determining what millennials internet usage medicates against.

The internet provides the millennial with a useful tool in coping with issues within the generation. Considering digital native's high levels of stress and propensity to avoid problem solving, perhaps the most dramatic use of the internet in millennials is as a means to escape reality. In Fisoun and Virginia's study of internet abuse and offline behavior, the authors determined, "When they got stressed out by work or were just *depressed*, internet addicts showed a high tendency

to access the internet in order to escape from reality"(Fisoun, Virginia, et al, 2012), this is not an isolated trend. Hall and Parsons agreed with this sentiment, "College students who excessively use the Internet may be escaping from, rather than embracing, important developmental tasks, leaving themselves unprepared for real-world relationships "(Hall and Parsons, 2001). Millennial's high levels of stress and propensity to avoid problems (AKA procrastination) creates a climate in the youth ripe for internet abuse. Additionally, it is extremely likely that some millennials use the internet to self-medicate against high levels of depression. Dr. Kimberly Young, and Robert Rogers detail this exact phenomenon in their 1998 work titled "The Relationship Between Depression and internet addiction ", their findings conclude, "moderate to severe rates of depression coexist with pathological internet use", they attributed this causal relationship with the need for depressive to engage in anonymous online activity in order to feel acceptance, and boost self-esteem. Similarly Hall and Parsons noticed a co-morbidity that exists within internet addicts," Research indicates that Internet addiction is often associated with other forms of mental distress such as depression, impulse control disorder, low self-esteem (Hall and Parson), demonstrating that mental distress and internet addiction tend to go hand in hand. Internet addiction has been observed to be the product of even more general millennial characteristics, "Cross-sectional studies on samples of patients report high comorbidity of Internet addiction with psychiatric disorders, especially affective disorders (including depression), anxiety disorders (generalized anxiety disorder, social anxiety disorder), and attention deficit hyperactivity disorder (ADHD)" (Weinstein and Lejoyeux, 2011, pp277) Weinstein and Lejoyeux specifically cite the fact that "Adolescents with Internet addiction had higher ADHD symptoms, depression, social phobia, and hostility in Taiwan" (Weinstein, 279) All of these afflictions enjoy uniquely high rates in millennials, suggesting that they use the internet as a coping mechanism for these mental traits. It remains clear that in ways similar to caffeine, millennials self-medicate with the internet in a way that promotes excessive use and addictive behavior. The afflictions the internet serves to remedy within the generation are prolific, but most notably, depression, ADHD, social phobias, stress, anxiety, and problem solving difficulties. Again, similar to

caffeine abuse, internet abuse produces adverse effects that act to magnify negative traits in millennial.

How Internet Dependence Exacerbates Negative Traits in Millennials: A Cyclical Effect

It is widely accepted in medical, academic, and mainstream culture that excessive internet use leads to a large number adverse side effects. For the sake of my argument, it is crucial to hone in on adverse effects that would serve to exacerbate existing issues in digital natives. The exacerbating effect of internet use in millennials creates a cyclical pattern (similar to caffeine), where negative traits lead to internet use, and are then amplified due to excess or dependence of the behavior. Internet usage and addiction is observed to have an impact on offline activities specifically in addicts and youth. In order to investigate the previously researched links between internet usage and offline activities in adolescent communities, a commission of Greek researches provided a cross-sectional survey design that included the participation of all 1270 students ages 14-19 on the small island of Kos. Their study has several profound implication related to this text. First, "Those classified as possible internet addicts demonstrated an increased incidence of dysfunctional social behaviour" (Fisoun, Virginia, et al. 2012, Pp 38). Also internet addicts "reported the highest degree of loneliness, depressed mood, and compulsivity while being more vulnerable to interpersonal dangers than others" (Fisoun, 38). Pointed observations by the authors emphasize disruption in youth social structures "The pattern of off-line activities was specifically altered in girls as problematic internet use increased, again with a focus on communication and group activities while creative activates at home or elsewhere suffered" and more generally suggest that "The increase in problematic internet use was highly correlated with problematic offline behaviors in both sexes" (Fisoun, 43). This study seemingly proves that internet abuse exacerbates, feelings of loneliness, depression, lack of creativity, and specifically anti-social behavior in millennials. These results were verified by various other independent sources who agree that excessive time online can result in real life detriments. A convenient study titled *The Determinants and Outcomes of Pathological Internet use (PIU) among Urban Millennial Teens*, describes how the internet acts to magnify traits of digital natives "Millennial Teens may suffer from aggression ,psychopathology

disorder, pathological gambling and gaming and impaired academic performance due to long hours of being online"(Negin Pressca, R Musa, Rabiah Abdul Wahab, 2013) Although, this text does not include these items in millennials common traits, this statement adds weight to the claim that mental disorders can be the manifestation of internet addiction (and as illustrated above, also the cause) . The same study also cited a report by the Ministry of Health in Malaysia that states that one third of their secondary students had high levels of, depression, anxiety and, stress, social phobias, (DAS), the authors claim this as evidence that "this DAS is triggered by PIU (pathological internet use) and many studies conducted have been contributing to only negative outcomes with....problematic internet use" (Negin Pressca, 2013). Therefore, the confluence of past research and data indicate that many of millennials negative traits are manifestations of reliance on internet technology, furthermore, internet abuse acts to exacerbate these traits if they are present in the millennial.

The cyclical effect of internet abuse is akin to the same phenomenon that occurs with caffeine. As the millennial attempts to cope with their underlying issues such as, anxiety, depression, stress, social phobia, inability to problem solve, they turn to the internet and technology to self-medicate and curb the effects of their stressors. In turn, society's acceptance of internet reliance, and low expectations of harmful effects, promote addictive behavior, dependency and excessive use. In result, Internet Addiction mounts in the millennial personality, exacerbating the original trait they were self-medicating against. As a result of the worsening original trait, the millennial again turns to self-medicate with the internet, creating an environment ripe for deep seeded addictive habits. This is the effect that spawns America's culture of addiction in the youth, and allows for higher levels of addiction found in millennials.

Exactly how expectations of usage play a large role in caffeine abuse, internet abuse is no different. The research used in this text yielded one very important common denominator, the expectation of positive effects of abuse in the addicted millennial. Positive or negative expectations of internet and caffeine use are a socially constructed belief, and reflect American culture. It remains common sense that America is dependent on the internet as a society, if it were to fail, society would collapse. Thus, society has no

other choice but to embrace internet usage. Social media perpetuates America's acceptance of excessive internet usage, and makes for a culture climate that encourages abuse from peer pressure. Additionally Older generations view the internet in a positive light, they see the potential of the technology, and therefore encourage the youth to become tech savvy. In result, little to no stigma is placed on excessive internet usage, and create low expectancies of negative outcomes in millennials. Individuals tend to abuse items they view as having little harm, and America's youth obviously see little harm in internet abuse. This creates positive reinforcement and acceptance of addictive behavior in millennials creating higher rates of addiction, and negative common traits. The future implications of maintaining a generation with very addictive behavior are endless. Acceptance of addictive behavior in culture will only grow as technology improves, which begs the question, what are the ramifications of having a culture of addiction in the youth?

Discussion

The overarching goal of this particular investigation was to illustrate the cultural forces involved with high amounts of addiction to caffeine and internet in America's youth. Along the way, interesting parallels were uncovered between millennials common negative traits, and their addictions of choice. This fueled an investigation into theoretical process that contribute to addiction, and Self-Medication theory made the most logical sense. Caffeine and Internet addiction have *very* much in common, and are clear cut winners for items millennials abuse. This abuse leads to a cyclical relationship in the addicted millennial, where their coping mechanism acts to exacerbate the disorder they originally tried to curb. This phenomena, coupled with wide spread acceptance, and low negative expectancy has allowed dangerous addictive behavior to run rampant in the millennial generation.

Ultimately my research has lead me to the conclusion that a culture of addiction exists in the American millennial, where it is accepted for this generation to exhibit addict behavior with minimal stigmatization by society. This has long lasting and far reaching consequences due to the vastness of this generation, and its impact in society's foreseeable future. Already, this impact has been felt, this addictive behavior extends to various facets of American Culture.

Evidence of the culture of addiction is visible in the generation's high rate of abusing prescription medicine, mainly pain killers and study stimulants such as Adderall. This can also be attribute hyper involved helicopter parents allowing easy accessibility the drugs, and over prescribing of stimulants to children. American society is often most damaged by the threat ignored by its citizens, and awareness to enabling of addictive behavior must be curbed in order to prevent the growing rates of addiction to prescription main medications in millennial. If society does not began to emphasize the importance to live a substance and addictive free life style then perhaps in could halt the deadly proliferation of drug cultures within millennials such as the Electric Dance Music (EDM) rave culture.

Policy measures by the federal government aimed specifically at limiting caffeine usage in teens would prove beneficial to the generation. Outdated drug education programs preach rhetoric on drugs far out of the youth's spectrum of possibility. However, highly caffeinated beverages are easily accessible to the majority of America adolescents, and are much less brought up in US school curriculum and culture. Legislation should target schools, beverage companies, and distributors (including coffee franchises) by offering tax incentives for programs that require ID for highly caffeinated items, and promote an addiction free culture in the schools. The vicious cycle of American culture of addiction can be crippled if awareness proliferates throughout the nations' various media. This means being cautious of the overuse and habit forming affects that technology and substance excess promote in upcoming generations.

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