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Taylor Aspinwall will be graduating with a B.A. in English Literature and a B.A. in History with a minor in Creative Writing. Taylor is also a graduate of the Servant Leadership program, where she volunteered with Gentian Elementary School, Anne Elizabeth Shepherd Home, and the Boys and Girls Club. She served as an intern at the Columbus Museum, helping with an exhibit about the Mildred Terry Library which won the Gold Award at the Southeastern Museums Conference. Following graduation, Taylor plans to pursue a Master's in Public History.



HONORS COLLEGE
COLUMBUS STATE UNIVERSITY

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INTERACTIONS OF WAR: EXHIBITING WORLD WAR II AND THE HOLOCAUST

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE

HONORS COLLEGE

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THE HONORS COLLEGE FOR HONORS IN THE

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BACHELOR OF ARTS

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY

BY

TAYLOR ASPINWALL

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INTERACTIONS OF WAR: EXHIBITING WORLD WAR II AND THE HOLOCAUST

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ABSTRACT

This paper discusses the use of interactive elements in museums that deal with difficult subject matter, such as war or genocide. This research involves interviews with museum personnel at the Columbus Museum in Columbus, Georgia, the National Infantry Museum in Columbus, Georgia, the Museum of History and Holocaust Education in Kennesaw, Georgia, and the World War II Home Front Museum in St. Simons Island, Georgia. This research also discusses the design of a potential exhibit using interactives about women in the resistance movement during Nazi occupation.

INDEX WORDS: Interactives, Interactivity, Museums, World War II, Holocaust

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Introduction

Imagine entering into a museum where exhibits are hands-on and visitors are encouraged to actively engage with the content. At first, this museum might sound like a children's museum because of the interactivity, but imagine if this museum tackled difficult topics such as war and genocide. Up until recent decades, only children's and science museums placed an emphasis on interactive elements. However, interactive elements in museum exhibits help the audience engage with the information and can be valuable for guests of all ages. When dealing with sensitive topics, museum personnel must take special precautions in adopting interactive elements in museums. This thesis describes interactive elements, analyzes how they are used in different museums, addresses the challenges that are involved with interactive elements, and examines how they can be used in an exhibit that discusses sensitive topics like war and genocide. Additionally, this thesis then envisions a potential exhibit using interactives about women in the resistance movement in World War II.

Methodology

This goal of this research was to produce an exhibit about women in the resistance movement of Nazi Germany that incorporated interactive elements. In order to achieve this goal, it was necessary to research a variety of topics. Initially, I looked into literature relevant to interactivity in museum spaces, covering topics such as accessibility and sensory experiences. Following the research on interactivity, this thesis required examination of the women involved in resistance movements during the Nazi occupation of Europe. This included topics such as the White Rose, which was a student-led group who wrote pamphlets which spoke out against the Nazi government, and the Rosenstrasse Protest, which was a protest primarily conducted by the wives of Jewish prisoners, amongst other topics.

Additionally, this project added a human element of the research. To understand how history museums incorporate interactive elements when talking about difficult subject matter such as war and genocide, this research involved interviewing museum curators and museum personnel who have worked on museum exhibits pertaining to World War II and the Holocaust. The museums involved in this research offered different perspectives on topics relating to war. The National Infantry Museum discusses the history of the United States Infantry through different wars in which the United States has been involved. The Columbus Museum primarily focuses on local history and art, but they have had temporary exhibits that deal with topics of war. The Museum of History and Holocaust Education details the story of the Holocaust through individual stories of survivors, primarily those who live in Georgia. The World War II Home Front Museum shares the story of life on the Home Front in St. Simons Island, Georgia during World War II. The individuals involved in these interviews were Jefferson Reed, Curator from the National Infantry Museum in Columbus, Georgia, Rebecca Bush, Curator from the Columbus Museum in Columbus, Georgia, Adina Langer, Curator from the Museum of History and Holocaust Education in Kennesaw, Georgia, and Sandy Jensen, Education Director from the World War II Home Front Museum in St. Simons Island, Georgia. These interviews were conducted over email and in person after being approved by the Institutional Review Board. All individuals signed informed consent forms before the interviews occurred. The interviews which were conducted in-person were audio-recorded, and took no more than thirty minutes. This research used the same interview questions for each of the interviews, which covered topics of how the museum made use of accessibility, budget, audience, and interactives. In addition to the interviews, I conducted research into the scholarly literature on interactives. This project also involved researching the subject matter of women in the resistance

movement in Nazi Germany during World War II via primary and secondary sources, and then integrating the two strands of research into a potential exhibit involving interactives.

Argument

In this research, I argue that although there are some challenges that come with using interactives in an exhibit that deals with war or genocide, giving the guests a hands-on experience deepens the guests' understanding of the exhibit's topic. By using interactives to connect the information to visitors' senses, curators enable visitors to more easily envision themselves in the time period under examination, which can help create an emotional response from museum visitors. Sensory experiences allow visitors to place authenticity on the historical period and help create neural pathways for deeper understanding. However, challenges that museum personnel encounter include budget, accessibility, and space.

Interactivity

According to Jessie Pallud, a professor who focuses her research on human-computer interaction, "interactivity represents one of the ways to provide a dynamic experience to visitors instead of a passive reading experience."¹ Interactive elements, or interactives are hands-on components in an exhibit that encourage visitors to actively engage with content. In order for visitors to be actively engaged, according to Edward Alexander, their experience must rely heavily on involvement on multiple sensory levels, including "sight, hearing, smell, taste, touch, and kinetic muscle sense."² This creates a full-body experience for the visitor, which helps them shape their own interpretation of the content. As Tim Caulton has noted, "A good interactive exhibit will work at a multiplicity of levels for visitors of different ages and abilities."³

¹ Jessie Pallud, "Impact of Interactive Technologies on Stimulating Learning Experiences in a Museum," *Information & Management* 54, no. 4 (2017): 469.

² Edward Porter Alexander, "What is a Museum?," in *Museums in Motion: An Introduction to the History and Functions of Museums*, (Walnut Creek: AltaMira Press, 1996), 12.

³ Tim Caulton, *Hands-On Exhibitions: Managing Interactive Museums and Science Centres* (London: Routledge, 1998), 2.

This means at any age, visitors could engage with the interactive, and each time, they would be able to derive important information from their experience. Interactivity occurs when there is physical interaction and “clear educational objectives which encourage individuals or groups of people working together to understand real objects or real phenomena through physical exploration which involves choice and initiative.”⁴ In history museums, interactives give visitors agency to explore topics related to the time period to understand the history on a deeper level. These elements can be high-tech, low-tech, or a combination of the two. High-tech interactives bring the content to the visitors in a digital format. This format is often driven by computerized software, and it can be as simple as a touchscreen or as complex as the creation of virtual reality.⁵ In high tech elements, visitors are able to navigate through choices, interact with content, and explore a wider variety of information. Some examples of high-tech interactives could include touchscreen maps, games, or oral histories. Low-tech interactives are interactives that are more hands-on and mechanical. This type of interactive does not include digital components but could include moveable parts, levers, or anything else that requires physical action. Low-tech interactives could be something as simple as a pamphlet requiring visitors to flip a page upon entering a new room or a small door that requires visitors to lift to show additional information, or as complex as a mock assembly line. These two types of interactives can pair well together to create a hybrid interactive that uses both mechanical and digital components.⁶

⁴ Caulton, *Hands-On Exhibitions*, 2.

⁵ Cathlin Bradley and Chris David, “Best Practices for Interactive Exhibits,” *GeckoGroup* (blog), November 5th, 2018. <http://geckogroup.com/2018/11/05/digital-and-mechanical-interactive-exhibits/>

⁶ Bradley and David, “Best Practices for Interactive Exhibits.”

Visitor-Centered Approach

Up until recent decades, museums existed as places of preservation and research. However, since the 1970s and 1980s, there has been a shift in mindset to be more visitor-centered. As they have shifted, museums have increasingly incorporated interactives as a means of enhancing the visitors' experience.⁷ When museum professionals started researching the visitor's response to the new exhibit additions, they found that visitors (especially families) "stop at interactives more than any other kind of exhibit."⁸ Not only are visitors of all ages more likely to stop at interactives, but also they spend "more time with the traditional exhibit than they would have otherwise" because of the presence of the interactives.⁹ Interactives not only encourage individuals and groups to spend more time in these exhibits, but they also boost the visitor's overall experience. Interactive experiences "encourage family participation and conversation," which results in higher overall satisfaction because visitors "are absorbing exhibit themes while laughing and learning together."¹⁰ These elements make the experience one that appeals to many generations, "where a grandparent and a grandchild could derive equal enjoyment from their visit."¹¹

While visitors are spending more time in exhibits that house interactive elements, they are being actively engaged with the content of the exhibit. Barbara Franco argues that museums need to design exhibits as if they were created for a primate's interaction; she argues that

primates are curious, so if you hide something, they will pick it up because they have to; they can't help themselves. So flipbooks, lift-up kinds of things, are always successful. You see them in science museums; they work in history museums. They work everywhere. It's just human behavior; we can't help ourselves.¹²

⁷ Alexander, "What is a Museum?," 11-12.

⁸ Anne Grimes Rand et al., "Families First! Rethinking Exhibits to Engage All Ages," *History News* 64, no. 1(2009): .

⁹ David Thelen et al., "Reflections on Experience: Listening to Visitors," *History News* 68, no. 4 (2013):22.

¹⁰ Rand et al., "Families First!," 3.

¹¹ Sandy Jensen, email interviewed by author, October 10, 2019

¹² David Thelen et al., "Reflections on Experience," 22.

Visitors come into museum spaces because they are curious and eager to learn, and that curiosity is only amplified when visitors are offered a chance to interact with content. A museum exhibit is usually a space where visitors are discouraged from touching things, but interactives have shifted that paradigm by “actively inviting people to touch,” which is a “great way to guide that desire to touch onto activities that require and encourage interaction.”¹³ This invitation could put historical artifacts at risk of being irreplaceably damaged. However, interactives provide a chance for visitors to touch replications of the original to maintain the original object’s historical condition. As Andrea Jones argues, “learners need to be active.”¹⁴ Interactivity offers them a way to be active and curious in order to learn.

Interactivity is beneficial for history museums, not just to general museums. While objects are “powerful on their own,” an increased meaning is created if the visitors actually experienced the history for themselves.¹⁵ Images, text, and objects help the visitor understand the history, but interactivity allows the visitor to make conclusions for himself/herself, which makes the history mean more. Interactivity amplifies the experience that a visitor has, which allows them to be more invested and interested in the history that the museum provides.

Interactive components often exist in museums that are primarily geared towards children. For example, children’s museums often use role playing, costumes, eating and tasting, and exhibits that provide choice and diversity to deepen the experience that the visitors have while at the museum, which makes the history become personal.¹⁶ Role playing invites the children to take on “the perspective of a grown-up,” by using equipment or clothing to allow them “to experiment with adult roles.”¹⁷ Children’s museums actively engage the senses of their visitors. Through eating and tasting, children at the National Children’s Museum in Washington, D.C. (originally the Capital Children’s Museum) “aided by interns, are given the opportunity to make tortillas and hot chocolate as part of the Old Mexico exhibit,” which allows them to be exposed to the culture of other countries.¹⁸ While children’s museums and history museums have different audiences, it is important to engage a broader audience using interactives. While these interactives may look different in a children’s museum by being brightly colored, emphasizing play, etc., interactivity in history museums is beneficial to all audiences.

¹³ Jensen, email interview.

¹⁴ Andrea K. Jones, “All Hands on Deck: Toward the ‘Experience’ History Museum,” *History News* 69, no. 2 (2014): 19.

¹⁵ Jones, “All Hands on Deck,” 19.

¹⁶ Victor Regnier, “The Children’s Museum: Exhibit and Location Issues,” *Children’s Environments Quarterly* 4, no. 1 (1987): 57.

¹⁷ Regnier, “The Children’s Museum,” 57.

¹⁸ Regnier, “The Children’s Museum,” 57.

Science museums utilize these interactive elements as well. In science museums, it is common to employ empirical-inductive reasoning to understand the concepts of an exhibit, which requires guests to “(1) classify and/or serially order observations and establish one-to-one correspondences among the observations; and (2) understand and apply concepts in familiar objects, situations, and events.”¹⁹ In more general terms, based on their observations while in the exhibit, visitors take a specific piece of information and then apply it to more general situations. For example, in a science museum, a visitor might observe that every time he/she presses a green button, a green light turns on. From this, he/she determines that the same is true for all of the buttons and lights. If he/she presses the blue button, the blue light will turn on. This reasoning urges the visitor to think more deeply about the content. While this approach is useful in science museums, it can also be applied to history museums and exhibits as well, especially in the terms of interactivity. If visitors are exposed to one individual’s story about the experience in a concentration camp, it can be assumed that many others had this experience as well, which broadens the scope of the exhibit. Science museums also focus on the process of scientific method, which allows the children to become a scientist and explore the phenomena for themselves. History museums also provide this experience in some cases. Inviting guests to interpret a text or providing them a chance to be archeologists allows visitors to take on the role of a historian, which is an experience that visitors can only receive in a museum.

The Sensory Experience

One of the major reasons that interactives are successful in spaces like children’s and science museums is the sensory experience that engage sight, sound, touch, smell, or movement. This sensory engagement allows the visitor to connect emotionally with the content because they are able to experience it for themselves.²⁰ Sensory experiences provide the visitor an opportunity to develop a mental pathway for additional learning. After studying national reports, researchers “discovered a link between sensory-rich activity and the physical development of neuron connections.”²¹ These neuron pathways stimulate visitors, encouraging future learning, and they connect to individual’s emotions and the individual’s overall experience. These sensory-rich environments provide a special opportunity for history museums to connect visitors with memory and emotion. In history museum spaces, visitors are often met with a multitude of text, images, and objects, which engage the sense of sight. However, the other senses are not engaged in this process. Interactives provide the visitor a chance to engage a multitude of senses.

¹⁹ Anton E. Lawson, *Science Teaching and the Development of Thinking* (California: Wadsworth Publishing, 1995), quoted in Edmund A. Marek et al., “Conceptual Understandings Resulting from Interactive Science Exhibits,” *Journal of Elementary Science Education* 14, no. 2 (2002): 41.

²⁰ Alexander, “What is a Museum?”. 12.

²¹ Sharon Shaffer, “Opening the Doors: Engaging Young Children in the Art Museum,” *Art Education* 64, no. 6 (2011): 42

In some exhibits, visitors hear the interactive element before they even see it. Auditory elements add definition to the visitors' experience by giving them "access to that which is hidden,"²² in the words of Shawn Graham. Or in other words, "Sound provides the means to access invisible, unseeable, and untouchable interiors."²³ These interiors are spaces of historical importance, such as a battlefield or factory. While in an exhibit, the visitor is aware that they are not on the battlefield but in a museum. Being in an exhibit space removes the visitor from the history being discussed, but using audio allows the visitor to move one step closer to the experience. Sound provides the visitor a level of intimacy and immersions that they cannot grasp with text and images alone. Sounds and audio help shape the historical space that is discussed in the exhibits. Audio can make an exhibit about World War I come to life with the sounds of gunfire or explosions, or it can breathe life into an exhibit about the Navy with the sounds of waves or seagulls. Interactives can utilize the sense of sound in a variety of ways. One way includes making the sound replicate that of the historical period, such as the sound of cannon fire in an exhibit about World War I. This interactive allows the visitor to have a more complete picture of the history by experiencing it for themselves. However, museum personnel have to use sound carefully for the space to be accessible to those with traumatic experiences, which is addressed later in the thesis.

Sound can also be used in a more narrative sense within an interactive, such as through the audio accessed via oral histories or the audio accompanying videos. Museums use these elements in a variety of settings such as using authentic field phones as audio listening stations.²⁴ These oral histories make the history personal. Oral histories typically provide the history of an individual, which allows the visitor to envision the history on a micro-level. Additionally, these oral history stations require more from the visitor. Listening, "unlike sight, requires *active* attention that divides our ability to make semantic or emotional sense of what is being said."²⁵ This means that when humans take in sound and audio, the brain not only processes what is being said but "*how* it is being said"; "in short, sound require cognition to make sense."²⁶ This active effort allows the visitor to create connections between the audio and the text content, opening pathways for additional learning opportunities. Touch is often the sense that is underappreciated in museum exhibits. Objects are usually on display behind glass cases that discourage physical touch to protect the object in question. This is especially the case with history, given the need to preserve primary source documents and the material objects of the past that cannot be replaced. However, visitors have a need to touch

²² Shawn Graham et al., "Hearing the Past," in *Seeing the Past with Computers: Experiments with Augmented Reality and Computer Vision for History*, ed. Kevin Kee and Timothy Compeau (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2019), 226.

²³ Graham et al., "Hearing the Past," 226.

²⁴ Jensen, email interview.

²⁵ Graham et al., "Hearing the Past," 227.

²⁶ Graham et al., "Hearing the Past," 227.

objects “to acquire information about them.”²⁷ In a history museum, touching offers the visitor a chance to experience the history for themselves. For example, visitors at the USS Constitution Museum are encouraged to “climb in a hammock or get on their knees and scrub the deck; it is a full body experience,” as opposed to just reading about the life of a sailor on an exhibit panel.²⁸

By being allowed to touch the objects and interactives, guests impose an authenticity on the object and on the era itself, which brings them closer to the history and makes it personal. “Authenticity is critical in the relationship between a history museum and a visitor.”²⁹ By touching interactives, museum visitors are able to relate to the content on a personal level because they also have a chance to experience the history by being hands-on. In fact, guests comment on the exhibits they can touch the most. At the World War II Home Front museum, there is an interactive that involves “a table with ropes where visitors can learn to tie knots like the Coast Guard. Despite the simplicity, it is one of [their] most touched and commented on interactives in the museum.”³⁰ As this example demonstrates, the interactive does not have to be complicated for it to be popular. At the Museum of History and Holocaust Education, there is an interactive element that is made to resemble a World War II living room. Guests are encouraged to flip through a scrapbook of the era and examine a radio of the time.³¹ Being able to do so brings visitors closer to the history of the home front during World War II because they are able to encounter objects of the time in a space that would have been relevant.

²⁷ Francesca Bacci and Francesco Pavani, “‘First Hand’ Not ‘First Eye’ Knowledge: Bodily Experience in Museums,” in *The Multisensory Museum: Cross-Disciplinary Perspectives on Touch, Sound, Smell, Memory, and Space*, eds. Nina Levent and Alvaro Pascual-Leone (New York: Rowman & Littlefield), 17.

²⁸ Rand et al., “Families First,” 6.

²⁹ Nina Levent and D. Lynn McRainey, “Touch and Narrative in Art and History Museums,” in *The Multisensory Museum: Cross-Disciplinary Perspectives on Touch, Sound, Smell, Memory, and Space*, eds. Nina Levent and Alvaro Pascual-Leone (New York: Rowman & Littlefield), 78.

³⁰ Jensen, email interview.

³¹ Adina Langer, interviewed by author, Museum of History and Holocaust Education, October 1, 2019

Lastly, the sense of smell is strongly linked to memory. “Humans can perceive some 10,000 scents, and specific odors can elicit memories or behaviors.”³² Additionally, smell is one of the strongest senses that is linked to emotion.³³ In museum exhibits, interactives can include odor cards to replicate smells of the historical period. For example, the National Infantry Museum previously used odor cards to replicate the smell of coffee in the mess hall exhibit.³⁴ However, exhibit curators and designers need to choose the smell carefully, as the smell of the battlefield would not be appealing to audiences. For instance, during World War I, the trench would have smelled horrible, which would have been a mixture of bodily excrement and decomposing bodies.³⁵ This would be something that museum personnel would most likely not want to replicate because it may cause the visitors’ experience to become negative. However, engaging the visitors’ sense of smell makes connections in their brains to memories and emotions, which offers the visitor a more vivid experience.

Creating a sensory experience for visitors opens doors for additional learning and engagement. While this can be done using multiple senses, the most beneficial is touch. Sensory experiences provide the visitor a chance to experience the history in ways that they would be unable to with text and images alone. By providing visitors with interactive experiences, it allows them to impose authenticity on the era, and it helps them to create neurological pathways to deepen their understanding of the topic.

Accessibility

While sensory experiences are valuable considerations, accessibility is one of the most important topics for consideration among museum personnel when discussing museum interactives in exhibits. Accessibility encompasses physical accessibility as well as mental accessibility. The challenge for curators and exhibit designers is to find a balance between what is best for accessibility and which interaction is most feasible for the audience, while trying to maximize the use of floorspace in the process. Physical accessibility refers to the physical space allowed for accessibility in an exhibit. For example, in thinking about new exhibit design, the team at the National Infantry Museum has to ensure that a person in a wheelchair can perform a 360-degree turn while inside an interactive element that replicates a bunker, while attempting to conserve the authenticity and claustrophobic conditions of the space.³⁶ However, physical accessibility is not limited to enclosed interactives. Interactives that are built onto walls often protrude into the walking space, and they “cannot protrude out further than 4 inches unless they protrude all the way to the floor to be felt by the visually impaired with an aid.”³⁷ This means that in order for a space to have an interactive that is on the wall and comes into the walk way, it cannot stop halfway down the wall; it would need to go all the way to the ground so individuals with visual impairments could feel it.

Accessibility is not limited to physical accessibility; it also encompasses mental accessibility, which involves the ability to intake the content. In this arena, interactives open doors for the visitor to gain information that they might have been unable to grasp without these initiatives or alternative methods of digesting the material. Text panels in exhibits are written for a certain reading level, which can be anywhere from first grade to eighth grade, but in every museum setting, there are some visitors who cannot read the content.³⁸ This inability to comprehend the content may be caused by a number of situations, such as a language barrier or disability. According to curator Sandy Jensen, “Well-designed interactives have the opportunity to bridge those gaps so groups can engage in a mutually enjoyable activity.”³⁹

³² Eleonore Von Bothmer, “When the Nose Doesn’t Know,” *Scientific American Mind* 17, no. 5 (2006): 64.

³³ Bothmer, “When the Nose Doesn’t Know,” 64.

³⁴ Jefferson Reed, interviewed by author, National Infantry Museum, September 24, 2019.

³⁵ Reed, interview.

³⁶ Reed, interview.

³⁷ Jensen, email interview.

³⁸ Jensen, email interview.

³⁹ Jensen, email interview.

As she notes, interactives offer accessibility to “people of all abilities, backgrounds, and generations.”⁴⁰ They also help visitors grasp difficult concepts. These concepts may have “few if any artifacts or images to support” them, such as “understanding why someone would join the crew” of the USS Constitution.⁴¹ In these situations, interactives enable the museum curators to communicate the concept to visitors of all ages, not just those who can comprehend the concept without the interactive.

As museums develop interactives to enhance accessibility, they must give special consideration to ensuring that interactives are accessible to those with mental health conditions such as post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) and anxiety when talking about difficult subject matter. As Pamela Ballinger states, post-traumatic stress disorder is

commonly defined as a response, sometimes delayed, to an overwhelming event or events, which takes the form of repeated, intrusive hallucinations, dreams, thoughts or behaviors stemming from the event, along with the numbing that may have begun during or after the experience, and possibly also increased arousal to (and avoidance of) stimulants recalling the event.⁴²

Individuals who are affected by PTSD include “war veterans, concentration camp survivors, and atomic-bomb survivors,” among others.⁴³

Because interactives offer a chance for visitors to get a first-hand experience of a historical subject, in exhibits that relate to war or genocide, some interactives can trigger problematic reactions or emotions for certain individuals. The National Infantry Museum, for instance, has to be careful with their choice of interactive because of their audience. They have individuals come through the museum who have never been to war, and they have patrons who just came off the battlefield.⁴⁴

⁴⁰ Jenson, email interview.

⁴¹ Rand et al., “Families First,” 3.

⁴² Pamela Ballinger, “The Culture of Survivors: Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder and Traumatic Memory,” *History and Memory* 10, no. 1 (1998): 100.

⁴³ Ballinger, “The Culture of Survivors,” 100.

⁴⁴ Reed, interview.

Because of this and because of the subject matter of the museum, it is far more likely that individuals who suffer from PTSD would find the content harder to process than those who do not. The museum has a Vietnam Jungle Experience, an interactive component that takes guests through a replication of the Vietnam jungle. The experience is separate from the main gallery, but it is available for guests to walk through. As guests walk through the exhibit, lights and sounds mimic explosions and gunfire. The room is dark to replicate the experience. According to National Infantry Museum curator Jefferson Reed,

At its initial design and opening, [the issue of PTSD] was an oversight. Day one, the [museum personnel] quickly realized that they need[ed] to do something. Primarily, how they reacted was [to put] a sign, a very prominent sign, stating that persons that might be prone to [PTSD] may want to consider not including that in their gallery tour.⁴⁵

However, mental accessibility not only affects exhibits that replicate real experiences, such as the Vietnam Jungle exhibit, but it also affects exhibits that do not have sensory exposure. In an art installation that accompanied a World War I exhibit at the Columbus Museum, the safety of individuals within the space was a top concern. The artist, who had an interest in memory and its relation to World War I and II, custom designed the space that housed the art installation. Designed to have a minimum amount of light, the space was extremely dark, and it housed a large “sculpture made of barbed wire that sat on a platform that was covered and wrapped in Army surplus blankets.”⁴⁶ The team at the Columbus Museum had a discussion with the design, curatorial, and security teams about how to handle a situation if individuals felt unsafe in the space, whether that meant they were “overwhelmed on a sensory level or on an emotional level.” They wanted their guests to be able to exit the space safely, and this is something they take into account on a regular basis. Interactives require special attention to accessibility, whether physical or mental. While interactivity bridges the gap to allow more individuals to learn from the experience, special consideration needs to be taken for the interactives to include individuals that have mental health issues like anxiety and PTSD.

Practical Concerns

As demonstrated above, interactives engage patrons on a deeper level with the subject in question by providing a first-hand look at the history. However, museum personnel have to take other factors into consideration when deciding to use an interactive or not. Some of the most critical concerns are budget and space. Interactives need to be chosen deliberately to enrich the visitors’ experience. Museum professionals need to use interactives where they are needed and make sense. Implementing interactives for the pure sake of having interactives does not do anything for the visitor.

Budget is a major factor that goes into the exhibit design process. Budgets can vary widely from exhibit to exhibit, and they depend on factors like the materials the museum already has available and the size of the exhibit. As stated above, interactives can be high-tech, low-tech, or a combination of the two. Low-tech, hands-on interactives are less expensive, while high-tech interactives tend to be extremely expensive. For example, the Columbus Museum housed an art exhibit that involved a drawing station. The exhibit

⁴⁵ Reed, interview.

⁴⁶ Bush, interview.

encouraged visitors to experiment with the artistic process by creating drawings of objects themselves. The interactive was extremely low- cost, as it used paper and pencil.⁴⁷ However, “a game/challenge played on a screen would cost around \$75,000, which included the price of graphic design, audio design, media production, computer programming, computer screen, and fabrication of the housing.”⁴⁸ Because of the high price tag of certain interactives, curators and exhibit designers are often forced to choose whether or not to have an interactive. One way some curators counteract this is to build prototypes of the interactives to gauge guest engagement. “Even a cheap plywood and laminate version of an interactive that can be tested on the floor is much less expensive than a finished version - especially if the final version is not successful.”⁴⁹ In some cases, the artistic vision that curators and exhibit designers have for an exhibit is just not feasible within the constraints of the budget; when this happens, it is up to the exhibit designers and the curators to do their best to decide which elements would be most beneficial for the visitor.

Space, both mental and physical, is also a major concern when discussing interactives. Because interactives are used to supplement the text content in an exhibit, they can be large and complex, taking up a lot of space. There is only so much available floor space in an exhibit gallery, so museum personnel have to be deliberate in their choices of interactivity. If there are too many elements in one exhibit space, the visitor could feel “museum fatigue,” which occurs when there is so much content to absorb that visitors leave feeling drained.⁵⁰ When this happens, visitors spend less time in the gallery spaces, leaving because they feel overwhelmed.⁵¹ Originally, physical exhaustion was thought to be the cause of museum fatigue, but in the 1930s, “Edward Robinson suggested that psychological factors were of equal, if not greater, importance.”⁵² There needs to be a balance of interactives and content to prevent this from happening, and this balance varies from museum to museum. This balance comes from knowing who the museum’s audience is. In a museum like the National Infantry Museum, which caters to a mixed aged demographic, curators use about 70 percent traditional and 30 percent interactive. However, in an exhibit designed for children’s discovery, this ratio could be reversed.⁵³

⁴⁷ Bush, interview.

⁴⁸ Jensen, email interview.

⁴⁹ Rand et al., “Families First,” 4.

⁵⁰ Jensen, email interview.

⁵¹ Jensen, email interview.

⁵² John Howard Falk and Lynn Diane Dierking, “The Physical Context: Visitor Pathways,” in *The Museum Experience* (Washington, D.C.: Whalesback Books, 1992), 56.

⁵³ Reed, interview.

When visitors enter an exhibit, they are exposed to content immediately, but “visitors need a space for their eyes to rest and for their bodies to rest.”⁵⁴ This space, which could be a bench or a place outside of the exhibit, allows visitors to process the information, especially if it covers difficult subject matter. While it is important that museums keep the visitors actively engaged, it is impossible for curators to include everything they would like to due to the restraint of physical and mental space.

Putting It into Practice

While conducting the interviews and research on interactivity, I started to think about how it could be incorporated into a museum exhibit about the women in the resistance within Nazi occupied Europe. At first, this process was challenging because the resistance movement relied heavily on print as a means of resistance, and I was not aware how I would be able to make that interactive. However, I knew that I wanted to create interactives that engaged the senses, especially hearing and touch. From there, I knew I wanted variety of high-tech and low-tech interactives as well. Once I knew these two things, the ideas for different styles and types of interactives began to flow.

I chose to focus the exhibit around women in the resistance because women are often overlooked in the discussion of Nazi Germany.⁵⁵ Framing the exhibit from the perspective of the resistance provides the visitors with a narrative that is different from the conventional narrative of the time. Typically, the emphasis in discussions of the Holocaust tends to be about the perpetrators and about the victims rather than about the resisters. While the story of the resistance is small compared to overall story of World War II, it is one that should not be ignored. Ideally, this exhibit would be a temporary exhibit in a Holocaust museum. While it could stand alone in a museum, the exhibit would work well within the context of Holocaust exhibits. Thematically, the exhibit is divided into three parts: a general history of the era; the power of print; and the power of numbers. The historical theme presents the visitor with information about women in Nazi Germany, such as the social and political expectations on women from the government. Also included in the general history is a dual timeline: a red timeline that showcases events that would most likely be familiar to audiences, such as the invasion of Poland or D-Day, and a gold timeline that showcases events within the history of the resistance. Every event or person that is mentioned on the gold timeline is mentioned elsewhere in the exhibit, so visitors can make connections between the content. The power of print portion of the exhibit focuses on the use of print within the resistance. The majority of the resistance groups wrote for underground newspapers or wrote pamphlets of their own. The power of numbers highlights the specific resistance groups that women were involved in during the war.

This section discusses groups like the White Rose, the Red Orchestra, and the prisoners who revolted at Auschwitz-Birkenau; women played major roles in each of these groups.

The space is designed to be open, so that visitors would be able to move through the gallery freely. To adhere to American Disabilities Act (ADA) compliance, the doorway and the space between walls are at least three feet wide. This ensures that a person in a wheelchair can move through the space without difficulty. Also to be ADA compliant, the center of the panels on the walls is roughly 60 inches from the ground. Not only is this accommodating for

⁵⁴ Jensen, email interview.

⁵⁵ Jill Stephenson, *Women in Nazi Society* (London: Routledge, 2013), 1.

individuals with disabilities, but it is also accommodating for children. This location allows visitors to be able to read the text without difficulty or strain. For visitors who become overwhelmed in the space or simply need a space to sit, there is a bench located behind the wall.

Within the exhibit, there are four different interactives: two are low-tech and two are high tech. The first low-tech interactive replicates passports of individuals within the resistance. Each passport details the experiences of a specific woman involved in the resistance and their accomplishments. This interactive engages the sense of touch and allows guests to choose their own story that they want to read, and they are able to compare the different experiences with other visitors, which promotes visitor to visitor interaction. These passports are designed for visitors to take them with them when they leave. While being low-tech, this interactive allows visitors to view history at a micro-level and make it personal, giving them a chance to explore deeper.

The second low-tech interactive is a replication of a typewriter that individuals in the resistance used to write pamphlets and located in the section of the exhibit that discusses the power of print in the resistance. This interactive encourages visitors to type a phrase on the typewriter, but in order to do so, they must load paper into the interactive. From loading to typing, this interactive focuses highly on touch, allowing visitors to participate in an act that the women in the resistance did regularly. Visitors are encouraged to be hands-on with a machine that they may have never seen before. It evokes the sense of curiosity, allowing visitors to explore actively.

The third interactive is high-tech, and it is located in the section that focuses on the power of groups within the resistance. In this interactive, guests use a touchscreen to answer questions about themselves, such as age, marital status, and whether or not they are a student. Based on the answers that visitors provide, the interactive will decide which group within the resistance they would have most likely belonged. In a study conducted in a museum which concerned visitors answering questions about themselves and what they would do in certain situations, “visitors expressed these labels fulfilled their need for thought-provoking content and the questions’ open-endedness was more engaging.”⁵⁶ This type of interactive places the visitor within the history, making it personal and thought-provoking.

The final interactive in the exhibit uses a combination of senses: touch and sound. Towards the exit of the exhibit, guests are invited to pick up era-specific phones, which provide the visitor with oral histories of individuals from the time period that discuss the events mentioned in the exhibit. Visitors are given the choice of which oral history they want to hear. They can choose one or all of them. This interactive allows for visitors to hear the history from the people who lived it, which makes it personal. The reason it is by the exit of the exhibit is because the visitors will have the context needed to connect and comprehend the oral histories. Also, it allows for visitors who are feeling overwhelmed or fatigued to exit the exhibit without difficulty.

⁵⁶ Rand et al., “Families First,” 5.

While the exhibit space is small, the overall exhibit acts as a space that is conducive for the visitor to learn and explore. The interactives invite guests to engage with the content on a personal level, making the history mean something more than text on a panel. The exhibit is designed in a way that bridges interactivity with difficult subject matter, which is not easy to accomplish, and it could be designed relatively cheap, given that the interactives are simplistic.

Conclusion

Interactivity opens doors for museum goers to reach content on a deeper, more meaningful level. In today's digital society, information is at our fingertips, yet museums remain wildly popular because of the opportunity to experience the history first-hand. Interactives provide this opportunity by engaging the visitors' senses and providing a full-body experience, which visitors remember even after they leave the museum. Museums that tackle difficult subject matter have to think creatively about how to overcome the challenges that interactives provide. Interactivity aids in helping the visitors reach the mic-drop moment that makes them understand the exhibit and its content. While it may be difficult to execute, the research and lived experience of curators demonstrate that interactivity is deeply impactful in achieving the mission of museums.

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Appendix I

Exhibit

Panels

Panel 1: Women in Nazi Germany

In Nazi Germany, the ideal German woman's place was in the home. She was the one in charge of childcare and education, and she was responsible for raising the next generation of Germans. However, in reality, many women worked outside the home, often as secretaries and store clerks. As Hitler's government gained traction, women noticed their rights slipping through their fingers. The freedom of speech and association were some of the first rights attacked by the government. Many women refused these policies, actively resisting the laws of the state. This is their story.

Panel 2: The Power of Print

The Nazi government controlled the media, and they censored publications as a means to regulate the political scene. Something as simple as publishing leaflets or pamphlets that spoke out against the Nazi regime was seen as an act of political resistance. However, many women chose this route as their method of resistance. Sophie Scholl wrote political leaflets; Libertas Schulze-Boysen wrote a political play; Charlotte Muller wrote for an underground political newspaper called *The Red Flag*. While the methods were vast, print media gave the resistance a voice to combat the censorship of the German state.

Panel 3: Sophie Scholl

A 20-year-old at the University of Munich, Sophie Scholl was a founding member of the White Rose, a student resistance group founded in 1942. Along with her brother and a few friends, Sophie wrote six leaflets that spoke out against the atrocities of the Nazi Regime. The group placed the leaflets around the city and would mail them to people to spread their message. On February 18, 1943, Sophie Scholl and her brother were arrested by the Gestapo after throwing leaflets from a balcony at the university into the courtyard below. Four days later, they stood before a judge and were charged with high treason. Later that same day, they were executed.

Panel 4: The Right Type

Many women who wrote pamphlets or other types of print media used typewriters like this one. Grab a sheet of paper, load the typewriter, and write a sentence or two. Be sure to take it with you when you leave.

Panel 5: Libertas Schulze-Boysen

After growing up in Berlin, Libertas worked as press officer for Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer in 1933. Using this knowledge of the film industry, she would help write a play, "The Good Enemies," with Gunther Weisenborn, a Nazi resistance fighter. Determined to

continue fighting

on the side of the resistance, she gathered photographs that depicted cruelty at the German cultural film center. After the Gestapo came to arrest her husband for his resistance actions, Libertas was arrested in September of 1942 and sentenced to death in December that same year.

Panel 6: Charlotte Muller

Charlotte Muller joined the Communist Party after she lost her job for not saying “Heil Hitler” to a SS guard. After being sent to Belgium in 1936, Muller wrote for an underground Communist newspaper called *The Red Flag*. In 1940, she was arrested for her involvement with the Communist party and sent to an all-female concentration camp. Muller was able to survive in the camp because of her high-demand skill: plumbing. She was released from the camp, and later, she testified against the SS guards from the camp, all of whom were sentenced to death.

Panel 7: The Power of Numbers

While some resistors acted alone, many were associated with groups like the White Rose, the Red Orchestra, and the Kreisau Circle. However, even outside of these political organizations, resistance gained traction that resulted in revolts and protests. In 1943, women married to Jewish men took to the streets in protest after their husbands were arrested; this would become known as the Rosenstrasse Protest. At Auschwitz-Birkenau in 1944, after learning that they were to be killed, female prisoners revolted to fight for their lives and for their freedom.

Panel 8: The Red Orchestra and Kreisau Circle

The Red Orchestra, which began in the mid-1930s, was a collection of social circles that worked against the government. Members in the organization came from a variety of backgrounds, but the majority of the members were women. Libertas Schulze-Boysen and her husband were a part of the Red Orchestra, and they passed secrets to the Soviet Union. Much like the White Rose, the Red Orchestra distributed its message through leaflets and pamphlets.

The Kreisau Circle started in 1940 on an estate in the small town of Kreisau. The women in the group were allowed to participate because of their husbands’ involvement. The group’s main focus was society after the fall of the Nazi regime and how to better it. The group planned to assassinate Hitler with a bomb in 1944. The attempt failed, and the group disbanded after their leaders were arrested and executed following the attempt.

Panel 9: Resistance in the Street

In 1943, the Gestapo came to arrest and deport the Jews of Berlin. Many of these Jewish men were married to Aryan women. In Nazi society, interracial marriage between Aryans and Jews was strongly discouraged. Most of these men were taken to Auschwitz, but some were sent to a Jewish Community Welfare Center, where they were imprisoned. After coming to Rosenstrasse to hear information on their husbands, the wives took to the streets

chanting and holding vigils. The women refused to back down, even when the police threatened to shoot them. The protests continued until the Jewish men were released.

Panel 10: Revolt, Revolt!

The prisoner revolt that took place at Auschwitz-Birkenau was one of impressive circumstances. Leading up the revolt, prisoners smuggled small amounts of gunpowder in bits of cloth or paper. On October 7, 1944, the prisoners used this gun powder to set fire to the crematorium and stage a revolt. However, the Germans defeated the revolt, killing 250 prisoners in the process. It was later discovered that five women helped smuggle in the gunpowder that started the revolt. They were later put to death by the SS guards.

Panel 11: Where Do You Belong?

Take our interactive quiz. Based on your responses, you will be sorted into one of the groups of the resistance.

Panel 12: Their Story, Their Voice

Make a selection to hear oral histories from individuals who lived during Nazi occupation.

- 1- Rita Kuhn, Rosenstrasse Protest
- 2- Anonymous, Rosenstrasse Protest
- 3- Gertrude Weinfeld Bettelheim, White Rose
- 4- Sam Goldberg, Auschwitz Prisoner Revolt

Panel 13: Take a passport to learn more about an important individual in the resistance.

Image 1: Sophie Scholl



Image 2: Libertas Schulze-Boysen



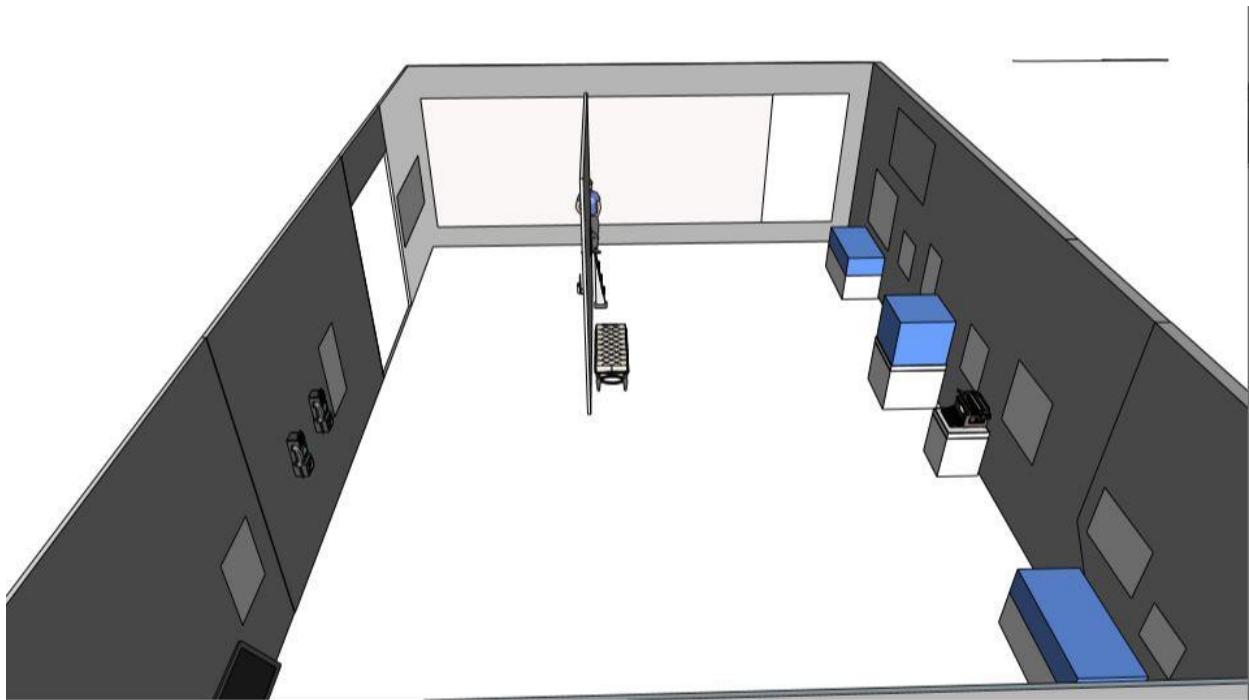
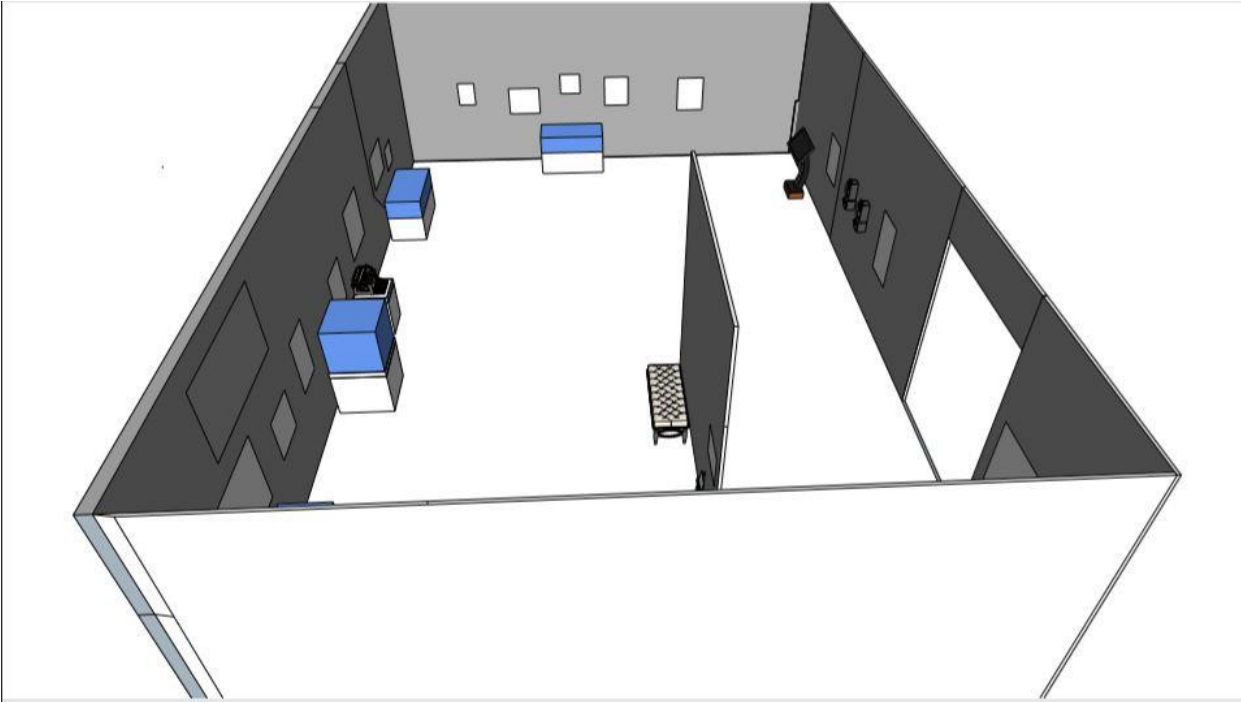
Image 3: Berghaus Estate



Image 4: Roza Robotka, prisoner at Auschwitz-Birkenau



Appendix II





Elizabeth Biggs is graduating with a B.S. in Applied Mathematics with Minors in Economics and Data Analytics. Elizabeth is also a graduate of the Servant Leadership program. She was the Vice-President of Finance in her sorority, Alpha Omicron Pi and the Social Events Coordinator in Honoris Causa for one year. Elizabeth is a member of the Order of Omega and Phi Kappa Phi and she served as a Panhellenic Recruitment Counselor. Elizabeth plans to become an Actuary after graduation.



HONORS COLLEGE
COLUMBUS STATE UNIVERSITY

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A STATISTICAL INVESTIGATION OF STOCK MARKET ACTIVITY AND INSTANCES OF FINANCIAL
CRIME

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE HONORS COLLEGE
IN PARTIAL FUFILLMENT OF
REQUIREMENTS OF THE HONORS COLLEGE
FOR HONORS IN THE DEGREE OF

BACHELOR OF SCIENCE

DEPARTMENT OF MATHEMATICS

BY

ELIZABETH G. BIGGS

COLUMBUS, GEORGIA

2019

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A STATISTICAL INVESTIGATION OF STOCK MARKET ACTIVITY AND INSTANCES OF FINANCIAL
CRIME

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Abstract

This project aims to identify a possible statistical relationship between the stock market and incidences of financial crime in Illinois, Texas, and Utah through big data analysis techniques using data from the FBI's Federal Bureau of Investigation's National Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS) database. By analyzing the occurrences of financial crime by location, year, and type in relation to the S&P 500's percent change in close price on the first day of the calendar year, it will be possible to determine if a statistical relationship exists between the two. In addition, regression analysis was performed in order to predict financial crime incidence using stock market prices.

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Introduction

Predictive analysis is a statistical technique often used in business analytics but is also useful in predicting the occurrence of crime. The use of analytics to predict crime has been increasing and is incredibly useful to law enforcement since it allows for a smaller number of officers to effectively do their jobs (Bakke, 2019). Using past data, researchers can predict where officers will be needed. Some of the types of crime that have been analyzed include terrorism, organized crime, and tax evasion (Bakke, 2019). Financially, predictive analysis has been used to rank tax returns by the likelihood of tax evasion based upon specific characteristics of the returns to make the detection of tax evasion more efficient (Bakke, 2019). Stock market indicators have been used in the past to predict other financial occurrences, so the linking of the stock market to the occurrences of financial crime would be a reasonable analysis to perform. The purpose of this project is to use regression analysis, one statistical technique used in predictive analysis, to examine the relationship between stock market performance and the reported incidents of financial crime in order to determine if a model could be created to predict the likelihood of financial crime.

Data Analytics, Modeling, and Regression

Data analytics allows researchers to take copious amounts of data and produce applicable results through numerous tools such as modeling and regression (Kte'pi, 2016). Within the field of data analytics, the data analyzed can be used to predict a variable. The input of the data is known as the predictor variable(s), and the output of the data is the response variables or the variable that is to be measured or predicted (James et al., 2017). Predictor variables are the variables that are controlled by the researcher and are the variables that are expected to have a measurable effect on the response variable. The response variable is the dependent variable that is being measured in order to build a model or to predict future values. The goal of predictive analysis is to use the data analyzed to form a predictive model to determine the correct output from the given inputs. Though this is a powerful tool, it is difficult to do since correlation does not always signify causation and the relations between variables are not always adequate for prediction analysis.

According to the *Salem Press Encyclopedia of Science*, data analytics is a comprehensive view on information and large amounts of data that aims to produce results that are comprised of trends and patterns (Kte'pi, 2016). One of the more important parts of data analytics revolves around the data itself. For the results of the study to be accurate and credible, the data needs to be reliable, meaning that the source is trustworthy and that the data itself is formatted so that the variables for analysis are clear and accurate (Piegorsch, 2016). Piegorsch (2016) remarks on the commonality that the data analyst is not always in control of the data they use, and the data can be from another source and direct attention cannot be feasibly maintained over the data collection and entry processes. Therefore, it is crucial to closely examine data for its quality.

According to Piegorsch (2016), two manners of data quality distortion are prevalent: individual and collective. The first is "individual" distortion, meaning that the majority of the data is good, though some individual errors are present either because of collection, entry, or other means. Many of the errors that would be labeled as "individual" errors would be a typography error in the entry of the data such as transposing numbers or double tapping a key to enter the wrong value. The occurrence of individual errors can be significant, since the results could be reflecting the error(s) as a trend when it is not a correct representation of the data, though under closer scrutiny, the errors can be detected, and the trend can be determined to be false (Piegorsch, 2016). The second is "collective," meaning that the

majority of the data is marred by errors categorized by the sampling or the identification of data. According to Piegorsch (2016), collective data errors corrupt the quality of the data overall and can disorient the data frame, so measures such as checking for outliers are put in place to reduce or negate collective errors. A data frame is the specific population the data is being taken from, meaning that the data frame is all of the individuals or events that could be in the study based on the set characteristics of the study. For example, the data frame for a study on autism in adolescents would have a data frame of people with the characteristic of the individuals being under 18 years of age, since that is the population to be represented in the study. It is important in data collection to have a data frame that accurately represents the population to be analyzed in order to have good results.

Regression is the use of mathematical modeling to predict the value of the response variables based on the values of the predictor variable or variables (Wienclaw, 2013). With regression analysis, a predictive model is formed based on the data in the form of an equation of best fit. The best-fit equation is determined by what equation is most representative of the data and would have the most accurate predictions of the response variable. One of the most frequently used methods to find a best-fit equation is the least-squares method, which aims to minimize the sum of the squared residuals. Residuals are important because the analysis of the residuals determines the accuracy of the best-fit equation. The residual is the difference between the observed and predicted values of a response variable. Residual analysis can be used to determine which equation has the best-fit equation when compared to the model's other regression equations. For residual analysis, the focus is on the equation's predicted response values and the actual response values. For least-squares regression, the residual plot is interpreted based on the sum of squares of the residuals, which evaluates the amount that the predicted response values deviate from the actual values. The smaller the difference of the residuals, the better the fit of the model. In addition, residual plots should be uniform, meaning that the plotted points should be equally distributed about the x-axis versus showing a heavy skew, identifiable wave patterns, or other unequal distribution (Weinclaw, 2013).

Within regression-based data analytics projects, the goal is to determine what predictor variables best predict the response variable by determining which variable(s) explain most of the response variable's variation. Statistically, this is done using the coefficient of determination, denoted as the " R^2 " value. The R^2 value measures how close the actual data points are to the estimated fitted regression line. If a model has a high R^2 value such that it is close to 1, it means that the dependent variations in the model is predicted by the majority of the variation within the model and, therefore, the model shows a high correlation between the input and output variables. Correlation is important but having a correlation between the predictor variable(s) and the response variable is only part of the analysis necessary to predict response values accurately (Wienclaw, 2013). In addition to having a strong correlation coefficient, a regression analysis is also necessary. Regression analysis is the determination of what independent variables influence a dependent variable and the strength of the impact of the independent variables. It is always important to remember that though there may be a strong correlation between the predictor variables and the response variables, an understanding of the field is also necessary to determine whether there is a logical or possible connection between the predictor variables and the response variables to ensure that the results of the data analytics study are valid.

Regression, according to Wienclaw (2013), requires the assumptions that the data is reliable. In application, these assumptions are not always met, since real world situations are not commonly ideal. Problems with data projects can arise from this. In some cases, the function form can be incorrect, and therefore the variable correlation is also unreliable (Weinclaw, 2013). Least-squares regression is primarily used on normalized data where there

is not a skew or outliers since least-squares regression would be a good estimation of non-skewed data. For skewed data, Least Absolute Deviation (LAD) regression may be more appropriate (Bloomfield and Steiger, 1980). Regardless, the type of regression used is determined by the scatter plot of the data itself.

García, Ramírez-Gallego, Luengo, Benítez, and Herrera (2016) explained that data sets with a large quantity of predictor values can encounter an issue regarding the project's amount of processing required. One of the ways to reduce the processing costs of a project is to reduce the number of predictor variables used in the regression analysis. Removing predictor variables haphazardly is reckless in an analytics project since the predictor variables are used to predict the response variable so that the true variations can be visualized. One of the methods García et al. (2016) describes is feature selection, which reduces the quantity of predictor variables in the analysis in order to reduce the computation cost as well as potentially better the algorithms determined in the project. This is done by lowering the likelihood of overfitting, so the variation of the errors is modeled in addition to or in place of the response variable's variation, making feature selection valuable since the errors detract from the variation of the response variable that we want to generalize and explain (Garcia et al., 2016). Also, dimensionality reduction can be achieved through space transformations which transform the original predictor variables into new predictor variables by combining some of the initial variables into new variables, and therefore reducing the total number of predictor variables to be used in the regression model (Garcia et al., 2016).

When developing a regression model, an essential step is to graph the data points. When graphed, data points can appear as several different overall shapes that imply a type of regression modeling will be a better fit than other types of regression modeling. When data points appear as a simple linear or straight line, the analyst will use linear regression in order to find the line of best fit. According to Wienclaw (2013), simple linear regression is the modeling of one predictor variable to one response variable to predict the response variable's value, so that a single variable is used as the input to form the line of best fit for the response data points. Non-linear regressions are also common. If, when looking at the data points graphically, the relationship appears to be quadratic or exponential, then the analyst should perform regression based on the general appearance of the data. If the relationship between two variables is, for example, quadratic, linear regression or multiple linear regression is unlikely to accurately fit the model that is best to predict the response value. For predictor and response variables with a quadratic relationship, multiple curvilinear regression or multivariate polynomial regression is likely to be a better fit for regression analysis for the data (Wienclaw, 2013). In addition, even if the model seems to fit the data based on the R^2 value, if it does not match the appearance of the data, the regression has potential to be a false or misleading result. It is important to have thorough knowledge of the subject matter to have a fully formed analysis.

Variables Used in the Analysis

To investigate the relationship between financial crime and the stock market performance, I used a single predictor variable instead of multiple variables for my analysis. For my predictor variable, I used a stock market index, the S&P 500 annual close price as reported by the ticker symbol ^GSPC on January 1st for years 2006 through 2017. The S&P 500 is a U. S. stock market index based on a diverse selection of 500 large companies that have stock traded on the NYSE or NASDAQ. The S&P 500's is considered representative of the U. S. stock market and as a predictor of the U. S. economy ("S&P 500 (GSPC) Price History", 2019).

For the response variable, I used federally reported crime data within the to the Federal Bureau of Investigation's National Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS). The

NIBRS database is a comprehensive collection of law enforcement's crime data. This data is particularly extensive, as it encompassed numerous details about the incident that is not always recorded in other crime data bases, especially local databases. Some of the more unique data variables reported include information regarding the victim(s), relationships between the victim(s) and perpetrator(s), and the property involved in the crime. The NIBRS database is able to provide more context when compared to other crime databases, because it provides information regarding specific events versus a general overview. The next most detailed database, the Summary Reporting System (SRS) provides an aggregate monthly tally of crimes, which would be beneficial to determine a possible relationship between the financial indicators and crime in the United States, but would not be able to determine whether a trend related to day of the week or day of the month exists within the data. Due to the ability to go more in depth when looking for a relationship, the NIBRS database is the better source of data for this analysis. The NIBRS is not an immaculate database, though. Due to it being the new format that law enforcement agencies are in the process of converting to, it is not all encompassing. Fourteen of the fifty states within the United States are not represented in the database. In addition, some states have more years of quality data available than others.

Procedures

Even though the NIBRS database is incomplete for all states from 2007 to 2017, Illinois, Texas, and Utah had the files for all years from 2007 to 2017. Though more states were available, I only used the data from years 2007 to 2017 from Illinois, Texas, and Utah due to time constrictions. My original intent was to use all available states, though technical equipment failure prohibited me from encompassing more states in my analysis. My data included Illinois, Texas, and Utah since their data files were complete. If there are identifiable patterns in the analysis for these three states, then in the future analysis can include all available states.

The crime files downloaded as a zip folder for each of the states and years. In each zip folder, there were several files, but of the files within each zip folder, I only needed the incident file, the offense file, and the offense type file for each state and year. In the Incident file, I manually added columns for the State and the Year and the other columns were agency_id, incident_id, nibrs_month_id, incident_number, cargo_theft_flag, submission_date, incident_date, report_date_flag, incident_hour, cleared_except id, cleared_except_date, incident_status, data_home, ddocname, orig_format, and ff_line_number. From the Offense file, I used the columns offense_id, incident_id, offense_type_id, attempt_complete_flag, location_id, num_premises_entered, method_entry_code, and ff_line_number. From the Offense Type file, I used the columns offense_type_id, offense_code, offense_name, crime_against, ct_flag, hc_flag, hc_code, and offense_category_name.

I saved each of these three files for each state and year as .csv files. Next, I connected the data files for each state and year through file joins. For joining, unioning, and cleaning the data, I used Tableau Prep. Tableau Prep is a tool created to look at data to see what information is contained within the data and to pinpoint what part of the data needs to be cleaned (Tableau Software, 2018). It is good for merging columns that are separate due to the column header name being incorrect, or in the case of the unioned file, columns that have inconsistent header names, such as "INCIDENT_ID" and "incident_id". In addition, Tableau Prep also shows the user the values that each column contains with the count of instances of that value in a frequency graph. With this, the user can see the values to look for

typos and such and correct the value. For example, if a year was mistyped so that instead of saying 2007 for the year the value was 20007, then the user can quickly correct the input error. In addition, if the values were inconsistent in capitalization or symbolization, it can also be easily changed to be consistent so that the values that are equivalent can be read by analysis programs correctly or to rename the columns for the user's convenience. Also, Tableau Prep also shows the user what columns have null values and the user can treat the null values based on the user's discretion. Due to its highly visual nature, Tableau Prep's cleaning functions were advantageous to this project.

When combining the data, I began by taking the three files for each state and year and, using Tableau Prep, I joined all three of the files together using an inner join. I used an inner join because if the information in the three files did not have information from the other files, the row would not be usable in my analysis and an inner join excludes rows where the row is not represented in both of the columns used in the join clause, meaning that if the row does not have corresponding information in both files, then the row is not included in the final inner join file. The data rows that do not incorporate all three files are useless to the analysis because I would not be able to determine the type of crime to see whether it was financial in nature or to determine when the incident occurred. The files join based on a user-specified join clause. A join clause is comprised one column from each file being joined and is used to identify which rows should be together in the resulting file. The only file that I was not able to use all of the data from was the Utah 2008 file due to an incomplete file about the offense type. Though I had approximately 140,000 incidents reported in Utah in 2008, I was only able to join the incidents to their correct offense type for approximately 80,000 incidents. Since I was not able to connect about 60,000 incidents to their offense type to determine whether or not the incidents were a financial crime, I was not able to use the 60,000 or so incidents without joinable information and, therefore, they were not included in the final file of data since the inner join removed them. For all other files for Utah, Texas, and Illinois for all years from 2007 to 2017, the files joined fully and did not have any mismatched rows of data that lead to a loss of rows.

After joining the files for each year in Tableau Prep, I then unioned all of the joined files to create one large file with all of the data from all three states and all years from 2007 to 2017. A union combines all rows by the header name. If the header names do not exactly match, then a new column is created through the union by Tableau Prep with the unlike header name as the new column's header. Though the files contained the same data, since Tableau Prep is case-sensitive in regards to column names, the unioning of 33 files of data created several duplicate columns for variables that were actually identical but were determined to be different by the program. For example, Tableau Prep read "Incident_ID" and "INCIDENT_ID" as two different variables and created a new column, while the two columns in actuality contain the same variable's data. Since several new columns were unnecessarily created, I went through the columns in the file created through the unions and merged all files that were identical in the information they contained. After I merged the columns that were equivalent in content, I went through the remaining columns and judged the quality of the data they held. For several columns, all of the rows were null. Since these columns held not value or information, I removed the columns since they were unnecessary to my analysis. Cleaning the data and merging these equivalent columns is essential to have good variables to use in analysis in order to have accurate results.

When cleaning the file, I removed all incidents of crimes that were not financial in nature, such as kidnapping, assault, and robbery since I focused on only financial crime in my analysis. The financial crimes I kept in the data to use in the analysis were embezzlement, false pretenses/swindle/confidence game, credit card/automated teller machine fraud, impersonation, welfare fraud, wire fraud, identity theft, counterfeiting/forgery, and

extortion/blackmail. All other crimes were removed from the crime data to be excluded from the analysis for their lack of financial nature.

After cleaning the data with Tableau Prep, I exported the cleaned data from Tableau Prep to a .csv file. I then opened the .csv file using Excel in order to summarize the crime data. I used Excel's pivot table function to summarize the data by determining the count of financial crime incidents of each type by year as well as the total count of all financial crime as seen in Table 1.

Table 1. This table is a summary of the occurrences of financial crimes divided by year and type crime as well as a Grand Total of financial crime occurrences. Made using Excel.

| Year | Counterfeiting /Forgery | Credit Card /Automated Teller Machine Fraud | Embezzlement | Extortion /Blackmail | False Pretenses /Swindle /Confidence Game | Identity Theft | Impersonation | Welfare Fraud | Wire Fraud | Grand Total |
|------|-------------------------|---|--------------|----------------------|---|----------------|---------------|---------------|------------|-------------|
| 2006 | 12185 | 9024 | 1136 | 42 | 5955 | - | 7750 | 14 | 374 | 36480 |
| 2007 | 11646 | 10529 | 1291 | 29 | 6739 | - | 7650 | 4 | 374 | 38262 |
| 2008 | 7950 | 8322 | 1315 | 24 | 5869 | - | 6879 | 4 | 302 | 30665 |
| 2009 | 8813 | 9473 | 1219 | 26 | 6331 | - | 7641 | 12 | 466 | 33981 |
| 2010 | 7959 | 10294 | 885 | 35 | 6159 | - | 6950 | 30 | 386 | 32698 |
| 2011 | 7017 | 8759 | 922 | 41 | 6141 | - | 6259 | 9 | 409 | 29557 |
| 2012 | 6143 | 9022 | 842 | 46 | 6420 | - | 4938 | 18 | 373 | 27802 |
| 2013 | 6126 | 8772 | 848 | 44 | 7070 | - | 4428 | 10 | 449 | 27747 |
| 2014 | 6239 | 8202 | 914 | 39 | 7446 | - | 5508 | 9 | 423 | 28780 |
| 2015 | 6727 | 9388 | 869 | 82 | 7970 | - | 8551 | 10 | 559 | 34156 |
| 2016 | 8128 | 11272 | 921 | 102 | 8185 | 156 | 7236 | 16 | 709 | 36725 |
| 2017 | 9174 | 12327 | 914 | 128 | 9723 | 2490 | 5091 | 24 | 656 | 40527 |

After creating this summary file, I then needed to add the S&P 500 financial data. I got the close price of ^GSPC for the S&P 500 from Yahoo Finance. I added a column to my summary file that contained my calculated percent change of the S&P 500's close price from January 1st of year for the years 2006 to 2017. I used the S&P 500's annual percent change as the predictor variable in my analysis. I used the percent change of the close price rather than the actual closing price because it provides a better indicator of the stock market performance when comparing specific time periods. In other words, a 10% change in today's market would be approximately 300 points but would be 34 points in the year 1990.

Data Analysis

For the data analysis, I used R, a statistical program that can run an assortment of tests and measures in addition to generating graphs and other visuals (R Core Team, 2017). After creating a good summary file of the data that included both the financial crime and the S&P 500 predictor variable data, I used R to create a scatter plot of the data as shown in Figure 1. I used R's "scatter.smooth" function to create a scatter plot of the data with the x-axis being the Percent Change of the S&P 500's annual close price and the y-axis being the count of incidents of all financial crimes from all three states.

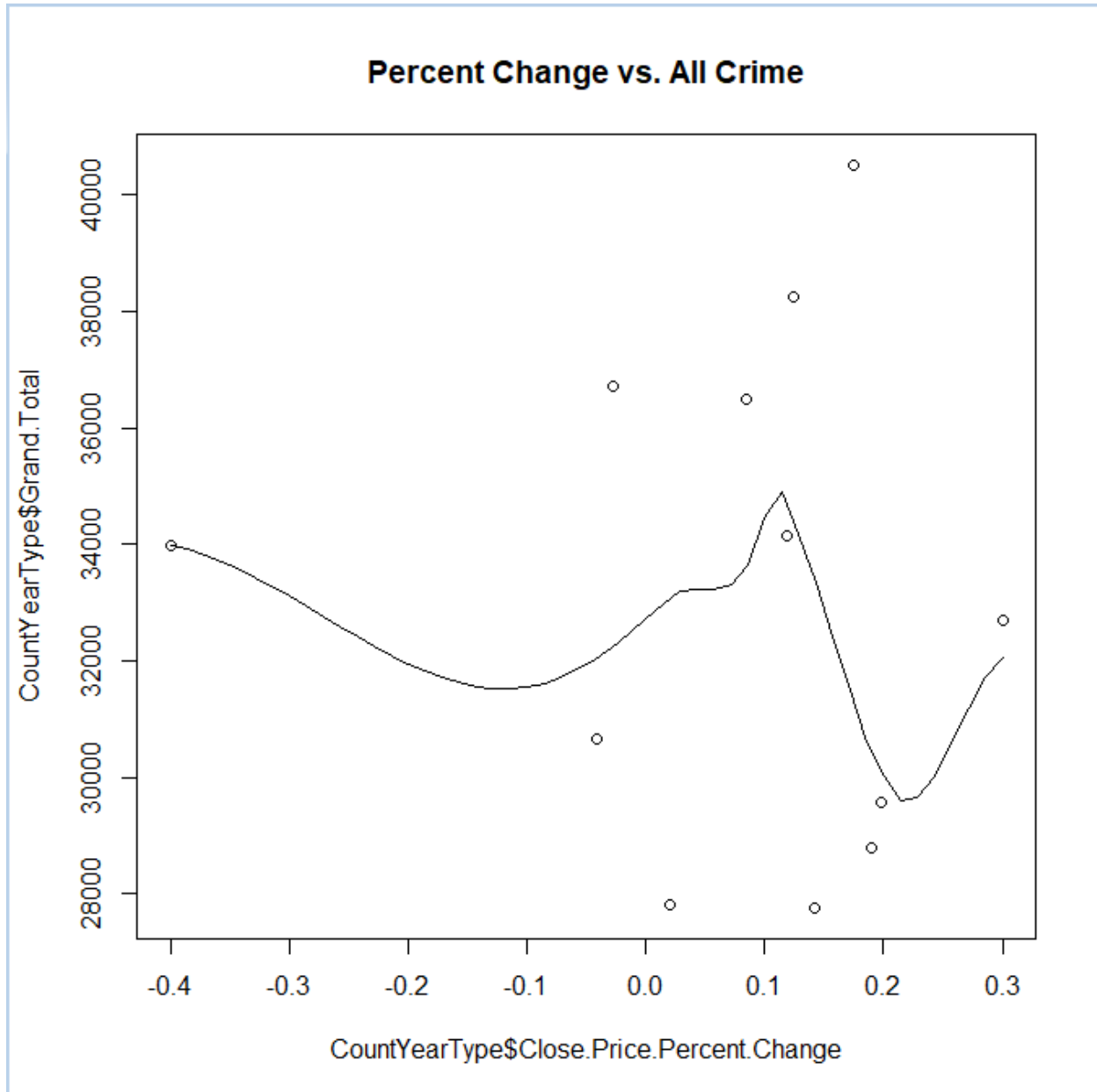
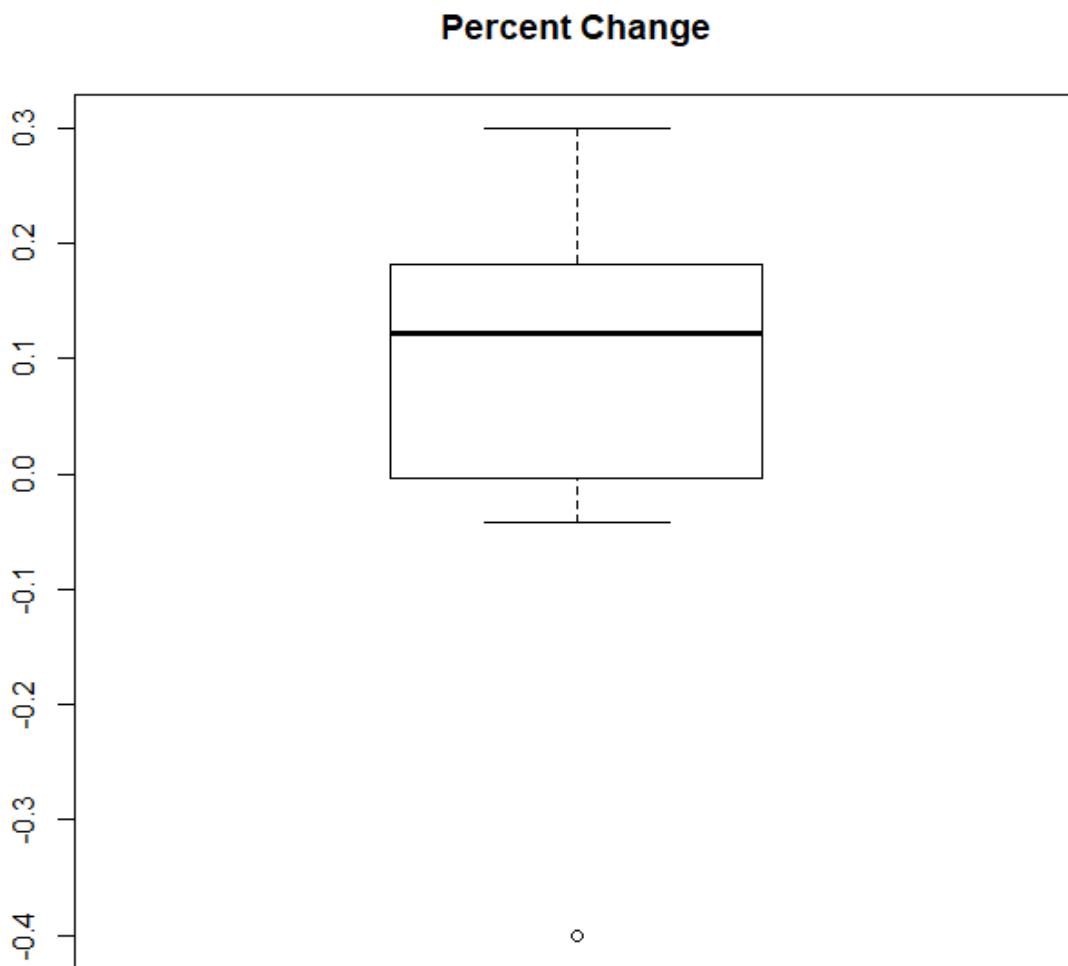


Figure 1. This graph plots the percent change of the annual close price of the S&P 500 with the total count of financial crime for the corresponding year. Made using open source program developed by R Core Team (2017).

When looking at the scatter plot, there was not a discernible pattern among the points that would lead me to use a certain type of regression. There appeared to be a poor correlation and a possible outlier in the S&P 500 Percent Change.

To investigate the outlier, I used R to create a box plot of the S&P 500 Percent Change in annual close price. In Figure 2 is the box plot of the annual percent change of the S&P 500 close price. There is a slight skew that indicates that the data is not a perfect normal distribution and the point that appeared to be a possible outlier in the scatter plot is identified as an outlier in the boxplot, which was the Percent Change of the Annual S&P 500 Close Price from 2009, which is likely to be an outlier due to the recession from the late 2000s.



Outlier rows: -0.400906768

Figure 2. This plot is a box plot of the Percent Change of the Annual S&P 500 Close Price from 2007 through 2017. Made using open source program developed by R Core Team (2017).

After removing the outlier and creating a second the scatter plot, there is still a lack of identifiable pattern that could lead to the identification of a regression to use on the data, as seen in Figure 3. The scatter plot in Figure 3 does not present a clear form that would determine possible regression (e.g. linear, exponential, polynomial, etc.) that could validly be performed.

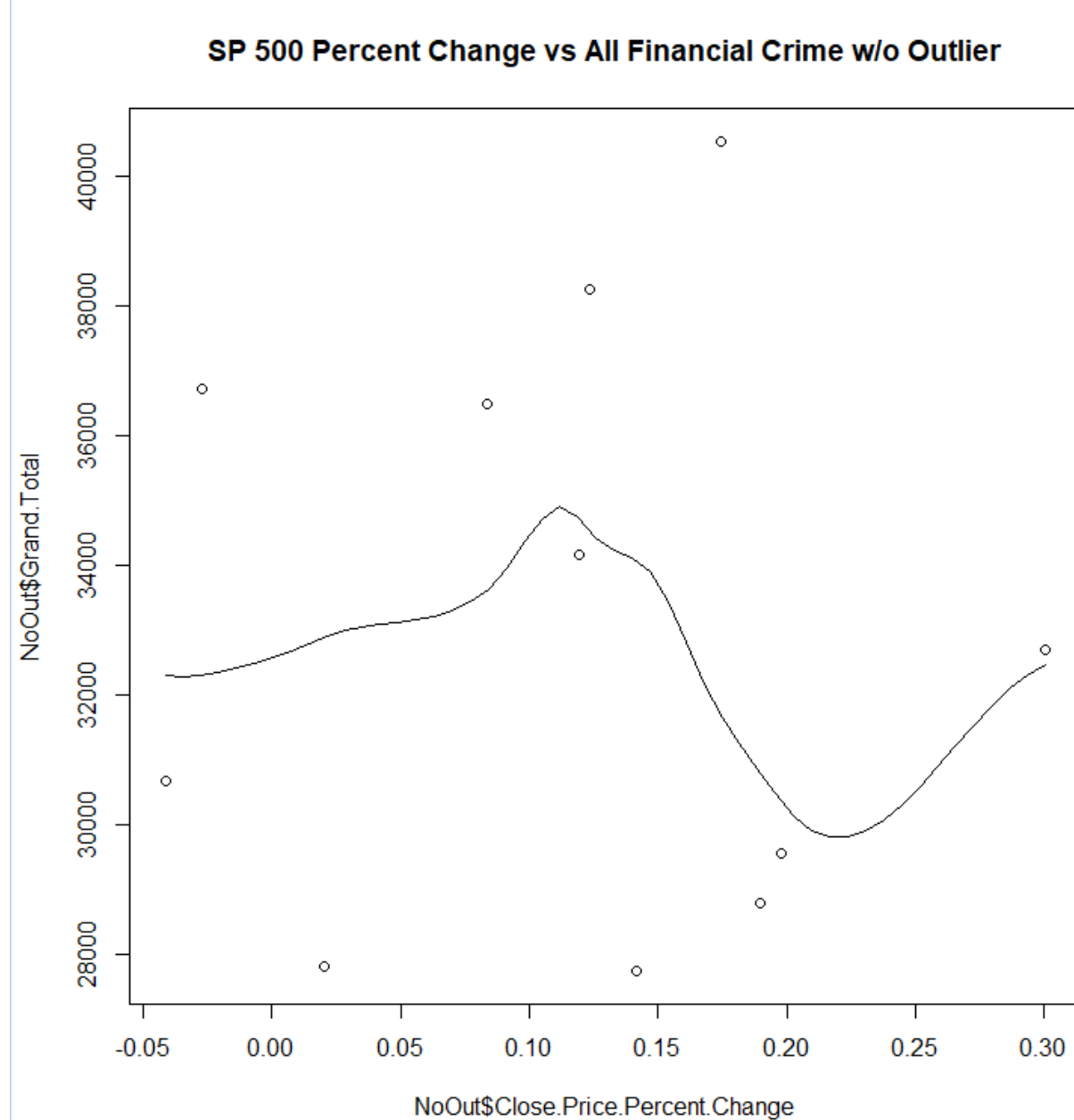


Figure 3. This graph plots the percent change of the annual close price of the S&P 500 with the total count of financial crime for the corresponding year with the outlier from the S&P 500 percent change of annual close price removed. Made using open source program developed by R Core Team (2017).

Although the correlation appeared poor, using R, I performed a linear regression to confirm my observations. The regression had a multiple R^2 of .0003095, which is a poor

correlation since the model explains .03095% of the variation of the crime instances. In addition, the p-value was 0.9591 for the f-statistic of 0.002786 on 1 and 9 degrees of freedom, which implies randomness in the data points.

Discussion & Limitations

When annually analyzed, the financial crime incidents from Illinois, Texas, and Utah for the years 2007 through 2017 do not seem to correlate with the percent change of the annual S&P 500 annual close price. With such a high p-value, the implication is that when using the S&P 500 percent change in close price as the independent variable, the dependent variable, the number of occurrences of financial crime is more random in nature than predictable. Since I began with an annual-based analysis, the poor results may be attributed to the loss of detail of the data since monthly data can provide a more descriptive pattern. Since I summarized the data and condensed it into one row per year, it is likely that my analysis did not encompass enough detail to have meaningful results.

Conclusions and Future Work

In the future, I would like to delve deeper into the data and analyze on a monthly level instead of an annual scale. In addition, I think that a time-based analysis such as time regression would be more applicable to the data. I would also be interested in using a different independent variable such as the U. S. Treasury yield since it is highly used to predict other financial occurrences. In addition, expanding the states from three to all of the available states in the data would be intriguing.

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Erin is graduating with a B.S. in Psychology. She has taken part in two research projects in the psychology department as well as her own research project for her Honors Thesis, which she presented at the 2019 GURC Conference. Erin is also a graduate of the Servant Leadership Program with of 300 hours of volunteering. She was President and Social Media Coordinator of the SCU Equestrian Club. Erin plans to apply to graduate school to obtain her Masters in Social Work with a goal of being a Licensed Clinical Social Worker. She would like to work in the social work/psychology field while in graduate school. She will continue to advocate for mental health and eating disorder awareness and fighting against the mental health stigma in school, workplaces, and the community.



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SCHADENFREUDE: THE IMPACT OF ANOTHER'S MISFORTUNE ON THE MOOD OF COLLEGE
STUDENTS

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SCHADENFREUDE: THE IMPACT OF ANOTHER'S MISFORTUNE ON THE MOOD OF COLLEGE
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ABSTRACT

The present study was focused on determining if positive affect scores increase after viewing an example of misfortune which would demonstrate the psychological phenomenon of *schadenfreude*- defined as a feeling of pleasure or satisfaction when something misfortunate happens to someone else. Measures used in the study included the Positive and Negative Affect inventory (PANAS; Watson et al., 1988) and a modified version of the Velton mood induction procedure developed by Seibert and Ellis (1991) which was used to measure and manipulate students' mood, respectively. Students enrolled in a psychology research pool at Columbus State University participated in the study ($N=46$). The results of a paired samples t-test suggested that positive affect decreased after viewing the example of misfortune instead of increased, as expected. These results did not support the hypothesis that positive affect would increase, and therefore did not show evidence of *schadenfreude*. Rather than feeling *schadenfreude*, participants appeared to experience empathy. Future directions for this project include delving into empathy, social groups, and demographic factors that may or may not relate to experiencing *schadenfreude*, as well as hypothetical versus real-life examples of misfortune. Investigating this concept further is valuable in the understanding of competition, interpersonal interactions in college students, and bullying.

Keywords: misfortune, negative affect, positive affect, *schadenfreude*, Social Identity Theory, Tall Poppy Syndrome

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Schadenfreude: The impact of another's misfortune on the mood of college students

People can appear more relatable to other people when they are perceived as flawed and imperfect. It can be comforting to know that other people make mistakes and have unfortunate things happen to them for no apparent reason. This phenomenon of experiencing positive emotions in a situation where another person is experiencing something unfortunate can be defined by the German term *schadenfreude*. *Schadenfreude* is defined by the Cambridge English Dictionary as a feeling of pleasure or satisfaction when something bad happens to someone else. The present study examined if witnessing a misfortune would increase positive affect and show any evidence of *schadenfreude* in college students.

Affect versus mood

In the present study, the term "affect" is used to describe the emotions or feeling felt in a short period of time or the present moment, while "mood" is more long term and consists of multiple factors, including current affect. Positive affect is used to express feeling emotions that have a positive valence, or intrinsic "good-ness" while negative affect is used to express feeling emotions with a negative valence, or intrinsic "bad-ness." Positive and negative affect are the two broad factors that dominate self-reported mood (Watson & Tellegan, 1985). Negative affect covers a range of negative mood states that include fear, anxiety, scorn, and disgust. Positive affect covers levels of pleasure and satisfaction such as joy, alertness, and determination (Watson & Clark, 1984).

Rising above others

There are existing concepts that help us understand the *schadenfreude* phenomenon and how it relates to human behavior. Previous research shows that human behavior is similar to crabs left unattended in a bucket; if one crab tries to climb up above the others to reach the top of the bucket and escape, the other crabs will drag it back down, forcing it to remain in the bucket (Spacey, 2015). The concept is called crab mentality (Spacey, 2015), and is similar to what is known as tall poppy syndrome (Feather, 1989), which can be traced back to the Romans. Legend has it that the king, Tarquin, chopped the tops off of all the poppies in the fields that were taller than the others, symbolizing that Tarquin's son should annihilate any high-achieving enemies blocking his way to success (Livius, 2010). These two concepts are a figurative way of describing competition and status, as viewed by an evolutionary perspective. When someone sees another person succeeding at competitive tasks, they may begin to develop feelings of jealousy and resentment towards that person, which would then create a drive to become more successful (Feather, Wenzel, & McKee, 2013).

Real-life *schadenfreude*

Past research has indicated that three circumstances will invoke *schadenfreude* (See Fig. 1). The three circumstances are (1) when failure is perceived as deserved; (2) when someone who is envied, idolized, or looked up to experiences failure; (3) *schadenfreude* may be experienced when the perceiver gains something, emotional or tangible, from another's misfortune (Feather, 2008; van Dijk, Ouwerkerk, Goslinga, & Nieweg, 2005). The latter circumstance has been demonstrated in the French and Russian versions of the show "Who wants to be a Millionaire?" Culture contributes to how people choose to act towards each other

in competitive situations like a game show or contest. The audience of the competitors determine the deservingness of success or failure, and act in an according way, sometimes giving wrong answers on purpose if they feel the contestant is undeserving (Franzen & Pointner, 2011). The more deserving of a misfortune that a person appears to be, the more *schadenfreude* is to be experienced or evoked. More so, research has indicated that the more an individual appears to be responsible for their own misfortune, the more positive emotions (i.e. *schadenfreude*) will be provoked in others (van Dijk, Goslinga, & Ouwerkerk, 2008).

In a study by Feather, Wenzel, and McKee (2013), the emotions experienced by students based off of another student's negative outcome were measured. The emotions were expected to be different if the negative outcome was perceived as deserved or not deserved. Participants who thought the student's negative outcome was deserved were expected to experience feelings of *schadenfreude* and pleasure, rather than the feeling of sympathy had the outcome been undeserved (Feather, Wenzelm & McKee, 2013). This kind of reaction in an academic setting could produce other behaviors like cheating, sabotaging peers' grades, and bullying- all problematic behaviors in modern educational systems. The deservingness of such actions towards a peer is determined by the individual who is engaging in the behavior and by their current emotional needs. Feelings such as envy and jealousy that are invoked may produce *schadenfreude*, making it more probable that the logic and reasoning parts of the brain will be overpowered and will react.

Emotions and *schadenfreude*

Theoretical accounts of *schadenfreude* date back to the times of philosophers such as Nietzsche, Plato, and Spinoza; empirical studies did not occur until the 1990s. The research performed regarding *schadenfreude* showed support for the tall poppy phenomenon, meaning that *schadenfreude* was more likely to occur when it involved high achievers or people who are envied (van Dijk, Goslinga, & Ouwerkerk, 2008). The misfortune of others, whether it be a financial, physical, or emotional misfortune, can serve as a source of positive affect for those observing the situation. The source for the feeling of positive affect may not only be the misfortune itself, but also the characteristics surrounding the people involved, such as envy, jealousy, hostility, and inferiority. These characteristics can spark an upward comparison process and competition between the individuals involved (Feather & Nairn, 2005). *Schadenfreude* is not well understood by researchers, even though it is a common element of human nature. Jung (2017) conducted a study in which happiness was shown to be a predictor of *schadenfreude*. The results of this study suggested that happier people feel less *schadenfreude* because their happiness buffers self-threat and focuses their attention on an inner standard, rather than focusing on the comparison to others. Jung also found that happiness can be a variable in feeling less *schadenfreude* as it reduces self-threat, whereas increased self-threat would increase the feelings of *schadenfreude* as well.

Hypothesis and rationale

In the present study I chose to examine how witnessing a misfortune would affect the mood of college students. Based on results from previous studies on *schadenfreude*, it was predicted that witnessing a misfortune would improve mood in terms of current affect. It was also expected that since the example used in the experiment was one in which the person seems to be deserving of the misfortune, *schadenfreude* would be evoked. The example used was also one that college students could identify with experiencing in their daily lives. Social

Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) creates the possibility of our participants identifying as an in-group with the hypothetical student example. This has been addressed by also including a professor in the example, which would be the out-group with a perceived higher status to all of our student participants, giving the opportunity for *schadenfreude* to be felt in relation to the student or the professor, depending on which of the three circumstances of *schadenfreude* was evoked. Studying this phenomenon amongst students could be useful for determining actions and programs to stop peer bullying and hostility in schools or in the workplace amongst classmates and colleagues, as well as getting a deeper look into the interpersonal interactions and emotions of college students.

Method

Participants

Participants for this study were recruited through the SONA Research Participation system linked to Columbus State University. Only enrolled CSU students over the age of 18 were allowed to take part in the study. There was $N=46$ participants consisting of $n=8$ males (17.4%), $n=38$ females (82.6). Median age was 20 years old, with $n=10$ freshman year (32.6%), $n=11$ sophomore year (23.9%), $n=10$ junior year (21.7%), and $n=10$ senior year (21.7%). The racial and ethnic identities of the participants consisted of $n=1$ Asian (2.17%), $n=15$ Black (32.61%), $n=24$ White (52.17%), $n=3$ Biracial (6.52%), and $n=3$ who chose not to answer (6.52%). There were $n=5$ Hispanic/Latino participants (10.9%) and $n=40$ Non-Hispanic/Latino participants (86.9%) with one participant choosing not to answer. The mean grade point average was 3.27 on a 4.0 scale (See Table 1).

Measures

The present study was a repeated measures design using an online survey which included a mood induction technique and a pre-test and post-test affect inventory. The independent variable was the presented misfortune, and the dependent variable was mood based on current affect.

Modified Velton mood induction procedure (Seibert and Ellis, 1991) This procedure includes a list of 25 items which are all individual statements. Examples of the statements in the sad mood induction included: "I feel a little down today," "My classes are harder than I expected," "Everyone else seems to be having more fun," "Sometimes I feel so guilty that I can't sleep," "I wish I could be myself, but nobody likes me when I am."

The participant was instructed to read each statement and to allow themselves to fully experience any emotion or feeling that comes up with each statement. By doing this, there was the capability to induce a sad, happy, or neutral mood. The modified Velton procedure appears to be at least as effective as the Velton procedure as determined by comparing Depression Adjective Checklist (DACL) scores after both procedures (Seibert & Ellis, 1991). See Appendix A for full instructions and list of items.

Positive and Negative Affect Scale (PANAS; Watson et al., 1988) The PANAS inventory used for the present study consisted of 20 items rated on a Likert scale (1-very slightly or not at all; 2-a little; 3-little moderately; 4-quite a bit; 5-extremely). Items included feeling and emotion words such as "distressed," "guilty," "enthusiastic," "irritable," and "proud." PANAS can be used to calculate scores for both positive and negative affect. The scores for each type

of affect can range from 10-50, with lower scores meaning less positive or negative affect, and higher scores meaning more positive or negative affect. PANAS has been found to have good test-retest reliability and good internal consistency reliability (Watson et al., 1988). See Table 2 for PANAS reliability in the current study. See Appendix B for full instructions and list of items.

Procedures

The survey was presented online through Qualtrics® and consisted of the informed consent form, a brief demographics section, two affect inventory checkpoints (PANAS), a sad mood induction, a neutral mood induction, and a fictional example of a misfortune. The sad mood induction procedure and the first affect inventory checkpoint preceded the presentation of the misfortune example, which was then followed by the second affect inventory checkpoint. The scenario used for the misfortune example was “You see a student who is texting and looking down at their phone on their way to class. The student collides with a professor and drops their phone, resulting in a cracked screen and papers scattered all over the ground. The student frantically tries to gather the papers while the professor screams at them and makes frustrated hand motions.”

The participant was directed to take a note of how they were feeling emotionally after reading the scenario, and to use that awareness when completing the second affect inventory. The survey ended with a neutral mood induction to reduce risk to the participant of remaining in a potential depressed mood.

Results

A paired samples *t*-test was conducted to compare positive affect scores before and after being presented with an example of misfortune. There was a significant difference in the scores for before misfortune ($M=24.3$, $SD=9.7$) and after misfortune ($M=20.8$, $SD=6.6$) conditions; $t(45)=2.4$, $p=0.02$, $d=0.46$, $r^2=0.11$.

Discussion

The present study hypothesized that the mood in terms of positive affect of participants would increase after viewing an example of a misfortune. The results showed that this hypothesis was not supported, in fact, the results were the exact opposite of expected. Participants showed a decrease in positive affect after reading the example of misfortune that was provided, meaning that *schadenfreude* did not occur, while empathy may have taken its place. Previous research has noted that social identification with an in-group versus a deserving out-group may have an effect on emotions when it comes to experiencing *schadenfreude* (Feather, Wenzelm & McKee, 2013).

Research on affective forecasting (or the ability to predict future emotional states) demonstrates that people are not efficient at guessing how they will feel in the future (Wilson & Gilbert, 2005). This relates to the present study in that the example of misfortune used was hypothetical and did not occur in real-life. A study by Gonzalez-Gadea, Ibanez, and Sigman (2018) investigated if *schadenfreude* was experienced more in hypothetical or real-life situations. The conclusion to the study stated that *schadenfreude* was indeed experienced at a higher level in real-life situations. Lower *schadenfreude* outcomes in the hypothetical situations could be due to the participants' psychological distance from the situation, or in other words, being unable to relate to the situation. A phenomenon known as the “hot-cold empathy gap”,

shows that emotions in the heat of the moment of a real-life event tend to be higher than emotions during hypothetical events (Gonzalez-Gadea, Ibanez, & Sigman, 2018). The example of a misfortune used in the present study was hypothetical and made up to be relatable to the participant population and also to be unbiased as far as a particular demographic (gender, race, age, etc.)

One component not accounted for in the present study was the preexisting mood of each participant before they walked in to take the survey. Perhaps they were in a good mood, or they were in a poor or neutral mood. In a study about *schadenfreude* and depression, participants with moderate depression reported feeling more *schadenfreude* than their less depressed peers. The less-depressed participants had more empathetic reactions (Pietraszkiewicz & Chambliss, 2015). The present study accounted for this by attempting to induce a sad mood in all participants before they were exposed to the misfortune example, however the participant's mood was not measured before mood induction to determine the level of sadness or depression they were feeling.

In a research study by Russell Spears (2013), the intragroup and intergroup relationship of gender and *schadenfreude* was tested. As noted in Spears' study, it is argued that we are more likely to experience negative emotions like *schadenfreude* towards those of the same gender group since they are our most relevant comparisons, and most relevant rivals (2013). It is worthwhile to investigate this in-group and out-group relationship with gender and *schadenfreude* in a multitude of scenarios as good expansion for the present study, which did not give an explicit description of gender in the misfortune example that was used.

Implications and Future Directions

One limitation of the present study was that there was an overwhelming amount of females ($n=38$) versus male ($n=8$) participants. It's possible that this uneven distribution of gender contributed to the example of misfortune being gender stereotyped. Even though there were no identifying characteristics in the example, it still appears as if the student in the example was female and the professor was male. Same goes for age. The median age of participants was 20 years of age, however there were 3 participants above the age of 35 years old (two standard deviations away from the mean). What made this a limitation was that there was no previous determination of the in-group or out-group of the participant in reference to demographics or characteristics. The participant could have identified with the student or the professor in the example depending on how the example was perceived.

The results of this study could be used for future inquiries, such as how certain factors like GPA, gender, year in school, or even race could manifest a change in mood using a more specified example of misfortune. Inquiries could also be made into measuring levels of empathy compared to *schadenfreude*, what preexisting moods determine feeling more or less *schadenfreude*, and if a real-life example would elicit more *schadenfreude* than a hypothetical one.

Conclusion

The present study did not find evidence to support the hypothesis that positive affect would increase after viewing an example of a misfortune. It was determined by a paired samples *t*-test that negative affect increased, as opposed to positive affect. *Schadenfreude* was not experienced by participants in this study. Reflecting on the implications and limitations of this study provides a fair amount of questions that could be investigated with further research

and exploration. Some future research opportunities include learning more about how certain factors or demographic characteristics might have an effect on empathy or *schadenfreude* and if *schadenfreude* might be experienced differently in real-life situations as opposed to hypothetical situations. Although the present study could have been improved considering the limitations that were defined in hindsight, it did accomplish the goal of answering the question of whether or not positive affect would increase after witnessing an example of a misfortune. Exploration of any phenomenon or concept must start somewhere, and this study helped contribute, even if just a small amount.

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Tables and Figures

Table 1

Participant Demographics

| Characteristic | n | % |
|------------------------|--------------------------|---------------|
| Gender | | |
| Male | 8 | 17.39 |
| Female | 38 | 82.61 |
| Year in School | | |
| Freshman | 15 | 32.60 |
| Sophomore | 11 | 23.90 |
| Junior | 10 | 21.70 |
| Senior | 10 | 21.70 |
| Racial Identity | | |
| Asian | 1 | 2.17 |
| Black | 15 | 32.61 |
| White | 24 | 52.17 |
| Biracial | 3 | 6.52 |
| No Response | 3 | 6.52 |
| Ethnic Identity | | |
| Hispanic/Latino | 5 | 10.90 |
| Non-Hispanic/Latino | 40 | 86.90 |
| | <u>Mean</u> | <u>Median</u> |
| Age | 22.02 (<i>SD</i> =6.68) | 20 |
| GPA | 3.27 (<i>SD</i> =0.46) | 3.31 |

Note. *SD* = standard deviation

Table 2

Descriptive Statistics and Results for Pre- and Post-Test Affect Scores

| Variable | <i>M</i> | <i>SD</i> | Min | Max | α | <i>df</i> | <i>t</i> | <i>p</i> | <i>d</i> |
|-----------------|----------|-----------|-----|-----|----------|-----------|----------|----------|----------|
| Positive Affect | | | | | | 45 | 2.63 | 0.012 | 0.388 |
| Pre-Test | 24.44 | 9.70 | 10 | 50 | 0.93 | | | | |
| Post-Test | 20.61 | 6.60 | 10 | 39 | 0.85 | | | | |
| Negative Affect | | | | | | 45 | 2.41 | 0.020 | 0.356 |
| Pre-Test | 22.52 | 8.51 | 10 | 43 | 0.87 | | | | |
| Post-Test | 25.93 | 10.28 | 10 | 47 | 0.92 | | | | |

Note. *N*=46 participants

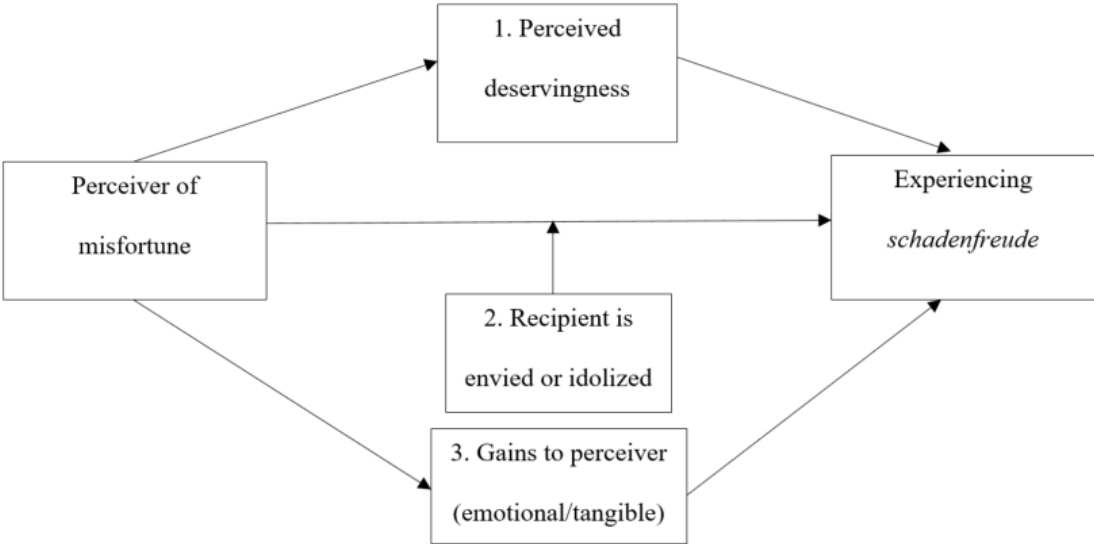


Figure 1. Model of the three circumstances in which *schadenfreude* may occur.

Appendix A

Instructions for Mood Induction

1. In this part of the experiment, I will be reading a series of cards with statements typed on them. These statements represent a mood state. In order to participate fully and successfully, I will need to be willing to feel and experience each statement as it would apply to me personally. In other words, when I read each statement, I will allow myself to respond as though the statement had been my own original thought. I will go with the feeling and not try to stop it.
2. At first I might feel like resisting the mood. However, I will see that it is the case that I have the opportunity to learn to talk myself into a mood, and obviously I will learn to talk myself out of one. When this happens, I will find that I have learned something valuable about myself; I can learn to control my moods. Thus, I will try to experience the mood suggested.
3. I will feel each item, making the statement my own. I will experience the mood suggested and will not attempt to stop it. I will visualize a scene in which I have had a feeling or thought. Then I will begin to say whatever comes to my mind that relates to the feeling. This is a type of free association- letting thoughts that pertain to the feeling flow freely.
4. I am now ready to experience the statements that follow. From this point forward whenever I hear the tone, I will go on to the next page. I will spend the time between tones reading the statements. I am ready to begin.

Sad Mood Induction Scale

- I. I feel a little down today.
2. My classes are harder than I expected.
3. Everyone else seems to be having more fun.
4. Sometimes I feel so guilty that I can't sleep.
5. I wish I could be myself, but nobody likes me when I am.
6. Today is one of those days when everything I do is wrong.
7. I doubt that I'll ever make a contribution in the world.
8. I feel like my life's in a rut that I'm never going to get out of.
9. My mistakes haunt me, I've made too many.
10. Life is such a heavy burden.
- II. I'm tired of trying.
12. Even when I give my best effort, it just doesn't seem to be good enough.
13. Nobody understands me or even tries to.
14. I don't think things are ever going to get better.
15. I feel worthless.
16. What's the point of trying?
17. My parents don't know who I am.
18. When I talk no one really listens.
19. I feel cheated by life.

20. Why should I try when I can't make a difference anyway?
21. Sometimes I feel really guilty about the way I've treated my parents.
22. Every time I turn around, something else has gone wrong.
23. I'm completely alone.
24. There is no hope.
25. I feel I am being suffocated by the weight of my past mistakes.

Neutral (Control) Mood Induction Scale

- I. There are sixty minutes in one hour.
2. A neuron fires rapidly.
3. New Mexico is in the United States.
4. Apples are harvested in the Fall.
5. Basket weaving was invented before pottery making.
6. Some baseball bats are made from the wood of the ash tree.
7. The Shakers invented the circular saw.
8. It snows in Idaho.
9. Perennials bloom every year.
10. Arizona has both deserts and pine covered mountains.
- II. You have to take the ferry to get to the island.
12. Santa Fe is the capital of New Mexico.
13. Elephants carried the supplies.
14. The Pacific Ocean has fish.
15. Most high schools have a band.
16. The rug was made according to an old Navajo pattern.
17. Some think that electricity is the safest form of power.
18. Most oil paintings are done on canvas.
19. Many buildings in Washington were made of marble.
20. Corn is sometimes called maize.
21. An orange is a citrus fruit.
22. Some say that ladybugs are good for the garden.
23. New York City is in New York State.
24. Diamonds really can cut glass.
25. Some chimps have been taught to use sign language.

Appendix B

The PANAS

This scale consists of a number of words that describe different feelings and emotions. Read each item and then mark the appropriate answer in the space next to that word. Indicate to what extent you feel this way right now, that is at the present moment. Use the following scale to record your answers.

Scale:

1-very slightly or not at all

2-a little

3-little moderately

4-quite a bit

5-extremely

Items:

- interested
- distressed
- excited
- upset .
- strong
- guilty
- scared
- hostile
- enthusiastic
- proud
- irritable
- alert
- ashamed
- inspired
- nervous
- determined
- attentive
- jittery
- active
- afraid



Amy Crawford will graduate with her B.A. in English with a Literature Emphasis. After graduation will move to Orlando, Florida and complete a second Disney College Program as an attractions cast member. She will (hopefully) attend graduate school at the University of Central Florida where she will earn a Master's Degree in Cultural and Literary Studies.



HONORS COLLEGE
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'AS ONE INCAPABLE OF HER OWN DISTRESS': VICTORIAN REPRESENTATION AND THE FEMALE
FORM

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF REQUIREMENTS OF THE CSU HONORS
COLLEGE FOR HONORS IN THE DEGREE OF

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ABSTRACT

This thesis discusses the role of Victorian social conventions in relation to the art and literature composed during the period. The widespread acceptance of institutionalized gender roles is present in the works of Coventry Patmore and Sarah Stickney Ellis, and the description of ideal Victorian womanhood adhere to the oppressive patriarchal values that contributed to the mental deterioration of nineteenth-century women. The formation of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood also emboldened Dante Gabriel Rossetti and John Everett Millais to illustrate their female models in a way that discredited their social autonomy. The idealization of women as weak and dead is therefore a result of the popularization of Elizabeth Siddal's aesthetic and her incarnation as William Shakespeare's Ophelia.

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Introduction:

“O rose of May, / Dear maid, kind sister, sweet Ophelia, / O heavens, is't possible a young maid's wits / Should be as mortal as a poor man's life?” - William Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, Laertes, Act 4 Scene 5

The art and literature composed during the Victorian era reflect the regimentation of gender ideologies. Scholars use art and literature to analyze cultural aesthetics, and authors from the Victorian period routinely appropriate female characters as a means of furthering a patriarchal conception of female docility and self-sacrifice. Writers and artists such as Edgar Allan Poe, Dante Gabriel Rossetti, and John Everett Millais frequently created female characters that adhered to gendered expectations, and the narrative representations possessed a consistent portrayal of male dominance over female passivity. Poe himself wrote in his essay “The Philosophy of Composition” that “the death of a beautiful woman is, unquestionably, the most poetical topic in the world,” and that the only “lips best suited for such a topic are those of a bereaved lover” (Poe). Contemporary readers may ask why Victorian creators would idealize and romanticize dead and weak women; the answer lies in the examination of cultural aesthetics.

This thesis will analyze how Victorian gender roles contributed to the depictions of women throughout the nineteenth-century by evaluating the works of prominent writers and artists of the period such as Dante Gabriel Rossetti and Elizabeth Siddal, and interpreting these conventions through the popularization of Shakespeare's Ophelia during the Victorian period.

Victorian Gender Roles and the Perception of Feminine Madness

“Man must be pleased, but him to please is woman's pleasure” - Coventry Patmore, *The Angel in the House*

Perceptions of gender and social conformity in Victorian England relied upon the separation of spheres, or what modern readers would perceive as gender roles (Poovey 4). The creation of these spheres argued that the sensibilities of men and women were biologically and inherently different, and that women are naturally predisposed for nurturing roles because of their reproductive organs (Poovey 6). The exploration of the physical differences between male and female anatomy is explored by Renaissance scientists, who formulated ideas discussing the binary oppositions of reproductive anatomy through a range of “heat,” and these ideas are later transferred to Victorian concepts of gender by translating “heat” to periods of ovulation (6). The analysis of the reproductive capabilities of women further developed into associations of maternal instincts and how the scientific explanations of these processes contradicted with scripture. Surgeon Peter Gaskell wrote in 1833 that “A woman, if removed from all intercourse, all knowledge of her sex and its very attributes, from the very hour of her birth, would, should she herself become a mother in the wilderness, lavish as much tenderness upon her babe...sacrifice her personal comfort, with as much ardor, as much devotedness, as the most refined, fastidious, and intellectual mother, placed in the very centre of civilized society” (Gaskell qtd. in Poovey 7). Gaskell therefore believed that because of a women's ability to create new life and forge intimate bonds with their children to a degree that was not formally analyzed in any other species, they possessed a larger degree of empathetic compassion than men, that it was biologically predisposed.

Perhaps the most recognizable display of madness in western literature, the character of Ophelia captivated Victorian writers and artists because of her undeniable beauty and tragic demise. The reemergence of Ophelia as a reoccurring motif in art and literature more than two-hundred years following her debut on the stage of the Globe Theatre results from her role as a woman who is dependent upon the men surrounding her. Although Britain entered the modern age following the industrial revolution and drastic amendments to the monarchy, the social structure and gendered expectations remained rooted in similar designs as Elizabethan England. Women were still considered secondary citizens even though their queen was in fact a woman, and widespread perceptions of propriety mimicked that of the Elizabethan court. In addition to propriety, a cultural repression of sexual desires reached a tipping point through art and literature which periodically examined the dichotomy between the Domestic Angel and the *Femme Fatale*. The comprehensive belief was that the ideal Victorian woman would serve as a moral and behavioral guide for her husband and children would frame perceptions of domestic dynamics for generations to come.

Questions of gender roles were also blurred by cultural contradictions. Nineteenth-century England was a patriarchal society led by a female queen who advocated for the educational rights of women but never granted them autonomy over their assets or even the right to vote (Black 610). Both men and women voiced their conceptions of gender roles based in science and scripture, and works such as Sarah Stickney Ellis's *The Women of England*, and Coventry Patmore's poem *The Angel in the House* were popularized in Victorian society as guidebooks that provided contemporary readers with an authentic rendering of ideal Victorian womanhood as framed by the patriarchal standards. Although published a decade prior to Patmore's prose, Ellis's *The Women of England* presents an identical depiction of an "Angel in the House," which eventually became an archetype that dominated a majority of the female characters created in the Victorian period. In her essay titled "Professions for Women," Virginia Woolf wrote that "Killing the Angel in the House was part of the occupation of a woman writer" because "She [the Angel in the House] would have plucked the heart out of [her] writing" (Woolf qtd. in Freiwald 539). The predominance of this genre indoctrinated a specific expectation of female behavior that shaped the social conventions of women outside of the page, and contributed to the cultural perceptions of women as subservient to men.

Published in 1854, Coventry Patmore's collection of narrative poems titled *The Angel in the House* chronicles the courtship and evolving relationship of Patmore and his wife Emily. The Prologue of Book One introduces readers to the narrative style and thematic focus of Patmore's poems which use lofty verse in order to explore the "most heart-touching theme" of true love ("The Prologue" 46). Patmore mentions his wife's desire for the critical success of his collection, but Patmore claims this is of little interest to him (10). Emily's interest in her husband's success illustrates a womanly characteristic of unconditional support from the wife that contributes to the ever-growing idea of the Victorian woman. The poem culminates after more than seventy lines, discussing the collection's inspirational inception to a single image of Patmore composing his work under the adoration and encouragement of his wife. Lines seventy-three through seventy-six read: "How proud she always was / To feel how proud he was of her! / But he had grown distraught, because / The Muse's mood began to stir" (73-76). These lines solidify the thematic domains inhabited by men and women of this period, that women must act as a muse to man while "being allowed only vicarious pleasure" through his success, and the "male poet" must "break free in order to create" (Freiwald 550).

Similar to the Prologue, Patmore's "The Wife's Tragedy" characterizes the plight of the Victorian wife by utilizing passionate diction and drawing symbolic parallels between the woman's behavior and their divine model. The opening lines read "Man must be pleased, but him to please / is woman's pleasure" (1-2). Here Patmore's speaker is asserting that wives *desire* to please their husbands with every action, and will "fling" themselves at any chance to serve, even if these actions are shown no appreciation (4). A wife's behavior is dictated by the desire to please her husband, and even when this persistence "provokes" him, her gentleness and innocence will inflict remorse within him (7). The following line illustrates "pardon in her pitying eyes," an image that instills a divine power within her (12). Scholar Bina Freiwald discusses Patmore's poetic relationship between women and the divine in her essay titled "Of Selfsame Desire: Patmore's Angel in the House," which argues in favor of a "sexual duality" as a "hierarchical system wherein the lesser value is a reflection of, and ultimately seeks to merge with (become the same as), the higher value," that "woman is to man as body is to the soul" (541). This claim therefore defines women's actions as a reflection of their male counterparts. Women must balance out the harsh tendencies of men in order for them to retain a more conscious grasp on their dominant nature.

The literature produced for a female audience during the Victorian period demonstrated the submissive behaviors expected in domestic and social settings. Sarah Stickney Ellis' book *The Women of England: Their Social Duties and Domestic Habits* was published in 1843 and served as one of England's most popular guides for adolescent women. Ellis' introduction proclaims that her purpose of writing such a book relies on the general lack of such texts. Ellis' consideration to the "minor morals of domestic life," while tedious, is "impossible... to be neglected, without serious injury to the Christian character" (Ellis 6). In Ellis' perception England's "national characteristics" depend upon the "perpetual boast of her patriotic sons" (9). The division of Victorian social spheres demonstrate that the cultural roles of each gender are dependent upon the accepted behavioral strengths. Men are expected to perform duties that would require their predisposed mind for logic and reason, while women would serve as a gentile and emotional counselor of propriety (9). The writings of Sarah Stickney Ellis adhered to these beliefs and instructed young women of their expected behavior.

Sarah Stickney Ellis was born in Hull, England in 1810 to a family of Quaker farmers (*A Literature of their Own* 324). Ellis eventually became the wife of an English missionary named William Ellis, and became an outspoken advocate for a conservation of traditional English values and the Temperance movement (324). Although she was an advocate for increased education for women, she believed that this education should be focused on domestic living, and should serve to improve the wife to become better for the husband (Ogden 586). This concept resembles Patmore's perception that the wife should serve as an emotional refuge for her husband, and ensure that her influence serves as a moral model of Christian behavior. *The Daughters of England* encourages young women to become acquainted with their position in society, a position that Ellis dictates explicitly in the first chapter of her book: "As women, then, the first thing of importance is to be content to be inferior to men-- inferior in mental power, in the same proportion that you are inferior in bodily strength" (Ellis 8). Ellis writes that a "woman's strength is in her influence," which comments on the previous statement that women are inferior to men (9).

Although Victorian society concludes that women are to be seen and not heard, Ellis is empowering this notion by claiming that a woman's power emerges in her undeniable influence over male behavior. Ellis' argument arises from the conception of Christian womanhood and the

“Woman’s Mission” which would be the power of female influence on their male counterparts (8-9). This influence includes certain “peculiar facilities” that are “by nature endowed” (9). This passage reads “with a quickness of perception, facility of adaptation, and acuteness of feeling, which fit you especially for the part you have to act in life; and which, at the same time, render you, in a higher degree than men, susceptible both of pain and pleasure” (9). Here Ellis is empowering the patriarchal design of the role of women, and informing them of the position of power that they do inadvertently hold over men. In the article titled “Double Visions: Sarah Stickney Ellis, George Eliot and the Politics of Domesticity,” Daryl Ogden interprets Ellis’s writings as a way in which women can find authority and autonomy within the confines of strict gender roles. Although unconventional, Ogden’s reinterpretation of Ellis’s text through the eyes of twenty-first century feminism is convincing, and adds a depth of cultural understanding to the young women who would have read Ellis’ texts (Ogden 858-856).

Ellis emphasizes the importance of accomplishments and etiquette as building blocks that will create a foundation for a Christian woman of society, and may serve as outlets of moral superiority. Throughout the first chapter of her book *The Daughters of England*, Ellis consistently relates her argument of the necessity of a well-finished woman back to her preordained role of a model of the Christian ideal. When discussing the “great object” of a woman’s life, Ellis presents a dichotomy between the most common answers: “To be good and happy,” or “To be happy and good” (9). Although both appear similar in purpose, Ellis argues that selfishness and self-satisfaction are central to the former, and therefore valuing happiness over goodness will inevitably lead to a life of secular desire and earthly attachment. Later in this chapter Ellis draws a similar comparison between love and duty. Ellis writes, “To love, is woman’s nature—to be beloved is the consequence of her having properly exercised and controlled that nature” (15). This association directly places the importance of women on their ability to show affection to others, and argues that in order to achieve immortality they must place the happiness of others above themselves; that they must serve as emotional martyrs in order to fulfill their earthly role and ascend to their religious one.

The aforementioned writers restricted the expected domestic role of women throughout the Victorian period, but these restrictive roles created a fair amount of discourse among the women and men who were able to use their platform to speak out against the oppressions of an entire gender. Written by John Stuart Mill and Harriet Taylor, *The Subjugation of Women* was one such document that advocated for the abolition of “slavery in the home” by addressing the absurdity of the newfound obsession with social propriety and cultural practicality (Black 598). Published in 1869, *The Subjugation of Women* was defended by Mill in front of Parliament as a means of furthering the crusade for advanced property rights and suffrage for British women. Mill and Taylor use the history of the slave trade in order to demonstrate their perception of Patmore and Ellis’s domestication of the female role. Mill asks his reader to consider how “institutions and customs which never had any ground but the law of force, last on into the ages and states of general opinion which never would have permitted their first establishment” (Mill in Black 598). Mill is drawing attention to the contradictions between a society that is founded upon an image of a “civilized and Christian England,” and prompting his reader to think about the oppression occurring in favor of a patriarchal society (598).

Mill continues his challenge of Patmore and Ellis’ ideals of female inferiority by addressing its submissive acceptance by women. Mill states that “the rule of men over women differs from all these others [the previously mentioned Spartans and Amazons] in not being a

rule of force: it is accepted voluntarily; women make no complaint, and are consenting parties to it” (Mill in Black 600). This can be interpreted as a direct attack on the teachings of Patmore and Ellis because of their outspoken defense for female inferiority. Mill writes:

All women are brought up from the very earliest years in the belief that their ideal of character is the very opposite to that of men; not self-will, and government by self-control, but submission, and yielding to the control of others. All the moralities tell them that it is the duty of women, and all the current sentimentalities that it is their nature, to live for others; to make complete abnegation of themselves, and to have no life but in their affections (Mill in Black 601).

Mill and Taylor are considering teachings such as “Man must be pleased, but him to please / is woman’s pleasure” (*The Wife’s Tragedy* 1-2), and Ellis’ doctrine built on the idea that women must be “content to be inferior to men” in both “mental power” and “bodily strength” (Ellis 8). Mill and Taylor conclude that the acceptance of these ideals is due to social desensitization; the rigorous incorporation of female oppression in British society is training entire generations of women to accept their role of inferiority. Mill writes, “Men do not want solely the obedience of women, they want their sentiments,” which is a reaction to Patmore’s desire for his wife’s absolute devotion. It is not enough for a woman to be subservient to her male counterpart because she must prove to him that she is wholly devoted to furthering his success outside of the domestic sphere. Mill and Taylor argue that this devotion is considered the “nature of women,” and is an “eminently artificial thing” that is “the result of forced repression in some directions, unnatural stimulation in others” (Mill in Black 605). The groomed behavior of the submissive attitudes of Victorian women is a result of patriarchal tyranny inside and outside of the home.

According to Mill the only way to combat this problem would be for women to have a literary and political voice of their own that is free from the confines of male oppression and expectation. The necessity of female writers cannot be achieved without defeating the anxiety of influence many faced as a result of living in a society steeped in the traditions of male authorship. Mill perceives the content created by women writers will always be a product of their patriarchal environment. The only way for women to create literature absolutely devoid of any male influence they must live “in a different country from men... and had never read any of their writings,” and only then can they achieve a “literature of their own” (Mill qtd. in Showalter’s *A Literature of their Own* 3). The women who revolted against these ideals were regarded as a danger to the status quo and ostracized by their communities. The revolutionary female writers of this time such as Harriet Taylor, Elizabeth Barrett Browning, and Christina Rossetti reflected the perils of the Victorian patriarchy in their writings in an attempt to develop the momentum required for drastic social change, but many women of lower social classes remained at the mercy of their husbands.

The Perception of Victorian Madness

“A document in madness- thoughts and remembrance fitted!” -William Shakespeare’s

Hamlet, Act 4 Scene 5.

The middle nineteenth-century possessed the most drastic change in the way in which the public managed the mentally ill. Ratified by the British government in 1845, the Lunatics Act mandated that all counties and boroughs of the British Empire construct accommodations dedicated to the treatment and rehabilitation of the legally insane (Showalter *The Female Malady* 17). By 1847 thirty-six out of the fifty-two counties possessed public asylums, or as they were considered “mad houses” (17). Regarding the population of these asylum, the Victorian period saw for the first time a dramatic dichotomy between the amount of men and women institutionalized (17). According to her book *The Female Malady*, Elaine Showalter documents the progression of madness in the nineteenth century by correlating it to the rise of first-wave feminism. The widespread acceptance of Patmore and Ellis’ perception of the female role created a vast disconnect from those that adhered to it and the women that challenged it. Because women were confined to roles that oppressed their ability to express specific emotions, specifically emotions associated with sexual deviance or rebellious natures, the repression of such behaviors could lead to legitimate psychological breaks (52). On the contrary, the display of such behavior would also result in institutionalization and expulsion from social interaction. Following publications of doctor James Cowles Prichard in 1835 and the rise of Psychiatric Darwinism the public perceptions of mental illness shifted from ideas of treatment and rehabilitation to separation and confinement (*The Female Malady* 18).

The earliest manifestations of Victorian madness resulted in institutions that would remain “in line with their celebration of the domestic role” (17). The initial interpretation of feminine madness, or hysteria, was defined by Doctor Prichard as “moral insanity” which he described as the “deviance from socially accepted behavior” (*The Female Malady* 29). The initial treatments of moral insanity consisted of private home institutions that would “tame and domesticate madness and bring it into the sphere of rationality” (17). The use of the phrase “sphere of rationality” confirms a consistent understanding that deviance from accepted social behaviors will result in irrational behaviors. As a result, the treatment for this classification of affliction was participation in domestic chores such as sewing, mending, and religious activities (17). The regimentation of household chores was used to remind women of their purpose in the home and in relation to the men they resided under, which would be a husband, father, or brother.

There was a drastic shift in treatment and public perception of the mentally ill beginning in the 1870’s because of increased participation in the Progressive Women’s Movement (*The Female Malady* 29). This movement advocated for women’s suffrage, autonomy over income and assets, and political representation, and countered the teachings of Patmore and Ellis (29). Additionally, the early discussions of psychiatric Darwinism “viewed insanity as the product of organic defect, poor heredity, and an evil environment” (*The Female Malady* 18). Psychological Darwinists concluded that as a result of the ever-climbing population of asylums that the methods of treatment were proving impractical and in need of adjustment (18). These adjustments included complete separation and isolation of patients from the outside community, and ideas of rehabilitation fell to the wayside. The role of psychiatric doctors and nurses also shifted into one which Showalter describes as “psychiatric police”, an accurate rendering given their newfound objective of isolation over rehabilitation (18).

The drastic increase in female admittance into public asylums proves the danger of this shift of the rehabilitation of the mentally ill. Charles Dickens found that in the century of its operation that more than two-thirds of admitted patients at Saint Luke's Hospital for the Insane were female ("Victorian Women and Insanity" Showalter 157). The vitalization of feminine madness is also demonstrated in the art and literature created during the Victorian period. The thematic return to pre-Renaissance motifs reimagined female figures. Maiden figures such as Queen Guinevere and the Lady of Shallot were of great interest to many nineteenth-century artists, perhaps as a response to the plain public appearance of Queen Victoria which "made men yearn for the simple virtues" of previous eras (Hardin 8). The formation of the most well-known young creators of the Victorian period, The Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, focused their work on such depictions of women, and their avant-garde deviations demonstrated the trends of feminine madness in a way never before used by Victorian artists.

The Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood:

"Art is not a study of positive reality, it is the seeking for an ideal truth" - John Ruskin

The rapid industrialization of Europe in the early nineteenth century prompted shifts in the social classes of British citizens. Artistic and literary representations started to reflect the "newfound prosperity and elegance... presented by the bourgeoisies," after the economic success of coal-powered factories and the urbanization of pastoral landscapes (Hardin 7). The paintings composed during this period possessed an artistic delight in the cloud of darkness that constantly surrounded London, and artists used bright pigments washed over with a flush of brown filth to create the effect of smog (7). This technique allowed for artists to illustrate the role of industrialization for the British people, and the perpetual film of coal dust represented a new period of economic prosperity that allowed for the creation of a larger middle class (7).

The expansion of the economic middle class created a distinct divide between the working class and the bourgeoisies (Hardin 7). The dangers faced by the working class are depicted in the early works of William Blake, Elizabeth Barrett Browning, and William Wordsworth, and appeal to the sentimental nature of higher class readers in order to advocate for social change. Victorian creators sought to recapture a sense of rural elegance that existed before the first manufacturing district by reclaiming similar ideals of the Romantic period (Hardin 12). Ideas of nationalism and political unrest spanned the continent following Napoleon's decline after the French Revolution (4). These ideas gave birth to The Oxford Movement in 1833 which is remembered as a period of spiritual crisis for many British scholars and clerics who "found themselves suddenly questioning the foundation of English Protestantism" (8-9). This movement was limited in scope yet incredibly powerful to those who found themselves becoming entranced by what it advocated: a separation of church and state that relied on personal religious awakenings and not on the social expectations of the religious beliefs required by society (9).

This urging for change reached the young minds of three students of the London Royal Academy of Arts named William Holman Hunt, John Everett Millais, and Dante Gabriel Rossetti (19). Heavily inspired by the tenants of the Romantic movement, Hunt, Millais, and Rossetti wanted to differentiate themselves from the artists who "lived by flattery", and limited their achievements to the conventions of the time (portraits that idealized their wealthy patrons and served as proof of their economic success) (7). The Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood was created in September of 1848 because of shared beliefs of social corruption, and the group

reverted their artistic style to conventions present before the High Renaissance period and the master (12). The Brotherhood can be interpreted as an “escapist movement” that, similar to artists of the Romantic movement, desired a deeper and more personal connection between the artist, their environment, and a shift towards a wholesome relationship between art and the viewer. On the surface, the works created by the Brotherhood contained vibrant colors, dreamy washes that softened the

overall aesthetic, and a return to art for art’s sake rather than for the monetary compensation (19).

The Brotherhood returned to themes of medieval and early Renaissance subjects such as Sir Thomas Malory’s *Le Morte d’Arthur*, Chaucer, and William Shakespeare (7). The ultimate achievement of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood was their ability to advocate for the social advancement of British society by focusing on the nostalgia of early English culture. When analyzed through a historical lens, viewers may find that their adherence to traditional and wholesome values are challenged by their later renderings of women in opposition to propriety. While undeniably beautiful, their representations of women, specifically Rossetti’s vision, were much more provocative than the confines of Victorian propriety allowed. It is this challenging of convention that brought the works of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood to the forefront, and solidified them as pillars of Victorian artistic masters.

Dante Gabriel Rossetti and Elizabeth Siddal:

“In painting her I shrin’d her face” - Dante Gabriel Rossetti, “The Portrait”

By far the most famous member of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood was founding member Dante Gabriel Rossetti. Born in 1828, Dante Rossetti can be characterized as a “romantic rebel who had nothing to lose when upsetting the social appletart” (Hilton 11). A master of both art and prose, the works of Dante Rossetti shaped the early understanding of Victorian art as a result of his three influences of social change: Revolution, Romanticism, and Religious Fervor (12). These three influences served as cornerstones for the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, and ultimately molded their understanding of the purpose of art. In Rossetti’s mind, however, all rules were made to be broken, and his desire for personal connection between the artist and the subject overshadowed doctrine.

In regard to Rossetti’s personal life his infamous reputation as a philanderer along with multiple public controversies involving Pre-Raphaelite credo eventually led to a momentary lapse in the Brotherhood’s popularity (31). Following a period of membership dispersion and crippling debt in 1850, it appeared that the artistic momentum created by the Brotherhood’s radical ideals were dwindling in the public eye; that is until the patronage of a respected individual advocated on behalf of their mission. Ultimately, it is the combination of the public support of Victorian scholar and critic John Ruskin and the discovery of model Elizabeth Siddal that harkened a new age for the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood (43).

Elizabeth Eleanor Siddal was discovered by Rossetti’s associate Walter Deverell while working as a milliner’s assistant in London, and was immediately solicited as a model because of her “long coppery hair, pale skin” and “ethereal aura” that adhered to a Medieval and Renaissance ideal for feminine perfection (Prose 104). Initially recruited as a model for Viola Deverell’s painting *Twelfth Night*, Siddal became professionally and romantically involved with Rossetti and served as his, and the entirety of the Brotherhood’s, most famous muse. Siddal was an artist and a poet in her own right, but her legacy is a result of her visual immortalization in countless paintings, illustrations, and poems by Rossetti and his peers. The tragic nature of her late life and afterlife, however, overshadow any fame of her artistic genius. After serving as Rossetti’s mistress for years he finally agreed to marry her in 1860 to

the dismay of his family, and following two years of marriage and a miscarriage Siddal committed suicide by a lethal dose of laudanum (Hardin 94). After facing years of abuse, exploitation, infidelity, and mysterious illness that was later perceived as an opium addiction, Elizabeth Siddal's memory is most notably associated with her entanglement with Rossetti and his crew (94).

In addition to her striking appearance, Elizabeth Siddal adhered to a specific typecast commonly illustrated by the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood which depicted women of the working-class to which they referred to as "stunners" (Prose 105). These "stunners" were typically beautiful women that participate in professions that were morally questionable, and most importantly held a position in society that was lower than that of the members of the Brotherhood (105). The fascination with troubled women became a common fantasy held by many men in the Victorian period, and members of the Brotherhood would even go out on "rescue missions" in London's back alleys to hunt for new models (Black 825). According to Prose these depictions allowed for artists to "channel the erotic appeal of the lower classes into moral and religious tableaux and return[ed] to the subject of the attractive prostitute's redemption" (105). The purpose of depicting women in such a manner was the perception of power. The Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood initially sought to break with the conformist ideals of British society and to return to a moment in time in which man was free to live outside of the confines of "artificial strictures imposed" by the elite, but this fetishization of working-class women proves that these were relationships built upon objectification and power (Prose 105). The men of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood were infatuated with the thrill of "falling in love," which was a euphemism for man's ability to participate in illicit affairs with little to no strain on their reputation (Black 825). Women on the other hand were at the mercy of the social hypocrisy of the period, and would be shunned by their society by participating in such affairs despite the fact that they were victimized by their oppressors.

Dante Rossetti's painting titled *Found* (Fig. 1) illustrates this idea of a "rescue mission," and shows a man in Renaissance-era costume picking up a fallen woman on the road (Black 825). Every aspect of this painting is intentional and depicts one of the most prevalent themes of Victorian art and literature: the redemption of the fallen woman. Rossetti's painting is set in the marketing district of London and, according to William Rossetti's daughter, illustrates the story of "a young drover from the country, while driving his calf to market, recognizes a fallen woman on the pavement, his former sweetheart. He tries to raise her from where she crouches on the ground, but with closed eyes she turns her face from him to the wall" (Helen Rossetti qtd. in Hilton 140). The woman is depicted below the male "rescuer," which signifies her lower economic and moral status. She is literally a fallen woman who is in need of a strong male presence to lift her up and redeem her soul. Her bright red lips and skin and golden hair contrast with her sickly pale skin, and her body language and facial expression suggest emotions of shame and regret. The man is robust and economically secure based off of his clothing, and the restrained calf is symbolic of the fallen woman who is also being sold for the pleasures their body provides (Prose 119). The scene depicted is in essence that of Siddal's circumstances; the Brotherhood perceived her as the "luscious whore" whose virtue must be "saved by her loyal knight" (119).

Despite the fact that Siddal fell into the Brotherhood's perception of a "stunner" Dante's brother William describes her as "a graceful lady-like person, knowing how to behave in company" who "had received an ordinary education and committed no faults of speech," which is a statement made in order to legitimize his brother's growing relationship (William Rossetti qtd. in Prose 106). A major feature of the artist's relationship with his troubled muse serves to rationalize the manic "gentrification" of their behavior in order to groom them into women who are completely devoted to their success (106). Dante Rossetti provided Siddal with private instruction on drawing, painting, and literature while also refining her public appearance and social decorum which inevitably left her restricted to his every desire. Siddal remained financially responsible for her family, and following the unexpected death of her brother, Rossetti allowed her to pose as drowned maiden Ophelia in Millais's acclaimed

painting in 1852 (figure 2). This infamous session left Siddal chronically ill as a result of malfunctioning heat lamps and “some combination of job anxiety and passivity” that prevented Siddal from complaining about her discomfort (Prose 106-107). This job confirmed Siddal’s reputation as one of the most sought-after models of the Victorian period, and stimulated a new aesthetic of thematic painting that idealized the female form as dead or dying.

In addition to her own reputation as a woman dependent upon the financial assistance of the men around her, the disturbing experience left Rossetti with the impression that Siddal was “a woman so compliant and desperate for money that she had risked her health for the privilege of being painted as a beautiful corpse” (Prose 107). Elizabeth Siddal then became his most prominent stunner who was in desperate need of a high-standing member of the artistic community to usher her through the all-too-tumultuous environment. Rossetti gladly took up this mantle, and in return was given unencumbered access to Siddal’s companionship. This partnership was one based off of mutually exclusive needs, and as a result of Siddal’s subordinate role in their relationship her historical reference is typically limited to that of a footnote in the larger narrative of Rossetti’s biography. Deborah Cherry and Griselda Pollock deconstruct the role of Siddal as a signifier for the artistic genius of Dante Gabriel Rossetti. The aesthetic obsession of Elizabeth Siddal possessed by members of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood stands as a sign of “masculine creativity” and the harm caused by the male gaze, which can be defined as the assumptions a male artist will project upon their female models (Cherry 208). Art historian W.E. Fredeman characterizes Elizabeth Siddal as “the only Pre-Raphaelite” because “In a grim way, she stood for what it all meant; and she combined in her fragile beauty and in her tragic life the legendary aspect that inspired the movement’s art and poetry” (Fredeman qtd. in Cherry 208). Rossetti’s appropriation of Siddal’s likeness in order to conform to the artistic trends of the Brotherhood serve as a representation of the “establishment of masculine dominance/ feminine subordination” in Victorian society (Cherry 209).



Fig. 1. Dante Gabriel Rossetti. *Found* (c. 1854). By permission of the Delaware Art Museum.



Fig. 2. John Everett Millais. *Ophelia*. (c. 1851-1852). By permission of the Tate Gallery, London.

The artistic career of Elizabeth Siddal included over one-hundred paintings that focused on similar medieval and literary themes as Rossetti and a collection of poems that discussed subjects such as unrequited love and unfaithful lovers (Prose 210). Siddal's work was always critiqued in comparison to Rossetti's oeuvre, and critics perceived her work as having "no original creative power," and even consider her "the moon to his [Rossetti's] sun, merely reflecting his light" (Gere qtd. in Prose 210). John Ruskin recognized Siddal's artistic potential and sponsored her career out of fondness, but she never saw her poetry published in her lifetime (Rumens). Siddal's poetic subjects are directly related to the experiences of her life, and her poems titled "Dead Love" and "Early Death" can be read as intimate emotional narratives of her relationship with Rossetti.

The introduction of model Annie Miller to the Brotherhood's ever-growing collection of stunners in 1855 left an ill Elizabeth Siddal with budding jealousy (Prose 116). It appeared that Dante Rossetti had replaced his passion for Siddal with the robust barmaid Miller, and even began using her likeness as a model for his later paintings of Beatrice and Renaissance master Dante. These feelings of betrayal are discussed in Siddal's poem titled "Dead Love," in which the speaker is lamenting the loss of her love who has abandoned her. The first stanza declares that the speaker's lost love "changes his fashion from blue to red, / From brightest red to blue" which references Rossetti's shifting affections towards Annie Miller (3-4). The speaker demonstrates an extraordinary amount of independence in the following lines that read:

And you will stand alone, my dear,
When wintery winds draw high.

Sweet, never weep for what cannot be,
For this God has not given,

If merest dream of love were true
Then, sweet, we should be in
heaven, And this is only earth, my
dear, Where true love is not given
(11-18).

Here Siddal's speaker is an omniscient narrator who urges a heartbroken woman to find peace and refuge in religion. The speaker claims that this pain was not bred from God's image of love and that truest love is found in Heaven, and not on earth. The poem's morose topic concludes with a brief image of hope that true love will be found in Heaven.

A similar image is explored in a later poem by Siddal titled "Early Death". Although this poem does mention romantic love in the final stanza, the primary focus revolves around Siddal's acceptance of her inevitable death. The poem begins with the line "Oh grieve not with thy bitter tears" which is reminiscent of the opening line of "Dead Love" that reads "Oh never weep for love that's dead" (1). The linguistic similarities suggest that Siddal is still grappling with the complications of her relationship with Rossetti, but the majority of this poem discusses an acceptance of death and a desire for the "solemn peace of holy death" (7). Siddal relied on religious sentiments in her final years in order to find comfort in the midst of her laudanum addiction, and Siddal's use of poetic persona in this instance demonstrates her own personal redemption through death. The final stanza reads "But true love, seek me in the throng / Of spirits floating past / And I will take thee by the hands / And know thee mine at last" (9-12). This image of love is much more optimistic than that of "Dead Love," and suggests that Siddal believes that her true life will begin after death. The imperfections of secular life on earth will be washed away in favor of an immortal life, and Siddal finds comfort in that throughout her final days.

Following an evening out with her husband and closest friend Swinburne, Siddal ingested more than one-hundred drops of laudanum before falling unconscious (Prose 129). Rossetti left her in bed “snoring loudly” in order to attend a meeting for the Working Men’s College, but London gossip claims he spent the evening with his mistress Fanny Cornforth. Newspapers and medical reports declared that Elizabeth Siddal had no desire to take her own life because she left no note and had ordered a new mantle just days before. The death was ruled accidental. The days following her death recorded Rossetti playing the part of the bereaved widower quite well; Swinburne wrote of Dante’s “sobs and broken speech” claiming that “he had never really loved or cared for any woman but the wife he had lost” (Swinburne qtd. in Prose 132). Rossetti also found that Siddal looked more beautiful in death than alive, and even believed her to be in a sort of trance that prevented her from waking (132). Siddal was subsequently buried in Highgate Cemetery in London, where Rossetti placed the sole manuscript of his poetry by the cheek of his beloved muse (133).

In the years after her death Dante Gabriel Rossetti found himself unable to separate his artistic inspiration from Siddal’s memory. He continued to compose sublime paintings that captured her essence in his memory, yet strayed from her physical likeness in certain aspects. One of his most famous portraits titled *Beata Beatrix* (figure 2) presents Siddal through a lens which Rossetti’s sister Christina would perceive as “Not as she is, but as she fills his dream” (Rossetti “In an Artist’s Studio”). *Beata Beatrix* was painted in the year after her death and is remembered as the “death mask” of Elizabeth Siddal, and demonstrates the ethereal design commonly used in Rossetti’s paintings (Dunstan 90). The sensual posture of Siddal suggests feelings of intimacy between the artist and his muse. The colors are dark and force the viewer to focus on Siddal’s illuminated face and dark emerald gown. Her eyes are closed and lips are slightly parted with her chin angled up towards the heavens. The light creates a halo around her copper hair, and her opened palms capture the white poppy being dropped by the cardinal. This scene contains references to the Christian Annunciation, but instead of a dove a brilliant red cardinal is haloed, and drops a poppy instead of the traditional white lily (Hilton 182). The white poppy would be symbolic of both a peaceful death and Siddal’s laudanum addiction, that caused her lethal overdose (182). Behind Siddal is a sundial which alludes to the passage of time, and the figures on the left and right sides are personifications of love and the medieval writer Dante (181).

Timothy Hilton writes that Rossetti “revives as he mourns, testifying his belief in undying art as he grieves for the mortal” (181). History perceives this piece as a memorial to Elizabeth Siddal’s role in the success of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, and although Rossetti’s rendering presents her as celestial and even unaware of the viewer, the question of whether or not she is dead in the painting remains a topic for debate today. When asked about the painting in 1862 Rossetti responded that Beatrice is being “rapt from earth to heaven,” suggesting that this is the moment in which her soul leaves her body and ascends to an eternal life of delight (181).

Many viewers, however, have indicated the lack of resemblance this portrait holds towards Siddal (Dunstan 90). Beatrice’s posture differs from any previous depictions of Siddal, and even the facial features appear to be combined with that of another model in order to impart a sense of “dreamlike” or “magical synonymy between Siddal and Beatrice” (Prettejohn qtd. in Dunstan 90). The facial discrepancies are justified by Angela Dunstan as proof that this version of Elizabeth Siddal had been “completely usurped by Rossetti’s incarnation” (90). Siddal’s death forced Rossetti to reconstruct her likeness through memory and previous sketches, but it is also concluded that this embodiment of Siddal is based off of Rossetti’s lasting impression of her.



Fig. 3. Dante Gabriel Rossetti. *Beata Beatrix*. (c. 1856-1870). By permission of the Tate Gallery, London.

Returning to Christina Rossetti's poem, this is how Siddal "fills his dream" and not who she actually was (Christina Rossetti "In an Artist's Studio").

William Rossetti defended the appearance of the painting by insisting that it was "so faithfully reminiscent that one might almost say she sat in spirit and to the mind's eye, for the face" (William Rossetti qtd. in Dunstan 90). William always sought to preserve the dignity of the Rossetti family, and this defense of Siddal's likeness in *Beata Beatrix* further sentimentalizes Dante's finished product. In actuality Rossetti was aware of the significant sum multiple patrons were willing to pay for a copy of his final portrait of Siddal, and his dire financial situation prompted him to create multiple reproductions for multiple patrons; but a painting composed in the woes of grief to honor an artist's dead muse is much more romantic than the exploitation of Siddal's circumstances for a few thousand guineas and William knew that (90). Rossetti's exploitation of Elizabeth Siddal continued into 1869 when Dante decided it was time to retrieve his entombed manuscript and reemerge out of artistic obscurity.

The exhumation of Elizabeth Siddal was executed through a series of nonchalant transactions between Rossetti and professional acquaintances, and on a brisk October evening the men ignited a bonfire and disturbed the final resting place of Elizabeth Siddal. The disturbing circumstances surrounding the molestation of Siddal's grave could not remain out of the public sphere, and Rossetti was forced to defend his actions in order to preserve his career. Rossetti remained convinced of Siddal's allegiance to his professional success even in her death, and in a letter to Swinburne he provided the following declaration:

No one so much as herself would have approved of my doing this. Art was the only thing for which she felt very seriously. Had it been possible to her, I should have found the book on my pillow the night she was buried; and could she have opened the grave, no other hand would have been needed (Rossetti qtd. in Marsh).

The prior quotation demonstrates the pretense of male artists in the Victorian period because of their tendency to appropriate the autonomy of their female models in order to further their own careers.

The metaphor of Siddal's body being used as a vessel for artistic passion is not lost on a contemporary audience, and ironically the poem "most wanted" by Rossetti was titled "Jenny," and recounted the post-coital musings of an eloquent speaker following his experience with a prostitute. "Jenny" is in the form of a dramatic monologue, and while it is thirty-four stanzas long and almost four-hundred lines, the poem's namesake never speaks a word. Rossetti's speaker watches the sleeping form of Jenny and wonders what she thinks and dreams about, but instead of just asking her he instead projects his assumptions onto her, and disparages her experience as a working woman by assuming that it is a someone's "purse" that is the "loadstar of [her] reverie" ("Jenny" 20-21). The first stanza characterizes Jenny as a working woman who is "fond of a kiss and fond of a guinea" (2), and Rossetti's decision to rhyme "Jenny" with "guinea" places her in a position that equates her value as a human with her economic and monetary value as a prostitute (Sari 362). This objectification further demonstrates the hypocrisy of the Victorian male gaze and their perceptions of "fallen women," or the Mary Magdalene (Sari 359). In an economic sense, the speaker is claiming possession over Jenny through the line that reads "Fair Jenny mine," which is subsequently followed by the characterization as "the thoughtless queen" (Rossetti 7). This suggests to the reader that Rossetti's speaker is placing his own assumptions of Jenny's character upon her; He perceives that because she is a prostitute that she is therefore unable to think for herself. The remainder of this stanza serves as a means to rebuild the physical description of Jenny through her outward appearance and in combination with the speaker's assumptions of her. She has eyes that "are as blue skies" and hair that is "countless gold incomparable" (10-11). These are features that adhere to the typical aesthetic of a Victorian maiden, however

Rossetti juxtaposes this appearance with the lines that read “Poor shameful Jenny, full of grace / Thus with your head upon my knee - / Whose person or whose purse may be / The lodestar of your reverie?” (18-21). Here the speaker is reminding the reader of the realities of Jenny’s circumstances, and alludes to her deviance as a woman driven by greed through the eyes of Rossetti’s speaker.

Jenny’s depiction as a woman of “loose morals” is continued in the fourth stanza that describes her with a “wealth of loosened hair, / [her] silk ungirdled and unlaced / And warm sweets open to the waist” (47-49). Victorian social propriety dictated that the physical restraint of the soul must be reflected in the physical restraint of the body, therefore a woman in public with unbound hair or an unbound waist was a woman susceptible to sins of the flesh (Ofek 66). As a result of these features the speaker perceives Jenny as a “book” fit to be opened, read, and interpreted (51). The speaker distinguishes himself as a scholar and an artist, that his room is “so full of books” and “a change” from Jenny’s room (23). These references to books then suggest that the speaker is using Jenny as a resource for artistic inspiration, just as a scholar may use a book for information. In this moment, the speaker is observing Jenny with intentions of exploiting her situation to further his artistic career. While a contemporary reader may perceive his intentions as troublesome, Rossetti is exercising his status as a privileged male to further differentiate himself from others in his position. Even as a man soliciting a woman for intimate companionship, Rossetti is setting his speaker apart from the masses by suggesting that Jenny must be thankful for his company because he is giving her a gentle break (Sari 366).

The social hypocrisy of the period relied upon the reputations of men and viewed women as the temptresses that will inevitably lead to a moral fall (Sari 365). Rossetti and his poetic persona separate themselves from the conventional population by claiming that their purpose of female solicitation relies upon artistic inspiration. Rossetti believed that “he was saving them [working-class women] from being used for sex by using them as models for his paintings and therefore felt they should be grateful to him for saving them from their undesirable jobs” (Sari 365). The speaker’s self-perception as a “rescuer” of women of a lower socioeconomic class is also present in “Jenny” in the lines that read “perhaps you’re merely glad / That I’m not drunk or ruffianly / And let you rest upon my knee. / For sometimes, were the truth confessed. / You’re thankful for a little rest-” (64-67). Here the speaker is distinguishing himself as a classified “other,” allowing for his reputation to appear superior to the men who also frequented the night market. Although the poetic persona is highly educated, he is unable to discern what it is about Jenny that captivates his mind. Lines 276-281 read:

Yet, Jenny, looking long at you, The
woman almost fades from view.
A cipher of man’s changeless sum
Of lust, past, present, and to
come, is left. A riddle that one
shrinks To challenge from the
scornful sphinx. (276-281)

This passage focuses on the speaker’s continued inability to elucidate Jenny’s hold on his mind. Returning to the introductory image of the speaker observing Jenny sleep, the longer he watches her the more her identity fades from view. Instead of possessing her own distinction as an individual, the speaker is projecting his assumptions based off of an intrusive male gaze, and is only able to see the result of his own “lust, past, present, and to come” (279). Finally, Rossetti’s speaker characterizes Jenny as a “scornful sphinx,” a mythological creature that killed anyone who could not solve its riddles (281). This association suggests that Rossetti’s speaker is frustrated with his inability to accept that his fascination with Jenny as anything other than a morbid interest in “rescuing” her from her inopportune situation (Sari 363).

Finally, after an evening of musing over Jenny’s hypothetical circumstances, the speaker

notices “the wings of day...creep in / Past the gauze curtains half drawn-to” (lines 311-313). This is representative of the day flushing out “last night’s frolic” to which the speaker believes was a pure and decent affair on his part because he made sure that Jenny’s lamp was “kept alight,

/ Like a wise virgin’s” (315-316). This line suggests that Rossetti’s speaker is further ennobling his actions and serving as a rescuer to a fallen woman by treating her as if she were a virgin on her wedding night, ensuring that the corruptive associations of the dark were absent from her room. Before he makes his exit the speaker places three gold coins in Jenny’s hair as payment, and what he perceives to be the “subject of your dreams” (341). The speaker romanticizes Jenny’s thoughts by picturing her “shake / [his] gold, in rising, from [her] hair,” understanding that her only attraction to him was a result of their transaction (378-379). The speaker continues to dignify his participation in this affair by likening Jenny to Danaë, therefore associating himself with Zeus (380).

The final lines draw attention to the speaker’s shame of having to leave such a “poor fair face” alone in her room (l387). The speaker is able to identify his own role in the affair, stating that “of such thoughts so much I know: / In my life, as in hers, they show, / By a far gleam which I may near, / A dark path I can strive to clear” (388-391). Here the speaker alludes to the double standard faced by men and women during the Victorian period, however his reference to it is out of sympathy to himself and not to Jenny. The speaker is able to return to his life with his reputation intact, yet Jenny must remain in the same condition each night, bridled by her own sullied reputation. Rossetti never gives Jenny autonomy over her own life, and although she is the subject of the poem she never opens her mouth or even her eyes. Jenny is a manifestation of Rossetti’s own obsession with the disenfranchised women he employed in an attempt to “let [them] rest upon [his] knee” (66). The speaker remains the hero of the narrative, and as a result is allowed to walk out of the brothel uninhibited socially and financially, just as Rossetti could leave Siddal with no tarnish to his professional reputation.

The exhumation of Elizabeth Siddal ascended her reputation into one of supernatural sublimity after reports of her idealized hair “continued to grow after her death, to grow so long, so beautiful, so luxuriantly as to fill the coffin with its gold!” (Gilbert 27). The objectification of her appearance indicates the incessant mythology that surrounded the hair of Victorian women, Elisabeth Gitter traces the most compelling origin of this tendency by returning to the medieval legends and folklore that would have inspired the Brotherhood (Gitter 936). The medieval heroines were typically illustrated or described with luscious tresses that would enchant the men who they so desired, and this created an association between women with loose, long hair as seductresses (Gitter 941). The hair is considered an outward reflection of the woman’s inward desires, and women who wore their hair long and unfastened throughout the Victorian period were assumed to be less socially restrained than those who did not (941). Historically it was Siddal’s hair that captured Walter Deverell’s attention in 1850, and Rossetti continued to feature her hair as a focal point in many of his portraits of her. According to Gilbert and Gubar the enchanting nature of Siddal’s wild hair would be construed as a symbol for her “monstrous female sexual energy,” and a Victorian audience would be captivated by the bewitching madness it expressed that “no woman, however angelic, could entirely renounce” (Gilbert 27).

The Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood was founded on ideals that challenged the conventions of the contemporary artistic aesthetics that evolved from Classical Renaissance techniques, and the bawdy depictions of Siddal confirm this. The perfection of paintings from masters such as Raphael were critiqued for their lack of emotion or personal connection, and the small group of young artists at the Royal Academy conceived a set of artistic ideals that denounced the current methods while also reflecting the Victorian social dichotomy. A majority of their paintings revisited Medieval themes and motifs, and the models used for these illustrations typically emanated a seduction that challenged the Victorian idea that all women should be idealized as an “Angel of the House.” The Brotherhood’s representation of these women did

not free them from the oppression of their society, however, and this civil oppression evolved into the masculine fantasies from the male gaze. Muses such as Elizabeth Siddal were professionally obliged to the men who established their careers, and the seemingly harmless illustrations were a result of deep-seeded anxieties from the models. The physical and emotional abuse Siddal faced drove her to madness and an addiction that claimed her life. Unable to be taken seriously as an artist or a writer, Siddal only found peace by drowning in a river of laudanum.

Ophelia and the Corruption of the Artistic Male Gaze

“Young men will do’t if they come to’t: / By Cock they are to blame” (*Hamlet* 4. 5. 60-61).

Millais’s depiction of Ophelia in 1851 inspired a shift in the consideration of Shakespeare’s character from one regarded as a rendering of feminine madness to one that epitomized the Victorian feminine ideal. Siddal’s Ophelia is depicted pale, lifeless, and silent as she floats in the brook surrounded by a beautiful English countryside. Her mouth and eyes are slightly open, yet she cannot see or say anything. Millais’s Ophelia is the feminine ideal cultivated by the Victorian male gaze: “passive, visionless, and voiceless” (Mulhall 1). She is unable to defend or explain herself, and therefore must let the men around her speak on her behalf. According to Magda Romanska, Ophelia can be divided into two separate manifestations, the stage representation and the post-mortem muse (Romanska 486). The former allows for multiple interpretations that cater to the theatrical aesthetic of each adaptation, and the latter serves to reflect the artists perception of beauty according to the Victorian *femme fragile* aesthetic. Each body of representation, however, gratifies the male gaze by idealizing a troubled woman who is unable to speak for herself.

One element of Ophelia’s allure to the Victorians is a result of her undisclosed narrative. *Hamlet* follows the plight of the titular character which creates a play that only explores details of supporting characters if it is relevant to furthering the drama; and Ophelia’s purpose is typically simplified as a love interest whose authentic madness serves as a foil to Hamlet’s feigned madness. The earliest interpretations of *Hamlet* portrayed Ophelia as an immature young girl obsessed with earning the love of her prince, and her behavior is an outcome of the male characters around her. Polonius abuses her relationship with Hamlet in order to further his reputation with the newly delegated king, and goes so far as to use her influence as bait to determine Hamlet’s cause of madness. Actresses were selected based off of their appearance and ability to appear as fragile and hopeless as possible compared to the actor who played Hamlet, ensuring that the heroic narrative remained on him (Romanska 494). The fragility of Ophelia must also portray emotions of sensuality at times in order to develop her descent into madness as one that reflects the symptoms of Victorian hysteria. According to Elaine Showalter, Ophelia’s madness is perceived as “love melancholy” because of Hamlet’s vacillating behavior and the disapproval of her family (*The Feminine Malady* 11). The context clues and minute staging details provided by Shakespeare allowed for a Victorian audience to project their own interpretations of gendered behaviors onto a naive Ophelia.

The first indication of Ophelia’s character as an impressionable young girl at the mercy of her dominant male counterparts occurs in act one scene three, during which Laertes and Polonius urge their caste maiden to refuse Hamlet’s indecent advances. Laertes explains to his sister:

For Hamlet and the trifling of his
favour, Hold it a fashion and a toy in
blood,
A violet in the youth of primy nature,
Forward, not permanent, sweet, not

lasting, The perfume and suppliance of a
minute, No more (1. 3. 5-10).

Here Laertes is using his position as Ophelia's brother to explain the social conventions of gender by stating that a man is able to explore his sexuality and affections with no repercussions on his reputation, but women are held to a different standard. Women are expected to remain chaste until marriage, and hold loyal to the object of their affections. Laertes affirms that Hamlet's affection for her is "trifling" and is intoxicating Ophelia with "the perfume" of his "violet in the youth of primy nature" (1. 3. 5-10). The courtly conventions of thirteenth century Denmark and Elizabethan England remain consistent with the expectations of Victorian society. Women are directed by their fathers or brothers through the majority of their relationships, and must remain an influence of angelic modesty, as previously explained by Patmore and Ellis.

Laertes continues by taking into consideration Hamlet's royal burden and duty to hold Denmark above all others, but warns Ophelia of the value of her "chaste treasure open" and implores that she be aware of his "unmastered importunity," which is a euphemism for the loss of her virginity (1. 3. 31). Ophelia's loss of virtue would impact the reputations of the entirety of her family, and as a perceived ruined woman Ophelia's loss would impede any other opportunities of marriage. Ophelia replies with a clever line that draws attention to the hypocrisy of her circumstances, and responds:

I shall the effect of this good lesson keep
As watchman to my heart. But, Good my brother,
Do not as some ungracious pastors do
Show me the steep and thorny way to
heaven Whiles, a puffed and reckless
libertine, Himself the primrose path of
dalliance treads And recks not his own rede
(1. 3. 44-49).

Ophelia's clever response suggests residual notions of autonomy and allow for the audience to see that she is able to see past the smoke and mirrors of deceptive social conventions.

The themes of *Hamlet* span from revenge to madness and even familial dysfunction, but the central aspect that immortalized Shakespeare's tragedy resides in the contemplations of mortality that Hamlet ponders in act three scene one. "To be, or not to be-" is one of the most recognizable lines of world literature, and Shakespeare's decision to give voice to the "inner contemplation of death" forces audiences to consider the true natures of man (Romanska 488). This scene is usually staged with only Hamlet on stage, but as Romanska points out there are no versions of the play that contain stage directions for Ophelia to leave the stage (490). Claudius and Polonius exit the frame, however the decision to show Ophelia listening to Hamlet rests with the respective director. Adaptations that include Ophelia in this scene therefore provides the audience with a deeper understanding of her emotional responses and doomed fate. If Ophelia is witnessing the man she loves profess his inmost desire to end his life, she could be collecting ideas on how to approach her own emotional distresses. In a 1977 performance of *Hamlet*, director Derek Jacobi followed the explicit stage directions of Shakespeare and never called for Ophelia to leave the stage following the exit of Polonius and Claudius (Romanska 490). Jacobi believed that this decision allowed for more intimacy and authenticity to be portrayed in the relationship between Hamlet and Ophelia while also ennobling her character. Marvin Rosenberg refers to Hamlet as a man who would "not talk about his suicide to a girl whose intellectual capabilities he did not hold to some regard, and whom he considered unable to comprehend his dilemma," and if he bore the burdens of his livelihood upon any person it would be someone he considered an intellectual equal (Rosenberg qtd. in Romanska 492). Hamlet therefore "infects" Ophelia with the consideration

of suicide, and would refute Gertrude's claim that she drowned "incapable of her own distress" (6. 7. 176).

Any suggestion of Hamlet's affections for Ophelia are contradicted in the conversation following the soliloquy. Under the command of her father and the king Ophelia is returning "remembrances" to Hamlet because as she points out "rich gifts wax poor when givers prove unkind" (3. 1. 100). Ophelia's status as a noble woman demands that she obey the men surrounding her, and her affections for Hamlet are distorted by Claudius and Polonius's desire to uncover Hamlet's intentions. Hamlet is able to uncover these intentions and assails Ophelia with the demand that she "get thee to a nunnery!" and not "become a breeder of sinners" (3. 1. 120- 121). Hamlet is alluding to the only delegation of women in society: childbirth and marriage. "If thou dost marry," asserts Hamlet, "I'll give this plague for thy dowry: be thou chaste as ice, as pure as snow, thou shalt not escape calumny" (3. 1. 134-136). Hamlet is expressing an adherence to gender expectations that mirror Victorian values, and refers to the treachery of women who seduce men. In the following lines Hamlet states:

I have heard your paintings well enough. God hath given you one face
and you make yourselves another. You jig and amble and you lisp, you
nickname God's creatures and make your wantonness ignorance. Go to,
I'll no more on't. It hath made me mad. I say we will have no more
marriage. Those that are married already- all but one- shall live. The rest
shall keep as they are (3. 1. 141-148).

This is a condemnation of women who behave outside of the confines of their social spheres. Hamlet is alluding to the stunners that would have embraced their sexual allure in order to receive some sort of autonomy over their lives. Hamlet perceives these women as precarious beings who refuse to conform to their confines of society.

Ophelia consents to this accusation in the following passage that reads:

O, what a noble mind is here o'erthrown!
The courtier's, soldier's, scholar's eye, tongue, sword,
Th'expectation and rose of the fair state,
The glass of fashion and the mould of form,
Th'observed of all observers, quite, quite down.
And I, of ladies most deject and wretched,
That sucked the honey of his musicked vows,
Now see what noble and most sovereign reason
Like sweet bells jangled out of time and harsh -
That unmatched form and stature of blown
youth Blasted with ecstasy. O woe is me

T'have seen what I have seen, see what I see (3. 1. 149-160).

This passage further degrades Ophelia and dignifies Hamlet as a savior. Shakespeare's decision to allow Ophelia to respond to Hamlet's misogynistic notion suggests a personal perception of indoctrinated gender roles. Hamlet uses his position to express his perception of women who conspire against men, and Ophelia is demonized for adhering to her position in society. In actuality Ophelia had no choice in the matter; she could not go against her father or especially the king, and her affections for Hamlet were dismissed in favor of a relationship that carried more weight. The final lines of Ophelia's response signify her descent into madness. Hamlet's denunciation forces her to see the true understanding of women in society, and realizes that there is no right or wrong choice because the choice will always be made for her. Her father and the king will decide how she will aid in their plan to defeat Hamlet, and Hamlet will never allow himself to marry a woman that betrayed his trust.

Ophelia's descent into madness begins in act four scene five following Hamlet's murder of Polonius and exile to England. This scene presents Ophelia as a representation of nineteenth-century Victorian madness that is typically interpreted as "love melancholy," or the result of unrequited love (*The Female Malady* 11). This manifestation of feminine madness is characterized by an excessive use of ornate and lyrical language with an emphasis on metaphorical associations (11). Ophelia's dialogue reads:

By Gis and by Saint Charity,
Alack and fie for shame,
Young men will do't if they come to't:
By cock they are to blame.

Quoth she, 'before you tumbled me
You promised me wed.'
He answers:

'So would I ha' done by yonder sun
An thou hadst not come to my bed' (6. 5. 58-66).

Here the reader will notice a considerable amount of erotic diction which is an additional characteristic of feminine madness. Religious words such as "Jesus" and "God" are replaced with vulgar substitutions such as "Gis" and "Cock" that disturb her audience and confirm her deviance from social propriety. Ophelia discusses the hypocrisy of masculine oppression in the lines that read "before you tumbled me you promised me wed," to which the man replies, "So would I ha' done by yonder sun An thou hadst not come to my bed" (62-66). Comparable to Dante Gabriel Rossetti's poem "Jenny," the character being discussed by Ophelia represents the manipulative double standard of society: men are able to practice sexual promiscuity with little to no repercussions, yet women will be disposed of following their exploitation by men.

The eroticism of Ophelia's madness is also a result of the patriarchal environment that suppressed her sexual maturation and therefore contributed to her psychotic break. Ophelia is a character devoid of a maternal influence and completely reliant upon her father's commands. The extent of her sexual education consisted of her father's concern with the pragmatic value of her virginity (Lyons 69). The economic value of her worth as a bride is reliant upon her "chaste treasure," and this value directly correlates to Polonius's ability to wed Ophelia to a noble family. Ophelia has therefore become conditioned to associate sexual deviance with disappointment, yet her passion for Hamlet gives her a reason to rebel against these teachings. Hamlet's betrayal and subsequent abandonment force Ophelia to lose touch with the masculine commanders that instructed every aspect of her life, and is left unsure of her future.

Ophelia's subsequent appearance presents her at her psychological breaking point. Her outburst to the court is an example of feminine Victorian madness; she behaves theatrically by dispensing a symbolic bouquet and expresses innate sexual desires.

There's fennel for you, and columbines.

There's rue for you, and here's some for me. We may
call it herb of grace o'Sundays. You may wear your
rue with a difference. There's a daisy. I would give
you some violets, but they withered all when my
father died. They say 'a made good end.
For bonny sweet Robin is all my joy (6. 5. 173-179).

The symbolic complexities of floral imagery also contribute to the interpretation of this scene. Flowers are associated with the romantic notions of both love and nature, representing purity and beauty. On the contrary floral imagery is commonly used when discussing sexuality and intimacy. In Ophelia's decision to bestow flowers upon a broad audience she is symbolically deflowering herself (*The Female Malady* 11). Laertes's reaction to this is to consider it a "document in madness - thoughts and remembrance fitted!" (6. 5. 172-173). Laertes believes that Ophelia is attempting to make amends with the emotional passions conjured from their father's death; in Laertes's mind Ophelia is granting abstract meaning onto concrete objects. The flowers are representative of her memory and identity, and she is fragmenting this identity in order to divulge her inmost desires. Despite Ophelia's ability to display a complex and genuine

show of emotion, Laertes continues to belittle her emotional capacity by claiming that she is "turn[ing] to favour and prettiness" in order to cope with the distress (6. 5. 181).

Ophelia's death is only discussed by Gertrude and Laertes and never shown. The queen describes the scene as:

There is a willow grass askant the brook
That shows his hoary leaves in the glassy stream.
Therewith the fantastic garlands did she make
Of crowflowers, nettles, daisies and long purples,
That liberal shepherds give a grosser name
But our cold maids do dead man's fingers call them.

There on the pendant boughs her crownet weeds
(6. 7. 164-170).

Gertrude uses feminine and descriptive language to portray the *beauty* of the scene rather than the tragedy of Ophelia's death. The setting is pastoral and beautiful, and even Ophelia's dead body is described as "mermaid-like" following the description of her saturated garments, and is even perceived as a "creature native and endued unto that element" (177). These descriptions idealize Ophelia's death by elevating her mythical status while simultaneously degrading her as a "poor wretch". The circumstances of her death are discussed in a manner comparable to a Victorian reader. Madness as defined in the nineteenth-century dictated that those plagued by hysteria were not in control of their own thoughts or actions, and therefore were "not responsible for their own demise" (Romanska 495). Gertrude even notes that Ophelia appeared "incapable of her own distress," verifying the subsequent Victorian perception of unaccountability.

Ophelia's death by drowning also contributes to the gendered dynamic of madness of the Victorian period. Showalter explains the significance of water as a representation of "the organic symbol of woman's fluidity" and the production of "blood, milk" and "tears" (*The Female Malady* 11). Blood is associated with women's menstruation and hysteria, milk is a reference to women's biological predisposition towards motherhood and nurturement, and tears are symbolic of women's emotional passions (11). Gertrude's use of descriptive language when describing Ophelia's death canonized the association of her death with beauty. The influence of this passage can be directly associated with Millais's painting of Elizabeth Siddal as Ophelia in 1851, and immortalizes Ophelia as "an object of beauty, aestheticized in the morbidly erotic representation of her corpse, wrapped in the wet dress and the 'fantastic garland' of male imagination" (Romanska 486). Despite the ample examples Shakespeare provides advocating for Ophelia's independence and autonomy, nineteenth-century respondents and even modern audiences continually limit Ophelia's scope as a character that represents hysteria and not emotional complexity.

Romanska's description of Ophelia as a product of the Victorian male gaze embodies

the professional journey of Elizabeth Siddal, who was exploited for her own allure in order to promote professional growth and aesthetic inspiration of male artists. Ophelia's dynamic emotional development is simplified in order to cater to a nineteenth-century expectation of the female role, and the artistic fascination to depict Ophelia as dead and weak is a result of these gendered expectations. Siddal's incarnation sets the standard for Ophelia typographies, and the immediate associations of madness and eroticism are a result of the constant depiction of her character by masculine audiences. Ophelia adhered to the Victorian perception that women were prone to emotional instability and therefore required a masculine influence in order to maintain the status quo, and by illustrating her character in a consistent demeanor she became a didactic image. Ophelia evolved into a cautionary tale of the inevitable fate of women who think beyond their social spheres and are torn between the loyalties of two male influences.

Ophelia also achieved increased notoriety following her death, just as Siddal did. The beginning of act five narrates Ophelia's funeral in which Laertes and Hamlet are so overcome with passion and guilt that they leap into her grave for one final embrace. The honoring of her life is then overshadowed by the disconcerting feud over whose love bore more weight, that of a brother or of a lover, both of which consider Ophelia as an object in their possession. Siddal's moment of post-mortem notoriety arrive seven years following her burial, and her role as Rossetti's safeguard also degraded her memory as that of an object exploited for male benefit. Both Ophelia and Elizabeth Siddal endured vivid descents into madness as a result of manipulation of the patriarchy and scrupulous gender roles. Their emotional declines manifested physically in their appearances which became highly eroticized and fetishized ultimately hindering the evolution of feminine social autonomy.

Conclusion:

The social conventions of nineteenth-century Britain dictated the thematic renderings of art and literature composed during the period. Britain's period of rapid industrial success prompted the creation of an economic middle class which allowed for the expansion of bourgeoisie conventions, and these concepts were rendered in art and literature of the period. The indoctrination of Victorian social structures was a result of the didactic compositions of writers such as Coventry Patmore and Sarah Stickney Ellis who advocated for a distinct divide in the expectations of genders in social settings. Patmore's conception of women serving as "angels of the home" remained an impediment on female revolutionaries, and prevented them from succeeding in disciplines outside of their domestic sphere. The devotion to burdensome gender roles also interfered with the pertinent biological and emotional development necessary for maturation, and resulted in occasionally legitimate psychotic breaks and the mostly involuntary institutionalization of women.

Women were under the legal charge of their fathers or husbands and were required to comply with their desires. Anyone who challenged the dignity of the social canon was subject to institutionalization and rehabilitation. The drastic increase in feminine madness established a new typography of representation in art and literature: the madwoman. The literary trope of madwomen typically served as foils to the established lady or gentleman, however the artistic representation of feminine mania shifted towards idealized renderings after the formation of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood in 1848. The Brotherhood advocated for an artistic movement that pursued the traditions practiced before the High Renaissance period. These conventions rejected the rigid teachings of the Royal Academy of Art and favored the simplistic compositions driven by passion and individual spirituality. Dante Gabriel Rossetti was one of the most prominent forces of the Pre-Raphaelite movement, and his dedication to dramatic social change is curiously rejected in his art in favor of medieval themes that present female characters in oppressive states. Elizabeth Siddal was the Brotherhood's most famous model and muse, and her likeness can be found in countless amounts of their paintings. Her most famous rendering, however, would be as a drowned Ophelia in Millais's 1851 painting. Rossetti's exploitation of Siddal's role would eventually lead her down a spiral of her own

madness and addiction until her death by laudanum overdose in 1862. The social and emotional parallels between Elizabeth Siddal and Ophelia are uncanny, and the root of their mental decline rests with the indoctrination of patriarchal rule. Both women desired autonomy over their actions, and in Siddal's case artistic aspirations, but the lack of female social mobility outside of masculine domination prevented this. The emotional breakdowns of these women were perceived by an outside audience as "inexplicable and irrational"; however, this is only because an outside party has no access to the inmost thoughts of women. In actuality, the emotional degradation of women was a result of the indoctrination of gendered expectations and hypocrisy in their environments. The artistic shift that favored weak and dead women reflects the male attraction to such characters, and calls attention to the exploitation of women for artistic gain. In the case of Elizabeth Siddal and William Shakespeare's Ophelia, life imitates art and women continue to struggle for adequate footing and representation free from the confines of the destructive male gaze.

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HONORS COLLEGE
COLUMBUS STATE UNIVERSITY

COLUMBUS STATE UNIVERSITY

FBI INVESTIGATIONS INTO THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT AND THE NEW LEFT

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE
HONORS COLLEGE
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR HONORS IN THE DEGREE OF

BACHELOR OF ARTS
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
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BY

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Abstract

This paper examines how the FBI investigated civil rights organizations and social movements from the 1950s through the 1970s. It compares the reasons for the investigations, the investigative methods, and the extent of the investigations. The paper uses FBI files as the basis for the information and to form the argument that the FBI chose its targets based on who posed a significant threat to the status quo. The FBI had a social and political motive to suppress dissent against the government and to suppress the people who challenged laws to advance their rights. The movements examined are the civil rights movement and the anti-war movement. Some attention is devoted to the efforts of the counterintelligence program to deter these organizations from accomplishing their goals.

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Abbreviations

ANP..... American Nazi Party

COINTELPRO..... Counterintelligence Program

CORE..... Congress of Racial Equality

CP/CPUSA..... Communist Party/Communist Party of the United States of America

DNC..... Democratic National Convention

ECLC..... Emergency Civil Liberties Committee

EEOC..... Equal Employment Opportunity Commission

FBI..... Federal Bureau of Investigation

HUAC..... House Committee on Un-American Activities

IDA..... Institute for Defense Analyses

NAACP..... National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

NSRP..... National States Rights Party

SAC..... Special Agent in Charge

SCLC..... Southern Christian Leadership Conference

SDS..... Students for a Democratic Society

SNCC..... Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee

UC Berkeley..... University of California Berkeley

WUO..... Weather Underground Organization

Introduction

The FBI has been in existence for over a century. It has made significant changes throughout its history with regard to the targets of its investigations and its methodologies. Through it all, the FBI has kept files on its subjects. Some of the FBI's more well-known targets were not criminals at all; they include people such as Martin Luther King, Jr., Albert Einstein, and many celebrities. The individuals discussed in this paper were activists for social change with whom the leadership at the FBI did not agree because they were perceived as threats. While some of the activists committed crimes, they were under investigation by the FBI before those crimes, or, in other cases, the crimes were not even a factor in the investigation. The FBI targeted many different social movements and activists under suspicion of communism. Through legal and illegal means, the FBI investigated activists and organizations that were trying to enact change and often interfered in their personal lives while doing so. This paper explores the investigations of individuals and organizations associated with the civil rights movement and the New Left. It also provides some guidance for how to use the FBI Vault. This paper is a good starting place for people who want to conduct further research into the activities of the FBI during the mid-twentieth century and gain an understanding of how the FBI operated during that time.

Thanks to the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA), declassified FBI files are now available on the Bureau's website through the Vault.¹ The Vault was created in 2011 to give the public easier access to FBI files by providing online versions of frequently requested records. New files are added multiple times a month. Searches can be conducted by topic or by person, and a list of popular categories is provided to make common searches easier. Requests can also be made to receive physical copies of files or to get them on compact disc. The availability and quality of online copies and physical copies are the same; the quality of the available documents depends on the condition of the original document. The online files are free to access, but ordering the files on paper or CD costs money. The cost depends on the amount of pages. Requests for physical copies are processed in the order they are received. The time it takes to receive copies also depends on how many pages are in the request.² The files contain a combination of reports, memoranda, newspaper excerpts, and publications by the organization in question, along with other miscellaneous types of documents. As mandated by the FOIA, individual files can only be released if the person is deceased. Consequently, the scope of this paper is limited by this requirement, along with other limitations based on what information has been redacted for security reasons and the amount of pages destroyed or otherwise removed from the file. Additionally, not all paper files that exist have been scanned and published in the Vault.

This paper utilizes FBI files primarily from the 1950s through the 1970s to examine the way the FBI investigated civil rights organizations and their leaders. The files were chosen based on online availability and relevance to the research. This paper is meant to give an overview of the selected topics and is not by any means intended to be all-encompassing. For example, the Black Panthers meet the criteria to belong in this paper and would have provided excellent support for the thesis. However, due to the large amount of material related to the Black Panthers and the time frame during which this paper was researched and written, there was simply too much material to include the Black Panthers and still give the group the attention it deserves.

The FBI routinely practiced discrimination when choosing its targets for investigation, often claiming communist infiltration as a reason for investigating civil rights organizations. While there was a clear racial element to the selection, there was also a clear political motive. Driven by a desire to maintain the status quo and suppress dissent against the government, the FBI closely tracked civil rights organizations and leaders with the intent to discredit them. The FBI's

¹ "FBI Records: The Vault," Federal Bureau of Investigation, <https://vault.fbi.gov/>.

² "FBI Records: The Vault," Federal Bureau of Investigation, accessed November 28, 2018, <https://vault.fbi.gov/>.
"Freedom of Information/Privacy Act," Federal Bureau of Investigation, accessed November 28, 2018, <https://www.fbi.gov/services/information-management/foipa>.

actions created more unrest in the country because it intensified disagreements between and within organizations in an attempt to splinter movements with the hope that the movements would crumble and cease operations. While people had been weary of government surveillance since the early twentieth century, the eventual revelation in the 1970s of the extent of government spying on American citizens caused massive distrust between the public and the FBI. The files demonstrate the secretive nature of the FBI and its ability to obtain and use classified information to steer the country in the direction the leaders thought best by denouncing certain types of economic systems, such as communism, and targeting people who did not stick to the status quo.

This paper is organized into two sections: civil rights and the New Left, with further subsections based on organizations or individuals in order to gain a relatively chronological overview of the time period and to make it easier to compare the FBI's treatment of the organizations and individuals in question. Another O'Reilly article, "The FBI and the Politics of Riots, 1964-1968," examines riots that occurred in several major cities after a fifteen-year-old black boy was shot by an off-duty police officer in Harlem two weeks after Congress passed the Civil Rights Act.³ The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) organized a protest rally to demand the officer's firing. The rally quickly turned violent. Riots soon broke out in other states to protest for civil rights and against police brutality.⁴ President Lyndon Johnson, hoping to improve his chances of passing his Great Society

Historiography

Most of the scholarly research into the FBI's involvement in the social movements of the 1960s and 1970s began in the mid-1980s. The research consistently supported the idea that the FBI saw communism as a threat, utilized COINTELPRO to neutralize New Left organizations, and targeted specific people FBI leaders believed posed a threat. Kenneth O'Reilly is perhaps the most prominent scholar in the field, producing several works when the subject was still in its infancy. *Hoover and the Un-Americans: The FBI, HUAC, and the Red Menace* explores how the FBI's actions and investigations in the aftermath of World War II intentionally contributed to a nationwide fear of communism.⁵ The FBI worked directly with Congress, specifically the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC), to provide its members with information and names of informers with the goal of "discredit[ing] its enemies- those groups and individuals who criticized the FBI, its informers, or its congressional friends."⁶ The FBI often acted in secrecy when giving information to journalists and politicians, frequently leaving the informant out of the official file or purposely writing false information. Additionally, pages from files that have been released to the public could have been removed, and there are often large redacted sections, leaving O'Reilly to explain the FBI's secret and unethical motives in regards to investigations of communism.⁷

O'Reilly's 1988 article, "The FBI and the Civil Rights Movement during the Kennedy Years--from Freedom Rides to Albany," explores the government's relationship with the civil rights movement during John F. Kennedy's presidency.⁸ President Kennedy and Attorney General Robert

³ Kenneth O'Reilly, "The FBI and the Politics of Riots, 1964-1968," *The Journal of American History* 75, no. 1 (June 1988), 32-35, 51-53.

⁴ Some examples include riots in other areas of New York, and some in New Jersey, Illinois, and Pennsylvania.

⁵ Kenneth O'Reilly, *Hoover and the Un-Americans: The FBI, HUAC, and the Red Menace* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1983).

⁶ Ellen Schrecker, review of *Hoover and the Un-Americans: The FBI, HUAC, and the Red Menace*, by Kenneth O'Reilly, *The American Historical Review*, June 1984.

⁷ Schrecker, review.

⁸ Kenneth O'Reilly, "The FBI and the Civil Rights Movement during the Kennedy Years--from Freedom Rides to Albany," *The Journal of Southern History* 54, no. 2 (May 1988).

F. Kennedy were not overtly supportive of the civil rights movement until the summer of 1963, and they did not challenge Hoover's decision to spy on leaders of the movement. In fact, as Attorney General, Robert Kennedy authorized the surveillance of Martin Luther King, Jr. O'Reilly points out that the FBI was supposed to investigate civil rights infringements such as police brutality, but the fear of alienating officers who helped them solve other investigations and losing the support of politicians kept the FBI from doing its job. O'Reilly examines the FBI's role in several events, including the 1961 Freedom Rides, the 1963 bombing of the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church in Birmingham, and the Albany Movement.⁹ platform, ordered an FBI report on the riots. Hoover used the report as a means to conduct further surveillance, and Johnson felt the report legitimized the increase of riot control curriculum for law enforcement agents. O'Reilly found that even though Hoover had toned down his anti-communist rhetoric, he still ultimately attributed the riots to communism. Johnson and Hoover both attempted to use each other for their own political gains. Hoover's attempts were more successful, resulting in "the director's bureaucracy, the FBI, and the director's mode of operation, federal surveillance, becoming further entrenched in the governing process."¹⁰

O'Reilly's 1989 article, "Civil Rights & the FBI," examines the case of Donald Rochon, a black man sent to Omaha in the early 1980s after becoming an FBI agent.¹¹ He encountered endless harassment from fellow agents while stationed there and, later, in Chicago. Agents harassed Rochon based on racial stereotypes, including spreading rumors about him asking the Bureau to pay for recreational scuba-diving lessons and not being able to swim. As Agent Thomas Dillon stated in court documents, Rochon's bone density was thicker than that of his white colleagues, which explained why "blacks can't swim as well as whites."¹² One incident involved agents defacing a family photograph on Rochon's desk by pasting a photograph of an ape's head over Rochon's son's face. Shortly after that incident, Rochon requested to be transferred to Los Angeles to be close to his sick father. The Bureau instead transferred him to Chicago.

After making a comment that he might face similar issues obtaining housing in Chicago as he did in Omaha, the Bureau censured him for not reporting the issue as it was a potential violation of federal law. The agents who harassed Rochon in Omaha were informally reprimanded by their superior and no official actions were taken. Thomas Dillon, the main perpetrator of racial harassment against Rochon in Omaha, was also transferred to Chicago.

Agents in Rochon's unit regularly met and discussed ways to harass Rochon. Agent Gary Miller, who became friends with Dillon, gave several examples of tactics used to harass and intimidate Rochon in Chicago. Miller followed Rochon home from work to find out where he lived. Shortly after that, a letter was placed in Rochon's office mailbox threatening death against Rochon and sexual assault of Rochon's wife in their home. The FBI launched an administrative inquiry into forged death and dismemberment policies put in Rochon's name and placed Miller on a fourteen-day suspension without pay for the forgeries.

The FBI did not take Rochon's complaints of racial harassment seriously and rarely punished offending officers. Before Rochon left Omaha, he filed complaints with the Justice Department and the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC). The complaints took years to be processed and investigated, and the conclusions were not actually handed down until January 1988, long after Rochon had started working at the Philadelphia field office. The Justice Department stated that Rochon's time in Omaha "painted a clear picture of blatant racial harassment," and the EEOC declared that Rochon's transfer to Chicago with Dillon, instead of granting him a transfer to Los Angeles, had been an act of retaliation. Rochon filed a civil suit against nine Chicago agents. The suit had not been settled or decided when O'Reilly published the article, but it did result in the Department of Justice and the Bureau conducting a criminal investigation against Miller. Throughout the investigations and lawsuits, the FBI maintained that

⁹ O'Reilly, "The FBI and the Civil Rights Movement."

¹⁰ O'Reilly, "The FBI and the Politics of Riots," 114.

¹¹ Kenneth O'Reilly and J. Jeffrey Mayhook, "Civil Rights & the FBI," *Human Rights* 16, no. 1 (Spring 1989).

¹² O'Reilly and Mayhook, "Civil Rights & the FBI," 33.

the harassment of Rochon was not routine and that Rochon was alone in experiencing racial harassment from within the Bureau.¹³ The article serves to illustrate that racial discrimination had become ingrained in the FBI, and it references other illegal actions, such as COINTELPRO, that had been conducted by the Bureau in regards to the civil rights movement.

“*Racial Matters: The FBI’s Secret File on Black America, 1960-1972*, like O’Reilly’s older works, explores the FBI’s investigations of civil rights leaders.¹⁴ This work more deeply explores the illegal actions the agency engaged in, such as providing information to police that led to the murders of Black Panther leaders, enacting counterintelligence programs that broke countless federal laws, and keeping a Security Index with a disproportionately large number of African Americans to make mass arrests easy. The Security Index contained a list of people considered to be national security risks, which facilitated arrests by providing a list of people who could be arrested by executive order in emergencies. O’Reilly once again explored the Bureau’s hypocrisy in claiming states’ rights when choosing not to seriously investigate civil rights violations while surveilling the people they should have been protecting.¹⁵ While some works provide overviews on multiple subjects, others specifically focus on the FBI’s treatment of a single individual. David J. Garrow has published multiple books about Martin Luther King, Jr. *The FBI and Martin Luther King, Jr.: From “Solo” to Memphis* explores how King became a target for the FBI and details the extent of the investigations and harassment that ensued. Garrow rejects the idea that King was targeted because he spoke out against the FBI, asserting instead that King was targeted because his close advisor, Stanley Levison, had previous ties to the Communist Party and had been identified as a communist by a trusted FBI informant.¹⁶

The twenty-first century saw a rise in scholarship concerning the FBI and other social movements of the mid-1950s to the mid-1970s. In multiple works, David Cunningham explored the FBI’s counterintelligence program’s (COINTELPRO) efforts to quell New Left movements and the Ku Klux Klan, examining the tactics used against both the Left and Right.¹⁷ This paper fits into the historiography of the topic by providing a comparison of the FBI’s treatment of the civil rights movement and the New Left movement and further showing the FBI’s bias in selecting its targets of investigation. It provides insight into how the Bureau functioned from the mid-1950s to the mid-1970s and what groups it chose to target. Unlike earlier sources on the subject, this paper utilizes the FBI Vault, a source that was unavailable until decades after research on the subject began.

FBI History

The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) was founded in 1908 for the purpose of having a national law enforcement agency. Prior to the formation of the FBI, law enforcement was not a top concern for the national government. There were local and some state law enforcement agencies, but few resources were devoted to them. Rapid advancements in technology helped spur the growth of cities, which in turn contributed to the rise of crime, leading President

¹³ O’Reilly and Mayhook, “Civil Rights & the FBI,” 34-35.

¹⁴ Kenneth O’Reilly, “*Racial Matters: The FBI’s Secret File on Black America, 1960-1972* (New York: The Free Press, 1989).

¹⁵ Gerald Horne, review of “*Racial Matters: The FBI’s Secret File on Black America, 1960-1972*, by Kenneth O’Reilly, *The American Journal of Legal History*, April 1990.

¹⁶ David J. Garrow, *The FBI and Martin Luther King, Jr.: From “Solo” to Memphis* (New York: Open Road Integrated Media, 2015).; Kenneth O’Reilly, review of *The FBI and Martin Luther King, Jr.: From “Solo” to Memphis*, by David J. Garrow, *Political Science Quarterly*, Autumn 1982.

¹⁷ David Cunningham, “The Patterning of Repression: FBI Counterintelligence and the New Left,” *Social Forces* 82, no. 1 (September 2003).; Cunningham, *There’s Something Happening Here.*; David Cunningham, “Understanding State Responses to Left-versus Right-Wing Threats: The FBI’s Repression of the New Left and the Ku Klux Klan,” *Social Science History* 27, no. 3 (Fall 2003).

Theodore Roosevelt and Attorney General Charles Bonaparte to recruit Secret Service agents and other investigators to work for the Department of Justice. Between its founding and the commencement of World War I, the bulk of the FBI's cases were white-collar and civil rights-related. In the late 1910s, the FBI investigated infamous bombings, such as the "Black Tom" bombing, and Ku Klux Klan-related activity. The 1920s and 1930s saw the FBI focusing on gangsters, many of whom committed armed robbery, murder, and violations of the Eighteenth Amendment, which prohibited the manufacture and sale of alcohol. In 1924, J. Edgar Hoover became the director of the FBI, and served in this capacity until his death in 1972. Following the commencement of World War II in Europe, the FBI began investigating possible spies in the United States, worried that they posed a threat to democracy. After the United States entered the war, the FBI continued to track and prosecute spies, along with enforcing the draft, monitoring the quality of military supplies, performing background checks, gathering intelligence, and breaking foreign communication codes, all in an effort to ensure the country's success in the war. After the war, the FBI focused its attention on detecting Soviet spies and removing them from government positions. An Army Signal Corps project, code-named Venona, resulted in the identification of 350 alleged Soviet spies between 1943 and 1980. In the mid-1950s, when the civil rights movement gained tremendous momentum, the Bureau's focus shifted to civil rights violations, though it did not have jurisdiction over lynchings and some race-based murders. In the 1960s and 1970s, the FBI focused on criminal and national security cases related to the civil rights movement, opposition to the Vietnam War, and counterculture movements.¹⁸

J. Edgar Hoover

During his nearly fifty-year tenure as director of the FBI, J. Edgar Hoover exerted tremendous influence over the agency. Hoover instilled his personal and political beliefs into his career and the decisions he made regarding the actions of the FBI. In doing so, the FBI reflected Hoover's values and prejudices. Hoover was known to promote a specific image for his agents and did not hire those who did not fit this image.

For much of the twentieth century, the FBI employed very few black agents. In fact, only half of the black agents hired during the FBI's infancy continued to work there after Hoover became director. There were only a handful of black agents to serve throughout the nation during Hoover's time as director, and no black agents attended the FBI Academy until 1962.¹⁹ For the next several decades, black agents experienced regular and frequent harassment. The FBI not only exhibited discrimination in its hiring practices, but also in the targets it chose to investigate and the discrimination those individuals faced from the Bureau. In addition, the FBI did very little to prevent or investigate civil rights violations that were instituted against African Americans.

According to the FBI's self-published history, three women were known to have served in the FBI in its early years. The FBI employed Alaska P. Davidson from October 1922 to June 1924, and Jessie B. Duckstein from November 1923 to May 1924. Hoover fired both women during a round of cuts after he became acting director of the FBI in May 1924. Lenore Houston worked for the FBI from January 1924 to November 1928, when she was asked to resign for an unspecified reason. It was not until May 1972 that "women special agents would become a regular and vital part of the FBI."²⁰ Hoover died in May 1972, and it is his attitude toward women that kept them from becoming special agents. In 1971, the National Organization for Women's Vice President of Legal Affairs wrote a letter confronting Hoover on the FBI's refusal to hire women as special agents. Hoover explained that it was "imperative" that only men were hired because they were

¹⁸ United States, *The FBI: A Centennial History, 1908-2008* (Washington: U.S. Department of Justice Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2008), 2-56.

¹⁹ "A Byte Out of History: Early African-American Agents," Federal Bureau of Investigation, last modified February 15, 2011, <https://www.fbi.gov/news/stories/early-african-american-agents>.

²⁰ United States, *The FBI*, 8.

the only ones who would “be capable of performing all duties of his position, whenever and wherever necessary.” Hoover claimed that agents must be “qualified for the strenuous physical exertion... during any time of day or night,” asserting that FBI field work was too dangerous for women, and the Bureau would “continue to hold firmly that this is inappropriate for women.”²¹

Hoover kept files containing highly sensitive information separate from general files. He kept files on members of Congress, and they included everything from Congress-FBI business relations to personal and potentially damaging information about Congressmen, such as arrest records and rumors. Hoover even had a file on President Richard Nixon, labeled “Obscene Matters.”²² Nixon knew that Hoover had information on him and was afraid to get on Hoover’s bad side because if Hoover’s reputation was ever damaged, he would “pull down the temple with him,” including Nixon.²³

In 1958, Hoover wrote *Masters of Deceit: The Story of Communism in America and How to Fight It*.²⁴ In it, Hoover explained that the “first step” toward communism is atheism and the loss of one’s religious beliefs, and the “‘Final Goal’ of communism is the ‘utter rejection of all religion... from the heart, mind, soul of man, and the total victory of atheistic communism.’” In an analysis of *Masters of Deceit*, Kevin Gotham wrote, “By symbolically portraying communism as a supreme threat to America’s most sacred values and institutions- the nation’s collective identity- Hoover succeeded in creating a symbol of communism that antagonistically resonated with the religious dispositions of American citizens living during the Cold War.” Hoover expressed views that communism would bring about an imminent apocalyptic end to the “‘American Way’” and “‘Western Civilization’” because “Communists work ‘night after night, week after week,’ ‘plotting against America... planning for revolution,’” by getting “‘communist members into positions of influence.’” Hoover linked arguments from labor unions and civil rights organizations with communism because the communist platform supported such causes. Gotham argued that in making this connection, Hoover tried to “make individuals believe that the legitimate demands of labor unions and civil rights organizations are communist sponsored.”²⁵ This idea that civil rights organizations had such close ties with communism is integral to understanding the FBI’s investigation of civil rights organizations throughout the 1950s and 1960s, since suspected communist infiltration was the reason behind many investigations.

Intelligence and Counterintelligence

The Attorney General has authority over the FBI. From the creation of the Bureau until the mid-1970s, the FBI received a minimal amount of instruction from the Attorney General regarding “the compilation of emergency detention lists, guidelines for designating and prosecuting subversive organizations, and orders dealing with domestic violence and civil disorder.”²⁶ Notably, the Attorney General did not give the FBI guidelines for intelligence operations. Electronic surveillance was the sole intelligence technique regulated by the Attorney General because it was the only form of surveillance that interested Congress. The Justice Department was aware of the FBI’s domestic intelligence investigations, though it did not know the extent of the illegal intelligence-gathering tactics. Hoover gave agents permission for “warrantless surreptitious entries and mail openings” until the mid-1960s when the Justice Department and the Attorney General became less permissive of the amount of electronic surveillance. Hoover anticipated that

²¹ Federal Bureau of Investigation, “National Organization for Women,” Part 1, 26-28.

²² Curt Gentry, *J. Edgar Hoover: The Man and the Secrets* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2001), 45-46.

²³ Anthony Summers, *Official and Confidential: The Secret Life of J. Edgar Hoover* (New York: Open Road Integrated Media, 2012), Section 1. The online version of this book that was used for this paper does not contain page numbers.

²⁴ J. Edgar Hoover, *Masters of Deceit: The Story of Communism in America and How to Fight It* (New York: Holt, 1958).

²⁵ Kevin Gotham, “A Study in American Agitation: J. Edgar Hoover’s Symbolic Construction of the Communist Menace,” *Mid-American Review of Sociology* 16, no. 2 (Spring 1992): 60-64. Emphasis is Hoover’s original writing.

²⁶ John T. Elliff, *The Reform of FBI Intelligence Operations* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), 37.

the Justice Department would not support the FBI's use of such unconstitutional tactics that had the potential to be traced or discovered.²⁷

However, Hoover's concerns over wiretapping and bugging were minimal compared to a much bigger secret he kept: COINTELPRO. COINTELPRO, or counterintelligence program, was a covert operation run by the FBI to suppress and discredit subversive people, organizations, and movements. The most common tactic involved sending publications to parents of young activists or to distribute materials spreading false information about organizations.²⁸ The FBI anticipated that parents would cut off financial support of their children if they disapproved of their political and social activities, which the FBI hoped would cause the young activists to lose interest in their causes. Additionally, FBI agents infiltrated organizations in an attempt to cause internal dissent, leading to a breakdown of a group from within. COINTELPRO began in 1956 as a means to suppress suspected members of the Communist Party. The program expanded over time to target civil rights organizations, the New Left, white supremacy groups, economic/labor organizations, and other groups deemed security threats. The FBI continued to conduct COINTELPRO operations until 1971 when a break-in at an FBI office in Pennsylvania revealed that the program was not as secure as the FBI thought.²⁹ The group who committed the break-in called itself the Citizens' Commission to Investigate the FBI. Anti-war activists could spot undercover FBI agents based on their vastly different appearance and demeanor compared to the activists, and the Citizens' Commission to Investigate the FBI wanted to discover the extent to which the FBI interfered in social movements and infringed upon activists' First Amendment rights. Following the break-in, the group strategically mailed copies of certain files to newspapers. The burglars were not caught and had a chance to tell their side of the story in the 2014 documentary *1971* after the statute of limitations had expired.³⁰

Former FBI agent Terry Neist defended COINTELPRO:

There were groups the FBI investigated. There were groups that were intent on tearing down the government and causing disruption in the government. The Weathermen were a violent element. These people robbed banks, they blew up university facilities that dealt with the defense department, so we had informants in there. We also did some of these things against the Black Panther Party which wasn't just doing something for civil rights, but they committed acts of violence. Now it wouldn't be done, but in those days there was really no prohibition against it, so if you're not doing anything wrong you have nothing to worry about. It was simply trying to wreck the groups that were trying to wreck the country.³¹

FBI agents routinely underwent training in "sound school," a three-week course in wiretapping, bugging, and lockpicking.³² They were taught how to plant electronic bugs in walls,

²⁷ Elliff, *Reform*, 37-40.

²⁸ Examples include letters addressed to parents, postcards to students sent to their home address intended to be read by their parents, brochure publications, and more. COINTELPRO also planted evidence and used strategically placed informants to cause tensions within groups.

²⁹ David Cunningham, *There's Something Happening Here: The New Left, the Klan, and FBI Counterintelligence* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 1-6.

³⁰ *1971*, directed by Johanna Hamilton (New York City: First Run Features, 2014).

³¹ *1971*, directed by Johanna Hamilton, 11:25-12:02.

³² The source does not specify how common this training was or the percentage of agents that went through it. The author of the source, a former FBI agent, joined the FBI in 1951. He attended "sound school" in 1959, suggesting that it was intended for agents with several years of experience with the FBI. William W. Turner, *Hoover's FBI: The Men and the Myth* (Los Angeles: Sherbourne Press, 1970), 317. Wiretapping is a method of listening to telephone conversations by placing a listening device on a telephone wire, typically on a telephone pole box. In terms of the FBI, Attorneys General had the authority to approve wiretaps, making it legal. Bugging is the process of placing a microphone in a concealed location. Bugging, especially the kind that the FBI did during this time, was typically done in private residences and

which required them to cut open the wall and plaster it without it being noticed. Agents who completed this training course received a lockpicking set from the Bureau, though the sets were not on inventory lists. To complete an “official burglary,” called a “black bag job” by the agents, extreme precautions were taken to ensure the successful completion of the job. According to former FBI agent William W. Turner:

All possible precautions are taken to preclude surprise discovery. It is ascertained that the normal occupants are far from the premises, and a tail is put on them to make sure they don't double back. An FBI agent sits with the police radio dispatcher to ensure that prowler calls from the target neighborhood are ignored. Just in case, the agents going on bag jobs carry no credentials and nothing that will connect them with the FBI. Those of us who carried out these missions often discussed what we would do if, despite everything, we were caught. The consensus was that we would act like a burglar by knocking the man out and fleeing.

Agents who successfully completed bag jobs received a cash payment in addition to their normal salary.³³ Turner's description provides important insight into the illegal actions the FBI conducted in order to plant bugs on its targets. The lengths to which the FBI went to make sure agents did not get caught during black bag jobs demonstrate that the FBI knew these kinds of operations were illegal. The FBI knew it would be detrimental if agents were caught because it would tarnish the public's perception of the FBI, and the FBI would be under too much scrutiny to continue such operations.

Strikingly different from his later stance, Hoover opposed wiretapping in his early years because he considered it “a lazy man's tool and an obstacle to the ‘development of ethical, scientific and sound investigative technique.’”³⁴ Wiretapping had been legal until the passage of the Communications Act of 1934. Hoover began to favor wiretapping as a national security measure at the commencement of World War II, and President Franklin Roosevelt gave the Attorney General control over authorizing wiretaps. After the war, Hoover continued to request permission for wiretaps. At any given time, he kept the number around one hundred since he made annual announcements to the public stating the number of wiretaps in place. Keeping the number around one hundred was the Bureau's way of making the public feel comfortable with the existence of wiretapping. To the public, a low number meant the wiretaps were being placed strategically rather than being used to spy on large amounts of people. In “sound school,” agents were taught that permission for wiretaps must be granted by the Attorney General, but bugs only required permission from the Bureau. Another major difference between wiretaps and bugs is that wiretaps were legal because they were put on telephone pole boxes, and bugs were placed in private residences, which required illegal entry since agents only had Hoover's permission to enter and lacked official warrants.³⁵

Civil Rights Movement and Black Power

The civil rights movement has its roots in a long history of slavery, discrimination, and inequality that African Americans had experienced since the colonial period. Despite the Reconstruction Amendments granting equal citizenship and voting rights to African Americans, those rights were not effectively enforced after 1877, leading to widespread discrimination and racial violence throughout the South. “Separate but equal” had been declared constitutional in

required illegal entry, making the act of bugging illegal because the FBI did not have the ability to grant warrants and did not seek such warrants from those sources authorized to grant them.

³³ Turner, *Hoover's FBI*, 317.

³⁴ Turner, *Hoover's FBI*, 317.

³⁵ Turner, *Hoover's FBI*, 317-319.

Plessy v. Ferguson in 1896 and was not overturned until *Brown v. Board of Education* in 1954. The Fifteenth Amendment decreed that the right to vote could not be denied on the basis of race, but various efforts succeeded in doing so, such as the grandfather clause, poll taxes, literacy tests, and voter intimidation. To add to all of these challenges to equal rights was the Hoover-promoted theory that civil rights groups in the post-World War II era were sponsored by the Communist Party. This theory led to numerous civil rights organizations being investigated by the FBI for suspicion of communist infiltration, and the investigation of civil rights leaders under accusations of being communist.

NAACP

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) was founded in 1909 to promote equal treatment for blacks. The NAACP was highly influential in getting African Americans registered to vote and challenging existing restrictions that prevented them from exercising that right. The NAACP's relationship with the Communist Party dates back to 1919, though tensions peaked in the 1930s when the Communist Party continuously feuded with the NAACP over claims that the NAACP leaders were lying to members and did not actually care about advancing civil rights and racial equality. The two were most divided over the Scottsboro Boys case, a trial that involved nine African American teenage boys accused of raping two white women. The Communist Party hired lawyers to defend the boys, while the NAACP seemed initially hesitant to devote resources because many members believed the case was not directly related to civil rights. Until 1946, the Communist Party advocated for the creation of a new state in the South for African Americans that would be self-governed as a means to achieve self-determination. After abandoning that stance, the Communist Party promoted self-government through voting and office-holding, which closely aligned with the NAACP's mission. Despite a history of public disagreements, the Communist Party attempted to infiltrate local NAACP branches in order to influence its decisions and to be placed into positions of power to make it easier to promote communist ideology. The NAACP was aware of these attempts and, as early as 1947, publicly denounced communist involvement and attempts to take over the organization.³⁶

The first page in the NAACP's online FBI Vault file is dated March 3, 1941, and reveals that the NAACP had been under investigation for "internal security" due to an "indication of increased communist tendencies among some local branches and officers," noting that the NAACP had engaged in "subversive activities." The file then gives a detailed summary of the organization's history, goals, and legislation the NAACP helped pass. The file notes "increasing communist tendencies" as early as 1935. Another report filed in late 1941 concluded that the NAACP was "not considered to be a Communist front organization" on the national level, but there were several local chapters, particularly in the South, that "had been subject to Communist infiltration." Local chapters of the NAACP were investigated throughout that decade for ties to the Communist Party. The FBI kept a list of NAACP officers, both local and national, and their status regarding the Communist Party; they updated the lists annually after informants sent election results to the agents involved in the case.³⁷

A report dated July 19, 1954, listed all known NAACP branches and their suspected communist affiliations. The vast majority of the branches were deemed to have "no known Communist Party infiltration." A couple of branches had current or former members of the Communist Party in attendance, but the informants stated they did not attempt to advocate for communism. Some branches, such as the San Francisco branch, were known to force people out of leadership positions if it was discovered they supported communism. A few were known to have been controlled by communists in the past and had since made efforts to purge communists from

³⁶ Gilbert Jonas, *Freedom's Sword: The NAACP and the Struggle Against Racism in America, 1909-1969* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 136-144.

³⁷ Federal Bureau of Investigation, "NAACP," Part 1, 2-80.

leadership roles and ensure that known communists would not serve in any officer positions. In many of the branches, the informant stated the officers were publicly anti-communist and would resist any efforts of communist infiltration or attempts to take over the branch. Some branches, such as Little Rock, Los Angeles, Hartford, and Miami, had their entire sections redacted, so it is not known what the FBI concluded about them. The extensive report concluded with the statement that the Bureau would continue to track the NAACP and compile a report twice a year. The reports that followed were formatted in the same manner and contained a history of the NAACP, a list of officers and branches, the findings regarding each branch, and occasional miscellaneous copies of newsletter articles related to the NAACP.³⁸ Some references were made to members who were arrested for violating the Smith Act, a law that made it illegal to “advocate the violent overthrow of the government or to organize or be a member of any group or society devoted to such advocacy.”³⁹ Despite no evidence of communist leaders and few instances of communist members, the FBI has released files dating as late as October 15, 1957. The files continued to refer to the hunt for suspected communists.⁴⁰

A major difference is noticeable in the treatment of the NAACP and other alleged communist organizations and individuals. The FBI was correct about attempted communist infiltration of the NAACP, yet the vast majority of the NAACP’s file detailed the organization’s history, goals, and membership information. Lists of local branches, officers, and members were updated on set intervals. The major difference is that NAACP officers’ private meetings and travel plans and the organization’s scheduled events were not documented by the FBI as they were with other suspected individuals and organizations. Based on the available information, the investigation of the NAACP appears to be a legitimate investigation to determine if the organization was infiltrated by Communist Party members; though it cannot be said with absolute certainty that ulterior motives were not a factor in this investigation. The simple collection of rosters and similar materials did not impact the organization’s plans to achieve its goals. The investigation did not tarnish the organization’s public image as the investigation was not public knowledge. The NAACP was publicly opposed to communism, which likely boosted its public image. The most significant conclusion derived from this investigation is that the FBI demonstrated it was capable of conducting an investigation through legal means with very little interference into the organization’s decisions. While this could have served as a basis for how to conduct communist infiltration investigations in the future, the FBI instead turned to illegal and ethically questionable methods of investigation and interference using COINTELPRO.

There is an unexplained ten-year gap in reports from November 1944 to July 1954. It is unknown if there were any reports created during that time or if there were reports created that, for various reasons, were not uploaded to the Vault.⁴¹ The resurgence of reports, if there truly were not any reports created during the ten-year gap, is important given the timing. The NAACP was heavily involved in the *Brown vs. Board of Education* decision because NAACP lawyers argued in favor of *Brown*. The Supreme Court announced the decision in May 1954, and new reports appeared in the files two months later. It is possible that this is a coincidence and the FBI did create reports on the NAACP during the ten-year gap in question. It is unknown exactly why the files stop in October 1957. Either reports continued to be made and the files were damaged

³⁸ Federal Bureau of Investigation, “NAACP,” Part 1, 81-100, Part 2, 1-101, Part 3, 1-101, Part 4, 1-101, Part 5, 1-101, Part 6, 1-101, Part 7, 1-101, Part 8, 1-26.

³⁹ “Smith Act,” Encyclopædia Britannica, last modified May 9, 2017, <https://www.britannica.com/event/Smith-Act>.

⁴⁰ Federal Bureau of Investigation, “NAACP,” Part 8, 20.

⁴¹ Potential reasons include intentional damage to the files in order to destroy their contents, accidental damage, such as water damage, or the loss of the files. In an original draft of this paper, I referenced a memorandum from February 1954. However, I did not cite the specific page number and have not been able to find the memorandum again. That is the only instance I know of that is a page during the November 1944- July 1954 gap. The quote referenced explained that the FBI declared that the continuous investigations have “again established the relentlessness of the CP [Communist Party] in efforts to infiltrate the many nationwide chapters of the NAACP.” However, this was only a memorandum and not a full report that provided detailed membership organization.

before they could be uploaded to the Vault, or October 1957 is when the FBI decided to stop investigating the NAACP altogether. Alabama declared the NAACP an illegal organization in 1956, which may help explain the timing of the end of the reports. The Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) was established in January 1957, and the FBI began investigating the SCLC in September 1957. A potential reason for the cessation of the NAACP's investigation is that the leaders of the FBI believed that the SCLC posed more of a threat than the NAACP and did not have enough resources to devote to both organizations at the same time. Additionally, the FBI leaders may have believed that the SCLC, as a new organization, had the potential to be easily influenced by communist ideals and infiltrated by Communist Party members. The NAACP, which had existed for nearly five decades at this point, had branches set up throughout the nation and had a sound organizational structure and membership process, and the FBI had been monitoring the NAACP for years, with each report declaring that there was no known communist infiltration. FBI leaders most likely thought that the SCLC was more likely to produce results about communist infiltration than the NAACP.⁴²

SCLC

The civil rights movement gained tremendous momentum during the 1950s. Many of the people who became leaders of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference were active in the Montgomery Bus Boycott in 1955 and 1956, and most founding members were also NAACP members. The SCLC was established in 1957 to promote nonviolent integration and as a means to conduct civil rights events while bypassing the NAACP ban in Alabama.⁴³ Martin Luther King, Jr. served as the organization's president from its establishment until his death in 1968. In coining the organization's name, Roland Smith believed that the inclusion of "Christian" would make the SCLC "less vulnerable to charges of radicalism and communism" that the NAACP faced.⁴⁴ King was well known at the time, especially among law enforcement, but the FBI was not concerned with King's actions until May 1961 when Hoover requested information on him and other people who were participating in the Congress of Racial Equality's Freedom Rides to desegregate interstate buses and facilities.⁴⁵ Although the New York field office had a file on King, and several other field offices had notes on him and the SCLC, the Bureau not specifically investigate King until 1961.

The FBI's investigation into the SCLC commenced on September 20, 1957, when Hoover issued an order to the Atlanta Special Agent in Charge (SAC), stating that "in the absence of any indication that the Communist Party has attempted, or is attempting, to infiltrate this organization you should conduct no investigation in this matter. However, in view of the stated purpose of the organization you should remain alert for public source information concerning it in connection with the racial situation." Hoover believed that the SCLC was likely to influence the civil rights movement, so he ordered FBI branches in the South to monitor the organization. A year later, a file indicated "no infiltration known by CP members," but that the SCLC "appears to be target for infiltration." It is not specified how the FBI concluded that SCLC appeared to be a target for infiltration, but it may have been because the file noted that Dr. Lonnie Cross, a member of the Socialist Workers Party, had been working with King in Atlanta in September 1957.⁴⁶ There were several SCLC executives with varying degrees of association with the Communist Party that aroused the suspicions of the FBI, giving the FBI reasons to continue investigating the SCLC.

⁴² This theory may be confirmed or refuted in the future depending on if new evidence surfaces related to the topic.

⁴³ In 1956, Alabama Attorney General John Malcolm Patterson issued a court order to ban NAACP activities in Alabama. Patterson was a staunch segregationist.

⁴⁴ Adam Fairclough, *To Redeem the Soul of America: The Southern Christian Leadership Conference and Martin Luther King, Jr.* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1987), 33.

⁴⁵ Garrow, *The FBI and Martin Luther King, Jr.*, 19-20.

⁴⁶ Federal Bureau of Investigation, "Southern Christian Leadership Conference," Part 1, 4-5.

Not all reports in the SCLC's file were directly related to investigations of the organization. The FBI received reports from several southern states claiming that people were being denied the right to register to vote based on their race, and that the SCLC planned to conduct voter registration drives to register at least 100,000 black voters in time for the 1958 election. The reports stated that the alleged incidents were being investigated as violations of the Voting Election Law.⁴⁷ According to the memorandum, any governmental investigations into the incidents should only be conducted on "complaints which have substantial merit." The results of this investigation were not published in the SCLC's file as they would likely have not been directly related to the SCLC. Given that widespread voter discrimination based on race occurred until the mid-1960s with the passage of the Civil Rights Act and Voting Rights Act, the FBI likely did not investigate many claims or did not take them seriously. However, the fact that the SCLC planned a voter registration drive likely caused the FBI to pay more attention to news articles about the SCLC because of the FBI's fear that communists could win seats in government. By monitoring news articles, the FBI would know more about candidates running for public office and know if the voter registration drive was successful.

The FBI paid close attention to the presence of the SCLC in the press, as evidenced by the amount of newspaper clippings present in the SCLC's file. Although there were very few newspaper clippings covering the earlier years of the SCLC in the file, the FBI was still concerned with the SCLC's publicity. The involvement of celebrities in the SCLC had the potential to bring the organization extra publicity, so the FBI carefully monitored an instance of the SCLC partnering with a celebrity. The SCLC invited the musician Harry Belafonte to Atlanta to perform a benefit show on June 6, 1962. The Atlanta Police Department contacted Wyatt Tee Walker, executive director of the SCLC, and told him that Belafonte should use already integrated facilities rather than whites-only facilities or he would be arrested for trespassing if he did not leave when asked. The group, consisting of the SCLC executives and Belafonte, attempted to eat at Kings Inn Restaurant, but left when they were denied service. During Belafonte's visit, the FBI tracked his movements and the people with whom he met.⁴⁸ As Belafonte was in Atlanta for a benefit concert, the FBI could have been attempting to track the source of the organization's income. Belafonte's status as a celebrity could have been worrisome for the FBI, as they may have feared that Belafonte's social status would make it easy for him to influence other people, in this case by supporting the civil rights movement. This careful tracking of Belafonte and the SCLC's interactions demonstrates the FBI's invasive habits and the FBI leaders' desire to find any faults with civil rights organizations and confirm any suspicions.

The FBI also focused on other lesser-known executives, using them as reasons to continue the investigation of the SCLC. Stanley Levison, listed in reports as associate/assistant director and assistant treasurer of the SCLC, and Hunter Pitts O'Dell, listed in reports as the head of the New York office of the SCLC, were considered secret and former Communist Party members, respectively. Due to their influence in the SCLC and their close relations to King, the FBI believed the SCLC had been influenced by communist ideas, which provided justification for continued monitoring of the SCLC. The New York FBI office requested permission to investigate the New York chapter of the SCLC in August 1962 because of the "dominant CP influence on the executives." The field offices in Atlanta and New York were granted permission to investigate the SCLC "solely to determine the extent of Communist Party infiltration [not to investigate] the legitimate activities of the organization," and other branches were told to determine if an SCLC branch was in their jurisdiction and whether Communist Party members were involved in any

⁴⁷ The Voting Election Law to which the agent referred was likely the Civil Rights Act of 1957, which created a civil rights section of the Department of Justice and established a Civil Rights Commission that could investigate alleged incidents of voter discrimination. More information can be found at "The Civil Rights Act of 1957," History, Art & Archives, United States House of Representatives, <https://history.house.gov/Historical-Highlights/1951-2000/The-Civil-Rights-Act-of-1957/>. and "Civil Rights Act of 1957," Eisenhower Foundation, <https://www.dwightdeisenhower.com/383/Civil-Rights-Act-of-1957>.

⁴⁸ Federal Bureau of Investigation, "Southern Christian Leadership Conference," Part 1, 43-60.

capacity. A file dated December 7, 1962, summarized a November 1962 newspaper article concerning the resignation of O'Dell and King's statement that the "SCLC has a policy that no person of Communist affiliation can serve on the staff, its executive board, or its membership at large."⁴⁹

Contrary to the investigation's stated purpose, the investigation clearly went beyond determining communist influence. Agents and informants kept track of the SCLC's plans. In December 1962, King and several other SCLC officers planned to visit several cities in Alabama, and the FBI reported why they were visiting the cities and how they would travel there, including a detailed description of the car, its license plate number, and the anticipated route they would take. Once in those cities, the FBI tracked where they went and the times they were there. The Bureau conducted similar tracking efforts of the SCLC on many other occasions, tracking flight times, hotel reservations, names of people with whom officers were meeting, and the locations of officers and the time spent in each location.⁵⁰ It was very common for the FBI to monitor the SCLC and King in this manner. The absence of this type of tracking with the NAACP indicates that the FBI did not act this way in all investigations. Rather, it chose targets that it deemed to be the most significant threats.

In February 1962, an informant described King as a "confirmed Marxist," which gave the FBI more justification to investigate King.⁵¹ The SCLC file includes a provocative 1961 quote from King: "We see the rise of McCarthyism in the South again because all other weapons of the segregationist have failed."⁵² This quote demonstrates that King believed the civil rights movement was targeted for its alleged communist ties as a way to evoke fear of the civil rights movement instead of acceptance. King was critical of the way the FBI handled civil rights cases, and the FBI was critical of those who voiced their opposition to its methods.⁵³ Based on vast amounts of evidence from the FBI files, King's quote is accurate, though leaders at the FBI were still determined to harm the civil rights leader's image.

Following the receipt of information that indicated King would be paid indirectly for speaking engagements by donating money to his church, the FBI told field offices to be on alert for any information that would signal instances of tax evasion.⁵⁴ The instruction to "be on alert" constitutes a legitimate order for intelligence, or rather an order to collect information as it is encountered, rather than an order to actively seek such information. Tax evasion is a federal crime, which means it falls under the FBI's jurisdiction. However, follow-up reports to this alleged crime were not made, and the FBI did not actively search for evidence of tax evasion, choosing instead to focus its efforts on tracking the organization's leaders.

The files describe conflicts between the SCLC leaders, namely between Bayard Rustin and Martin Luther King and between Ralph Abernathy and Hosea Williams. The main issues revolved around money and how to achieve the organization's goals. The SCLC was running out of money in late 1966, and the FBI kept track of what the organization did as a result, such as cancelling certain events, being unable to pay for conference attendees' flights to the SCLC conferences, and fundraising efforts, including Stanley Levison's increased donations.⁵⁵

The SCLC spent a considerable amount of time and resources in Chicago in 1966 and 1967. Projects they focused on were Operation Breadbasket, voter registration, and anti-Vietnam protests.⁵⁶ In August 1966, members of the American Nazi Party (ANP) and the National States Rights Party (NSRP) counter-protested a civil rights demonstration and several were arrested for

⁴⁹ Federal Bureau of Investigation, "Southern Christian Leadership Conference," Part 1, 154-155.

⁵⁰ Federal Bureau of Investigation, "Southern Christian Leadership Conference," Part 1, 159-165.

⁵¹ Federal Bureau of Investigation, "Southern Christian Leadership Conference," Part 1, 180.

⁵² Federal Bureau of Investigation, "Southern Christian Leadership Conference," Part 1, 21.

⁵³ Garrow, *The FBI and Martin Luther King, Jr.*, 99.

⁵⁴ Federal Bureau of Investigation, "Southern Christian Leadership Conference," Part 3, 61-66.

⁵⁵ Federal Bureau of Investigation, "Southern Christian Leadership Conference," Part 10, 147.

⁵⁶ Operation Breadbasket was an effort to promote black-owned businesses and increase the amount of black workers in white-owned businesses. Jessie Jackson led the effort in Chicago.

disorderly conduct. The FBI kept track of the ANP's and NSRP's plans for the demonstration, which shows that the FBI did not completely neglect the safety of civil rights protestors. By this time, King had been openly criticizing Hoover and the FBI for years because of their inaction in protecting civil rights. Events in the civil rights movement had been televised for years, and the FBI likely did not want the public to see a repeat of the Birmingham Campaign when protestors were attacked with police dogs and high-pressure water cannons. A repeat of that event would have garnered tremendous negative perceptions of the FBI. The Civil Rights Act was also in effect at this time, so the FBI could not be as open with its discrimination, meaning they would have to take action if violence erupted between the NSRP, ANP, and civil rights protestors.

The SCLC's file concludes in May 1967 with a report detailing King's visit to Chicago and a speech he gave about upcoming civil rights events in the city that summer. Many pages of the SCLC's file have been pulled under U.S. District Judge John Lewis Smith, Jr. and sent to the National Archives. This decision is connected to two trials: *Bernard S. Lee v. Clarence M. Kelley, et al. (U.S.D.C., D.C.) Civil Action Number 76-1185* and *Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) v. Clarence M. Kelley, et al. (U.S.D.C., D.C.) Civil Action Number 76-1186*. Bernard Lee and the SCLC wanted King's FBI files released, and Judge Smith ordered them sealed for fifty years. They will not be publicly available until 2027. Hence, the SCLC files that relate specifically to King and the FBI's investigation of him have been removed from the SCLC's public file. Lastly, some pages have been pulled for "review at FBIHQ and/or delivery to the House Select Committee on Assassinations."⁵⁷

Even after the resignation of O'Dell and the lack of evidence that other executives had any recent involvement with the Communist Party, the FBI continued to investigate the SCLC under the guise of potential communist infiltration. While it would have made sense for the FBI to stop investigating the SCLC after the major victories of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965, the FBI leaders could have been worried about what the SCLC planned to do next. After accomplishing their main goals, the FBI perhaps thought that the organization would start to protest for more radical demands. By continuing the investigation into the late 1960s, the FBI made an effort to stay aware of the SCLC's activities, leaving open the possibility that agents could interfere in such activities.

Martin Luther King, Jr.

Martin Luther King, Jr.'s rise to prominence as a civil rights leader began in early 1956 when he served as a leader of the Montgomery Bus Boycott. King was in and out of the political spotlight over the next several years, and the SCLC and King had reports about them compiled by several FBI field offices. In the summer of 1956, SCLC leader Bayard Rustin introduced Stanley Levison, a wealthy businessman and the soon-to-be assistant director of the SCLC, to King. Levison knew the FBI had been keeping tabs on him since at least 1954, but the FBI did not know Levison and King were in contact with one another until early January 1962.⁵⁸ The national office did not feel the need to track King, despite his role in the Montgomery Bus Boycott, until February 1961, when he published an article in the *Nation* that advocated for greater racial diversity in the FBI and the end of racial discrimination in federal hiring practices.⁵⁹ Despite their discontent over his critical comments, the FBI chose not to investigate King until three months later when the Freedom Rides began. Aiming to desegregate the interstate bus system, the Freedom Rides were supported by King. It is possible that the Montgomery Bus Boycott did not draw the attention of the national FBI office because it focused on a single city, and the local office monitored the activity. The Freedom Rides involved multiple states, which meant that they fell under national rather than local jurisdiction. Hoover requested information on King and the

⁵⁷ Federal Bureau of Investigation, "Southern Christian Leadership Conference," Part 1, 2.

⁵⁸ Garrow, *The FBI and Martin Luther King, Jr.*, 26-31.

⁵⁹ Martin Luther King, Jr., "Equality Now," *Nation* 192 (February 4, 1961): 91-95.

leaders of the Congress of Racial Equality, the group sponsoring the Freedom Rides. Upon learning that the FBI did not have much information on King, Hoover ordered agents to report back with more details.⁶⁰ From then until his death in April 1968, King remained under investigation by the FBI.

Historian David Garrow argues against the popular belief that the surveillance of King was a result of his criticism of the FBI, explaining that King did not speak out against the FBI from his *Nation* article in February 1961 until he publicly endorsed the complaints in the Southern Regional Council's report on Albany November 1962. Yet King had been under investigation for over a year at the time of his second comment.⁶¹ Despite testimony given to Congressional committees in the 1970s from FBI officials that seemed to confirm the criticism theory, Garrow asserts that the timeline of events and evidence does not support this theory.⁶² Garrow instead proposes that "the origins of the King investigation lay in an honestly held FBI belief that Stanley Levison was a conscious and active agent of the Soviet Union, and that Levison's friendship with King was motivated by something other than a desire to advance the cause of civil rights in America."⁶³ However, it is impossible to know what the FBI's "honestly held beliefs" were, leaving Garrow's statement a theory rather than a fact. Similar to Garrow's claim that the timeline of the criticism theory does not line up, Garrow's theory also does not match his stated timeline. Garrow states that the FBI was not aware of Levison and King's acquaintance until January 1962, yet he also states that investigations had been going on for over a year as of November 1962, meaning they began before the FBI knew that King and Levison were in contact. Given the timing of the beginning of King's investigation by the FBI, it is evident that King's prominence in the Freedom Rides was the catalyst of the investigation. However, both King's criticism of the FBI and his association with Levison likely contributed to the extent of the investigation, though his prominence as a civil rights leader and the early information about civil rights events gained as a result of King's surveillance are the most important factors.

Legal wiretaps of the SCLC's New York office were completed on October 30, 1963. On November 8, the FBI completed wiretaps of King's home and the SCLC's Atlanta office.⁶⁴ In a memo regarding a December 1963 strategy meeting on how best to use the information gleaned from the wiretaps, FBI officials declared that one of their goals was "neutralizing King as an effective Negro leader and developing evidence concerning King's continued dependence on communists for guidance and direction."⁶⁵ This is an explicit admission of the FBI's intent to discredit the civil rights leader, harming both King's image and the image of the civil rights movement. Along with increased monitoring of the SCLC, agents were directed to gather more information on King's "personal activities' including his use of liquor as well as involvement with women."⁶⁶ Because of King's status as the figurehead of the civil rights movement, tarnishing his image and destroying his role as a leader would have greatly hindered the progress of the civil rights movement. When the FBI was unable to destroy King based on political reasons, they turned to King's personal life to look for any reasons that would make King appear untrustworthy to the public.

While King stayed in Washington at the beginning of January 1964, his room at the Willard Hotel was monitored via microphone.⁶⁷ Transcriptions of the tapes were given to Hoover shortly after, with Hoover's directive to not tell Attorney General Robert Kennedy about the recording and its contents. Similar recordings were made when King traveled. Some resulted in no material

⁶⁰ Garrow, *The FBI and Martin Luther King, Jr.*, 20-24.

⁶¹ Garrow, *The FBI and Martin Luther King, Jr.*, 106.

⁶² Garrow, *The FBI and Martin Luther King, Jr.*, 101-109.

⁶³ Garrow, *The FBI and Martin Luther King, Jr.*, 109.

⁶⁴ Garrow, *The FBI and Martin Luther King, Jr.*, 98.

⁶⁵ Garrow, *The FBI and Martin Luther King, Jr.*, 131.

⁶⁶ Garrow, *The FBI and Martin Luther King, Jr.*, 132.

⁶⁷ This was done with permission from FBI officials, though it is illegal because it was done without the knowledge and consent of the Attorney General.

of interest to the Bureau, while other recordings provided material that had the potential to damage King's career if released. On March 10, Attorney General Kennedy received a copy of a hotel recording from late February in which, among other damaging subjects, King discussed the late President John F. Kennedy's rumored affairs. The timing of the distribution of this tape was important because King was scheduled to participate in a memorial to John Kennedy sponsored by the Kennedy family.⁶⁸ The FBI also allegedly sent recordings to King accompanied by threatening letters in an effort to persuade him to step down from his role as a civil rights leader.⁶⁹ A compilation of reputation-damaging recordings and a letter containing death threats were sent to King at the end of 1964 and were discovered by his wife at the beginning of January 1965. King listened to the tape with his wife and several other close advisors. Upon listening to the tape and reading the letter, they suspected it came from the FBI. The agents in the Atlanta field office who monitored the microphones were not aware that the package had been sent and alerted the Bureau to what they heard. The Bureau wrote a letter to the White House and the Attorney General that described how distraught King had become, though they intentionally did not inform them that the package may have contributed to King's distress.⁷⁰ This emphasizes the Bureau's intent on destroying King's life by any means necessary, rather than investigating any alleged ties he had with members of the Communist Party.

Intense harassment from the Bureau continued until mid-1965 when the focus of the investigation turned from finding damaging evidence about King's personal life to investigating his political activities. The shift was gradual, but became most noticeable after King made public comments in August against the Vietnam War. The FBI garnered little information of interest until February 1967, when King gave a speech opposing the war. King's stance caused him to lose the support of many white liberals and moderates. King continued to give speeches about the conflict, which renewed the Bureau's interest in him. King gave a particularly notable speech in April 1967, when he called for an end to the Vietnam War. He explained how the Vietnam War is a civil rights issue because of the disproportionate number of black and poor people fighting there, and he called for better programs to assist the poor. He also pointed out the hypocrisy of sending black soldiers to fight for freedom in Vietnam when they did not have freedom in their own country.⁷¹ Additionally, in the fall of 1967, the Bureau learned that King was planning a Poor People's Campaign for the following year in an effort to address income inequality and bring rights to poor people.⁷² President Johnson feared that King would run for president in 1968, and the Bureau aimed to collect as much information as possible about King's political activities.⁷³ King's political activities were investigated so Johnson could be prepared to run against King, should he choose to run for president. The FBI also could have chosen to publicly release damaging information about King if they felt he had a significant amount of support for his campaign. In this manner, the FBI could have influenced the 1968 election if King was on the ballot. In his final political act in the spring of 1968, King traveled to Memphis to assist in a sanitation workers' strike. While King was on the balcony of his room at the Lorraine Motel,

⁶⁸ Garrow, *The FBI and Martin Luther King, Jr.*, 133-142.

⁶⁹ Garrow, *The FBI and Martin Luther King, Jr.*, 163-164.

⁷⁰ Garrow, *The FBI and Martin Luther King, Jr.*, 174-175.

⁷¹ Martin Luther King, Jr., "Beyond Vietnam" (speech, New York, New York, April 4, 1967), Stanford University King Institute, <https://kinginstitute.stanford.edu/king-papers/documents/beyond-vietnam>.

⁷² The Poor People's Campaign was held in Washington, D.C. in May and June 1968. Several thousand poor people set up tents on the National Mall. The area was called Resurrection City. The goal was to persuade the government to provide more resources to assist poor people in living expenses, especially for children, and to dedicate more money to educational programs. Ultimately, the Poor People's Campaign did not achieve its goal of passing an Economic Bill of Rights, but it did result in a slight increase in resources for poor people. For further reading, consult Gordon Keith Mantler, *Power to the Poor: Black-Brown Coalition and the Fight for Economic Justice, 1960-1974* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013).

⁷³ Garrow, *The FBI and Martin Luther King, Jr.*, 272-275.

James Earl Ray shot and killed him. The assassination and the influence of the FBI into King's life were examined in two federal investigations.

After the Senate Watergate Committee investigation found that "the executive branch had directed national intelligence agencies to carry out constitutionally questionable domestic security operations" and the CIA was accused of spying on anti-war activists, the Senate passed a resolution in January 1975, approving an investigation into federal intelligence operations to determine their extent and if any "illegal, improper, or unethical activities" were conducted during the operations. This resolution established the Senate Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities, otherwise known as the Church Committee. The majority of the hearings were private, but there were some nationally televised hearings. Some of the hearings focused on the FBI's efforts to hinder the anti-war and civil rights movements. The Church Committee issued its final report on April 29, 1976.⁷⁴

The FBI conducted a separate investigation of King's assassination. Although King's file is sealed and off limits until 2027, there is a file available that focuses on an investigation into his assassination. The file details the creation of the new investigation and details surrounding the assassination. In November 1975, William C. Sullivan, the former Assistant Director of the Domestic Intelligence Division of the FBI, testified to the Church Committee that from late 1963 until King's death, King was "the target of an intensive campaign by the FBI to neutralize him as an effective civil rights leader," and that "'no holds were barred'" in the effort. Due to the media coverage of the Church Committee, there was "widespread speculation" that the FBI "may have had some responsibility in Dr. King's death and may not have done an impartial and thorough investigation of the assassination."⁷⁵ Three weeks after Sullivan's testimony, the Attorney General ordered the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice to review files from the Department of Justice and the FBI to determine if the assassination warranted another investigation and if the FBI's actions had any impact on the assassination itself. In April 1976, a task force was created to review additional files and tapes and to interview witnesses.⁷⁶ The task force found that the FBI should have looked into Ray's sources of income and contact with family after the assassination, though they concluded that the FBI's investigation of King's assassination had been "thoroughly, honestly and successfully conducted."⁷⁷

In regard to the FBI's investigation of King, the task force found that the FBI had "no evidence whatsoever that Dr. King was ever a communist or affiliated with the CPUSA," and that there was "no documentation that the SCLC under Dr. King was anything other than a legitimate organization devoted to the civil rights movement." This led the task force to conclude that the "investigation's continuance was unwarranted."⁷⁸ The task force also found that the ongoing public disagreements between King and Hoover were a "major factor in the Bureau's determination to discredit Dr. King and ultimately destroy his leadership role in the civil rights movement."⁷⁹ Regarding the length of the investigation, the task force asserted that surveillance of King should have ended in 1963 when the FBI knew that Levison separated himself from the Communist Party because it did not do enough for civil rights. The task force declared the COINTELPRO actions against King "unwarranted" and said they were "very probably... felonious."⁸⁰ However, the report stated that the technical surveillance of King did not contribute to his death. The report faulted the lack of racial diversity in the FBI as a factor that led to a lack of understanding of race relations and a disconnect between investigators and black civilians during

⁷⁴ "Senate Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities," United States Senate, accessed June 27, 2019,

<https://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/common/investigations/ChurchCommittee.htm>.

⁷⁵ Federal Bureau of Investigation, "Martin Luther King, Jr.," Part 1, 10.

⁷⁶ Federal Bureau of Investigation, "Martin Luther King, Jr.," Part 1, 11-13.

⁷⁷ Federal Bureau of Investigation, "Martin Luther King, Jr.," Part 2, 2-3.

⁷⁸ Federal Bureau of Investigation, "Martin Luther King, Jr.," Part 2, 20-21.

⁷⁹ Federal Bureau of Investigation, "Martin Luther King, Jr.," Part 2, 23.

⁸⁰ Federal Bureau of Investigation, "Martin Luther King, Jr.," Part 2, 37.

King's assassination investigation. The five-year statute of limitations had passed, so the task force could not charge anyone with a crime. As for Hoover and his immediate lieutenants, all were dead or retired at the time of the task force investigation, thus no disciplinary action could be taken against them. The agents who participated in King's surveillance and worked for the FBI at the time of the task force investigation did not receive disciplinary action because it was determined that they only followed orders and did not make decisions about the case.⁸¹ The report concluded with the task force recommending closer supervision of the FBI and other federal law enforcement agencies, banning COINTELPRO and similar activities, and requesting that "unauthorized malicious dissemination of investigative data from FBI files" be made a felony rather than a misdemeanor.⁸² This investigation and report is extremely important because it put rightful blame on the FBI for investigating King for several years after the allegations of associations with communists had been proven false. The report exposed decades of the FBI's illegal surveillance activities and explained how some issues can be resolved in the future. While many people were discouraged that the results of this investigation were unable to produce any punishments on the people who ordered King's extended surveillance and harassment, the investigation did result in permanent policy changes to ensure similar illegal activities would not occur in the future.

Bayard Rustin

Opposite of Martin Luther King, Jr., Bayard Rustin was a behind-the-scenes leader of the civil rights movement. He organized the August 28, 1963, March on Washington, where King gave his rousing "I Have a Dream" speech. Approximately a quarter of a million people attended the event to protest against employment discrimination and the high unemployment rate among African Americans. The organizers also wanted to pressure Congress and President Kennedy to pass the Civil Rights Act. The success and notoriety of this event made Rustin the go-to person in the civil rights movement for event organizing. His appearance on the cover of *Life* magazine made him known to the nation, but he remained a planner rather than a face of the movement because of his controversial past. He had been a member of the Communist Party in the late 1930s and early 1940s, spent two years in federal prison during World War II as a conscientious objector, and had been arrested twice for sodomy.⁸³ Any of these factors alone would have been reason enough to keep Rustin out of the public eye for fear of damaging the movement and drawing negative attention, but all of them combined meant it was even more imperative for Rustin to remain behind the scenes rather than a figurehead of the movement. Although Rustin was already known to the FBI, public recognition at the conclusion of the March on Washington made him a direct target of investigation.⁸⁴

Rustin was included in the FBI's Reserve Index Section A.⁸⁵ The Reserve Index system listed suspected communists and those at the left of the political extreme. Individuals were then placed into sections based on their occupation. Section A included for teachers, doctors, lawyers, celebrities, and influential people. Section B included people who met the Reserve Index criteria but did not fall into any of the Section A categories. The FBI also had a Security Index of people deemed a risk to national security.

At the end of October 1963, two months after the March on Washington, Hoover wrote to Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy requesting permission to place Bayard Rustin's apartment under electronic surveillance "in order to obtain further information concerning the plans of the CPUSA [Communist Party of the United States of America] relating to influence in racial matters."

⁸¹ Federal Bureau of Investigation, "Martin Luther King, Jr.," Part 2, 39-44.

⁸² Federal Bureau of Investigation, "Martin Luther King, Jr.," Part 2, 44.

⁸³ Jerald E. Podair, *Bayard Rustin: American Dreamer* (Rowman & Littlefield Publishers: Lanham, 2008), 1-2.

⁸⁴ Federal Bureau of Investigation, "Bayard Rustin," 13-14.

⁸⁵ Federal Bureau of Investigation, "Bayard Rustin," Part 2, 14.

Permission was granted and surveillance began on November 15, 1963. As a close advisor to Martin Luther King and a prominent figure in organizing civil rights demonstrations, the FBI considered Rustin a potentially dangerous influence on the civil rights movement because of his former membership in the CPUSA and ongoing association with CPUSA members. According to numerous FBI reports, Rustin had been a member and organizer for the Young Communist League in 1938 and left the Communist Party in 1941, though he occasionally attended events sponsored by the Communist Party and maintained a close working relationship with Communist Party members Stanley Levison and Benjamin Davis. By the time the Bureau started investigating Rustin, he had been out of the Communist Party for over twenty years, which demonstrates a major flaw in the FBI's reason for the investigation.

The FBI continued to renew authorization for Rustin's surveillance every three to six months "unless instruct[ed] to the contrary" by the Attorney General. According to a 1966 memorandum, Rustin's technical surveillance cost about \$254.83 a month plus an additional fee to use the leased line. Agents meticulously calculated the cost of maintaining technical surveillances based on the number of agents and the number of hours that would be required to monitor the lines. The information gleaned from this surveillance was not strictly related to communism. By listening to the technical surveillance recordings, the FBI was able to gather information on the Selma to Montgomery marches and discovered that King planned to protest against the Vietnam War. Surveillance of Rustin became a "source... of extreme importance in furnishing information concerning Martin Luther King, Jr., his plans and contacts."⁸⁶

As of October 6, 1964, there was "no prosecutive action pending relative to Rustin and... none appears indicated in the foreseeable future," yet the FBI continued to justify the surveillance "because of its large contribution to [their] intelligence in the most important racial movement area of [their] responsibilities."⁸⁷ In other words, the FBI did not expect to charge Rustin with any crimes, but placing a technical surveillance on him gave them another way to monitor King and provided them with advanced information of the plans of the civil rights movement. This is a significant example of the FBI investigating for purposes other than the explanation given in the files. The files even indicate that the information was not used for the stated purpose, exposing a clear instance of the FBI overstepping its power.

The FBI received information in June 1967 that the relationship between King and Rustin had declined. Rustin rarely advised King at this point, and a source disclosed that King described Rustin as a "tired 'radical who wants to be secure and will no longer go out on a limb.'" The New York field office believed that Rustin felt the same way about King and the SCLC. The same report also indicated that the only Communist Party member Rustin contacted was Stanley Levison, and it was solely to discuss King and the SCLC because Rustin and Levison did not "have a fondness for each other."⁸⁸

Despite their differences, King and Rustin continued to work on the same projects, such as the Poor People's Campaign. On May 15, 1968, the FBI learned that the Poor People's Campaign planned to hold a demonstration in Washington, D.C., with an estimated 300,000 people in attendance to protest against income inequality and demand rights for poor people. The SCLC was looking to have Rustin organize the demonstration because they deemed him "the only individual capable of organizing an event of such magnitude." The expected date was later changed to June 19, 1968, and the Bureau received conflicting information concerning whether or not Rustin would be organizing the demonstration.⁸⁹

Rustin was also considered a "known sexual pervert" by the FBI. Multiple individuals wrote to Hoover and requested information on Rustin's involvement in "subversive organizations" and confirmation of his 1946 and 1953 arrests for sodomy.⁹⁰ Rustin's "homosexual problem" was also

⁸⁶ Federal Bureau of Investigation, "Bayard Rustin," Part 1, 25.

⁸⁷ Federal Bureau of Investigation, "Bayard Rustin," Part 1, 20.

⁸⁸ Federal Bureau of Investigation, "Bayard Rustin," Part 2, 87.

⁸⁹ Federal Bureau of Investigation, "Bayard Rustin," Part 2, 116.

⁹⁰ Federal Bureau of Investigation, "Bayard Rustin," Part 1, 6, Part 2, 185.

discussed in the SCLC's file.⁹¹ Hoover released Rustin's arrest record and records of his involvement in communist organizations to some of those individuals. In one case, it resulted in Rustin being removed from the University of Notre Dame Board of Trustees.⁹² FBI agents' concern with Rustin's sexuality demonstrates the FBI leaders' intentions to promote and maintain the type of lifestyle they deemed acceptable. Similar to King's rumored affairs, Rustin's homosexuality could have destroyed his reputation if it had become public knowledge.

Rustin wrote to the FBI on November 20, 1975, requesting access to his file under the Freedom of Information Act. This initial request was denied because Rustin did not provide all of the necessary information, such as date and place of birth.⁹³ The file did not contain any information as to whether Rustin submitted another request and if it was approved.

There are roughly 100 pages in Rustin's file, and each one lists about one dozen different file serial numbers, most of which are marked "destroy." The pages are results of multiple "supplemental analytical summar[ies]" conducted by Bureau agents throughout the 1960s. The agents tracked occurrences of Rustin's names in files, documented the serial numbers, and categorized them as "destroy" or "do not destroy."⁹⁴ It is a given that the contents of the destroyed pages have not been released and therefore the contents cannot be known. However, due to the Bureau's tendency to destroy documents containing its illegal activities or to simply not document certain evidence and operations, some of the destroyed pages likely contained information of a highly sensitive nature that could have jeopardized the Bureau, such as information on COINTELPRO operations conducted against Rustin. As COINTELPRO did not become public knowledge until years after these analytical summaries were completed, the Bureau would have been especially careful to keep evidence of COINTELPRO at a minimum.

Stokely Carmichael

While previous sections of this paper have examined organizations run by adults for adults, students also played a vital role in the civil rights movement. College students in the South organized a sit-in campaign in 1960 aimed at challenging segregation. The campaign began after the famous sit-in demonstration at a lunch counter in Greensboro, North Carolina, on February 1, 1960. The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) was founded in the same year to bring young activists together and encourage their ideas. The organization was founded on pacifist principles, modeling itself after other peaceful civil rights groups, which in turn were modeled after Mohandas Gandhi's beliefs. Several members of SNCC in the early 1960s went on to become active in other movements later in the decade, maintaining the peaceful protest strategies they learned from their time in SNCC. SNCC started to become more militant in August 1964 after the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party failed to convince the national Democratic Party that they deserved to be seated at the Democratic National Convention instead of the white members. Leaders questioned whether it would be beneficial to continue operating the organization as an interracial one or to sever ties with the white activists and promote black power; they chose the latter. In May 1966, Stokely Carmichael was elected chairman of SNCC and used his position to increase SNCC's separatist policies.⁹⁵

The FBI investigated Stokely Carmichael throughout the 1960s for ties to the Communist Party. His file begins with detailed information about his life and political involvement up to that point. He drew close attention from the authorities, especially during his time as the national chairman of SNCC. Although SNCC's file has not been uploaded to the FBI Vault, much of

⁹¹ Federal Bureau of Investigation, "Southern Christian Leadership Conference."

⁹² Federal Bureau of Investigation, "Bayard Rustin," Part 2, 189.

⁹³ Federal Bureau of Investigation, "Bayard Rustin," Part 2, 214-217.

⁹⁴ Federal Bureau of Investigation, "Bayard Rustin."

⁹⁵ Clayborne Carson, *In Struggle: SNCC and the Black Awakening of the 1960s* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995), 1-3.

Carmichael's file focuses on the organization. In June 1966, Carmichael was elected a member of the National Council of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee (ECLC). In 1961, HUAC published a "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," which described ECLC as "an organization... whose avowed purpose is to abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities and discredit the FBI." The guide also classified ECLC as a communist organization, stating that the ECLC, "although representing itself as a non-Communist group, actually operates as a front for the Communist Party."⁹⁶ As such, the FBI became increasingly concerned with Carmichael for his involvement in an alleged communist organization. While Carmichael served as the chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, he gave a television interview about statements he made during the 1966 March Against Fear, an event coined by activist James Meredith to bring attention to ongoing racism in Mississippi and to encourage voter registration. At this event, Carmichael publicly advocated for black power, stating that violence would be used "if all legal means were exhausted."⁹⁷ The FBI kept track of similar remarks made by Carmichael and classified SNCC as "a militant Negro organization which preaches black supremacy."⁹⁸

The FBI was concerned about Carmichael potentially meeting with Elijah Muhammad, the leader of the Nation of Islam, a black militant Muslim group. This could have been concerning to FBI leaders because if SNCC and the Nation of Islam collaborated, they would have been able to reach more people and have more of an impact. The FBI leaders may have been worried that SNCC and the Nation of Islam working together would result in more violence and unrest. According to some reports, Carmichael met with Muhammad and several other civil rights leaders on July 28, 1966, and they were monitored by the Chicago Police Department, who relayed to the FBI that the "meeting was peaceful and that no incidents or arrests occurred." Other reports indicated that Carmichael met with Muhammad for the first time on August 7, 1966, and agreed that they would not work together because Carmichael did not want to become a member of the Nation of Islam, and they could not agree on an approach to attaining civil rights.⁹⁹ This discrepancy may have been caused by the fact that the July 28 meeting included hundreds of people, and the August 7 meeting only involved Muhammad and Carmichael.

Throughout August and September 1966, Carmichael and SNCC led a number of demonstrations, primarily in Atlanta, to protest the Vietnam War and advocate for black power. These protests were closely monitored by the FBI.¹⁰⁰ Carmichael and other SNCC members planned to travel to North Vietnam to gather evidence to present at a tribunal in Paris to indict President Johnson for war crimes. Carmichael was critical of the Vietnam War and felt the United States government was sending "black mercenaries" to fight in the war without guaranteeing their right to vote and other civil rights. He traveled to North Vietnam and Cuba like many other anti-war activists to learn about revolution and the Vietnam War.¹⁰¹

Carmichael's beliefs caused some people to fear that he had become too radical. Contained in Stokely Carmichael's file is a letter from a concerned citizen to the FBI asking for information on a number of civil rights leaders and their communist-related activities. The concerned citizen was worried that "so many right thinking people... might be contributing unwittingly to the Communist party" when they donated money to Martin Luther King and his organizations. The allegations were: "1) Martin Luther King's second in command, Bayard Rustin, is a member of the Communist party and has gone to Russia in 1958 (?) to participate in an anti-America rally[;] 2) King himself had been in attendance in a Communist training school in Tennessee, which the FBI subsequently closed as being subversive[;] 3) Sen. Hawkins of the Watts District in California is also a Communist." The concerned citizen also included a quote from Stokely Carmichael because he or she believed it to be a "statement smacking of anarchy." The

⁹⁶ Federal Bureau of Investigation, "Stokely Carmichael," Part 1, 9-10.

⁹⁷ Federal Bureau of Investigation, "Stokely Carmichael," Part 1, 11-12.

⁹⁸ Federal Bureau of Investigation, "Mario Savio," Part 9, 76.

⁹⁹ Federal Bureau of Investigation, "Stokely Carmichael," Part 1, 27-37.

¹⁰⁰ Federal Bureau of Investigation, "Stokely Carmichael," Part 2, 9-11

¹⁰¹ Federal Bureau of Investigation, "Stokely Carmichael," Part 1, 45.

quote in question: “no matter where in the United States, whether in Chicago or Detroit, if a policeman touches a Negro, the whole United States should rise up and riot. I want to see some chaos.”¹⁰² In the return letter, the FBI did not disclose any information that confirmed or denied the concerned citizen’s allegations, but there is a good chance that the allegations caused further investigations into those individuals’ lives and political beliefs. Carmichael’s file contains several other letters accusing him of being a communist. Someone accused Stokely Carmichael of attending the Communist Party’s National Convention in 1966, but the FBI was skeptical of this information because over forty informants had been sent there, and none of them reported seeing Carmichael. Another person became concerned because they discovered Carmichael had been born in Trinidad. They wrote to the FBI that the “West Indies... [are] a stepping stone for the communist to infiltrate into the Western Hemisphere, to promote unrest here in the states.”¹⁰³

Carmichael’s file also contains multiple letters from civilians and Congressmen urging the FBI to take a firmer stance on Carmichael. Some called for his deportation, some expressed outrage that the government allowed his “terrorism” and “anarchy” to continue, and some called Carmichael and SNCC members “communists,” “agitators,” and murderers.”¹⁰⁴ These letters demonstrate the way some people felt about anti-war activists, civil rights activists, and communists- whether they actually were communist or were just perceived to be communist. The letters also show that some people agreed with the FBI’s tracking of Carmichael, even if they did not know the full extent of it. The FBI leaders could have seen the letters as a type of mandate to continue their efforts to pursue Carmichael and other activists.

Carmichael was very critical of the FBI, calling it “most derelict in the field of civil rights.” He also publicly criticized Hoover. Comments of this nature made Carmichael more of a target for investigations. Additionally, President Johnson grew concerned about Carmichael’s and SNCC’s potential links to the Communist Party and asked “to be reassured that the FBI has good coverage on Carmichael,” along with receiving memoranda several times a week relating to the matter.¹⁰⁵ President Johnson, who was already dealing with a multitude of major issues both domestically and internationally, wanted to be proactive in preventing such issues from escalating. Thus, he turned to the FBI to track potential culprits. Johnson’s request encouraged the FBI to vigorously monitor Carmichael, though Johnson would not have known about the illegal actions taken by COINTELPRO. Johnson’s concern about Carmichael’s potential communist affiliation was also likely associated with the Vietnam War and the other domestic issues, such as the anti-war movement.

Anti-War Movement and Student Protests

Although there were student protests and student involvement in advancing civil rights, anti-war and free speech protests took a hold in the later part of the 1960s. Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) was formed at the University of Michigan in 1960, establishing chapters throughout the United States over the next decade. Throughout the 1960s, SDS, like many student organizations, addressed a variety of issues, including civil rights, voting rights, the draft, and the Vietnam War. Student protests aimed to make major changes in higher education, and they later had a large influence on the anti-war movement. Student movements attracted attention from the FBI for the amount of unrest they caused on campuses and the potential they had to influence young adults as they came of legal voting age. In such a tumultuous time, student activists had the ability to invoke major changes in their universities and in social policy. The FBI targeted student activists with COINTELPRO, often getting university administrators and the students’

¹⁰² Federal Bureau of Investigation, “Stokely Carmichael,” Part 1, 53.

¹⁰³ Federal Bureau of Investigation, “Stokely Carmichael,” Part 1, 63.

¹⁰⁴ Federal Bureau of Investigation, “Stokely Carmichael,” Part 1, 53, Part 5, 16.

¹⁰⁵ Federal Bureau of Investigation, “Stokely Carmichael,” Part 1, 21, 55.

parents aware of the activists' involvement in the movement with the goal of punishing the students to the point that they would curtail their political involvement.¹⁰⁶

Mario Savio

The Free Speech Movement at the University of California Berkeley (UC Berkeley) began in the fall of 1964 to protest a thirty-year-old rule that banned political activity and expression on campus.¹⁰⁷ Mario Savio emerged as the leader and primary spokesperson of the Free Speech Movement, a vocal opponent of the Vietnam War, and a civil rights advocate. His first encounter with the FBI came in the summer of 1964 when Savio and another activist were assaulted by two men while working the Freedom Summer project in Mississippi.¹⁰⁸ Savio was interviewed as a victim, and Paul Sistrunk was later convicted of the crime.¹⁰⁹ At the time, the FBI compiled some background information on Savio, but the files read as if the FBI did not consider Savio suspicious or have any misgivings about his participation in the civil rights movement.

The FBI began examining Savio's background in October 1964 after protests began at UC Berkeley. Savio drew nationwide attention, and the FBI could have been worried that similar protests would begin at other universities. The FBI also knew that Savio had been involved in the civil rights movement. At UC Berkeley, the Bancroft strip, a small piece of city-owned land by the university's southern entrance, was the closest students could get to political activism on campus, such as distributing literature. In September 1964, the university wanted to ban political activity in this space as well, effectively banning the last remnant of free speech on Berkeley's campus. The students met with the administration to try to convince them to reopen the Bancroft strip, launching mass protests after their efforts failed. Savio gave a speech at a rally supporting free speech, which was the beginning of his role as the face of the free speech movement. Shortly after, Berkeley students began hosting sit-ins and defying the university's attempts to punish select protestors by uniting and signing a paper saying they were all complicit in breaking the rules. On October 1, the administration instructed the police to get non-students out of the sit-in demonstration first. The police arrested Jack Weinberg, a former student and leader of Campus CORE, in front of a large number of demonstrators. Weinberg went limp, and he was dragged into a police car. The protestors surrounded the police car so it could not go anywhere, and Savio climbed on top of the car to give a speech. Many others did the same over the next thirty-two hours. Negotiations over the next two months between the students and the administration failed. About six thousand students showed up at a rally on December 2, and one thousand of them took control of Sproul Hall, which contained the dean's office. In the early hours of December 3, police began the process of arresting eight hundred people.¹¹⁰

All FBI field offices were "instructed to intensify their coverage of the activities of Savio" in December 1964 following a "lawless demonstration" at UC Berkeley, which resulted in 800 student arrests. The FBI documented Savio's high school and college academic achievements, arrest record, and his involvement in the civil rights movement. The FBI had not found any proof of Savio being involved with the Communist Party, though they noted in the report that one of his close acquaintances was a leader in San Francisco's Communist Party and used it as a reason to

¹⁰⁶ Mark Kurlansky, *1968: The Year that Rocked the World* (New York: Random House Paperbacks, 2005), 81-88.

¹⁰⁷ Bud Schultz and Ruth Schultz, *The Price of Dissent: Testimonies to Political Repression in America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 289.

¹⁰⁸ The Freedom Summer project was an initiative to register African American voters in Mississippi.

¹⁰⁹ Sistrunk is mentioned by name only one time in the file in Part 4, 232, presumably on accident. In the many occasions where the incident is discussed, the attacker is named, but the name is redacted.

¹¹⁰ Robert Cohen, *Freedom's Orator: Mario Savio and the Radical Legacy of the 1960s* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 75-99, 178-198.

increase their observation of him while he embarked on a college speaking tour. They also used it as justification to investigate the other demonstrators who were arrested.¹¹¹

In February 1965, Savio spoke at a rally at UC Berkeley hosted by CORE and SNCC to protest racial discrimination. Savio announced a sit-in at US Attorney Cecil F. Poole's office in the Federal Office Building in San Francisco, where they had three main requests: "(1) Insure Federal protection for demonstrators at the Jack London Square Friday night (Oakland). (2) Request the FBI to investigate the arrest of five CORE members in last Friday's demonstration in Oakland. (3) To protest the Government's failure to aid voter registration in Selma, Alabama." Savio said Hoover "refuses to protect constitutional rights" of citizens in Selma, Alabama, who were attempting to register to vote.¹¹² Hoover was highly sensitive toward comments such as these that insulted him or the Bureau.

Savio and his wife Suzanne Goldberg were placed on the FBI's Reserve Index Section B in early 1965 due to "publicity given to Savios and possible activity which may be of interest to the Bureau."¹¹³ They were both given the designation SM-C, meaning security matter-communist, even though they never espoused communist beliefs. This label was an easy way to launch and continue an investigation despite a lack of evidence, which enabled the FBI to monitor Savio for years. Two years later, the San Francisco field office recommended for Savio to be placed in Section A. Instead of granting the field office's request, the Bureau placed him on the Security Index as Priority II because of his role as a protest leader and because of his association with Bettina Aptheker, a member of the Communist Party. Savio continued to participate in and lead student protests at UC Berkeley after the university suspended him and he dropped out. Savio was labeled by the FBI as a key activist in the New Left movement on January 30, 1968, but was removed several months later when the FBI determined he "may be moving toward a more politically stable posture." The file noted that there was "no information... that he continues to be closely associated with Bettina Aptheker or other CP members" and that he has not traveled internationally since he took a vacation in Mexico in May 1967. Savio ran for the California State Senate under the Peace and Freedom Party, "a legally constituted political party," in 1968, and "gave no indication of an affiliation with any basic revolutionary group[s]... [other than] his apparent sanction of the Black Panther Party." After Savio was removed from the key activist list, the San Francisco SAC was instructed to "remain particularly alert for any indication of renewal of leadership on his part in the New Left movement."¹¹⁴ Although Savio was no longer considered as large of a threat, this instruction enabled the FBI to continue closely monitoring Savio. As a major figurehead of the New Left, Savio had the potential to influence other activist, something that the FBI wanted to prevent.

In April 1969, the San Francisco FBI field office was instructed to make a report on all speeches and public statements Savio had made on college campuses since April 11, 1968. Despite the FBI's belief that Savio had been "moving toward a more politically stable posture," they still wanted to convict Savio of a legal offense.¹¹⁵ In doing so, the FBI agents showed their fear of Savio returning to political beliefs and actions they deemed unacceptable. The office was ordered to look for statements advocating violence and prepare to investigate anything that could convict Savio of violating antiriot laws. It was determined that Savio did not violate antiriot laws during that time frame.

Throughout Savio's file are records of his academic status, employment status, marital status, and location of residence. Savio's travels were tracked, as was his application for a passport. Savio's location in general was monitored, as were the names and residences of his family members. His file includes reports from an investigation during the summer of 1964 when he was attacked while helping with Freedom Summer in Mississippi. All of this demonstrates how

¹¹¹ Federal Bureau of Investigation, "Mario Savio," Part 1, 137-138.

¹¹² Federal Bureau of Investigation, "Mario Savio," Part 4, 232-233.

¹¹³ Despite Savio and his wife having different last names, the file referred to them collectively as "Savios."

¹¹⁴ Federal Bureau of Investigation, "Mario Savio," Part 1, 176.

¹¹⁵ Federal Bureau of Investigation, "Mario Savio," Part 9, 21.

the FBI meticulously collected any type of evidence that would assist in locating and arresting Savio should the need arise. They were also able to analyze any patterns that appeared in his life, and could potentially use that information to predict what Savio would do next.

The file also contains records of death threats, assault threats, and anti-Semitic remarks he received throughout the 1960s, even though he was not Jewish. When Savio was interviewed by the FBI about the extortion threats he received, he asked that his lawyer remain throughout the questioning. The FBI did not allow this, stating they “could not vouch for the confidential matter of information if a third party is present.”¹¹⁶ The most recent pages in Savio’s file are from January 1975. The contents are redacted, so it cannot be determined what information was relayed.

Some files contain direct or indirect references to COINTELPRO and the need to suppress the activities of the New Left. In May 1968, Hoover sent a memorandum to the SAC of the San Francisco field office stating it was “imperative that the Bureau... redouble its efforts in penetrating those groups which have spearheaded these attacks on our established institutions and are currently calling for open revolution.” The call for an open revolution falls under the protestors’ First Amendment rights, as long as they did not encourage violence. Thus, Hoover instructed agents to violate the Constitution in order to maintain the condition of “established institutions.” The SAC was instructed to evaluate Savio for the Agitator Index, to monitor and report Savio’s travel, and to “closely follow [Savio’s] speeches and writings during this campaign with a view toward resolving” the question of whether Savio should continue to be considered a key activist in the New Left movement.¹¹⁷ Hoover insisted that “one of the prime objectives should be to neutralize him in the new left movement. The Bureau will entertain recommendations of a counterintelligence nature to accomplish this end.” The memorandum closed with the instruction to “pursue this investigation aggressively and with imagination.”¹¹⁸

Another such excerpt reads:

The Bureau has been very closely following the activities of the New Left and the Key Activists and is highly concerned that the anarchistic activities of a few can paralyze institutions of learning, induction centers, cripple traffic, and tie the arms of law enforcement officials all to the detriment of our society. The organizations and activists who spout revolution and unlawfully challenge society to obtain their demands must not only be contained, but must be neutralized. Law and order is mandatory for any civilized society to survive. Therefore, you must approach this new endeavor with a forward look, enthusiasm, and interest in order to accomplish our responsibilities. The importance of this new endeavor cannot and will not be overlooked.¹¹⁹

The phrase “must be neutralized” seemed to suggest that the SAC should implement counterintelligence measures against Savio and New Left members. References such as these are not very common in the files. It is likely that many similar instructions were redacted on the original files or that pages were destroyed altogether in an attempt to prevent the information from being leaked. Such an overt call for neutralization makes evident the FBI leaders’ desire to prevent any changes from occurring in the government’s operation and the way American society functioned, from gender roles to discrimination based on race and the treatment that accompanied it.

¹¹⁶ Federal Bureau of Investigation, “Mario Savio,” Part 8, 52.

¹¹⁷ Federal Bureau of Investigation, “Mario Savio,” Part 9, 21.

¹¹⁸ Federal Bureau of Investigation, “Mario Savio,” Part 9, 23.

¹¹⁹ Federal Bureau of Investigation, “Mario Savio,” Part 9, 33.

Columbia University and Students for a Democratic Society

As a result of earlier Free Speech Movement protests, combined with the Vietnam War and the civil rights movement, people continued to advocate for more freedom throughout the United States and the world. In the spring of 1968, Columbia University was the site of widespread student-led protests, with a significant number of faculty members participating as well. Located next to Harlem, Columbia students did not agree with the university's plans to build a gymnasium in the neighborhood because it required the seizure of low-income housing that Harlem residents occupied in order to make space for the gym. Additionally, Columbia students protested against the Institute for Defense Analyses (IDA), a military strategy research organization, and against military recruitment on campus. The students wanted to know if Columbia was associated with IDA but did not receive a response from the university. As punishment for demonstrations that continued despite the prohibition of indoor demonstrations at Columbia, six of the protestors received disciplinary action, including Mark Rudd, the leader of the protests.¹²⁰

Students at Columbia and other universities protested the Vietnam War by boycotting classes, occupying buildings, and putting on other types of protests to demonstrate their anger against the draft and the war in general. These types of protests were especially prominent throughout the country in the latter half of the decade as more militant options were explored in the civil rights movement. SDS members were heavily involved in the protests. Mark Rudd garnered national attention as a result. He became more radical and soon joined the Weather Underground Organization. Rudd's name appears in COINTELPRO files and Weather Underground files. He is described as a "fugitive leader of America's violent left" and "the first of the really violent white student radicals," which are strong indicators that he has his own file.¹²¹ However, he is still living, so his file has not been released. SDS is also featured heavily in files from the 1960s and was a target of COINTELPRO, but a file about SDS has not been released.

In a May 28, 1968, memorandum, the FBI stated that "it is anticipated that Mark Rudd... will be designated as a Key Activist in the near future." The FBI continued to monitor students at Columbia months after the protests had ended. SDS was the main New Left organization targeted by COINTELPRO. The FBI sent anonymous letters to SDS members' parents "outlining their child's specific political and personal misdoings" with the hope that the parents would stop supporting their children financially.¹²² The New York office prepared a leaflet with photographs of the protestors, "which pictorially describes those elements that would take over our colleges... [and could] be useful in hardening the line taken by the administrative officers in our universities and may serve to formalize opinion against the New Left." The FBI produced similar leaflets about SDS, hoping to put them in "the harsh light of ridicule." The New York office suggested sending postcards to parents of children involved in the New Left that would "advertise a fictitious party at SDS headquarters and would indicate that marijuana would be smoked at the party," but the Bureau declined the request for fear it could bring embarrassment to the Bureau. The New York office also provided other unspecified ideas for "potential counterintelligence actions including material for anonymously mailings [sic] against the New Left, advertisements for fictitious events and the exploitation of the 'cuckoo angle' inherent in the NL."¹²³

In October 1968, the FBI became aware of a documentary made about the Columbia protests titled *Columbia Revolt*.¹²⁴ A company called The Newsreel produced the fifty minute black-and-white film. Only two copies of the film existed, one in the possession of the Columbia SDS chapter, and the other in the possession of the production company that screened it for SDS chapters across the country. Hoover instructed the SAC of the New York office to "take necessary

¹²⁰ Kurlansky, *1968*, 81, 195-197.

¹²¹ Federal Bureau of Investigation, "Weather Underground," Part 2, 1-2.

¹²² Cunningham, *There's Something Happening Here*, 2.

¹²³ Federal Bureau of Investigation, "COINTELPRO New Left- New York," Part 1, 78-79, 91, 99, 229, Part 2, 5.

¹²⁴ *Columbia Revolt* (New York City: Newsreel, 1968). The film is now available in the public domain.

steps to obtain a copy of this film... [because it] could be of value to [the FBI] for counterintelligence purposes as well as In-service training.”¹²⁵ The files do not say if the Bureau ever obtained a copy, but it would have been useful because they would have seen the event from the students’ eyes. As a pro-SDS film, the Bureau could have a better idea on how to adjust their counterintelligence program to address subjects in the documentary. It also could have potentially alerted them to other prominent SDS members they may not have known about.

One example of COINTELPRO interfering with the anti-war movement is the FBI’s anonymous letter in the fall of 1968 claiming to be the mother of a teenage girl who was involved in “the fight for Negro civil rights.” The FBI sent the letter to a woman whose 17-year-old daughter had been arrested at a protest on October 3, 1968, while wearing a hat with an obscene message about the draft. The letter claimed that the sender’s daughter was arrested for disorderly conduct, just like the recipient’s daughter. The letter writer stated there was “something drastic” wrong with the anti-war movement because of its use of profanity. The sender told the recipient that if she let her daughter “continue her pathetic association with her ‘Yippie’ friends, she will surely end up where [the sender’s] poor daughter is now- under psychiatric care.” Permission to send the letter was granted on December 27 with the explicit instruction to “assure that all steps necessary are taken to protect the identity of the Bureau as its source.”¹²⁶ Hoover approved the transition from personalized letters to generalized postcards congratulating students on their SDS membership in July 1969. This allowed for a much faster production of literature to reach more parents compared to the time it takes to create individualized letters.¹²⁷

The FBI has released COINTELPRO New Left files from field offices in several major cities. The vast majority of the COINTELPRO New Left files are related to attempts to suppress SDS. However, some other organizations do appear in the files, like the Socialist Worker’s Party and the Worker Student Alliance.

Weather Underground Organization

The Weather Underground Organization (WUO), also referred to as Weatherman, the Weathermen, and Weather Underground, formed in the summer of 1969 after a contentious meeting. Consequently, SDS collapsed as members split over how to achieve their goals. The Weather Underground served as the more militant and radical faction within SDS, while the Progressive Labor Party believed the best path to revolution was through the industrial working class. At SDS’s national convention in June 1969, members elected multiple Weathermen supporters, including Mark Rudd, Bernardine Dohrn, Bill Ayers, and Jeff Jones, to national offices. Members split over their support for the Weathermen versus the Progressive Labor Party, and many members did not support either faction, which effectively ended SDS. As an organization, the Weathermen’s platform was based on a Marxist-Leninist anti-imperialist ideology with the goal of creating a classless world, thus taking a stance against the immense wealth of the United States. The Weathermen believed the revolution against American capitalism had already begun and that there was no reason to delay violence because it would inspire other people to join the revolution.¹²⁸

There were approximately 500 members of Weatherman when it formed. The group formed collectives in several cities, including Chicago, Detroit, Boston, and New York. Members lived communally and had to share their possessions or give them up. The members who had jobs

¹²⁵ Federal Bureau of Investigation, “COINTELPRO\New Left- New York,” Part 1, 26, 41.

¹²⁶ Federal Bureau of Investigation, “COINTELPRO\New Left- New York,” Part 1, 15-17.

¹²⁷ Cunningham, *There’s Something Happening Here*, 2.

¹²⁸ Jeremy Varon, *Bringing the War Home: The Weather Underground, the Red Army Faction, and Revolutionary Violence in the Sixties and Seventies* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 17, 45-54.

gave their income to the group, and other members solicited money from family members. Members often stole food because they used their money to buy guns.¹²⁹

Rather than containing copies of files that were made during the investigation of Weather Underground, the collection consists of a lengthy report detailing the organization's ideology and activities. The Chicago field office compiled a report in 1976 about Weather Underground's activities from 1969-1976. Prior to the detailed report is a summary of the organization's philosophy and key events regarding the organization's membership, such as travels to Cuba and Vietnam. It also listed some arrests and trials of WUO members.¹³⁰ The summary heavily emphasized foreign influence on Weather Underground: "From the initial meeting between the Vietnamese and leading anti-war activists held in Bratislava, Czechoslovakia, in November, 1967, to the July, 1969, meeting with leading Weatherpeople held in Havana, Cuba, the influence of Vietnamese representatives on the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) leadership became sharply pronounced. At the same time, the example of the Cuban revolution became the guide for the emerging American student revolutionary. With an increasing number of trips to Havana where the youthful revolutionary could learn at first hand how to create revolution, the influence of Cuba on the developing WUO was enormous."¹³¹

Weatherman operated openly in its first few months, notably hosting the Days of Rage in Chicago in October 1969. Also called the National Action, Weatherman intended for the event to be "the first gathering of the revolutionary youth of the United States to join [Weatherman] for three days of violence to match the violence of the United States in Vietnam."¹³² The Days of Rage did not have the turnout Weatherman anticipated. Several hundred people showed up, and most of them belonged to Weatherman. Much to Weatherman's chagrin, Days of Rage did not attract large amounts of people in the New Left outside of Weatherman nor did it attract large numbers of young working-class people. The event caused other New Left organizations, such as the Black Panthers, to publicly disapprove of Weatherman because of the amount of overt violence.¹³³

During the Days of Rage, Weathermen and other young revolutionaries broke windows and clashed with police officers. The FBI described it as "a wild, window-smashing rampage."¹³⁴ Chicago Police arrested two hundred eighty-seven people for offenses, including mob action, resisting arrest, disorderly conduct, and aggravated battery. Mayor Richard Daley called in the National Guard to assist the Chicago Police. Two months later, a grand jury indicted sixty-four Weathermen for charges relating to the Days of Rage, including aggravated battery, resisting arrest, mob action, and aiding an escape.¹³⁵ In his memoir, Weatherman National Secretary Mark Rudd explained that the Days of Rage were planned to occur during the Chicago Eight trial and begin on the two-year anniversary of Che Guevara's execution.¹³⁶ In the Chicago Eight (later the Chicago Seven) case, eight leaders of the 1968 Democratic National Convention protests were charged with conspiracy to riot.¹³⁷ Protests engulfed the convention, violence erupted, and several people were put on trial. The demonstrators protested the Vietnam War and Vice President Hubert Humphrey's nomination. Consequently, Weatherman, as an anti-war organization, protested the trial of the Chicago Eight. Also central to the date was Che Guevara's

¹²⁹ Varon, *Bringing the War Home*, 54.

¹³⁰ Federal Bureau of Investigation, "Weatherman Underground," Part 1, 26-32.

¹³¹ Federal Bureau of Investigation, "Weatherman Underground," Part 1, 26.

¹³² Mark Rudd, *Underground: My Life with SDS and the Weathermen* (New York: Harper, 2010), 154.

¹³³ Varon, *Bringing the War Home*, 68-69.

¹³⁴ Federal Bureau of Investigation, "Weatherman Underground," Part 2, 1.

¹³⁵ Federal Bureau of Investigation, "Weatherman Underground," Part 3, 7-8.

¹³⁶ Rudd, *Underground*, 154.

¹³⁷ David R. Farber, *Chicago '68* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), xiii.

Janice E. Schuetz and Kathryn Holmes Snedaker, *Communication and Litigation: Case Studies of Famous Trials* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois Press, 1988), 219.

execution as Guevara served as an inspiration for revolutionaries, especially Weatherman members, due to his role in the Cuban revolution.¹³⁸

At the end of December 1969, the Weathermen held the Flint War Council and decided to go underground, operating in secrecy to avoid law enforcement. The organization officially went underground in February and March 1970 after a townhouse in Greenwich Village exploded while several members made bombs. Other members went underground in the intervening months after the Days of Rage in order to avoid trials and prison sentences for their conduct in October.¹³⁹ A major factor in the organization's decision to go underground was the killing of Black Panther leader Fred Hampton on December 4, 1969, by Chicago police.¹⁴⁰ This likely caused members of the Weathermen to go underground for their own safety and to prevent any of their members from being killed by law enforcement. While underground, the Weathermen conducted bombings and issued communiqués regarding their political stance and their reasons for the bombings.¹⁴¹

On May 21, 1970, Bernardine Dohrn published Weather Underground's *Declaration of a State of War* in which she explained that people "will never live peaceably under this system... [of] war and racism" and announced that Weatherman "will attack a symbol or institution of Amerikan injustice... within the next fourteen days."¹⁴² Based on the FBI's list of bombings conducted by Weather Underground, Dohrn was most likely referring to the attempted bombing of the San Francisco Hall of Justice. In a letter, Weather Underground claimed credit for a bombing at that location, but an explosion did not occur. Several months later, an unexploded bomb was found at the site. Dohrn also could have been referring to two bombings that occurred in New York City on June 9, one at the New York City Police Department headquarters, and the other at a Bank of America building.¹⁴³ Police stations and police cars were among the most common targets of Weather Underground bombings, including those in New York, Chicago, San Francisco, and Detroit. Weather Underground also bombed the United States Capitol, the Pentagon, National Guard facilities, and other buildings association with the Vietnam War or the penal system.¹⁴⁴ In all, Weatherman conducted thirty-eight known bombings, none of which the FBI solved.¹⁴⁵ Although there were occasional injuries as a result of the bombings, the Weathermen never killed anyone. They were known to give alerts to allow time for evacuations before the explosions occurred to prevent fatalities.¹⁴⁶ The only fatalities that occurred were those from the Greenwich Village townhouse explosion.

Following the section on bombings was information on the past and present members of Weather Underground. When the Chicago office wrote the report in 1976, they estimated that Weather Underground had approximately thirty members still underground. The report contained information such as date and place of birth, foreign travel, and activities with SDS and Weather Underground.¹⁴⁷

Near the end of the report is a list of individuals known to have attended the Flint War Council. At the bottom of the list a line is redacted. Beneath it are the words "(Special Agents of the FBI from photographs taken by the Michigan State Police of the meeting)," which indicates

¹³⁸ Rudd, *Underground*, 154.

¹³⁹ The Greenwich Village townhouse explosion occurred on March 6, 1970 and killed three members of Weatherman. Most members were underground before the explosion, and the remaining prominent members went underground after the explosion. The FBI file on Weatherman incorrectly lists the date of the explosion as March 2, 1970.

¹⁴⁰ Varon, *Bringing the War Home*, 124, 165. The Weathermen were strong supporters of the Black Panthers, though the Black Panthers did not support the Weathermen because of their overt violence.

¹⁴¹ Federal Bureau of Investigation, "Weatherman Underground," Part 3, 41.

¹⁴² Federal Bureau of Investigation, "Weatherman Underground," Part 3, 47-48.

¹⁴³ Federal Bureau of Investigation, "Weatherman Underground," Part 3, 64.

¹⁴⁴ Federal Bureau of Investigation, "Weatherman Underground," Part 3, 62-71.

¹⁴⁵ Tim Weiner, *Enemies: A History of the FBI* (New York: Random House, 2012), 285.

¹⁴⁶ Weiner, *Enemies*, 285.

¹⁴⁷ Federal Bureau of Investigation, "Weatherman Underground," Part 4, 3-70, Part 5, 1-71, Part 6 1-42.

the FBI had at least two agents at the meeting. This notation is the closest the file gets to mentioning FBI intervention into Weatherman's activities.¹⁴⁸

The FBI not only sought to destroy Weatherman from within but also aimed to splinter relations between Weatherman and other New Left groups such as the Black Panthers. Weatherman member David Gilbert recounted learning of an instance when agents posed as employees of the SDS national office and called the Black Panthers to say they could no longer print materials for the Panthers because they had too much work to do. He also stated that the two people who attempted to escalate the disagreement into turning violent were later revealed to be police officers.¹⁴⁹

In June 1972, the Supreme Court banned wiretapping of American citizens unless a warrant had been issued. Since 1939, the FBI had been conducting warrantless wiretapping with the approval of presidents, attorneys general, Hoover, and other FBI leaders. At the time of the decision, Weatherman Underground and the Black Panthers had six known warrantless wiretaps between them.¹⁵⁰ The wiretaps had to cease immediately, so the Bureau started doing black bag jobs again. In October 1972, the FBI began conducting black bag jobs against friends and family members of twenty-six Weatherman members. Agents did not find any evidence, but the jobs, combined with other black bag jobs committed during this time, resulted in federal grand jury investigations of FBI leaders. The Justice Department had to drop indictments against Weatherman leaders because the evidence was based on illegal surveillance.¹⁵¹

Summary of Findings

The FBI often investigated civil rights organizations and their leaders under the guise of determining if there was communist infiltration of the organizations. Organizations that promoted African American rights were the most common targets, as were anti-war movement organizations. While there are a vast number of targets available to examine, this paper skimmed the surface by examining the NAACP, the SCLC, Martin Luther King, Jr., Bayard Rustin, Stokely Carmichael, Mario Savio, the Columbia University protests, Students for a Democratic Society, and the Weather Underground Organization. These targets all provide examples of how the FBI sought to maintain the status quo and suppress dissent against the United States government and its political decisions. The FBI went beyond its scope of power and used communist infiltration as an excuse to track civil rights organizations' plans and monitor their protests.

Legal wiretaps enabled the FBI to have advanced notice of the civil rights movement's events, such as the Selma to Montgomery March, giving the FBI time to determine if they wanted to enact counterintelligence to thwart the movement. Illegal methods of intelligence gathering were also used to spy on targets. The FBI conducted illegal operations called black bag jobs to install microphones in targets' residences to eavesdrop on them and collect information. FBI agents infiltrated organizations they considered subversive in order to spy on them. This enabled them to know the organization's plans, and it also helped them determine if there was communist infiltration or influence. Due to the FBI infiltration, agents could influence organizations, whether that meant guiding them to the FBI's acceptable decisions, causing further unrest within organizations, starting arguments between organizations, or even inciting violence that would later get blamed on the organization itself. The FBI meddled in movements' affairs, sometimes

¹⁴⁸ Federal Bureau of Investigation, "Weatherman Underground," Part 6, 48. Larry Grathwohl is a known infiltrator of Weathermen. He served as an informant for about a year when the organization first formed. He is not named in the FBI's Weatherman Underground file.

¹⁴⁹ David Gilbert, *Love and Struggle: My Life in SDS, the Weather Underground, and Beyond* (Oakland: PM Press, 2012), 82.

¹⁵⁰ The source does not specify the exact number each group has, but presents it as a total between the two organizations.

¹⁵¹ Weiner, *Enemies*, 312-314, 334.

using counterintelligence to further divide the movement. Counterintelligence was also used to intentionally spread misinformation and to have parents discover and disapprove of their children's activities. Overall, the FBI went beyond normal intelligence-gathering and investigation and instead meticulously tracked the activities of organizations and individuals who wanted to effect change in their country.

During the time that the FBI investigated the civil rights movement and the New Left, the FBI certainly incited fear in people who were unsure about the movements and served to reinforce the beliefs of people who already thought those organizations were subversive. The FBI successfully caused divisions between organizations and increased unrest, thus damaging the operations and reputations of various organizations. Despite the FBI's efforts to undermine the civil rights movement, tremendous accomplishments were still made, such as the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. The FBI went to extreme lengths to ensure that their investigations and illegal operations were kept secret. Once the Citizens' Commission to Investigate the FBI released information about COINTELPRO, the FBI became a less reliable source. In the years since the exposure, it can now be said that the FBI did more harm than good during this time because they attempted to damage movements that are now seen as massive historical achievements, resulting in a permanent stain on the FBI's history.

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CSUGO: A MOBILE CAMPUS ORIENTATION APP FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS

A SENIOR PROJECT SUBMITTED TO THE
HONORS COLLEGE
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
HONORS IN THE DEGREE OF

BACHELOR OF SCIENCE APPLIED
COMPUTER SCIENCE
TURNER COLLEGE OF BUSINESS & COMPUTER SCIENCE

BY HANNAH L. TURNER

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CSUGO: A MOBILE CAMPUS ORIENTATION APP FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS

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ABSTRACT

An interview conducted within a focus group of international students at Columbus State University revealed that a majority of these students experience difficulties when adjusting to their new life in the United States. This thesis plans to mitigate these issues by designing the user interface of a mobile application called *CSUGo*. *CSUGo* will provide users with on-campus orientation information, an interactive map of both campuses (Main Campus and RiverPark), and a chat feature that the students can use to contact the Center for Global Engagement. The purpose of this thesis is to expand on the specificities and requirements that must be acknowledged upon development of the application. This paper is written with goals of initial development for Android devices and eventual expansion to Apple devices.

INDEX WORDS: Mobile Application Development, Software Development, International Studies

DEDICATIONS

I dedicate this work in memoriam to three important men in my life, my grandfathers: Samuel B. Turner, Donald R. Goodrum, and Daniel J. Hinrichs. These men were incredible inspirations, teaching me to always pursue my passions and live life to the fullest.

I also dedicate this work to my parents, Mark S. Turner and Toni G. Turner, who have continually provided emotional, moral, and financial support throughout my journey. Thank you for your unconditional love and guidance.

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ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|--------------|--|
| API | Application programming interface |
| CGE | The Center for Global Engagement, CSU's study abroad and international student center. |
| CSU | Columbus State University |
| <i>CSUGo</i> | The mobile application defined within this thesis that intends to provide international students with an easier orientation period at CSU. |
| ER | Entity Relationship |
| iOS | Operating system of devices created and developed by Apple. |
| RTM | Requirements Traceability Matrix |
| SRS | Software Requirements Specifications document |
| UI/UX | User interface and user experience |

1. INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1.1 Introduction

In an interview conducted in Spring of 2019 with Dr. Eric Spears, Director of the Center for Global Engagement (CGE) at Columbus State University, he stated that international students receive a relatively brief orientation period before taking classes and engaging in student life at the university. This hasty transition from their host culture to a vastly unfamiliar environment creates a challenge for these students as they strive for academic and social success. These stresses can possibly be alleviated through the creation of a handheld tool that will improve the orientation process. This thesis intends to define the purpose, requirements, and development goals for the user interface of *CSUGo*, a mobile application designed specifically for incoming and current international students on Columbus State University's campus. This application will ideally launch after its full development in Spring of 2020, and it will include valuable orientation information and resources, an interactive map of both campuses, and a chat feature that allows students to directly message a CGE representative.

This thesis primarily seeks to determine whether or not a mobile application designed for international students will help them adapt better to life at Columbus State University. This paper proposes that *CSUGo*, once developed and officially launched, will have a positive effect on the experience of not only international students on campus, but also the average student as the features of the application will prove to be extremely beneficial to the student population as a whole.

1.2 Declaration of Need for *CSUGo*

During the 2017-2018 academic year, a total of 1,094,792 international students were enrolled in colleges and universities within the United States. This number accounts for 5.5% of all enrolled students, which has grown considerably from the 3.5% that existed at the beginning of the millennium within the 1999-2000 academic year ("Enrollment," 2019). On a local scale, while international students may consist of a mere 1.7% of the student population at Columbus State University, the number of international students on campus is consistently growing. In 2011, only 56 students at CSU were classified as international ("Columbus State University International," 2019). Yet another census conducted from 2015 to 2019 revealed that the number had increased to a maximum of 142. According to the census, the international student population grew by 11.8% in four years ("CSU Facts & Figures 2019: Enrollment by Race/Ethnicity," 2019). Considering this exponential growth, one can predict that the international student population will continue to increase in the upcoming years. Therefore, the need for an application geared towards assisting these students will become even more prominent.

In a literature review of a study conducted by Shuang Li and Sam Zizzi (2018), they noted from five previous studies that "international students experienced alienation, marginalization, social loss, loneliness, and helplessness" (p. 390). The researchers combined information from a total of 35 papers to determine that a viable solution to these concerns is to incorporate more physical activity into the students' social interactions. Li and Zizzi continued to pursue this idea by conducting an observational study with two international students, concluding that participating in social physical activities, such as sports and exercise classes, indeed strengthened relationships between the students and their American peers.

A 2010 study at a university in Hawaii likewise searched for an improvement in the transitional experiences of international students. The study found a strong correlation between international students' interactions with their host culture and higher overall satisfaction and lower levels of homesickness (Hendrickson, Rosen, & Aune, 2011). A recent study at various American universities on the effectiveness of orientation training sessions observed that, while the frequency of attendance to these training sessions did not directly affect the international student's academic achievement, it did positively correlate to the attendee's adjustment and integration into the university (Güvendir, 2018). Additionally, the importance of incorporating ongoing orientation throughout the student's educational experience, rather than solely at the start of the program, is discussed in Jinghua Deng Meyer's paper (2001) regarding the conceptual framework of these orientation sessions. According to his research, the arrival orientation serves as a "starting base," while:

The purposes of on-going orientation are to strengthen the starting base; to help students achieve a balance between participating in the new culture and maintaining their own cultural identities; to understand and follow immigration regulations; and to deal with advanced and long-term needs and new situations. (p. 67)

Currently, the Center for Global Engagement at CSU does offer an initial orientation session for incoming international students. However, ongoing campus orientation is not offered, and the student's availability could potentially hinder him or her from attending the session that is offered. CSU fortunately offers *CSUinvolve*, an online portal for student organizations that potentially alleviates some social stress for the international student, but the student may not be aware of the service or be able to locate it easily.

A mobile application titled *Lost On Campus* currently exists in collaboration with most universities in Australia. This application provides an interactive and simple campus map that students can utilize to find campus buildings, specific rooms, on-campus restaurants, and even vending machines. *Lost On Campus's* user-friendly interface and campus-wide locational services can serve as an excellent model for the intentions and goals of *CSUGo*. An article by Murphy, Hawkes, and Law (2002) also provides inspiration for the features of *CSUGo*, stressing the importance of web-based orientation services for pre-departure training in addition to the traditional arrival orientation. The article lists a plethora of information that could be included in this web-based training, from institution history and financial aid assistance to work permit renewal and counseling programs.

With *CSUGo*, international students can easily obtain this type of information, gaining a flexible adaptation to the campus and its social events by simply opening the app on their mobile device. In regard to improving the students' social immersion, the application does intend to include a chat feature that will allow any users to connect and discuss campus-related topics with a CGE representative. Additionally, the information database will include a specific "Social Life" explorable topic that will assist students in locating *CSUinvolve*, which will further promote on-campus participation and student fellowship. Furthermore, one of the application's primary goals is to help alleviate alienation and helplessness by ensuring that international students have the opportunity to familiarize themselves with CSU's campus, quite literally, in the palm of their hand, at any point in time.

1.3 Initial Student Interview Results

In August of 2019, a focus group of international students gathered to volunteer their opinions and experiences in regard to their orientation and adaptation to life at Columbus State University. The group consisted of a variation of ages, genders, and home countries (see. Figure 1). The names of the students remain anonymous, but a record of the group's demographics was kept for the purpose of this paper. Prior to meeting, the students were informed of the intentions of the session: gathering thoughts and ideas about a potential mobile application that could address any frequent issues or questions many international students have when becoming a student at CSU. This idea excited these students and

significantly fueled the discussion of possibilities and suggestions for *CSUGo*. Students were very eager to share what they wish they had access to during their transition period, as well as resources they desired during later and current years of their study abroad experience at CSU.

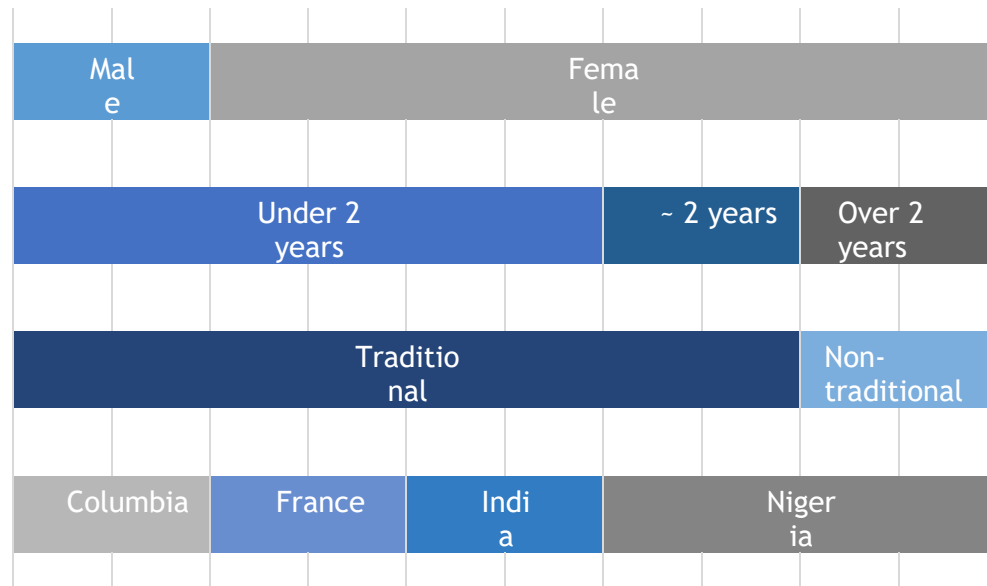


Figure 1. Focus group demographics.

Many topics were discussed during the hour-long session, but all five of the students were in agreement of the primary issues. When asked what the biggest challenge they faced when coming to CSU, a majority of the responses involved the CGE website and the accessibility and accuracy of digital information. One student’s complaint involved the difficulty she faced when attempting to register for a driver’s license in Muscogee County. Every visit to the DMV would result in rejection, because she was not aware of the many legal requirements she must meet prior to and during her visit. While this information is indeed available on both the CGE website and the International Student Handbook, it is undeniably swamped by an abundance of other information given to these students during orientation.

During the session, the concept of an interactive campus map function within the application piqued the interest of the students. They were all in agreement about the confusion they experience when attempting to find their location on the provided campus map. The building names are not common English words, and the physical signs on the buildings are often difficult to locate when students are constantly comparing their surroundings to a paper map. The notion of an interactive map that shows the user’s actual location in relation to the surrounding campus intrigued the focus group, and the students overwhelmingly approved of the feature being added to the applications design. Regarding the RiverPark campus, a student even suggested a map that not only shows the campus locations downtown, but also gives suggestions on off-campus restaurants and stores that will allow students to explore the area during free time.

2. EXECUTION PLAN

The development of a mobile application such as *CSUGo* was and will continue to be conducted in four cyclical steps: planning, prototyping, developing, and testing. This thesis focuses on completing the planning and prototyping phases and preparing for the development and testing of the application.

2.1 Planning Phase

During the planning phase, information regarding what tools and services would be beneficial for students was gathered from the CGE, as well as from the volunteer international students as mentioned in Section 1.3. The suggestions and ideas that were collected were used to construct use-case diagram to illustrate all user types and respective interactions to be performed among them. A Software Requirements Specifications (SRS) document was then written to further define the requirements and functionalities of the application in depth. Within this document are the use-case diagrams, performance requirements, security requirements, entity relationship (ER) diagrams, and a requirement traceability matrix (RTM) (see Appendix A). The latter two items, ER diagrams and RTMs, are both vital elements in all four steps of development. An application's ER diagram demonstrates the relationships between the major entities and assists in the application's database design. Developers can utilize this diagram when incorporating database software into the application's program. The RTM also serves as an organizational tool by listing the functional requirements and their respective test cases as defined in the SRS document. The RTM can be used within the prototyping, development, and testing phases to ensure that the requirements are being met.

2.2 Prototyping Phase

The prototyping phase was dedicated to establishing the application's UI/UX design, or user interface and user experience design, and incorporating the established features into a functioning prototype. *Sketch*, a free UI prototyping tool, was used to create a wireframe of *CSUGo* and its interface (as seen in Figures 1 through 11). This phase was crucial to *CSUGo*'s creation as it began to define the specificities of the layout and data storage in the application. The prototype identifies how the articles within the Orientation Topics and Information page will be displayed, how the locations will appear when the user searches within the Campus Map feature, and how the CGE chat room will be presented when users are typing and sending messages to one another. Prototyping also involves the understanding of efficient user interface and user experience design. Proper UI/UX design ensures that the application features are not only aesthetically pleasing, but also easy for users to navigate and use on their own. Therefore, a functioning prototype that incorporates this design allows the developer to understand how to program the application to meet these expectations.

A design document was also established within this phase. Much like the SRS document, the design document is vital in demonstrating important aspects of *CSUGo*. This document establishes a color palette, a logo, logo usage criteria, and the application's typography standards. The design document also includes mockups of the different screens and sub-screens of the app (see Appendix B).

2.3 Development Phase

The information within the SRS and design documents will serve as detailed guidelines for a developer to begin creating the application. On an international scale, over 80% of smartphone users prefer Android devices. Therefore, the original design will ideally be coded for such a device using Android Studio. The developer employs the RTM to then begin test-driven development prior to the official testing phase. Each requirement in the RTM is accompanied by a list of test cases that cover every possible function for each feature and its performance. For instance, the sign-in feature requirement includes the test case of “User signs in, but username and/or password does not match existing account.” To address this test case, the developer would first ensure that the functionality is programmed into the application. The developer would then run the application and test the case by entering a username and password that does not exist. If the sign-in page gives an error stating that the log-in attempt is unsuccessful, then the test case can be marked as “Passed.” Otherwise, the developer must troubleshoot the code until the test case successfully passes.

2.4 Testing Phase

Although testing occurs throughout the development cycle using the RTM, the testing phase itself is strategically placed behind prototyping and development. This allows beta testing to be performed once a solid and functioning application is programmed. Tests are performed by the designated audience (in this case, of course, international students), and qualitative surveys then capture data on their experience with the application. This survey may ask if there were any difficulties or malfunctions that they encountered when using the app, if there were any features that the user specifically liked or disliked, or if there is generally anything the user would change if he was developing the app himself. Because this project focuses specifically on the completion of planning and prototyping rather than on the actual app development, the established prototype will be used for RTM testing, as well as for initial beta tests with the focus group of international students.

The development then continues in a cyclical fashion; the constructive feedback gathered by the beta test surveys provide insight on improvements that need to be made, and the application design and coding is corrected as needed. This cycle will be performed any number of times to ensure that the product functions properly and provides sufficient services to the user. After this goal is met, *CSUGo* can then be placed on the Google Play Store for free download onto any Android device.

3. APPLICATION REQUIREMENTS

An essential first step to take when conceptualizing an application is to define its requirements. This involves gathering both functional and non-functional requirements that inform the developer of what goals the application hopes to achieve, as well as how it plans to achieve them. This section describes the requirements for *CSUGo* in a manner that provides the reader and future developers with a solid description of what the app needs.

3.1 Functional Requirements

To produce a valuable application that will address the concerns discussed in the previous section, it is vital to thoroughly describe the features and functionalities that will be incorporated into the design. These features include the log-in and account information menu, the orientation topics and information page, the ability to “favorite” articles and access them later, the interactive campus maps, and the CGE chatroom.

3.1.1 Log-In and Account Information Menu Feature

Upon first opening the application, the user will be prompted to log in using his Columbus State University student account. The user can also opt out of signing in (see Figure 1). In this case, the user cannot “favorite” articles or utilize the CGE chat feature due to the Google Hangouts API (application programming interface) configurations. Ideally, the application will not log the user out upon exiting the app, but if a user closes and restarts the application entirely, the log-in screen will appear once more. On all other app screens, a menu icon in the upper left-hand corner will allow users to view their account information and favorited articles or log out, if desired (see Figure 2). If the user has logged in as a guest, the account information menu will simply give another option to log in (see Figure 3).

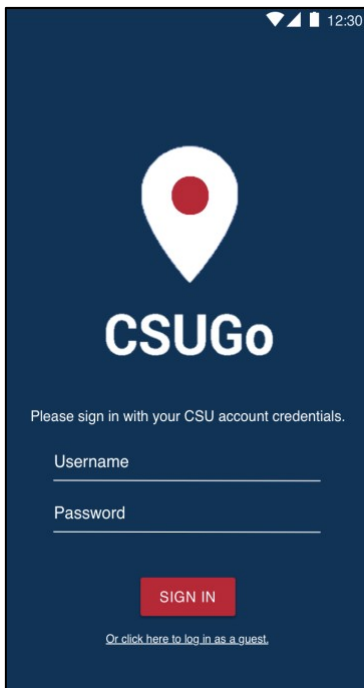


Figure 2. CSUGo log-in screen

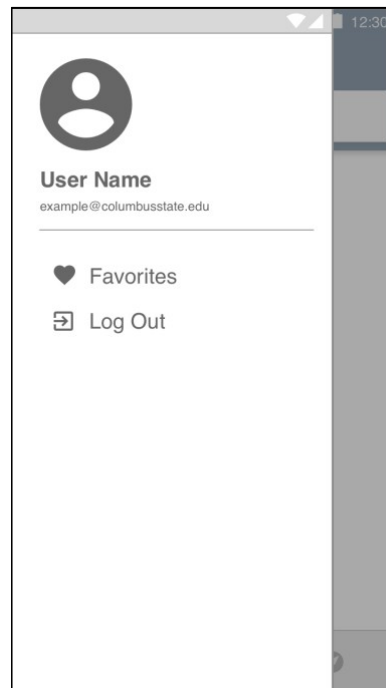


Figure 3. Account information menu for logged-in user

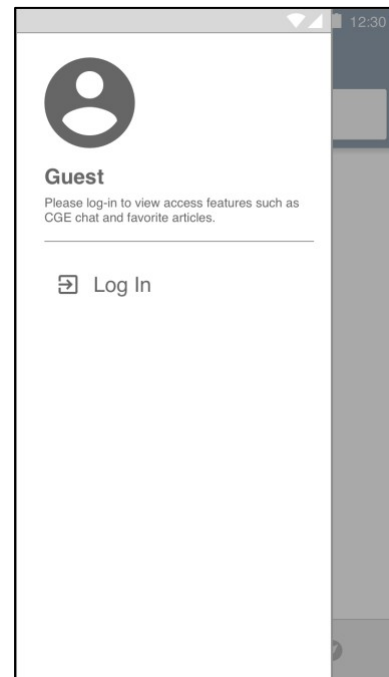


Figure 4. Account information menu for guest user

3.1.2 Orientation Topics and Information (Home Screen) Feature

Once the user has logged into the app, he or she is immediately directed to the main page, which features multiple help topics that the student can browse (see Figure 4). These topics will include Finances, Housing, Transportation, Academic Advising, etc. Some topics may have subtopics that appear in a second list once selected (see Figure 5). This information database is searchable, and users can “favorite” articles that appeal to them most to view later in the account information menu (see Figure 2). This page can be accessed at any time by selecting the home icon in the bottom navigation bar. Once a topic is selected, an overview of the information is given, and if applicable, a button is displayed at the bottom of the page that will direct users to a web page that contains more detailed information (see Figure 6). This button will open the webpage in a web browser application of their choice. If the user is logged into the application, he also has the option to “favorite” articles by clicking on the heart icon in the upper right-hand corner.

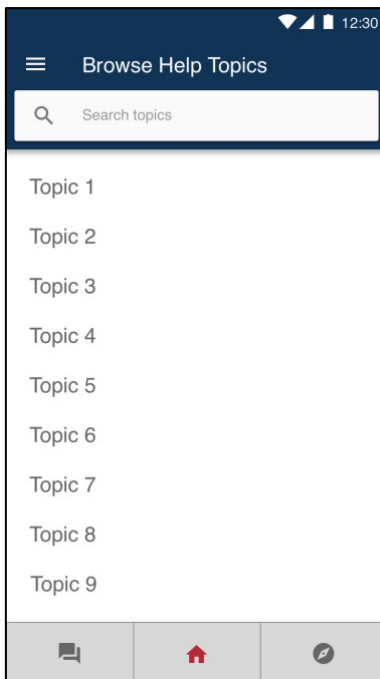


Figure 5. Orientation Topics and Information main page.

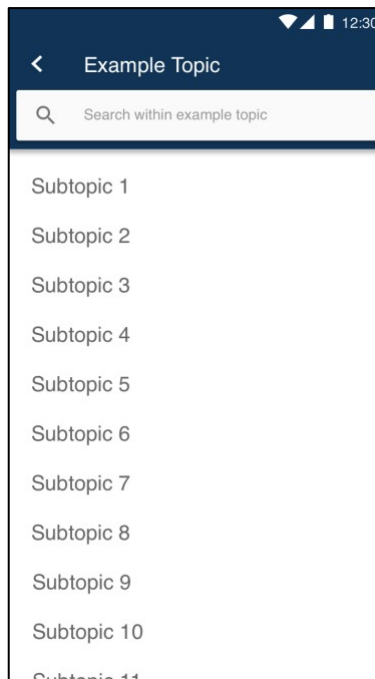


Figure 6. Example subtopics page.

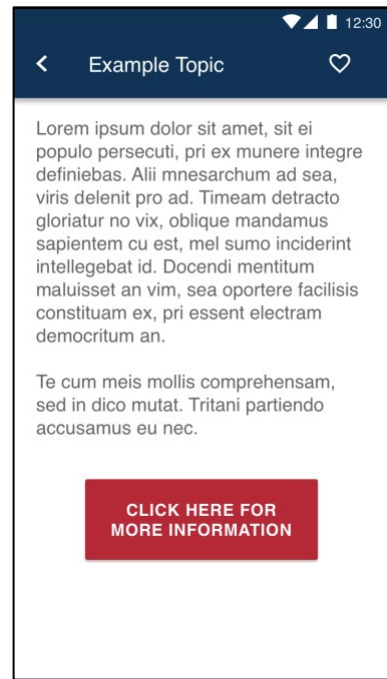


Figure 7. Example topic information page with button.

3.1.1 Favorite Articles Feature

Should the user choose to log in and “favorite” any articles from the Orientation Topics and Information feature, she can view these archived topics by clicking on the Account Information Menu icon in the upper left-hand corner at any time and then clicking on “Favorites” (see Figure 2). The Favorite Articles feature will maintain the same layout as the Orientation Topics and Information pages; the main Favorites screen features a scrollable list that allows users to browse or search among their saved articles. Once an article is selected, it will be presented in the same manner as seen in Figure 6. If no articles have been favorited, a message will appear in the Favorites menu that informs the user on how to save articles (see Figure 8).

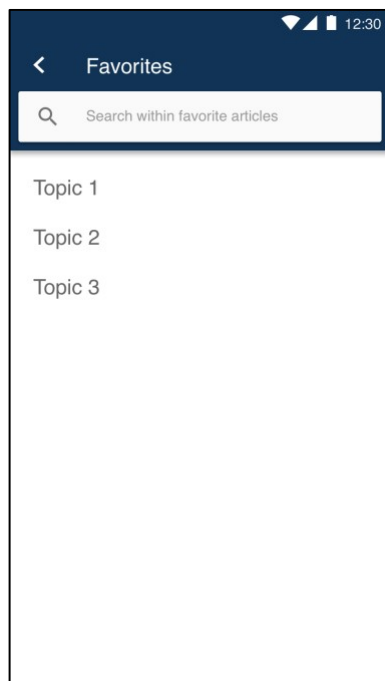


Figure 8. Favorites page

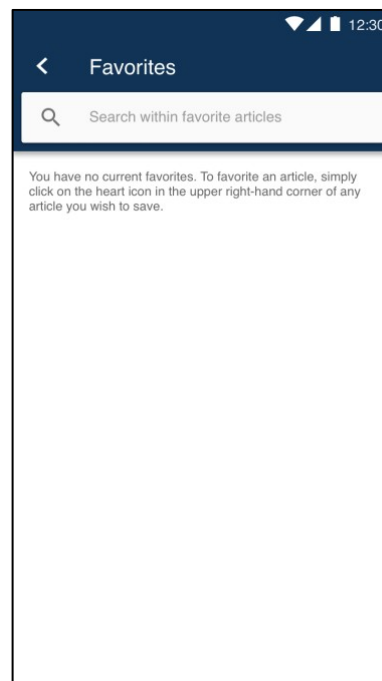


Figure 9. Favorites page with error.

3.1.1 Interactive Campus Map Feature

The interactive campus map can be found by clicking the compass icon on the bottom navigation bar, and it gives the user an immersive look at CSU’s two campuses (see Figures 7 and 8). The user can toggle between the Main and RiverPark campuses by clicking the down arrow beside the campus name. The map features both a manual search for specific buildings or facilities, as well as a “quick search” for nearby restrooms, dining locations (which include vending machines, as well), and bus stops. The map feature will integrate Google Maps API to pinpoint the user’s location and direction on the map. Once a location is chosen, the user has the option to receive walking directions to the location, much like on the *Google Maps* application.

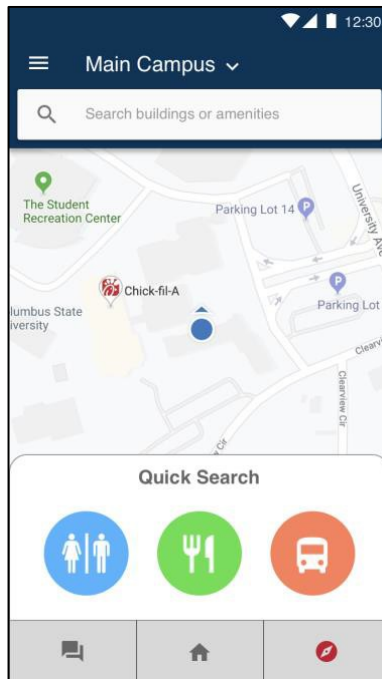


Figure 10. Main Campus map example.

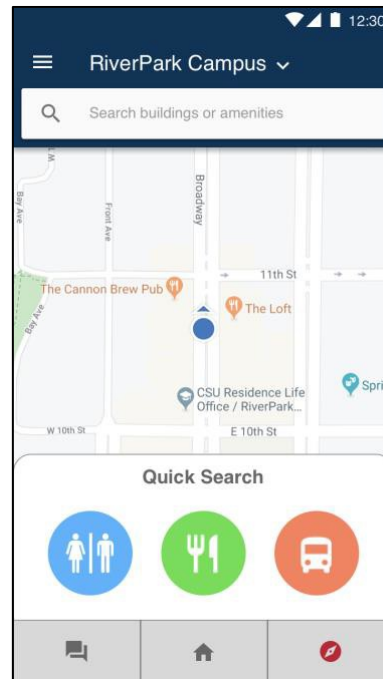


Figure 11. RiverPark map example.

3.1.5 CGE Chat Feature

The CGE Chat feature will be available during the office hours of the Center for Global Engagement. When logged in as a student, a user can click on the chat icon in the bottom menu bar. During office hours, the user can submit a question and will receive a message that says “Please wait. Connecting you to a CGE representative...” A representative will then send a message when he or she is available to chat. If the user attempts to utilize the chat feature outside of the CGE office hours, an error message will appear, asking the user to return within the provided CGE office hours. Should the user attempt to utilize the CGE chat feature when not logged in, a message will appear on the screen, asking the user to please first sign in. Signing in ensures that the student’s CSU account can connect with the account of the CGE representative via Google Hangouts, while properly informing the representative of who he is helping.

This feature will require the CGE to create a generic Google account for the designated CGE representative to log into during her office hours. The application’s chat feature can then

link specifically to that account, ensuring that the messages are sent to whoever the CGE representative is at that moment.

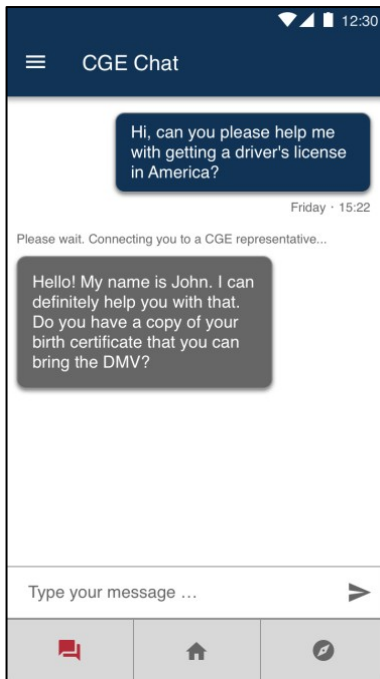


Figure 13. Successful CGE chat connection example.

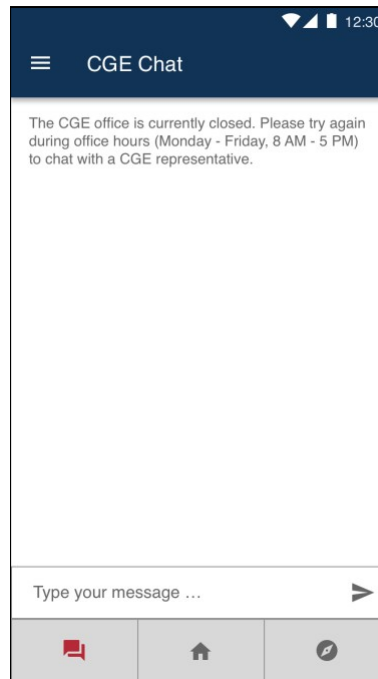


Figure 14. Unsuccessful CGE chat connection attempt outside of CGE office hours.

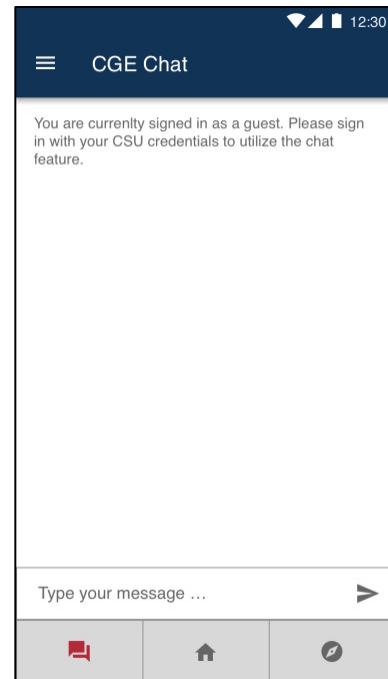


Figure 15. Unsuccessful CGE chat connection attempt when logged in as guest.

3.2 External Interface Requirements

3.2.1 User Interface Requirements

The user interface for *CSUGo* will integrate styles as outlined in the application's design document (see Appendix B). The chosen color scheme aims for simplicity and uniformity in the application, and it includes "CSU blue" and "CSU red" (defined specifically by University Relations at CSU), as well as white and two shades of gray. The Campus Map feature incorporates a small variety of additional colors for the Quick Search icons (cyan, lime green, and coral). The font will also remain homogenous with a selection of a simple sans-serif typeface such as Helvetica for the logo and any labels, content, or messages. The application logo will be incorporated by importing the logo's PNG file, and any icons within the app will be directly

chosen from a library of Android icons (with the exception of the bathroom and restaurant icons, which will also be imported from separate PNG files). The application prototype will integrate all of these design specifications and will be created on *Sketch*, an interface design toolkit.

3.2.2 Hardware Interface Requirements

The initial development of *CSUGo* will be optimized for any Android device at any resolution. Future expansion to iOS devices, or devices created and developed by Apple, will ideally be programmed to operate on any iPhone or iPad. The application will open any external sites on the device's default browser, which needs to support HTML, CSS, and JavaScript.

3.2.3 Software Interfaces

Android Studio will be utilized to develop the application based on the design and software requirements previously specified in this section. Informational content stored in *CSUGo* will be stored in an SQL database. A change in database software can occur if ease of updating content will be positively affected. Google Maps API and Google Hangouts API will both need to be implemented to grant appropriate functionalities to the Campus Map and CGE Chat features, respectively.

4. MOVING FORWARD

After the full gathering of official application requirements, an initial testing of the functioning prototype was conducted, and data was gathered regarding the user experience. This data is used to acknowledge the application's strengths, as well as areas for potential improvement. This section discusses the test results and initiatives that can be taken to enhance the application in the future.

4.1 Prototype Testing with Focus Group

To follow up on the initial interview that was held with the focus group of international students in August 2019, the group reconvened in October 2019 for a test of the application's functioning prototype. The meeting began with an explanation of the goals and features of *CSUGo* based on the information gathered from the previous interview, as well as from external resources. The features were then presented to the group using the prototype preview feature within the *Sketch* app. The computer was then passed around among the group to allow the individual students to interact with the prototype and ask any questions. A survey was then distributed to gather opinions and any additional comments that the students had about the application or its prototype (see Appendix C).

The survey results reflected a mass approval and appreciation of the application concept and design. As observed in Figure 14, when rated on a scale of 1 to 5 (1 being 'not useful at all', 5 being 'extremely useful'), the Orientation Topics and Information feature and the Campus Map feature both received a perfect rating of 5 from 100% of the interviewees. Only one of the five interviewees found the Favorited Articles feature to be neither beneficial nor useless, and, likewise, only one of the students rated the CGE Chat feature as only somewhat useful. All other gathered ratings concluded that the focus group mostly agreed that *CSUGo*'s functionalities provide international students like themselves with a more advantageous

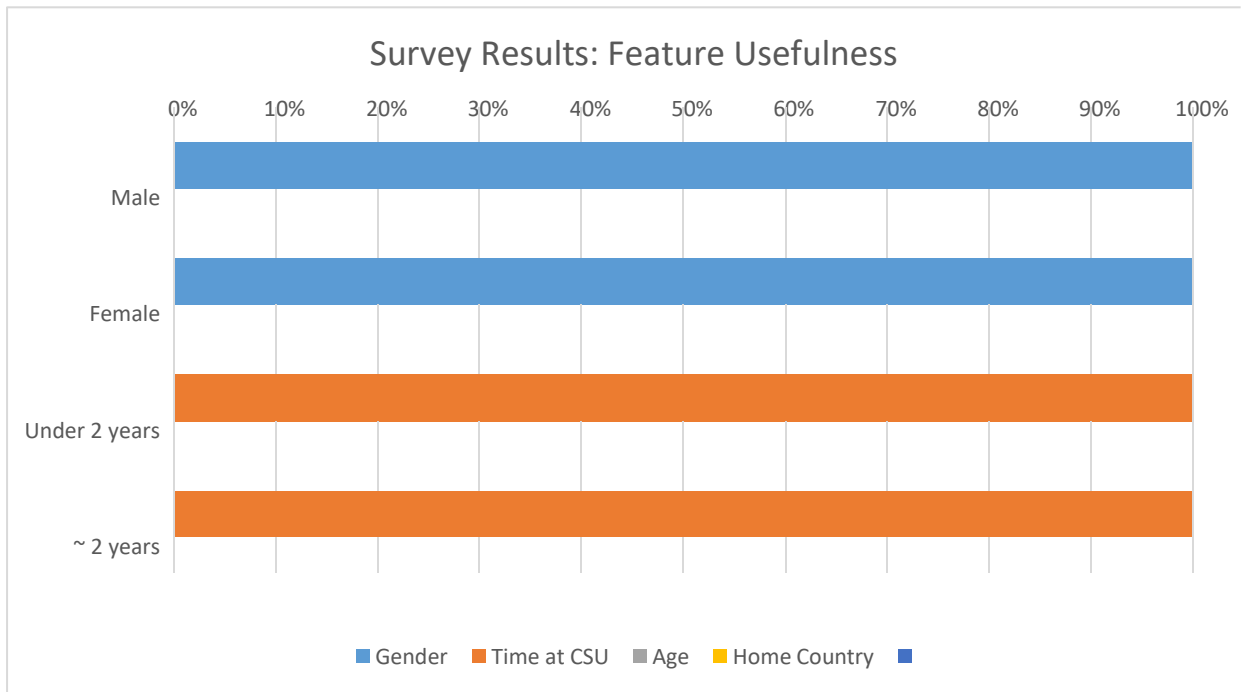


Figure 16. Survey results for usefulness of each application feature.

The survey additionally collected any positive or negative comments the students wanted to input about the experience with the prototype. When asked what the student’s favorite aspect of the application is, the CGE Chat and Campus Map features were common answers. However, one student noted that she greatly appreciated how user-friendly the interface is and that it is convenient for users who are not very familiar with technology. This comment assured that the goal for a pleasant and easy user experience can be achieved. On the contrary, in response to the question, “What do you believe can be improved about the application?”, only a couple of answers were given as many of the surveys were left empty in that field. One response suggested that the application include language translation capabilities, which indeed opens an opportunity for expansion once the application is developed (discussed further in Section 4.3). The final suggestion for improvement involved merely ensuring that the application can be viewed in “Dark Mode” once developed. “Dark Mode” is a popular feature among mobile applications and allows the user to toggle between the standard light colors and much darker hues that are more comfortable to look at, especially at nighttime. While this would be beneficial for the aesthetics of the interface, “dark mode” is not absolutely crucial in regard to application functionality.

4.2 iOS Development

In order to ensure that *CSUGo* is readily available to all international students with mobile devices, development for iOS (Apple) devices must be considered. This can be achieved in one of two methods: split development upon completion of requirements or the use of a conversion tool. The former method would operate best in a corporate setting, where two teams of developers, an Android team and an iOS team, can begin programming for their respective platform once the requirements and prototype are established and delivered. However, the goals of this project would be better suited for the latter option. Upon conclusion of this thesis, the SRS and design documents will be given to the TSYs School of Computer Science at CSU and will be incorporated into the curriculum of an Android development course. This will allow students to practice developing Android applications with given software requirements. Once the application is developed on Android Studio, one can simply use a tool such as *MechDome* to convert the application programming to iOS. Plans for this conversion have not yet been established and will be discussed after full development and testing of the Android application.

4.3 Potential Post-Development Expansions

Once the application is developed using the design and software requirements and successfully launched, the development cycle can potentially continue on as ideas for expansion are brainstormed and discussed. This section will consider possible features and capabilities that *CSUGo* can incorporate in further development that will enhance the user experience.

4.3.1 Language Translation

Because the intentions of *CSUGo* are to meet the needs of all international students studying abroad at CSU, the application would clearly benefit from including a language translation feature that will allow students to read articles in the language of their home country. Implementing this feature would require an added Settings option in the Account Information menu, where the user can browse the available language options. Once chosen, the topics, articles, and additional text will automatically be translated to that language. An ideal API to incorporate for this functionality is the Google Translate API, which includes over 100 supported languages and is free to use for the first 50 requests per day. Once the maximum of 50 requests is met, \$0.05 is charged for each additional request, an expense that will need to be discussed with the university and CGE. While Google Translate has evolved into a highly dependable translation tool, a substantial amount of testing will need to be conducted once it is implemented into the application, ideally with international students who fluently speak the languages being translated. This will ensure that all information is properly translated into readable articles and labels.

4.3.2 Bus Schedules

Incorporating the campus’s shuttle bus schedules into the applications interface design offers an easily accessible timetable that students can access on their mobile devices. However, the implementation of this feature involves a database table that must be regularly updated to match the most recent shuttle bus timetables. Currently, CSU’s bus schedule is hosted on a PDF sheet that can be accessed on the university’s website. This PDF includes a sizable color-coded table that includes every bus departure at each stop from 6:30 AM to 11:36 PM. A second table in the document provides the smaller weekend shuttle schedule.

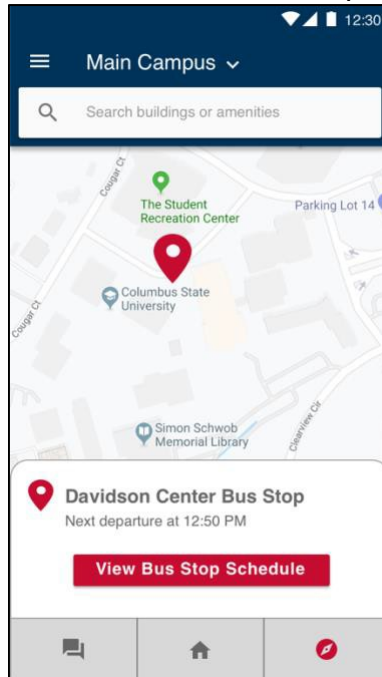


Figure 17. Bus stop information panel with next departure time and "View Bus Stop Schedule" button.



Figure 18. Bus stop schedule with upcoming departure times.

One approach to adding the schedule to the application is by including it in the Campus Map feature. When a user selects a bus stop, the bus stop name and next departure will appear in the bottom information panel, along with a button that leads the user to that bus stop’s arrival schedule (see Figure 15). Through this method, the information from the bus schedule will be narrowed down to only the bus departures for the stop that the user is looking at. The departure times will then appear in a scrollable list for the user to browse (see Figure 16).

4.1.1 Chatbot

Another idea for enhancing the user experience involves incorporating a chatbot into the CGE chat functionality. Chatbot services allow users to message an artificially intelligent robot that has both knowledge of the application’s database, as well as learned information from continuous interactions. This service will ensure not only that students are being helped in a timely matter, but also that users can access the chat outside of CGE office hours. One option for a chatbot that can be integrated into *CSUGo*’s design is the Amazon Lex interface. This interface is a cost-effective service that is heavily based on the artificial intelligence

that supports Amazon Alexa. Each text request sent to the bot costs \$0.00075. Like that of the Google Translate API, this cost is quite small but will nevertheless need to be discussed prior to implementation.

While these three features will undoubtedly add further value to the application, developers are invited to brainstorm and propose additional ideas for expansions. Continuing the gathering and interviewing of student focus groups is very much encouraged as they will assist in the consistent growth and improvement of the application.

CONCLUSION

The creation and gathering of requirements for *CSUGo* will provide developers with an in-depth understanding of the application's features and what must be done to accomplish the goals of the application. According to the interviews conducted with current international students at CSU, this application will indeed greatly aid them in their orientation to life in America and at Columbus State University, ensuring that their transition is easier and that any help they need is addressed as soon as possible.

Not only does this thesis ensure that the development of the application will yield these results, but it also discusses potential avenues of growth for *CSUGo*, the possibilities for which are seemingly endless. It is the hopes of the author that developers will one day expand the capabilities of the application to their maximum potential. Ultimately, *CSUGo* will provide a revolutionary service to both the community of international students and the general student population at Columbus State University.

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APPENDICES

7.1 Appendix A: SRS Document

Software Requirements Specification

for *CSUGo*

Version 1.1

Prepared by Hannah Turner

Acknowledgement: Sections of this document are based upon the IEEE Guide to Software Requirements Specification (IEEE 830)

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Revision History

| Name | Date | Reason For Changes | Version |
|---------------|-------------|--|----------------|
| Hannah Turner | 10/28/19 | Change in requirements based on student interview. | 1.1 |
| | | | |

1. Introduction

1.1 Purpose

The purpose of this document is to define and describe the requirements of building and designing *CSUGo*, a mobile application that will assist international students in their orientation period at Columbus State University.

1.2 Intended Audience and Reading Suggestions

This Software Requirements document is intended for:

- a) Developers who can utilize the document in designing and maintaining features for the application.
- b) Testers who can use the document as a guide for testing features.
- c) Students and faculty who wish to read about the background and functionalities of the application.

1.3 Product Scope

This application will provide international students with a more accessible and personalized orientation to CSU's campus. The application will incorporate an interactive map for CSU's Main and RiverPark campuses. It will also host a variety of useful information, as well as a free chat service, that will help international students smoothly adjust to life in America.

2. Overall Description

2.1 Product Perspective

CSUGo is a new, self-contained product that will utilize Google Maps and Hangouts Chat APIs within the campus map component. The application will also feature a log-in that connects with the user's CSU student account.

2.2 Product Functions

This application will provide users with the following functions/features:

- **Log-In:** Users can log in to their CSU student account.
- **Orientation Topics and Information:** Users can access a list of useful orientation topics. Once chosen, the user can browse information related to the topic.
- **Interactive Campus Map:** The app will integrate Google Map API to provide a detailed map of both campuses.
- **CGE Chat:** During the office hours of CSU's Center for Global Engagement, users can chat with an available employee in the office to ask any specific questions he/she may have. This feature will require the Google Hangouts Chat API.

2.3 User Classes and Characteristics

The website will have the following user classes:

- **Student:** This user will have access to all of the application's features and will be able to utilize them efficiently.
- **CGE Information Administrator:** This user will be able to edit the application's orientation information.
- **CGE Chat Representative:** This user will monitor the chat during CGE office hours and will answer any questions students may have.
- **Developer/Designer:** This user will have access to the application's source code and can edit it at any time.

2.4 Operating Environment

This application will run on any version of an Android smart phone or tablet. Internet connectivity is required. Any links to external sites will be opened in the device's default browser, which must support HTML, CSS, and JavaScript.

2.5 Design and Implementation Constraints

CSUGo is an application that relies on a consistent upkeep of available information. Once implemented, CSU must appoint an employee to be responsible for all orientation-related information. The application also connects to *MyCSU*. If this service is unavailable, the application will run correctly, but the chat and favorited articles features will be unavailable.

CSU will also need to appoint a developer to maintain the software once the application is live.

2.6 Assumptions and Dependencies

CSUGo will operate on any version of an Android smart phone or tablet. This application's log-in feature depends on connectivity to *myCSU*. The map feature depends on the Google Maps and Hangouts Chat APIs. Internet connectivity is mandatory for application use.

3. External Interface Requirements

3.1 Hardware Interfaces

- Android phone or tablet (any version)

3.2 Software Interfaces

- Android Studio
- Java
- Google Maps API
- Google Hangouts Chat API
- SQL Database

4. System Features

4.1 Log-In Feature

Once opened, the app will automatically prompt the user to log in using their CSU account, or as a guest. Ideally, the application will not log the user out upon closing the app. Once logged in, the user can open and close the app freely. A menu icon in the upper left-hand corner will allow users to view their account information and log out (if logged into CSU account) or log in (if logged in as guest).

Requirement ID: REQ-1



Figure 1. CSUGo log-in screen.

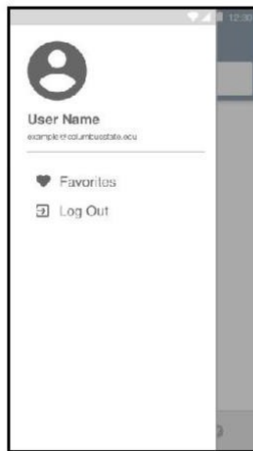


Figure 2. Account information menu for logged-in user.



Figure 3. Account information menu for guest user.

4.2 Orientation Topics and Information (Home Screen) Feature

Once the user has logged into the app, he or she is directed to the main page, which features multiple help topics that the student can browse. These topics will include Finances, Housing, Transportation, Academic Advising, etc. The user will have the option to search certain topics and articles.

Requirement ID: REQ-2

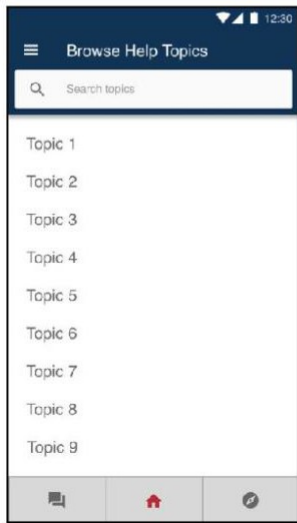


Figure 4. Orientation topics and information main page.

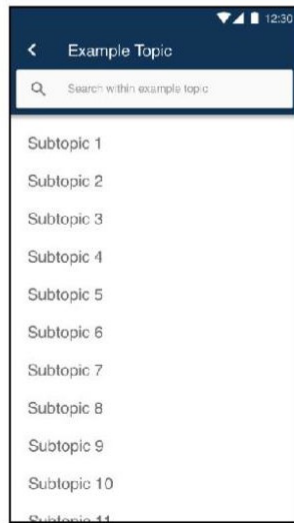


Figure 5. Example subtopics page.



Figure 6. Example topic information page with button.

4.3 Favorited Article Feature

Should the user choose to log in and “favorite” any articles from the Orientation Topics and Information feature, she can view these archived topics by clicking on the Account Information Menu icon in the upper left-hand corner at any time and then clicking on “Favorites.” The Favorite Articles feature will maintain the same layout as the Orientation Topics and Information pages; the main Favorites screen features a scrollable list that allows users to browse or search among their saved articles. Once an article is selected, it will be presented in the same manner as seen in Figure 6. If no articles have been favorited, a message will appear in the Favorites menu that informs the user on how to save articles. The user will not receive the Favorites menu option if not logged in.

Requirement ID: REQ-3



Figure 7. Favorites page.



Figure 8. Favorites page with error.

4.4 Interactive Campus Map Feature

The interactive campus map can be found by clicking the compass icon on the bottom menu bar, and it gives the user an immersive look at CSU’s campus. The user can toggle between the Main and RiverPark campuses by clicking the arrow beside the camps name. The map features both a manual search for specific building names, as well as a “quick search” for nearby restrooms, restaurants, and bus stops. Once a location is chosen, the user has the option to receive walking directions to the location, much like on the *Google Maps* application.

Requirement ID: REQ-4

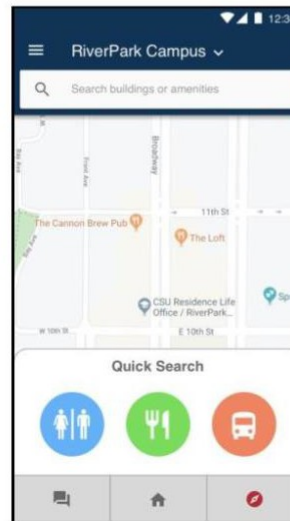
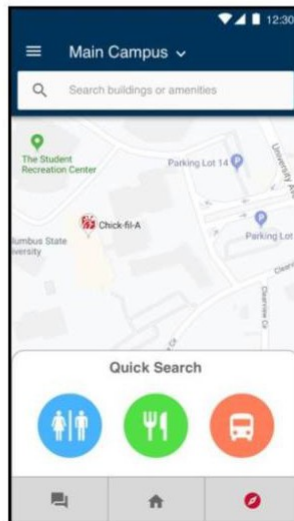


Figure 9. Main Campus map example. Figure 10. RiverPark map example.

4.5 CGE Chat Feature

The CGE Chat feature will be available during the CGE office hours. When logged in, a user can click on the chat icon in the bottom menu bar. During office hours, the user can submit a question and will receive a message that says “Please wait. Connecting you to a CGE representative...” A representative will then send a message when he or she is available to chat. If the user attempts to utilize the chat feature outside of the CGE office hours or as a guest, an appropriate error message will appear, asking the user to return within CGE office hours.

Requirement ID: REQ-5



Figure 11. Successful CGE chat connection example.



Figure 12. Unsuccessful CGE chat connection attempt outside of CGE office hours.

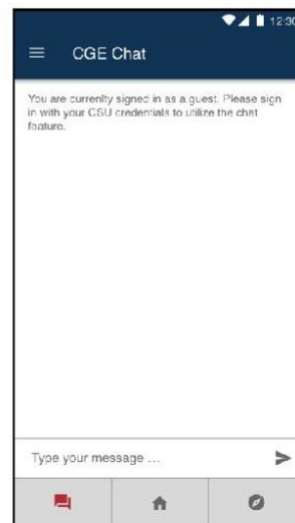
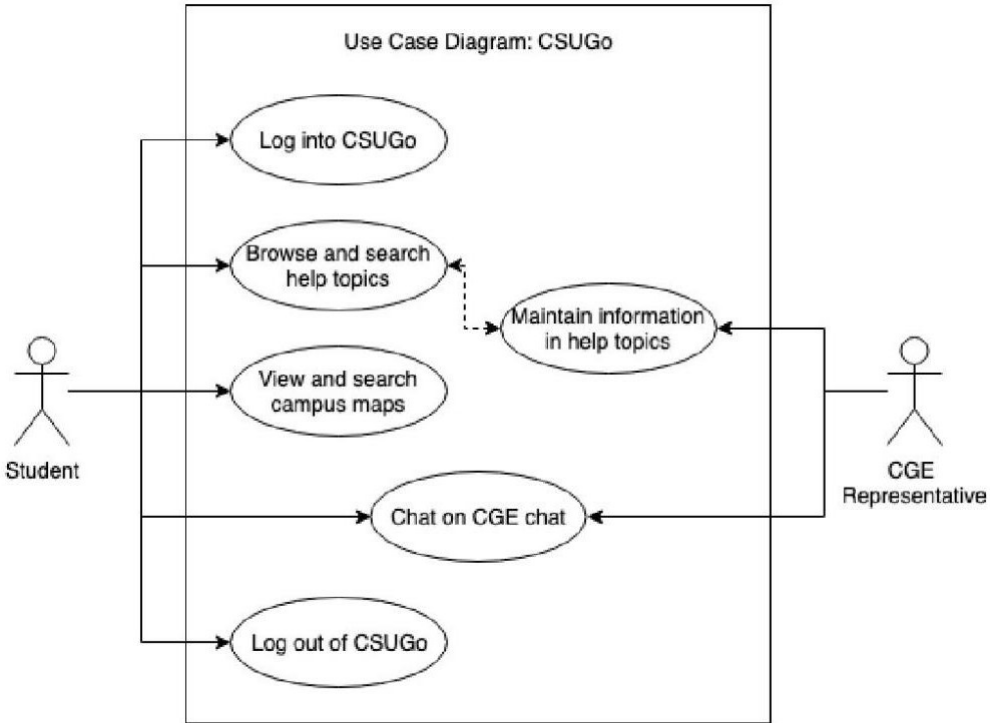
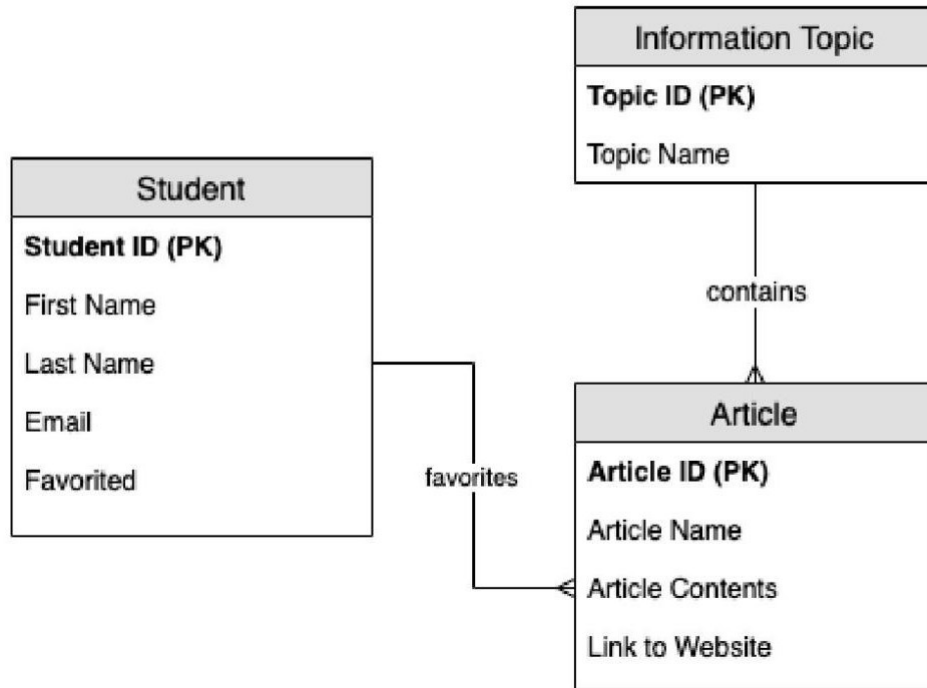


Figure 13. Unsuccessful CGE chat connection attempt when logged in as guest.

5. Use Case Diagram



6. ER Diagram



7. Requirements Traceability Matrix

| Req. ID | Req. Description | Test-Case ID | Test-Case Description |
|---------|--|--------------|--|
| REQ-1 | Log-In Feature | TC-1 | Upon opening for the first time, CSUGo log-in screen appears. |
| | | TC-2 | User can log in as student. |
| | | TC-3 | User can log in as guest. |
| | | TC-4 | After logging in, user can open and close the app without being logged out. |
| | | TC-5 | After logging in, user can view account and log out using menu. |
| | | TC-6 | If logged in as guest, user can log in as student later using menu. |
| | | TC-7 | If user logs out, he or she is redirected to main log-in screen. |
| REQ-2 | Orientation Topics and Information (Home Screen) Feature | TC-8 | When the home icon on the bottom menu is clicked, app will direct user to the Orientation Topics and Information page. |
| | | TC-9 | App will provide appropriate articles when a keyword is searched. |
| | | TC-10 | When a topic is selected, appropriate articles appear in a scrollable list. |
| | | TC-11 | When an article is selected, the appropriate article information and link to external website (if applicable) appears. |

| | | | |
|-------|--------------------------------|-------|---|
| | | TC-12 | When external link is clicked, website is opened in default browser. |
| | | TC-13 | If a user favorites an article, the heart icon remains filled with white. |
| | | TC-14 | If a user un-favorites an article, the heart icon remains empty. |
| | | TC-15 | The back icon will redirect users to the last page. |
| REQ-3 | Favorited Article Feature | TC-16 | When the Favorites item in the menu is clicked, app will direct user to list favorited articles |
| | | TC-17 | If the user has not favorited any articles, an appropriate message appears informing user how to add to favorites. |
| | | TC-18 | App will provide appropriate favorited articles when a keyword is searched. |
| | | TC-19 | The back icon will redirect users to the last page. |
| REQ-4 | Interactive Campus Map Feature | TC-20 | When the compass icon on the bottom menu is clicked, app will direct user to the Interactive Campus Map (default map is Main Campus). |
| | | TC-21 | User can toggle between Main Campus and RiverPark Campus by clicking the arrow icon next to the campus name. |
| | | TC-22 | App will provide appropriate search results when user manually searches a keyword. |
| | | TC-23 | User can click the restroom, restaurant, or bus stop icon under "Quick Search" to |

| | | | |
|-------|------------------|-------|--|
| | | | view nearby locations for each category. |
| | | TC-24 | User can choose a location, choose "Directions," and receive walking directions to the location. |
| | | TC-25 | User's location is correctly pinpointed on map at all times. |
| REQ-5 | CGE Chat Feature | TC-26 | When the chat icon on the bottom menu is clicked, app will direct user to the CGE Chat. |
| | | TC-27 | If the user attempts to utilize the chat feature outside of CGE office hours, an error message will appear. |
| | | TC-28 | If the user attempts to utilize the chat feature as a guest, an error message will appear. |
| | | TC-29 | Once a user submits a question during appropriate hours, a message will appear while the app connects to a CGE representative. |
| | | TC-30 | The user can successfully send messages to the representative. |
| | | TC-31 | The representative can successfully send messages to the user. |

7.2 Appendix B: Design Document

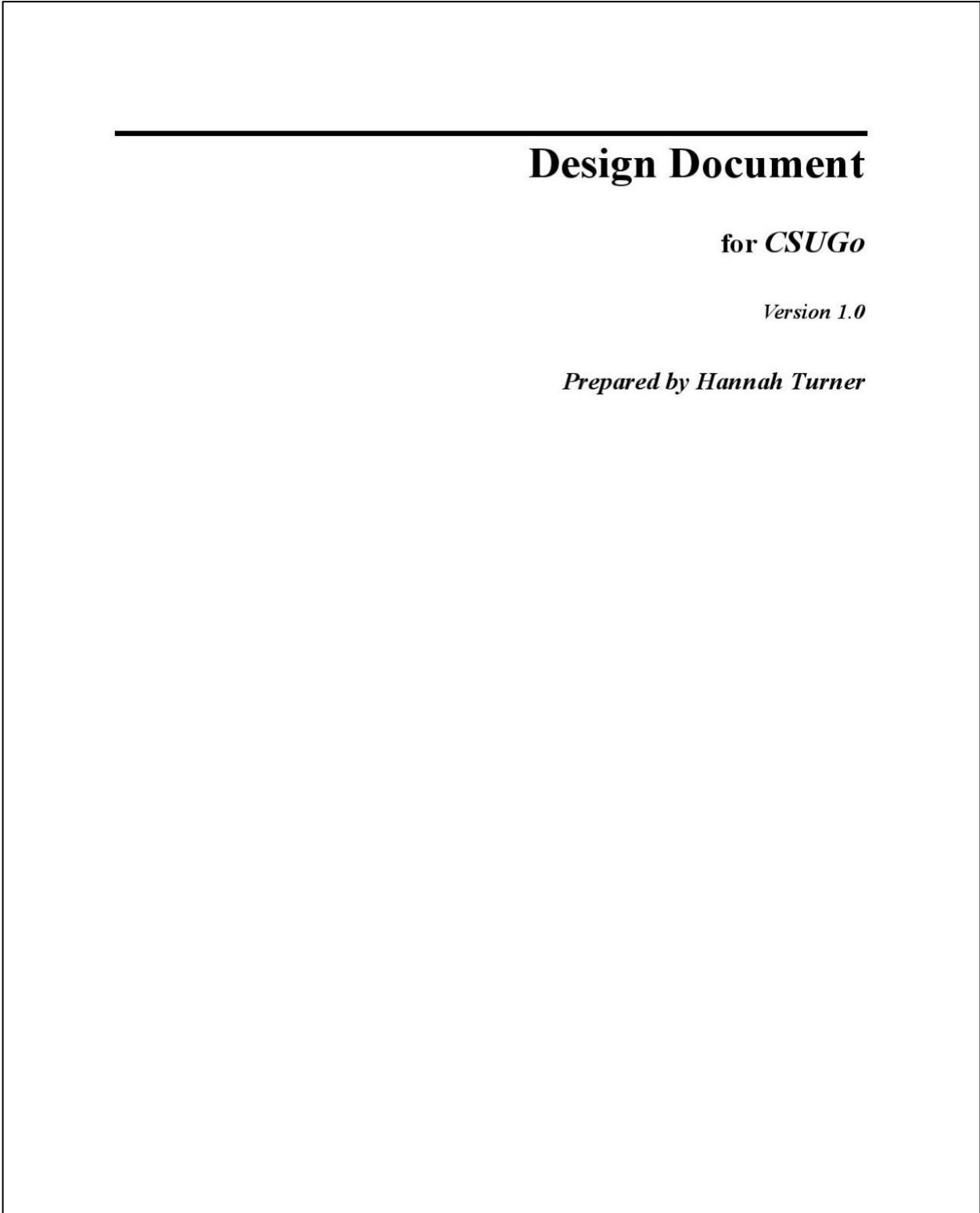


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Revision History

| Name | Date | Reason For Changes | Version |
|------|------|--------------------|---------|
| | | | |
| | | | |

1. Logo Usage

1.1 Basic Logo Rules

- Do not reconstruct the logo or any of its components.
- The arrangement of each element must not be modified in any way.
- Always allow ample space around all four sides of logo.
- The logo must have a background of “CSU blue” as defined by University Relations (#003359).
- Do not add additional graphic elements, words or symbols to the logo.
- Do not change the color of the white font, the white location symbol, or the red center of the location symbol.
- The logo without text will be used for any app icons.

1.2 Proper Use of CSUGo Logo



Figure 1. CSUGo logo with "CSU blue" background.



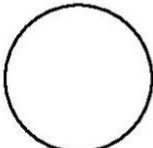







Figure 2. Round app icon.



Figure 3. Square app icon.

2. Color Standards

| Swatch | Hexadecimal Code | RGB | Uses |
|---|------------------|--------------------|---|
|  | #003359 | rgb(0, 51, 91) | Launch screen background, app bar, status bar |
|  | #c60c30 | rgb(198, 12, 48) | Sign in button, more information button, currently selected navigation bar buttons |
|  | #ffffff | rgb(0, 0, 0) | General app background, search bar, any text or icons on dark backgrounds |
|  | #d8d8d8 | rgb(216, 216, 216) | Bottom navigation bar, status bar when menu is open |
|  | #666666 | rgb(102, 102, 102) | Navigation bar buttons, separation lines in navigation bar, text or icons on white background, CGE rep chat boxes |

| Swatch | Hexadecimal Code | RGB | Uses |
|---|------------------|-------------------|--|
|  | #003359 | rgb(71, 178, 255) | Restroom button in campus map quick search |
|  | #51df45 | rgb(81, 223, 69) | Restaurant button in campus map quick search |
|  | #ff7d59 | rgb(255, 125, 89) | Busses button in campus map quick search |

3. Typography Standards

3.1 Basic Typography Rules

- All text in *CSUGo* will be in a sans-serif font. Preferred fonts for the application are either Helvetica or Arial.
- Font will be reasonably sized in respects to the dimensions of its container.
- Font within buttons may be bolded if necessary.
- Font within content sections may be bolded, italicized, or underlined as necessary for the article.

3.2 Typography Examples:

Example 1

Example 2

Example 3

This is example body text. Text may be **bolded**. It may also be *italicized*. Text may also be underlined. This is example body text. Text may be **bolded**. It may also be *italicized*. Text may also be underlined. This is example body text. Text may be **bolded**. It may also be *italicized*. Text may also be underlined.

7.3 Appendix C: Focus Group Interview Questions

1. Where are you from?
2. What are you studying at CSU?
3. How long have you been attending CSU?
4. What challenges did you face when first coming to CSU?
5. What do you wish CSU did differently with your orientation period?
6. What do you think CSU did well with your orientation period?
7. Do you have any additional comments or suggestions?

7.5 Appendix D: Prototype Test Survey

On a scale of 1 to 5, please rate how useful you find each feature (1 being 'not at all useful', 5 being 'extremely useful'):

| | | | | | |
|-------------------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|
| Orientation Topics and Information: | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Favorited Articles: | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Campus Map: | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| CGE Chat: | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

What is your favorite aspect of the application?

What do you believe can be improved about the application?



Charlene Ubah is graduating with a B.S. in Biology with a premedical concentration. During her time at CSU, she completed all tiers of the iLead program, was a founder of Kinkz & Curlz Natural Hair Club, and was a member of the Competitive Premedical Studies Program. She was also a student assistant at the Student Rec Center and a Community Advisor for Residence Life.

Charlene plans to apply to optometry school to obtain a Doctor of Optometry degree.



HONORS COLLEGE
COLUMBUS STATE UNIVERSITY

The Effects of Potassium Benzoate on Early Zebrafish Development

Biology 4392H Research Report

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Abstract

Potassium benzoate (PB) is a chemical food preservative used as a healthier substitute for sodium benzoate (SB) (Afshar et al. 2013). Recently, PB and SB have been linked to negative effects on embryonic development. A few studies have tested the effects of SB on zebrafish development, and one study was carried out that tested the effects of PB on fetal mice growth. However, there are no studies on the possible effects of PB on development in zebrafish embryos, even though zebrafish serves as a favorable model system to observe developmental effects. In this study, zebrafish embryos were exposed to varying concentrations of PB and the mortality percentage, hatching rate, and any eye or body abnormalities were identified. The results indicated that PB had no specific effect on eye development in zebrafish larvae, but did increase mortality at levels of 100 ppm and higher. PB also increased the hatching rate of the 5 ppm and 10 ppm treatment groups.

Introduction

PB and SB are derivative salts of benzoic acid, commonly used as food preservatives to delay the development of mold, bacteria, and fungus (Zengin et al. 2011). Chemical preservatives, including PB and SB, are a staple in the food industry because they are more effective than traditional preservatives, such as sugar and salt (Türkoğlu 2007). The FDA regards as safe concentrations of SB and PB in foods of up to 0.1% (Lennerz et al. 2016). SB is mainly used as an antifungal agent to preserve juices, sweets (such as jams), soft drinks, and margarine (Stanojevic et al. 2009). PB is used as a healthier alternative to SB in low-sodium foods (Afshar et al. 2013). The major source of benzoates in the diet are soft drinks (Tfouni and Toledo 2002). Lennerz et al. (2015) showed that the consumption of a soft drink can lead to a spike in blood benzoate levels of 2.5 ppm.

Recently, there have been concerns about the effects of SB and PB on embryonic development. In rats, a dosage of 1000 ppm of SB has been shown to produce gross anomalies, reduced fetal body weight, and an increase in utero deaths (Toxnet 2016). Additionally, PB has been seen to cause developmental defects in fetal mice. Afshar et al. (2013) tested the effects of PB on eye development in fetal mice. The experimental doses of PB used were 280 ppm and 560 ppm. Eye defects were present in both experimental groups, but was seen more in the group that received 560 ppm of PB. Fetuses had extensive eye hemorrhaging, deformed lenses, and retinal folds with undeveloped layers.

Zebrafish provide a more convenient model for testing the effects of teratogens on development compared to rats and mice. Zebrafish have a shorter generation time and produce a large number of transparent eggs per mating cycle (Briggs 2002). These transparent eggs make it easy to externally examine embryos for malformations. They also have external fertilization, which makes all stages of development accessible for research (Briggs 2002). Embryonic development happens very quickly, with the body plan being established by 24 hours post-fertilization (hpf) and most organs being fully developed within 96 hpf (Segner 2009). Most importantly, zebrafish and humans, as vertebrates, share developmental programs; in fact, 69% of zebrafish genes have a human homolog (Howe et al. 2013). Zebrafish are also highly amenable to testing the effects of drugs and other chemicals on development (Bradford et al. 2017).

There have not been any studies looking at the effects of PB on zebrafish development, but there have been a few studies using SB. Gaur et al. (2018) completed a study on the effects of SB on zebrafish embryos and the results indicated that SB had negative effects on the survival and hatching rates and induced physical malformations, such as yolk sac and pericardial edema and tail-bending. Tsay et al. (2007) also studied the effects of SB on zebrafish embryos and found that treatment with SB led to reduced tactile sensitivity, irregular muscle fiber alignments, and axon and neuromuscular defects. Furthermore, SB was seen to cause reduced mobility and neurotoxic effects in developing zebrafish embryos (Chen et al. 2009). However, none of these studies have shown that SB has an effect on eye development.

From prior research, it is now known that SB can induce developmental defects in zebrafish, and PB can result in eye defects in fetal mice. Nonetheless, there is limited research on the developmental effects of PB in other model systems, such as zebrafish. In this study, I will test to determine if PB can cause developmental defects in zebrafish embryos

and document the tolerance of zebrafish embryos to four concentrations of PB. Additionally, I will pay special attention to the effects on eye development.

Methods

Zebrafish Maintenance and Breeding

Adult zebrafish were purchased from Carolina Biological Supply and housed in a 10-gallon aquarium at 28.5°C with 14 hours of light and 10 hours of darkness. Food was withheld the night before embryo collection and marbles were added to the tank. The next morning embryos were collected with a siphon from the bottom of the tank within 1 hour of the light coming on. Embryos were washed and incubated in egg water at 28.5°C.

Experimental Treatments

Embryos were treated with four different concentrations of PB: 0, 5, 10, 100, and 1000 ppm. Treatments began at 8 hpf and continued through hatching. Each embryo was raised in 3 ml of egg water plus treatment. Each treatment included 12 replications.

Observations of Developing Embryos

Embryos were observed once a day using a dissecting microscope until hatching. Hatching rate and mortality were determined and developmental abnormalities were noted and recorded with a camera. Expected abnormalities included yolk sac edema, pericardial edema, hypopigmentation, spinal curvature, smaller caudal fin area, and tail-bending.

Histological Examination

After five days post fertilization (dpf), larvae from each treatment were anesthetized and fixed in 10% neutral-buffered formalin for 6-8 hours. Larvae were dehydrated in an ethanol series and embedded in paraffin. Larvae were sliced into sections 5-µm thick and stained with hematoxylin and eosin (H and E stain) to observe retinal thickness, lamination, and organization. The optic nerve was used as a reference point to identify medial sections, where eye diameters were measured. The presence of abnormalities in the eye anatomy, or lack thereof, were observed in these sections, such as the presence and absence of major structures, retinal organization, eye hemorrhage, and deformed lens.

Data Analysis

The mortality rate was analyzed by comparing the experimental treatments to the control using Fischer's exact test. All statistical tests used an alpha value of 0.05 in assessing the significance of differences.

Results

There was a significant difference in the mortality percentage in the 100 ppm and 1000 ppm treatment groups compared to the control treatment (0 ppm) (Fischer's Exact Test, $P < 0.0001$; Figure 1). Both treatments had a 91.7% higher mortality than the 0 ppm treatment. There was also a significant difference in the hatching percentage in the 5 ppm and 10 ppm treatments compared to the control treatment at 2 dpf (Fischer's Exact Test, $P = 0.049$; Figure 2). The 5 ppm and 10 ppm treatments had a 36% higher hatching rate than the 0 ppm treatment. Data from the 100 ppm and 1000 ppm were not included due to the high death

rate. The histological analysis showed that there was no difference in the retinal organization or thickness among the 0 ppm, 5 ppm, or 10 ppm treatment groups (Figure 4). In each treatment, all the retinal layers and the lenses were present and there were no discrepancies in retinal layer thickness. Upon physical observations, tail-bending was the only deformity seen, specifically in the 100 ppm treatment group (Figure 5).

Discussion

Results indicate that PB has no toxicity specific to eye development in zebrafish, but does increase mortality at the levels of 100 ppm and 1000 ppm. However, there were other abnormalities seen in the 100 ppm and 1000 ppm as they were growing in the chorion, but only the hatched larvae could be observed thoroughly. Both treatment groups had 100% mortality by the end of the treatment period.

PB also accelerated the hatching rate of the 5 ppm and 10 ppm treatment groups. These results could have been influenced by the benefits of potassium, an essential mineral for muscle contractions. For zebrafish larvae to break out of the chorion, a thrashing back and forth movement is needed. Increased levels of potassium from the drug could have given the embryos in the 5 ppm and 10 ppm treatments an advantage of increased muscle function to break out of their chorion earlier than the embryos in the control group.

As Lennerz et al. (2015) showed, consuming a diet soft drink, which would typically have PB as the preservative, can lead to a spike in blood benzoate levels of 2.5 ppm. Therefore, the levels of PB exposed to the zebrafish larvae were much higher than levels that would normally be exposed to humans.

To further this research, testing of PB concentrations between 10 ppm-100 ppm could be done to determine the lethal point of PB to zebrafish larvae. Once the lethal point is discovered, smaller concentration increments of PB, below the lethal point, could be used to replicate the experiment to see if the results differ and have any significance.

Acknowledgments

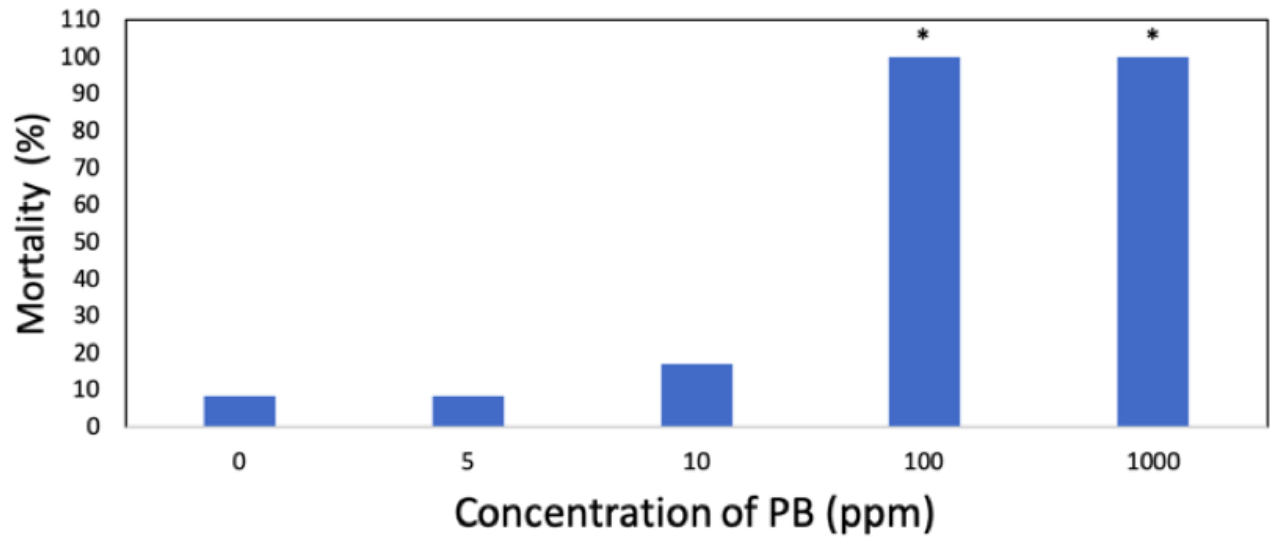
This study stems from Columbus State University's Department of Biology and was funded by a research grant from the Flora M. Clark Foundation. The author would like to thank Dr. Brian Schwartz and Prof. Elizabeth Klar for their guidance and assistance in this research study.

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Figure 1.

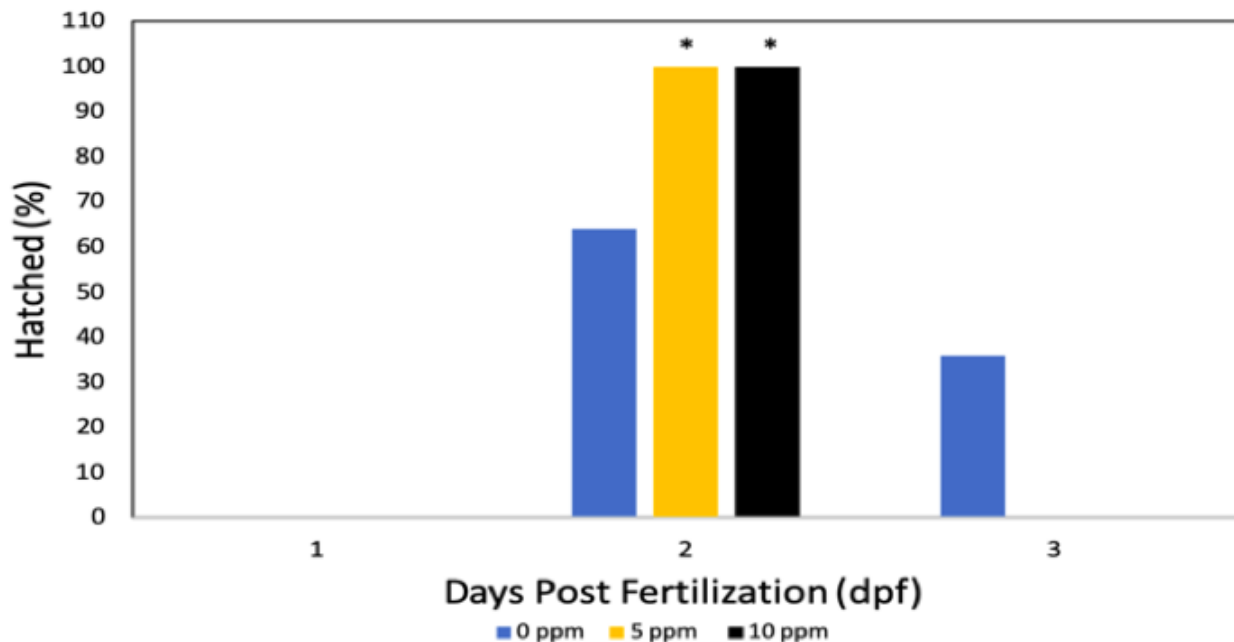
Zebrafish Embryonic Mortality with Exposure to Potassium Benzoate (PB)



The statistical significance was evaluated by Fischer's Exact Test (* P < 0.05)

Figure 2.

Zebrafish Embryonic Hatching with Exposure to Potassium Benzoate (PB)



The statistical significance was evaluated by Fischer's Exact Test (* P < 0.05)

Figure 3. Histological section from 5 ppm treatment showing the standard retinal layers and thickness. Outer nuclear layer, ONL; inner nuclear layer, INL; ganglion cell layer, GCL.

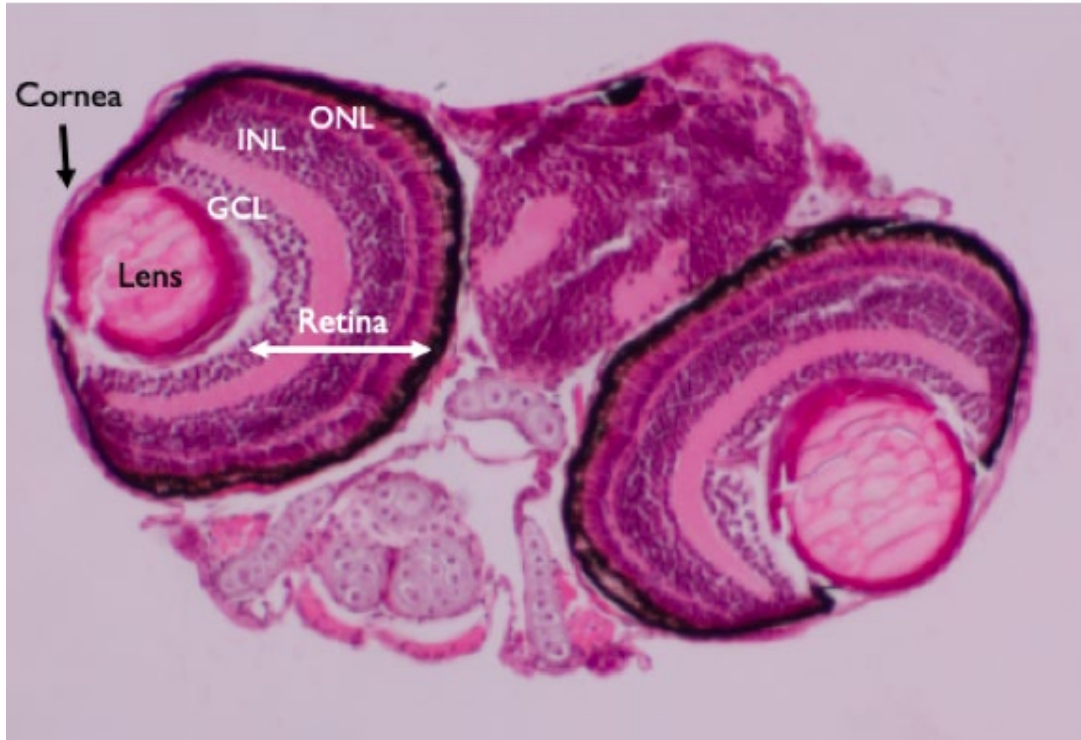


Figure 4. Histological sections from the three viable treatment groups.

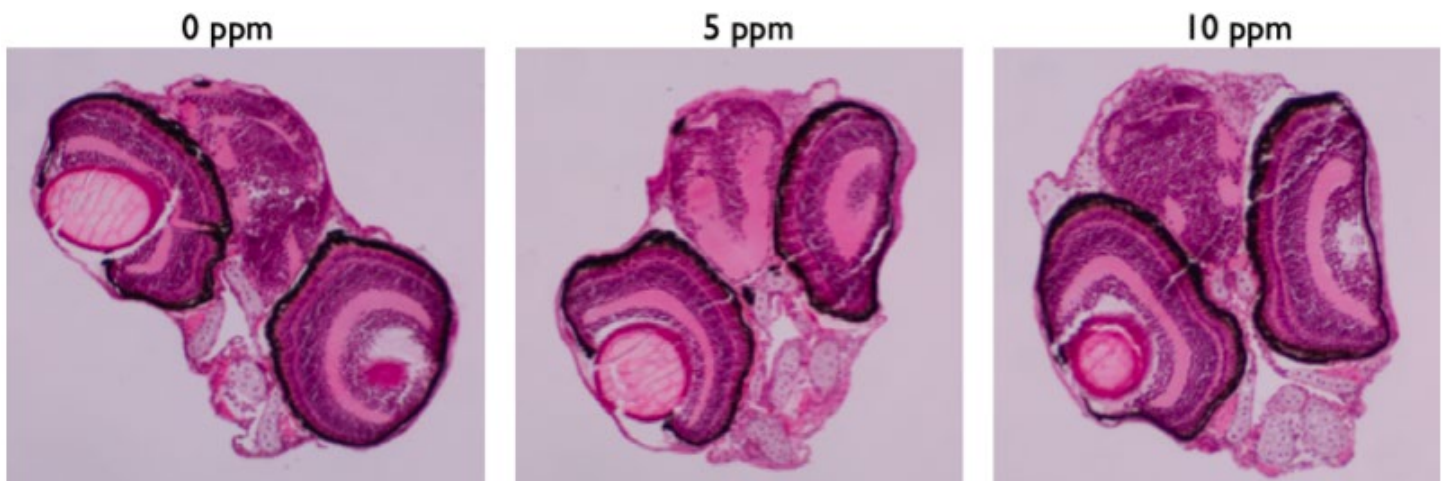


Figure 5. Tail-bending seen in the 100 ppm treatment (dead). The 10 ppm treatment (alive) serves as a basis for comparison.

10 ppm



100 ppm

