Explorations

The Journal of Undergraduate Research and Creative Activities for the State of North Carolina

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With special thanks and appreciation to the faculty mentors and volunteer reviewers.
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We are pleased to present volume XII of Explorations, the Journal of Undergraduate Research and Creative Activities for the State of North Carolina.

I was scheduled to step down as Editor this year, but to ease the transition of Explorations to a new home, I stepped in at the 11th hour to serve one more year. Because of the transition, this year’s Explorations is a bit smaller than last year’s, but the quality of the published articles and essays is high. This year we include eight papers, selected from 13 submissions from students at nine different public or private institutions in North Carolina. Topics range from attachment styles to Roman history to literary criticism to neuroscience to opera.

It is useful each year to provide a bit of background about Explorations. I can hardly believe the journal has been a reality for twelve years! In 2005, the State of North Carolina Undergraduate Research and Creativity Symposium, affectionately known as SNCURCS (pronounced “Snickers”) was first held, and educators from all colleges, universities, community colleges, and high schools were invited to participate. Now in its 13th year, SNCURCS offers a venue for undergraduates to present their research and creative efforts. Explorations was the brainchild of the 2005 meeting, and we are thankful that Michael Bassman and East Carolina University organized and published the first three volumes. In 2008, the late George Barthalamus, former Director of Undergraduate Research at NCSU and the visionary behind our state-wide undergraduate research efforts, convinced me to move Explorations to UNCW in time to produce the 2009 volume, and we have now published nine volumes at UNCW. At UNCW we are fortunate to have a very successful Publishing Laboratory that developed the current look of Explorations, plus I have a great team of students who have done the layout for recent issues. I am indebted to Ms. Logan Prochaska, our assistant editor and layout designer and a member of the UNCW Honors College Media Board; she has done an amazing job with layout and keeping me on schedule. Logan is also the photographer for our recent covers and I love her creative eye. I also appreciate the copy editing of our CSURF graduate assistants and Honors student assistants. Many thanks to Jennifer Horan, Nathan Grove, Peggy Styes and Morgan Alexander for day-to-day support in the Honors College office, and to the UNCW Chancellors, Provosts and Associate Provosts, and Deans of Undergraduate Studies who supported Explorations over the years.

I am also very appreciative of the effort that the 27 ad hoc reviewers spent providing timely and thoughtful reviews of the submissions this summer. These are the folks who ensure the continued quality of Explorations. They offer constructive feedback to the student authors. Again, this is the last year that I will serve as Editor-in-Chief of Explorations. I want to especially thank all the faculty reviewers and mentors over the years. You have given of your time and energy to support these students, a heart-felt thank you to you! And thanks to all the student authors. I have learned so much from reading your manuscripts- you are passionate and knowledgeable about your research and creative projects. I feel energized every summer reviewing your work! So in the spirit of the excitement that fresh approaches to research and discovery bring, we offer you volume XII of Explorations.

Katherine Bruce, PhD
Humanities
Adrianople: Before and After

Corry Atkinson
East Carolina University
Faculty Mentor: Wade Dudley
East Carolina University

ABSTRACT
The Battle of Adrianople in 378, fought between the Roman Empire and the Goths, is often overlooked in the field of Roman history. The purpose of this paper is to argue that the Battle of Adrianople is more important to Roman history than conventionally thought, and that it marked a major turning point for the Roman Empire. Throughout this paper I will argue that the Gothic victory at Adrianople caused a domino effect which led to the collapse of the Western Roman Empire. Using primary sources I show that many of the events that occurred after the battle, and played a role in the collapse of the Western Empire, can be linked together as aftereffects of the Roman defeat at Adrianople.

The Gothic victory over the Romans at Adrianople in 378 brought with it vast changes to the Roman world. The battle had a domino effect on both halves of the Empire, but the West suffered the most severe consequences. The Western Roman Empire would never recover from the East’s defeat in 378. The political fallout that followed Emperor Valens death at Adrianople created hostilities between East and West that never dissipated. Moreover, a series of usurpers, some supported by Goths and others opposed by them would plague the West. These usurpers would severely damage the Western Empire forcing it to rely increasingly on barbarians, such as the Goths. These conditions allowed the Goths to remain a dominant power in Western Europe until the eighth century.

Italy suffered from multiple barbarian invasions, Rome itself was sacked twice, before the Western Empire fell. These events occurred because the Roman defeat at Adrianople led the Eastern Empire to abandon the West. Without the help of the East, the economically weaker Western Empire was in no condition to properly defend itself. Thus in 476 the Western Roman Empire finally disintegrated, and by 493 Italy and Spain had emerged as independent Gothic kingdoms.

The major barbarian groups of the fourth century consisted of Germanic confederations who lived close to Roman borders, either to the east of the Rhine or north of the Danube. These confederations included the Franks, the Alamanni, the Quadi, and the Goths.1 These confederations would all harass the Romans in their own way, but the Goths were the only ones to pose a serious threat to the Romans. The roots of the Gothic people are unknown, but they may have originated in Scandinavia before migrating to the Danube region. It is possible that before 376, there were several different Gothic tribes north of the Danube, but the historian Ammianus Marcellinus (330-395)

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only ever mentions two: the Tervingi, and the Greuthungi. It is also possible that the Ostrogoths subsisted independently of these two groups before 400, as Claudian mentions a group of Ostrogoths mixing with a group of Greuthungi around 399. Still, the Tervingi and Greuthungi culminated.

The Romans viewed the Rhine and the Danube as the edge of the civilized world, from their point of view these borders were definitive for the barbarians, but this was not the case for the Romans themselves. While the Empire did possess finite borders, they seemed to have established more for convenience rather than limitation. The Romans actually viewed the borders as being *sine finis*, or without limit; more or less permeable for Roman citizens. Those lands across the border thus constituted an extension of the Empire.

Despite their view of the border regions, the Romans still allowed groups of barbarians to enter the Empire and occupy lands. The Romans set up three categories of those who settled within the Empire. There were the *dediticii*, barbarians who had willingly surrendered themselves to the Empire. They were not awarded Roman citizenship but were provided land on which to settle and farm. It seems likely that the Goths may have been admitted as *dediticii*. Second were the *laeti*, which means “the happy people.” This name is quite ironic, and possibly represents a joke on part of the Romans, because the *laeti* were barbarians who had been captured in battle and settled on Roman lands. They were more regimented than other settled barbarians.

The third category included those who belonged to neither of the aforementioned groups. Those barbarians who served in the regular army, and they were quite numerous by this time, were awarded Roman citizenship after their military service ended. The Romans named this third category *foederati*, those who had signed treaties allying themselves with Rome. Unlike the other two populations, the *foederati* did not live inside the Empire’s borders, as Romans did not form alliances with their own subjects. As such if any of the *foederati* wanted to settle within the Empire they had to become *dediticii*.

Diocletian’s establishing the tetrarchy and dividing the Roman Empire into eastern and western halves laid the foundation for the eventual demise of the west, as did Constantine’s moving the Empire’s capital to Constantinople in 330. More immediately the disastrous events that took place from 376-378, can be traced back to the death of Emperor Jovian in 364. Upon Jovian’s untimely demise, while the Eastern field army was retreating out of Persia, civil and military officials with the army held a vote. According to Ammianus, these men unanimously declared Valentinian emperor of both the East and West. After the army reached Constantinople Valentinian made his younger brother, Valens, co-emperor awarding him the Eastern Empire. According to Ammianus, even though he held the same rank as his older brother, Valens served as Valentinian’s lieutenant.

It is difficult to assess the validity of Ammianus’ statement, as there are no other contemporary sources which make mention of this hierarchical arrangement. Ammianus did possess bias against Valens as he blamed Valens for admitting the Goths into the Empire in the first place. Thus Ammianus may have sought to discredit Valens’ memory, a common practice among the Romans, since he was writing during the reign of Theodosius.
the West, and shortly afterwards Procopius, who was related to the deceased Emperor Julian, declared himself emperor in the East. Despite some initial setbacks on the part of Valens, Procopius’ reign only lasted nine months before the former defeated and executed him. According to Ammianus, Valens went to war with the Tervingi because Athanaric had allied himself with Procopius. Up to this point the Goths had been at peace with the Eastern Empire since the time of Constantine. This constitutes, perhaps, the most interesting facet of Procopius’ reign, because he managed to convince Athanaric to betray a peace that had lasted nearly four decades.

Although the Huns typically receive the majority of the blame for the Gothic migration in 376, much responsibility actually lies with Valens because of his war against the Tervingi, which stemmed from their supposed alliance with Procopius. While largely unsuccessful Valens did manage to cause vast amounts of destruction, and forced the Goths to sign a treaty which favored the Romans. This in turn led to a civil war among the Tervingi, and Athanaric, who was now seen as a disgrace, was defeated by Fritigern. This civil war also had affected the Greuthungi Goths and Alans, who were actually an Indo-Iranian group. Despite the aforementioned turmoil, the Danube border actually remained intact, allowing Valens to focus his attention on Persia, until the Huns arrived in the 370s.

Valens first crossed the Danube in 367, and the Goths immediately retreated into the Carpathian Mountains. Because of this Valens was only able to apprehend a handful of stragglers, thus his first invasion proved unsuccessful. He returned in 368 but due to flood his army had to remain encamped until winter. Valens then withdrew to Marcianople. In 369 he again crossed the Danube and finally experienced some success. He actually won a skirmish against the Greuthungi, before defeating a Tervingi army led by Athanaric. At this point the Tervingi sent envoys to Valens, Ammianus would have us believe they begged Valens for peace. Thus while only one of the Emperor’s three crossings brought success, and only marginally so, his army’s continued presence near the Danube, and the negative impact on trade probably influenced the Goths to seek peace.

During the seven years between Valens’ peace with Athanaric and the Tervingi crossing the Danube, the Goths experienced internal strife. Athanaric had initiated a persecution of Christians, fearing that they were pro-Roman. After three years of warfare with Valens the Gothic chieftain needed to reassert his control over the Tervingi, and persecuting Christians could have represented a ploy to regain the trust of more traditional Goths. Whatever his plan, it quickly backfired, as a rival faction led by the aforementioned Fritigern, who was a recent convert to Christianity, began to oppose him, and war broke out. The Romans may have even supported the persecuted Christians to gain Fritigern’s trust: any backing would have led to further instability in the region.

The first people north of the Danube who experienced the Hunnic invasion were the Alans. Ammianus tells us that a large number of Alans were killed in this initial encounter, and that the survivors became “friends” of the Huns, but subjects, or maybe even slaves, is likely the more appropriate term for the new political situation. The Huns next invaded the territory of the Greuthungi, eventually driving King Ernnerich to suicide, and his people to defeat. Curiously, Ammianus

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12 Halsall, Barbarian Migrations, 171-175.
13 Ammianus, Later Empire, 336-337.
14 Halsall, Barbarian Migrations, 174.
15 Ibid.
explicitly states that the Greuthungi were defeated by the Alans, it could be that these were the Alans fleeing from the Huns, or they were simply the Alans now under Hunnic rule. Nonetheless with the Huns defeating the Greuthungi, the Tervingi remained as the only free people left in the region. Athanaric apparently tried to take the fight to the Huns, but he was easily defeated by a surprise attack. It was at this point that the Tervingi led by Fritigern and Alavivus departed for the Danube. As such, the Hunnic invasions of the Gothic territories still played a large role in causing the eventual battle at Adrianople, even if that role is often exaggerated.

Due to Ammianus’ portrayal of the Tervingi, one assumes the Tervingi were terrified of the Huns. According to Ammianus the Tervingi begged and prayed for Valens to admit them into the Empire. Of course, Ammianus may have written from a biased point of view, and thus negatively recounted the Goths’ entreaties. This bias is quite evident in his writing: “And the greatest care was taken to ensure that, even if they were suffering from a mortal illness, none of those destined to overthrow the Roman Empire should be left behind.”

This bias, however, does not make his depiction of the Tervingi false. One also has to take into account the fact that Valens was in Antioch at this time. This means communication between the Romans and the Goths would have taken weeks, rather than days. Thus the Tervingi had to wait on the north side of the river while envoys were sent to Valens, and then sent back. If the Tervingi so feared the Huns as Ammianus suggests, then there is certainly no reason they would have waited so long to hear back from Valens. Additionally, when the Huns raided the Empire in 395, they invaded by way of the Caucasus Mountains, rather than crossing the Danube. If they did indeed occupy most of the Gothic territory at this time, their crossing into the Empire by way of the Caucasus would have taken them thousands of miles out of the way. Thus most of the Huns had to have been far to the East of the Carpathian Mountains, likely still in the territory of the Alans. If the Huns were indeed still in Alan territory, then there is good reason to discount Ammianus’ description of the Tervingi. It would have taken a lot of planning for tens of thousands of people to make the long trip from the Tervingi territory to the Danube River, it is very unlikely that they migrated devoid of a plan. Additionally, the Tervingi would have been widely dispersed, for the most part, and thus it would have taken time for the different settlements to communicate with one another. Whatever the case Valens admitted the Tervingi into the Empire, and things quickly spiraled out of control.

There is no direct evidence that the Tervingi were admitted into the Empire as dediticii, as the Romans most likely did not keep extensive records in regards to these categories, but they seem to have been treated as if they were. The historian Zosimus Historicus, who lived during the late fifth century, claims that Valens ordered the Goths to surrender their weapons upon crossing the Danube; this action does not, however, appear in Ammianus’ writings. It is unlikely that the Tervingi would even agree to such terms. Given their recent hostilities with the Empire, moreover, had such an order been given, the Roman officials would not have been negligent enough to let the Goths retain their arms. Nonetheless, Rome allowing the Goths to hold onto their weapons contributed little to the latter’s later rebellion, as other factors held more weight.

More so, the Tervingi would have rebelled, weapons or no weapons. Due to the Roman negligence in handling their receptio.

14Ammianus Marcellinus, Later Empire, 414-416.
15Ibid., 416-417.
18Peter Heather, Goths and Romans, 125.
Ammianus claims that the blame for all of the Empire’s trouble with the Goths lay with their generals: Lupicinus and Maximus. These two were the Roman commanders at Marcianople, and as such they were in charge of the Tervingi’s receptio. According to his history, the corrupt Lupicinus and Maximus purposefully withheld food from the Tervingi, so that they could sell it to them at exorbitant prices. Ammianus is only partially correct here. It is more likely that the food was being moved to a location where it could be guarded, thus creating a food shortage. It appears that Lupicinus and Maximus exploited the situation by selling the scarce food they did have to the Goths. Because the Tervingi had not settled on available land, the only food available came from their own reserves, and the food the Romans supplied. It would have been quite disingenuous for the Roman generals to intentionally starve people who Valens hoped to enlist in his army. Whatever the case, food shortages did not sit well with the Goths, no matter the cause. It should also be noted that the Romans treatment of the Goths proved unsurprising, considering the Romans, including their generals, disdained the Germans as savages. The Goths were just another source of tax income, and new recruits to enlist for their wars.

In 377 Lupicinus committed his second folly, his first being the disdain with which he treated the Tervingi. He decided to move the Tervingi to Marcianople, Ammianus claims this was done out of fear of a revolt. Lupicinus needed all of his soldiers in order to move the Tervingi to Marcianople; this left the Danube relatively undefended and the Greuthungi, having been denied entry earlier, quickly crossed into the Empire. These same Greuthungi Goths would go on to partake in the battle at Adrianople, alongside the Tervingi, and played an important role in the battles outcome. Lupicinus then invited Fritegern and Alavivus, the other Tervingi leader, to a feast inside the city, where he attempted to kill both Tervingi leaders. Ammianus leads us to believe that this idea was Lupicinus’ alone, but he probably had orders from Valens. It may even have been Roman tradition to kill the leaders of admitted barbarian groups to replace them with someone who was pro-Roman. Tradition or not, Lupicinus’ treachery seems to have been executed with Valens’ assent.

Lupicinus’ plot achieved only partial success, as he only managed to kill, or perhaps capture, Alavivus. According to Ammianus, Fritegern managed to negotiate his own release by promising to mollify the Goths outside the city, who were now quite disruptive. Ironically, after the Tervingi heard what had happened to Fritegern, they immediately revolted and killed most of the Roman soldiers at Marcianople. When he heard news of this uprising, Valens sent two of his generals ahead of him, with a small force, while he remained at Constantinople. These men, Profuturus and Trajan, managed to drive the Goths back across the Haemus Mountains, but proved unable to win a decisive battle. The Goths then managed to break out and ravaged Thrace for a short period.

According to Zosimus, when Valens heard that the Goths were ransacking Thrace he sent a cavalry force against them. Zosimus also says that this cavalry force proved rather successful and managed to annihilate a large number of stragglers. There is no mention of this by Ammianus, but he does mention a battle that occurred in Thrace in which the Goths were defeated by Frigeridus. It’s possible that this is what Zosimus is referring to, except Frigeridus was one of Emperor Gratian’s, Valens young nephew in the west, generals. Nonetheless, while Frigeridus did

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19Ammianus Marcellinus, Later Empire, 417.
20Peter Heather, Goths and Romans, 132.
21Ammianus Marcellinus, Later Empire, 418-419.
22Peter Heather, Goths and Romans, 133.
23Ammianus Marcellinus, Later Empire, 419-420.
24Ibid., 425-426.
25Zosimus Historicus, Nova Historia, 4.104.
defeat the Goths in Thrace, a large number of them managed to escape. Moreover, as winter approached, Gratian was forced to recall Frigeridus as he now had his own border issues with the Alammani.26

At this point Valens enlisted another general, a man named Sebastian, to take charge of the army he had recently sent to fight the Tervingi. Sebastian managed to defeat some of the Tervingi near Beroea. Ironically Valens, who still did not have claim to a glorious victory in his own name, resented the successes of his generals. To make matters worse, Gratian, who was only 18 and had only been emperor since 375, now had a victory of his own victory while Valens still had none.27 Tradition mandated that an emperor be victorious in battle against the barbarians, and Valens was likely feeling the immense pressure from this tradition. Moreover, given the earlier usurpation by Procopius, and the fact that the Goths he had admitted were now ravaging the Empire, it is possible that Valens felt quite inadequate. This jealousy also explains why Valens decided to engage the Goths, now a mixed group of Tervingi and Greuthungi, in battle, without waiting for Gratian’s reinforcements. It should be noted, however, that Ammianus was writing during the reign of Theodosius I, and so he may have had reason to make the previous emperor appear incompetent. Nonetheless, Valens’ decision to engage the Goths without assistance would lead to his downfall at Adrianople.

Even if Valens’ resentment was exaggerated by Ammianus, Zosimus tells us that Valens was convinced to do battle on his own by his councilors. Apparently these men were opponents of Sebastian.28 Ammianus also mentions this, except according to him Sebastian wanted Valens to give battle immediately and it was the others who had urged him to wait. Whatever the reason for Valens’ recklessness, these political divisions likely kept both parties from coming to an agreement. Not only did political fragmentation result Valens’ downfall, but it also set in motion the events that would help bring about the end of the Western Roman Empire.

To further appraise the foolhardiness of Valens’ expedition, his scouts informed him that the Gothic force included only about 10,000 men, but this number proved far larger. Nobody would realize this mistake until it was too late, and Valens was now completely determined to engage the Goths on his own. When Valens’ army finally came within view of the Gothic force, on August 9th, according to Ammianus, the Goths became distressed as part of their force had yet to arrive. They apparently sent envoys to Valens asking for peace, supposedly in hopes to stall the Romans until the Gothic cavalry came on the scene. At some point during the negotiations some of the Roman archers, without orders, fired at the Gothic position. This led to a counterattack by the Goths. Ammianus contends that the Gothic cavalry returned at this very moment and tore through the Roman lines.29 This is probably a romanticized exaggeration on his part; it is more likely that the battle was briefly a stalemate, before the Gothic cavalry arrived.

Whatever the timing, the arrival of the Gothic cavalry marked the turning point in the engagement, as they managed to rout their Roman counterparts. This turn left the Roman infantry undefended, and they were slaughtered until they too retreated. Valens was mortally wounded during the battle. After their victory the Goths attempted to take the city of Adrianople as well. They managed to defeat a small Roman force outside the gates, but were held at bay. They were eventually forced to retreat, as they did
not want to engage in a prolonged siege.\textsuperscript{30}

Sometime after the Battle of Adrianople had ended, Valens’ cavalry commander, who apparently managed to escape the battle, informed Gratian of the defeat. Zosimus says that Gratian was not bothered by the news of his uncle’s death. Gratian then went to Constantinople where he instated his general, Theodosius, as the new Eastern emperor.\textsuperscript{31} Gratian was probably able to choose the new emperor because most of Valens’ army had perished alongside him. This meant there were few significant military officials in the East who could choose a new emperor, and they certainly did not have the wherewithal needed to oppose the will of Gratian. They readily accepted Theodosius as the new emperor, and he quickly prepared to go to war with the Goths.

According to Saint Gregory of Tours, from his \textit{History of the Franks}, Theodosius fervently embraced Christianity: “Theodosius put all his hope and all his trust in the mercy of God. He held many peoples in check, more by vigils and prayer than by the sword.”\textsuperscript{32} While Theodosius may have been a better Christian than his predecessors, Gregory, as a cleric, may have exaggerated the Emperor’s piety. Moreover, Gregory’s claim that Theodosius controlled people through prayer rather than by the sword holds no credibility. The first three years of Theodosius’ reign were marked by his Gothic war, and he waged two civil wars against usurpers. Nonetheless, Gregory’s writings, despite their overt bias, are still important because they chronicle Theodosius’ decision to make Christianity the state religion, a decision that would have very significant consequences. There is no evidence of Gratian allowing Theodosius to keep his own legions with him in the East, but seeing as how the Goths had recently decimated Valens’ force only with his own soldiers could Theodosius have made war so quickly. Theodosius’ reign also hastened the decline in relations between the two halves of the Roman Empire, as the historians in the East began to redact Gratian from their work. Theodosius’ policies, moreover, did not sit well with the man who had raised him to the purple, beginning an East-West rivalry that would never abate.

After three years of war, Theodosius managed to defeat the Goths, although not severely enough to actually remove them from the Empire. Another factor that would help to destabilize the West. The emperor most likely fragmented the Goths and then settled them on land that had been deserted. There is also no Gothic leader mentioned by any sources for at least the next ten years.\textsuperscript{33} This lends further evidence to the theory that Theodosius dispersed the Goths across the Empire.

In 383 the Western Empire entered into a period of great internal strife, which was exacerbated by external problems. Firstly Magnus Maximus, who was only the first in a long line of Western usurpers after Adrianople, was declared emperor in the West by his soldiers and revolted against Gratian’s rule. There is no evidence of Gratian asking for assistance against this pretender, nor of Theodosius offering any. It is possible that due to the growing dissension between East and West neither man wanted to help, or be helped by, the other. One might contend that if Valens had still been emperor he would probably be more willing to help his nephew, despite their disagreements. Either way Gratian took an army to Paris in order to deal with the usurper, but he was betrayed by his own men. Magnus, the aforementioned usurper, then had Gratian executed. Theodosius allowed Maximus to retain

\textsuperscript{33}Halsall, \textit{Barbarian Migrations}, 180-183.
control of Britain and Gaul, and Gratian’s half-brother Valentinian II, who was only 12, was awarded the rest of the Western Empire. This agreement stayed in place until 388 when Maximus invaded Italy and was then defeated by Theodosius, who transferred the rest of the Western Empire to Valentinian’s control. Theodosius’ later wars, especially against the usurper Eugenius, would give rise to one of the biggest nemeses the Western Empire ever faced, the Goths Alaric.

The peace that Maximus’ death brought would only last six years; the young Valentinian died under suspicious circumstances in 392, and Eugenius was declared emperor by the general Aborgast. According to the historian Orosius (c. 375-418), Eugenius was nothing more than a figurehead for Aborgast. In 394 Theodosius raised a large army which also contained a large number of Goths, who were led by Alaric. In the ensuing battle a large number of Theodosius’ barbarian allies were killed, but Eugenius was also eliminated, and Aborgast committed suicide, and Theodosius thus emerged victorious. With his credibility restored, Theodosius was able to place his young son Honorius on the throne in the West. Theodosius did not live much longer after this victory, dying in 395, after a period of illness.

At the time of his death Theodosius left two young sons, Honorius who was only 10 and Arcadius who was 17. They were crowned as the Western and Eastern emperors respectively. Since Arcadius was still a child he was left in the care of the half-Vandal Stilicho, the most powerful man in the West. Arcadius, despite being of age in Roman society, was left under the care of Rufinus, and because he proved to be no more capable than his younger brother, political factions controlled the East. Problems quickly arose; as Stilicho claimed that he had been left in charge of both boys, and tensions began to rise between East and West. None of the contemporary sources give a reason for Stilicho making this claim, but it is entirely possible that he simply wanted to be the most powerful man in the Roman world. It was not uncommon for powerful Roman generals to further their own careers at the expense of the Empire, and Stilicho himself would later try, on multiple occasions, to take Illyricum from the Eastern Empire. No matter his reasoning, he did not have the well-being of Arcadius as a permanent concern. This would lead to the first of Alaric’s three rebellions, which would begin to bring about the end of the Western Roman Empire.

The fallout from Theodosius’ death, and the tensions between Stilicho and Rufinus, created a favorable political environment for Alaric’s rebellion in 395. In that year, Alaric and his Gothic troops left Italy and marched north to the war ravaged Balkans. Here Zosimus is rather vague in his description of what occurred. The only thing that is certain is that Stilicho had marched East with an army comprised of soldiers from both halves of the Empire, and Arcadius, probably under Rufinus’ influence, ordered Stilicho to hand over the Eastern soldiers. Stilicho did as he was ordered, and the Eastern troops led by Gainas, who was Gothic, met Rufinus near Constantinople. Gainas, possibly under orders from Stilicho, had his troops kill Rufinus. Gainas, however, was unable to take his place as Arcadius’ “advisor,” because Eutropius, a court Eunich, assumed the title. Given Stilicho’s claim that he was the one left in charge of Arcadius, and his willingness to go to war over said claim, Gainas’ assassination of Rufinus represented...
Corry Atkinson

a component of Stilicho’s master plan. He ordered the assassination, because he realized it would be too difficult for him to control two emperors. Thus by having Gainas take Rufinus’ place as Arcadius’ chief advisor, Stilicho was able to directly control the Western emperor, and would have had a puppet advisor controlling the East. Given the turbulence of Roman politics this theory holds water.

It is also known that at some point in 395 Alaric had marched south towards Greece, but it is unclear exactly when he did so or why. According to Zosimus’ Nova Histroia, Alaric’s raiding in Greece occurred before Rufinus was killed, and Rufinus convinced a disgruntled Alaric to take his troops into Greece. Still, Zosimus cannot be completely trusted here because he was favorably inclined towards Rufinus. Another possibility is that Alaric was in Greece because he had originally intended to attack Constantinople, but after Stilicho’s forces returned it proved too heavily defended. One might then conclude that Alaric may have been in Greece under orders from Rufinus, he was either forced to remain there after the latter’s death, or did so under his own authority. Even though we do not have much information on Alaric’s presence in Greece, it is known that sacked several cities while he was there. According to Zosimus these included Athens, Sparta, and Megara.

By 397 it appears that Alaric was once again serving Rome, possibly as the Magister Militum of Illyricum, as he fought off Stilicho who was trying to take the Peloponnesus for the Western Empire. Two year later, things once again began to spiral out of control. Gainas, the same Goth who had killed Rufinus in 395, allied himself with a rebel force, and forced Arcadius to dismiss Eutropius. Gainas then quickly took Eutropius’ position as Arcadius’ chief advisor, but this arrangement proved ephemeral. In 400 a large portion of Gainas’ barbarian troops were slaughtered, and he fled north where he was killed by Uldin, who was the Hunnic king.

After Gainas’ death it seems that Alaric had fallen out of favor in Arcadius’ court, and after the murder of Fravitta, another prominent Goth, Alaric probably felt that his own life was at risk. It is also possible that he lost his position as magister militum, which meant that he could no longer pay or feed his men. If Alaric was indeed stripped of his title, then he probably saw little choice but to rebel. It had already become apparent that the Goths were no longer as welcome in the East as they had been, and Alaric probably would have been forced to disband his troops. Moreover, given recent events, he probably feared that he would be next on his enemies’ list. Given the Gothic chieftain’s actions after his invasion of Italy, it seems as if he rebelled out of necessity, rather than choice.

Fearful for his life, Alaric launched a surprise invasion of Italy in 401, while Stilicho was away. The latter, however, returned to Italy and fought Alaric to a standstill twice. According to Orosius, Stilicho then concluded a secret alliance with Alaric, because the former wished to make his own son the emperor. While Stilicho did parley with Alaric, the results were not as nefarious as Orosius contends. For whatever reason Alaric remained silent from 402–405, he had probably been given another military command, and by 405 he was most certainly serving Honorius.

According to Orosius, Alaric was the Gothic king when he sacked Rome in 410. It would make sense for Alaric to take this role, especially in 400. He did it to ensure the

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44Ibid.
45Halsall, Barbarian Migrations, 195.
46Zosimus Historicus, Nova Historia, 5.137
48Halsall, Barbarian Migrations, 201.
49Ibid.
50Orosius, Historiae Paganos.
51Halsall, Barbarian Migrations, 202.
52Orosius, Historiae Paganos.
loyalty of his men now that he had lost his Roman titles. Yet, considering he most likely invaded Italy to force the Emperor to award him a new title it would not make sense for him to claim the title of king, one not recognized by the Roman Empire. Perhaps Alaric knew that he would have to give up his title as king after coming to terms with Rome. Still, it is almost impossible to prove that Alaric was ever a king; it is more likely that his brother Athaulf was actually the first to hold this position.

After 405 Alaric re-emerged onto the scene. Later that same year the Goth Radagaisus, whom Orosius also designates as king, invaded Italy with a large force of barbarians. Radagaisus was supposedly driven back into the mountains, without food to feed his armies. Orosius says that the Romans employed no army at this point, and the barbarians quickly began to die off. He, of course chalks this up as being a miracle from God.\(^{53}\) It is more likely that the Romans actually did send an army to besiege Radagaisus in the mountains, and instead of fighting, the starving barbarians surrendered. Interestingly, Orosius also notes that a large number of the captives quickly dropped dead after being sold into slavery, because God willed it.\(^{54}\) What Orosius is most likely citing is the massacre of the families of these barbarians that occurred upon Stilicho’s execution, as most of the captives had been drafted into the Roman army. Considering the fact that Orosius was a contemporary of Stilicho, he probably knew exactly what had happened, but being a cleric, he simply said it was God’s will.

In 407 Stilicho intended to go to war with Arcadius over the province of \textit{Illyricum}; Alaric agreed to help Stilicho and was sent East. In 408, however, Arcadius died and Stilicho’s plans were abandoned. This did not sit well with Alaric, and he demanded that the Roman senate give him 3,000 pounds of silver. In order to maintain peace Stilicho convinced the senate to pay Alaric, but according to Zosimus the senate assented more because of their fear of Stilicho than a fear of Alaric.\(^{55}\) It is not too hard to believe Zosimus here, considering the fact that Stilicho was the West’s greatest general, and Alaric had yet to defeat him in battle. So the senate did not have much of a reason to fear Alaric, but angering a man as powerful and talented as Stilicho would have been detrimental.

The year 400 also marked the beginning of the end for Stilicho, and by extension Rome’s hope of holding off Alaric. When Arcadius died in 408, Stilicho apparently marched east, hoping to become the young Theodosius II’s guardian. Rumors quickly began to circulate, however, that Stilicho actually intended to put his own son on the Eastern throne. By this time Stilicho had gone back to Italy and was in Ravenna, when one of Honorius’ magisters ordered that he be captured. A large number of Stilicho’s supporters were killed, and he himself was captured and executed.\(^{56}\)

Stilicho’s execution only served to exacerbate the West’s barbarian problem, because, as mentioned earlier, a large number of his soldiers’ families were killed as well. When they discovered what had happened to their families these barbarians, many of whom had invaded Italy with Radagaisus, promptly rebelled and cast their lot with Alaric. According to Zosimus, these troops swelled Alaric’s force to some 30,000 men, which is a credible number. Despite having such a large force, Alaric still preferred peace over war. Honorius, however, refused to negotiate with Alaric, thus forcing Alaric to make a crucial decision.\(^{57}\) If Alaric did in fact have 30,000

\(^{53}\)Zosimus Hicoricus, \textit{Nova Historia}, 5.153-155
\(^{54}\)Ibid., 5.159.
\(^{55}\)Ibid., 5.161.
men, as Zosimus claims, then he probably did not pursue peace out of fear of defeat. With Stilicho, dead there was not a general in the West who would have been able to easily defeat such a large Gothic force. Instead Alaric probably knew he would be better off negotiating a peace treaty, because he may have been able to obtain land for his soldiers. Whereas if he had gone to war, even if he would have won, he would have made the Romans resent him even further. Therefore choosing to seek peace marked the most practical option for Alaric.

Because Honorius refused to negotiate, however, Alaric had no choice but to march for Rome. He captured Rome’s port and then besieged the city itself. The inhabitants of the city quickly ran out of food, and famine swept the city. The Romans also could not bury the dead outside of the city because of the siege, and thus the corpses just piled up. Eventually, envoys were sent to Alaric to tell him that the senate would accept any reasonable demands. The members ended up giving him several thousand pounds of silver and gold. Thus Alaric lifted his siege and marched away from Rome.\(^58\)

Honorius, however, continued to refuse Alaric’s demands for peace. Again, Alaric returned to Rome and besieged the city. Again he was paid off by the senate and spared Rome. Despite having already besieged the Eternal City twice by this point, Alaric’s demands were once again refused by Honorius. Thus Alaric returned to Rome, however this time he was allowed into the city and spent three days stripping it of its wealth.\(^59\) This marks Alaric’s well known Sack of Rome in 410. After this Alaric knew he had to do more than just sack Rome, which was just a tourist destination by this point, if he wanted Honorius to heed his demands. This is because Ravenna had replaced Rome as the capital of the Western Empire. In order to obtain more leverage Alaric decided to gain control of the African grain supply. He marched his army south and intended to invade Africa by way of Sicily, but died of an illness in 411. His brother Athaulf then took his place as the Gothic leader.\(^60\) Honorius’ repeated refusals to give in to Alaric’s demands severely hampered the Western Empire’s chances of defending themselves from future invasions.

Even though Alaric never won a true victory over any Roman force during his rebellions, his impact on the Western Empire proved quite immense. He was able to derive favorable terms from the Empire on multiple occasions, and had it not been for his leadership the Goths under his command probably would not have left such a large mark on history. Had it not been for Alaric these Goths probably would have remained under the command of the Eastern Empire, or possibly even killed during the turmoil of 399. Alaric managed to rebel against the Romans on three occasions, and avoid a major defeat every time. Had he actually managed to invade Africa, it is quite possible that he would have succeeded in his goal.

After Alaric’s death the Goths would return to Roman service, and fought against several barbarian groups in Spain. They would eventually be settled in Tolouse by Constantius, creating a buffer between Italy and northern Gaul (which the Romans no longer controlled). After being settled in Gaul, the Goths would continue to rebel on several occasions, but would always experience defeat.\(^61\) It is possible that the Romans allowed the Goths to remain in Gaul, despite the multiple rebellions, because they knew that they could not defend Gaul by

\(^{58}\)Halsall, \textit{Barbarian Migrations}, 217.  
\(^{59}\)Ibid., 5.166-167.  
\(^{60}\)Ibid., 223, 224-230  
\(^{61}\)Ibid., 5.163-165.
By this point the Western Emperor only controlled Italy, some of Gaul, and a small portion of Spain. The Empire was in complete disarray, and things would only get worse. Attila the Hun twice invaded the West, first ravaging Gaul, and then Italy itself.

By 455, the year in which the Vandal king Genseric sacked Rome, the Vandals controlled most of North Africa, and Spain belonged to the Visigoths, the Goths who had followed Alaric. Then in 476 the Western Roman Empire dissolved. Emperor Romulus Augustus abdicated and Odoacer refused the imperial standards and proclaimed himself to be the King of Italy.

The defeat at Adrianople can be seen as catalyzing all these events. Due to the fissure between East and West that began during Theodosius’ reign, which was only brought about because of Valens’ death at Adrianople, the Eastern Empire slowly began to stop cooperating with the West. The Goths who gained a place inside the Empire with their victory at Adrianople, would prove an intermittent thorn in the Empire’s side for the next fifty years. The Western Roman Empire became increasingly unstable in the years after Adrianople, and was plagued with a series of usurpers before finally collapsing. Since it could no longer rely on help from the East, the Western Empire had to use more and more barbarians, often the Goths, in their civil wars, relinquishing to these groups more and more political power. Had the Romans won at Adrianople, they may have been able to defeat the Goths and remove them from the Empire. If this had been the case Valens would not have died, and both halves of the Empire may have retained better relations with one another. As such the West would not have become so unstable, and since there would be no Gothic threat, they might have fared better against the usurpers. Alas the Romans did lose at Adrianople, and the dominoes began to fall until the Western Empire ceased to exist.
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Mortar and Pestle, Orange and Navel: 
(M)otherhood, Exile, and Cultural Reproduction in Edwidge Danticat’s 
*Breath, Eyes, Memory* and Hanan al-Shaykh’s *The Story of Zahra*

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**ABSTRACT**

In their novels *The Story of Zahra* and *Breath, Eyes, Memory*, Hanan al-Shaykh and Edwidge Danticat, both women writing in postcolonial settings at the end of the 20th century, delve into the myriad expectations put on women in the midst of anti-colonial nationalist projects. Examining the role of memory, reproductive labor, transmission of trauma in the mother-daughter relationships of their novels, this paper argues that al-Shaykh and Danticat subvert traditional and self-destructive forms of women’s participation in national projects, while introducing new modes of resistance that do not rely on the biological and cultural transmission of trauma.

Hanan al-Shaykh’s *The Story of Zahra* and Edwidge Danticat’s *Breath, Eyes, Memory* explore several similar topics, most prominently exile, sexual violence, and war. A common thread that weaves through each bildungsroman, and connects each of the previously mentioned elements, is the relationship between the protagonists – both young women – and their mothers. Current scholarship on these two novels wrestles with similar topics to those in this paper, specifically the role of the woman-as-nation trope and gendered forms of resistance, and whether or not these characters’ actions can be deemed subversive (Adams 204, Alexander 373, Francis 82, Kabbani 340, Marroum 509). Several of these scholars focus on the unique roles of women in exile, and how gender roles in such cases intersect with nationalist woman-as-nation tropes. Less common is the analysis of the mother-daughter relationship as it interacts with these broader issues, though Simone Alexander and Donette Francis examine motherhood and transmission of trauma extensively in their papers on Danticat, which I draw from in my work. My hope for this project is to contribute to these critical conversations by pointing to common discourse on motherhood in postcolonial feminist contexts, and shed light on subtle subversion of nationalist and colonialist tropes by women writers.

The mother-daughter relationship is a point at which the two main pillars of feminized reproductive labor – biological and cultural reproduction – intersect. Women are expected to participate in child-bearing and child-rearing, while simultaneously upholding and reproducing cultural value systems. The relationship between mother and daughter is a space where the expectations associated with these gendered roles come into conflict. This paper explores the ways in which these mother-daughter relationships...
are built and challenged by conditions of war, exile, patriarchy, and the intergenerational transmission of trauma. Using the lens of collective memory and trauma transmission allows one to better “explain both the relation between dominant social ideas and their ‘internalization’… how it is that subjects come to capitulate to their own subjugation,” and to hold in tension the subject’s agency and selfhood with the societal forces acting upon them (Radstone 11). The tension in these fraught mother-daughter relationships comes from the collective weight of intergenerational transmitted trauma, whether it is passed down from woman to woman through biology or through cultural practices and expectations. I argue that these mother-daughter relationships are microcosms of the often-contradictory expectations thrust upon marginalized women, and they subsequently become sites of both refuge and resistance for the novels’ protagonist daughters. While mothers search for their own agency – in tradition, in their children, in lovers, or some combination of the three – they compromise that of their daughters. Fleeing the old ways that their mothers, through taking on duties of cultural reproduction, enforce and come to represent, these daughters run directly into the tension of being human while those they love attempt to render them into symbols.

In her book, Gender and Nation, Nira Yuval-Davis discusses the ways in which women’s roles have been perceived by nationalist projects, both colonial and anti-colonial, as part of the nation but only insofar as women give birth and reproduce the race or nation. She argues that it is “women who reproduce nations biologically, culturally and symbolically” (2). Yet not only are women typically excluded from traditional spheres of “resistance,” but the forms of reproductive labor with which they engage are understood to be acts lacking in creativity and agency. Childbirth is seen as a natural occurrence, rather than a choice, and like other natural forces, it must be harnessed and mastered by men (Plumwood 38). In addition to physically reproducing children, women also bear the task of reproducing culture and values. Of cultural reproduction, Gloria Anzaldúa writes,

Men make the rules and laws; women transmit them. How many times have I heard mothers and mothers-in-law tell their sons to beat their wives for not obeying them… for wanting their husbands to help with the rearing of the children and the housework, for wanting to be something other than housewives? (Anzaldúa 39).

Of course, as Anzaldúa says, the task of reproducing culture and values, in patriarchal society, looks like reproducing patriarchal values. The pressure to participate in the maintenance of values increases when a culture is under threat – for example, Haitian culture in immigrant communities under threat of assimilation, or Shi’ite Lebanese culture in the face of ethno-religious civil war. These contexts – the settings of the two novels this paper focuses on – demand a lot of the women living within them. These demands often contradict each other. In the next section, I will examine these tensions as they manifest in al-Shaykh’s novel.

Hanan al-Shaykh’s The Story of Zahra

Hanan al-Shaykh’s The Story of Zahra takes place in Lebanon before and during the Civil War, and also in an unnamed part of Africa. The protagonist, Zahra, a young woman in her late teens and early twenties, travels to Africa to live with her uncle Hashem, an exiled member of the Popular Syrian Party, and eventually marries his friend Majed, who comes from a lower-class Lebanese family. Tossed back and forth between her immediate family in Lebanon and her uncle in Africa, Zahra becomes a woman both in the midst of war and in exile. Clinging to Zahra as a symbol of the homeland, Majed and Hashem compromise her agency. Clinging to her mother, seeking her approval and guidance into womanhood, Zahra takes on her trauma.

Ann-Marie Adams argues that “Hashem’s and Majed’s complementary visions of Zahra actively foreground the ways in which women are ossified and abstracted in national
discourse” (Adams 203). When these men conflate Zahra and Lebanon, “Zahra’s national figuration is predicated on neither her citizenship or her class but on her gender” (203). While her ability to tell her own story throughout the majority of the novel may represent a challenge to male-dominated discourse, Hashem and Majed’s narratives expose the forces shaping her reality (Ghandour 233).

Hashem, exiled from his home, “carrie[s] in his mind a symbolic image of his homeland, believing it to be the actual homeland” (al-Shaykh 20) and seeks to have that symbolic image confirmed and affirmed, first in his letter exchange with Zahra and then in his physical interactions with her. When eventually his other relatives cease their letters to him, Zahra remains. When she comes to live with him, he quickly develops strong feelings, which he struggles to put into words, and begins a series of behaviors that Zahra, in her narration, sees as disturbing and purely attention-seeking, but Hashem describes as compulsory. He is eager to wake her up every morning, craving what she seems to offer, regardless of her hesitation. He explains:

I never imagined that one day my feelings for Zahra would reach the pitch they did. I was only trying to express the strange condition which overtook me, once I had met her and let her sleep in my room as I slept on the living room couch. After all those long years it seemed that I began to breathe again, and even to touch the fabric of my commitment to my family and my homeland. I felt I wanted to touch her hands and face and the hem of her dress. Through her I hoped to absorb all my life, both here and in Lebanon” (al-Shaykh 69).

He sees generations of Lebanese women in Zahra, including her mother and his mother (Abdo 221). He is mystified by her resistance and, at times, terror, but persists regardless.

Majed, rather than being particularly attracted to the homeland associated with Zahra, is focused on material gains, and opportunities he would not be able to obtain in Lebanon but might in Africa. His joy on their wedding night comes from being “the owner of a woman’s body that I could make love to whenever I wished” and he assures himself, “From now on, surely my feelings of deprivation must dwindle” (83). Majed also shows us, however, the struggle of that deprivation through his descriptions of a childhood in poverty and his difficult assimilation into Africa. Al-Shaykh says in an interview, “I feel that women are victims of society more than victims of men because men are sometimes victims of society as well” (al-Shaykh in Adams 206). After reading Majed’s experience of the world, including his relationship with Zahra, this common victimhood is made more apparent. Majed is not the enemy or purely oppressive. He is marginalized and exiled, and he transfers that burden to Zahra. In the imagination of Majed, wealth is land and land is woman, and in coming to own a woman’s body, he is shedding his disenfranchisement. Adams writes, “Neither man is able to understand or help the troubled girl because each is too busy attempting to fashion her as his own idealized image of Lebanon” (203). All characters are exiled from the homeland in some way, but they cannot be sources of comfort from this isolation and confusion for one another, because Hashem and Majed are unable to see Zahra as a bearer of the same feelings, merely as a solution to them. Zahra is twice driven to flee the men in Africa and return to her parents’ home, where she faces a different form of subjection.

Zahra is haunted by her mother’s trauma: her stagnant and sometimes abusive marriage, her thwarted affair with a local doctor, and her otherwise strict adherence to what is expected of her as a woman and mother. Early in the novel, Zahra clearly recalls a memory of her mother having an abortion that occurred before Zahra’s birth, indicating a biological transmission of traumatic memory (Abdo 222). When Zahra is young, her mother takes her along on visits to her lover, the local doctor. Zahra describes this experience as “embarrassing,” (al-Shaykh 12). It was possible that this man was a source of her shame and timidity towards others as an adult. She comes to understand why her mother brings her along, despite
her suffering. Referring to a previous desire expressed to be closer to her mother, Zahra says, “She wanted us to be inseparable, like the ‘orange and navel.’ She wanted me to shield her” (al-Shaykh 13). Her mother uses Zahra in her own quest for agency, and Zahra reasons that this is simply her mother’s desire to be closer to her.

While Zahra’s mother uses and neglects her, she showers Zahra’s brother with attention. Speaking of her parents’ prioritization of her brother, Zahra says, “Meat continued to be for Ahmad. Eggs were for Ahmad. Fresh tomatoes were for Ahmad. So were the fattest olives. If Ahmad was late arriving home, my mother would rumple his bed and push a pillow down under the bedclothes…. She lied for her son, even when he tried to steal her gold bracelets as she slept” (25). Though, by erasing her own needs and those of her daughter, Zahra’s mother attempts to partake in the project of survival in the face of violence, her sacrifice goes unappreciated. Zahra bears witness to this process time and again, eventually internalizing it.

After travelling between exile and home for some time, Zahra lands in war-torn Lebanon in her family home. The effect of war on Zahra is, in many ways, a liberating one. She is able to shed her fear of people, her timidity, and her acne. She claims, “This war has made beauty, money, terror, and convention all equally irrelevant. It begins to occur to me that the war, with its miseries and destructiveness, has been necessary for me to return to being normal and human” (al-Shaykh 161). While Zahra’s statement might be slightly hyperbolic and certainly not universal, she speaks to the ways in which catastrophe can throw every aspect of social normalcy – roles and customs determined by gender, class, and ethnicity – into question. For these characters, tragedy and violence offer opportunities for clarity, and then intervention. The protagonist in Danticat’s novel experiences a similar catastrophic break following the death of her mother.

Edwidge Danticat’s *Breath, Eyes, Memory*

Edwidge Danticat’s novel *Breath, Eyes, Memory* follows Sophie, a young Haitian woman who, after growing up in Haiti with her aunt for the first eight years of her life, is sent to live with her estranged mother, Martine, in New York City. Unlike *Zahra, Breath, Eyes, Memory* does not directly take place in the middle of war, but rather a reactionary and repressive post-colonial regime. Sophie’s primary fear is not snipers or bombs but the *tonton macoute* – a militarized, violent police force doing the bidding of the dictator (Francis 78). She is the product of a rape committed by one of the *macoute* in a sugarcane field, an incident of sexual terrorism that haunts Martine throughout their time together, and which Sophie herself cannot escape (Francis 81). Unlike Zahra, Sophie’s exile from her homeland is a return to her mother rather than a departure from her. Like Zahra, the family she finds in her new home clings to her as a piece of the homeland, and the values associated with it. The tension between Sophie, her American lover, and her mother is tinged with the mother’s desire to reproduce certain cultural values in Sophie, while simultaneously transmitting her sexual trauma.

Though Sophie and Zahra’s experiences of exile from homeland are quite different – Lebanese immigration to Africa has different racial and economic dynamics than Haitian immigration to the United States, not to mention Zahra chooses to leave while Sophie does not want to – Sophie’s experience of exile is also deeply bound up in experiences with men and sexuality. As an eighteen-year-old in New York, Sophie meets Joseph, who tells her, “I am not American. I am African American… It means that you and I, we are already part of each other” (72). While Sophie’s mother reacts to her coming-of-age by imposing strict regulations, telling her not to talk to men, that she must be a “good girl,” Joseph offers an escape, though he is also looking for something else in her.
When Sophie’s mother suspects that she is involved with a man, she begins “testing” her. Sophie describes this as a practice passed down from woman to woman in their family, one that her aunt warned her about as a child. The mother puts her fingers into the daughter’s vagina at the end of every day to ensure her hymen is still intact. Martine later tells Sophie that she began the testing because it was something her mother did to her, and though it was one of the “greatest pains” (170) of her life, she does not know another way to mother a teenage girl.

Because of the circumstances of her conception, Sophie and her mother both have complicated relationships with the land – both Haiti as a nation and as nature – and this manifests primarily in how they relate to cane fields. Cutting cane is typically gendered as a masculine sphere of work, yet Sophie’s aunt associates the fields with childhood and play. The fields are a male-dominated space, yet the nature of the colonial and postcolonial economy means that the men are completely alienated from the fruits of their labor, so control of the space is not truly in their hands. The work is brutal and dangerous: “Whenever she was sad Tante Atie would talk about the sugar cane fields, where she and my mother practically lived when they were children. They saw people die there from sunstroke every day” (Danticat 4). Danticat’s novel culminates in a scene of rupture. After her mother commits suicide, Sophie returns with the body to Haiti so she may be buried in their family cemetery. Standing at her funeral among the graves of generations of women in their family, Sophie looks out and sees her family home, standing between her and the cane fields.

I turned around and ran down the hill, ahead of the others, I felt my dress tearing as I ran faster and faster down the hill. There were only a few men working in the cane fields. I ran through the field, attacking the cane. I took off my shoes and began to beat a cane stalk. I pounded it until it began to lean over. I pushed over the cane stalk. It snapped back, striking my shoulder. I pulled at it, yanking it from the ground. My palm was bleeding.

The men working in the fields look on, thinking she is possessed. Tearing the cane – at once a phallic image, a site of sexual violence against her mother, and a site of colonial violence and exploitation – out by its roots, Sophie refuses to settle for partial liberation, the kind that led her mother to abuse her. Generations of women surround her – her grandmother and Tante Atie – and echo, “Ou libere!” or, “Are you free?” (233). For Sophie, genuine freedom requires that she break the cycle of transgenerational abuse in the name of cultural reproduction. This means going beyond the work done by mothers before her, and getting to the deeper origins of her trauma: patriarchal and racist exploitation. These origins are represented by the cane field, at once sustaining and devastating, which she literally uproots.

Mothers Versus Lovers

When Sophie’s mother firsts “tests” her, she tells her the legend of the Marassas, or two lovers who were duplicates of the same person. She explains that this level of closeness is an ideal romantic relationship. She goes on to say, “The love between a mother and daughter is deeper than the sea. You would leave me for an old man who you didn’t know the year before. You and I could be like Marassas. You are giving up a lifetime with me” (85). In short, she tells her daughter that she must choose between a man, who represents assimilation into American culture, and a mother, who represents some version of Haitian values, culture, and tradition.

In an inaugural act of rebellion against her mother and her mother’s values, Sophie decides to break her own hymen, to put a stop to the “testing” regardless of the cost – expulsion from her home. Experiencing suicidal thoughts, Sophie goes to her mother’s spice cabinet, retrieves the pestle, and returns with it to her bed. She tells herself a story of a
woman who transforms into a butterfly, then performs the act: “My flesh ripped apart as I pressed the pestle into it. I could see the blood slowly dripping onto the bed sheet. I took the pestle and the bloody sheet. It was gone, the veil that always held my mother’s finger back every time she tested me” (Danticat 87). In this act, Sophie momentarily stops looking for salvation or escape from her mother in Joseph, who she could have easily asked to play the part of the pestle, but rather seizes agency independently. The goal of escaping the “testing” supersedes any security or comfort granted to her by “home,” as well as any desire for Joseph. At the same time, this is an act of desperation and self-mutilation – not to be mistaken for liberation. Sophie is unable to reject one form of control – the mother, and tradition – without falling into the other – the lover, and assimilation.

In contrast to Sophie’s rebellion, Zahra more closely mirrors her mother’s sexual transgressions and reluctant compromise to marry. While Sophie’s mother clings desperately to her daughter, going so far as to molest her, Zahra longs to be closer to her mother. I would watch her when she was with me, and study her when she was at a distance. I thought all the while, as I looked up at her, how much I wanted to draw her towards me… I wanted to disappear into the hem of her dress and become even closer to her than the navel is to the orange! But whenever I began to think this way, I felt a bitterness towards her and shuddered. I carried this pain and hatred inside me whenever I disobeyed her and felt rejected. The man became the center of her life, and around him was nothing but flying embers (al-Shaykh 8).

Men – Zahra’s father, Dr. Shawky, and Ahmad – come before Zahra in her mother’s life. It is of little surprise that Zahra seeks refuge from this disregard first in Majed and Hashem, then in her relationship with a character she refers to only as “the sniper” – replacing her mother with her own set of men. Upon returning to Lebanon, Zahra uses her newfound boldness to seek out a sniper who occupies the rooftop of a building near her home. Risking her life to cross into the territory he controls, Zahra climbs to the rooftop and, without exchanging any words, she and the sniper have sex. Al-Shaykh does not, initially, give the reader access to Zahra’s intentions in pursuing this relationship. It seems like an act of insanity, affirming the narratives of the men in her life. Scholar Rana Kabbani reads the instance as another example of Zahra’s “passivity” and lack of agency, but her argument does not hold up to Zahra’s stated motives, which al-Shaykh eventually states later in the text: “My reason for coming to him was that I might put a stop to the sniping. He probably thinks, me being a woman and this a time of war, that I need a man, any man. He must see it as mere chance that the one I have found happens to be a sniper” (al-Shaykh 162). Al-Shaykh does not mention for which side the sniper is working, and this matter does not seem to concern Zahra – which is appropriate for a complex war fought between many parties for many reasons (al-Shaykh 165). Zahra’s only intention is to intervene, to actively put herself between her neighbors’ lives and the sniper’s bullets, regardless of party allegiance. In addition to her determination to seize some form of agency, Zahra seeks refuge from the neglect and monotony of her nuclear family in the sniper. In doing so she follows the same pattern of destructive escapism, and eventually self-sacrifice, paved by her mother. It must be noted that Zahra’s action is an altruistic one, and perhaps her mother’s precedent grants Zahra a certain permission to carry out her mission. Zahra pays no attention to the sniper’s political allegiance, which in context represents a rejection of nationalism and colonialism alike. She does not act purely in self-interest, as her mother did, nor does she act in the name of any nation-building effort. She acts for herself, and for others, but ultimately it kills her.

Conclusions

If these two coming-of-age stories are illustrative of the tensions between race and gender, nationalism and feminism, the good and
bad of both tradition and change, then the different poles of these tensions are represented quite differently. Zahra’s mother upholds both tradition and resistance, as she dedicates her life to sacrificing for her husband and son, but also engages in acts of sexual deviance. Hashem and Majed are pillars of patriarchal tradition, insisting on restrictive gender roles and holding fast to traditional indicators of masculinity, but they are also victims of political exile and poverty. Martine holds fast to tradition, yet seeks liberation in her own self-imposed exile. Joseph offers a certain freedom, but insists on his own boundaries, which are shaped by his own set of patriarchal values.

The plurality of the mother characters, in particular, is unmistakable, yet what they represent to Sophie and Zahra – as sources of repression and trauma, whether passively or actively transmitted – is more one-dimensional, mirroring the ways in which the young women are reduced to symbols. In both cases, traumatic transgenerational memory is transmitted both willingly and unwillingly, but intention or lack thereof has no effect on the outcome. Zahra and Sophie understand the roots of their mothers’ trauma, perhaps better than most abused people understand the trauma that caused their abuser to act in such a way, but that does not stop them from searching for escape. The collateral damage in these mothers’ attempts at self-liberation is not their oppressors, but their daughters. Limited by the fact that “woman should fulfill the individual male need for scopic/sexual gratification and yet be the figurehead for national culture” (Natarajan 401) the mothers in these novels act within strict boundaries when seeking freedom, and those boundaries then become the burdens of Sophie and Zahra. Simone Alexander writes, “Women in Danticat’s novel unwittingly adopt certain stereotypical roles. Nevertheless, these very women frame a counter-discourse by operating within the existing (patriarchal) structures of state violence, using their mutilated, abused bodies as weapons to resist and rebel against the nationalist agenda” (374). This theme dominates both Danticat’s and al-Shaykh’s novels, speaking to and subverting a widespread paradigm that forces women of color to choose allegiance to just one of their identities, embodied here in the figures of mother and nation.

Buffeted back and forth between mothers and lovers, and all they offer and represent, both women are driven to deviate drastically from the norm of acceptable behavior. In both cases, various guardians of traditional values interpret this as insanity. Sophie breaks her own hymen and attacks a stalk of sugarcane. For Zahra, these moments come in her reactions to Majed in wedlock, and then in her relationship with the sniper, which eventually leads to her death.

One can deliberate endlessly over whether or not any of these are acts of liberation or if they are the reactionary results of living under multiple oppressions. To varying degrees, they all are both. They all disrupt oppressive norms, but also come at great personal cost to the actors, who are oppressed subjects. The cost of Zahra’s final act of transgression is her life: the sniper shoots her after she tells him that she is pregnant. In contrast, though some outsiders think her actions are marks of insanity, Sophie is uplifted by generations of women in her family in her final act of transgression. This difference aligns with the ways in which each character navigates her suffering throughout each novel. While Zahra retreats into the coping mechanisms passed down by her mother, Sophie actively confronts them and seeks out alternatives. This is not to suggest that Zahra is passive or that she can be blamed for her death, but rather that the constraints on each character’s agency differ greatly based on context. For example, Sophie is able to seek refuge in group therapy, which is not an option for Zahra. Ultimately, Sophie and Zahra succeed where their mothers try but fail (Martine through self-imposed exile, Zahra’s mother through multiple abortions): they break the cycles of mother-daughter abuse and transgenerational transmission of trauma. However, Zahra only does this through her
death, not by choice.

In exile of various forms, seeking redemption from the trauma of their mothers but offered no guidance as to how this can be done; Sophie and Zahra are led to these points of rupture that can be understood metonymically as the two possible conclusions of lives lived under forces of oppression that demand self-destruction. Together, these novels illustrate the complexity of forced transmission of culture, values and trauma – the weight of being both an individual with agency and the product of history and systemic forces, which is exacerbated in a subaltern context.

Speaking from a psychoanalytic standpoint of the conflation of woman and nation, specifically the rendering of all women into mother-symbols, Melanie Klein writes,

… Anything that is felt to give out goodness and beauty, and that calls forth pleasure and satisfaction, in the physical or in the wider sense, can in the unconscious mind take the place of [the infant’s perception of the mother’s] ever-bountiful breast, and of the whole mother. Thus we speak of our own country as the “motherland” because in the unconscious mind our country may come to stand for our mother, and then it can be loved with feelings which borrow their nature from the relation to her. (Klein, 103)

For Zahra, Hashem and Majed, the separation of mother and child is congruous with their exile from their nation. Joseph and Sophie are both of diasporic identities (though the homeland that he longs for is one he has never seen) but Sophie’s exile brings her to her biological mother, while ripping her from the forms of motherhood she experiences in childhood. In both cases, estranged from both mother and homeland, these characters cling to the memory of both, sometimes conflating the two, in their search for agency and selfhood.

In seeking orange and navel, and mortar and pestle – symbols of the mother, women’s work, and points of connection and closeness between mother and child – Zahra and Sophie long for connection to their mothers: connection that feeds and nurtures. They are connected, deeply so, but it they are only able to find this connection through this transmission and reproduction of trauma. Martine and Zahra’s mother’s motherhood itself is thus compromised by the very demand that they perform reproductive labor. Mothers perform reproductive labor in the form of child-bearing and child-rearing, which is then hindered by the ways in which they must perform cultural reproduction and transmission of values. In attempting to work towards freedom within the confines of their own oppression, these mothers act as oppressive forces in their daughters’ lives. By illustrating this tension, al-Shaykh and Danticat challenge the validity of the traditional woman-as-nation trope that renders all women into idealized mother figures. They expose the tax this expectation of idealized motherhood has on both mothers and daughters, stripping it of its fabled liberatory potential.
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ARTISTIC fascination with Turkish culture was not a novel idea by opera composers in the 18th century. Plays featuring Turkish themes and characters date back to when Europeans first experienced Turkish culture during the Crusades and consequently brought aspects of Turkish culture back home. The image of the Ottoman changed after the European victory in the Ottoman’s Siege of Vienna in 1683 (O’Connell 181). The Ottoman’s failed expansion into Europe and later retreat symbolized a shift in European views towards their culture. The Ottoman Empire’s expansion no longer threatened European culture and the shift in power allowed Europeans to idealize their culture rather than fear it.

This shift in power also led to new alliances between European countries and the Ottoman Empire which further led to new trade relations. The Treaty of Passarowitz in 1718 introduced Austrians to the market of Turkish goods and opened the gates for new products to flow into Europe (Balkis 188). The influx of Ottoman goods influenced European trends and masquerade balls, Turkish coffeehouses, and Alla Turca music styles came into vogue (O’Connell 181). Additionally, Turkish military bands, called Janissary bands, were often sent to European courts as part of diplomatic exchanges leading to European imitation of their musical styles (“The Alla Turca Style in the Late Eighteenth Century” 48). However, these trends represented a shallow interpretation of Turkish culture. Europeans focused their view of Turkish people and their culture as that of an “other” versus their own cultures.

Turkish “otherness” was often portrayed through the popular genre of operatic
“seraglio stories.” These stories had remarkably similar plots despite being composed in different languages and European cultures. They often featured Western women being abducted by Turkish pirates and held hostage in seraglios, or harems. The Western woman’s lover, desperate to retrieve his love from the sensuous embraces of the seraglio’s master, launches a failed rescue attempt. Despite catching the fleeing Europeans, the seraglio’s master displays an act of great magnanimity and releases the Westerners and it’s Happily Ever After for the Western heroes and heroines. This plot is seen in the little-known French opera *La Corsaire* composed by Adolphe Adam, Gluck’s *La Rencontre imprévue*, Mozart’s *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*, and many others of varying notoriety (Stilwell 51-52).

This research focuses on a case study of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart’s (1756-1791) *Die Entführung aus dem Serail (The Abduction from the Seraglio)* and the causes and effects of exoticism presented in the work that are common in the “seraglio story” genre. It includes a discussion of the methods in which the work portrays the differences between Western and Eastern characters including two common Turkish tropes (the barbaric Turk and the noble savage), the implied comparison of Western women and their Eastern counterparts, as well as the differences in the portrayal of Western and Eastern men. This research will also discuss the causes and effects of the inauthentic Western portrayal of Turkish musical traditions. Overall, this research attempts to highlight the difference between genuine appreciation and the gross appropriation of an “other” culture by Western Europeans.

In Mozart’s opera, the character Osmin provides an example of the stark separation between European and Turkish culture that is prevalent in this genre. Osmin is the guard of Pasha Selim’s harem and estate and is portrayed as a barbaric individual with a harsh temper. However, he is written as a comic villain, trivializing his anger and ferocity (Kaiser 127-130). In his Act I aria, Osmin sings, “I won’t rest until I see you killed” and later describes the many ways he wishes it to happen with, “First you’ll be beheaded, then you’ll be hanged, then impaled on red hot spikes, then burned, then manacled and drowned; Finally flayed alive” (Bretzner). This steadfast determination to torture is a joke for the audience but also reduces Osmin’s character to one defining trait, his barbaric personality. Due to his comic nature, Osmin is not perceived as a real threat by either the Western male heroes or the audience. As one of two main Turkish characters in the drama, Osmin serves as a generalization of Turkish men. Effectively, his words and actions diminish Western respect for the Turkish people by portraying them, through Osmin, as immoral and barbaric.

The musical aspect to Osmin’s character provides further support for this generalization. Osmin’s first aria in Act I, referenced before as showing his fixation on barbaric torture practices, is musically set to highlight his quick temper and harsh personality. The aria is written with short notes and phrases which creates an angry mood that complements the violent lyrics. Additionally, the *allegro assai* is an unexpected ending to the aria that subverts traditional expectations by presenting a new meter and remote key. Mozart explained in a letter to his father:

*There comes the allegro assai which is in a totally different metre and in a different key; this is bound to be very effective. For just as a person in such a towering rage oversteps all the bounds of order, moderation and propriety and completely forgets himself, so that the music must also forget itself (Head 2).*

The nontraditional musical choices can be equated to Osmin’s non-Western mannerisms. Osmin’s temper sends him into a state of barbaric rage that starkly contrasts the noble, Western heroes. His aria features repetitive phrases and underdeveloped harmonies which portray him as less sophisticated or cultured than his Western counterparts. While these choices, such as a remote key and contrasting meter, may not come across as overly unsettling to the modern listener,
the musical traits of his aria mimic his angry descent as far as the limits of 18th century music would allow. Mozart reminded his father, in the same letter referenced earlier, “music, even in the most terrible situations, must never offend the ear” (Head 2). Nevertheless, Osmin’s music contrasts with that of the Western men through clipped phrases, brash dynamics, and foreign modulations that culminate in a caricature of the “barbaric Turk” (Balkiş 191).

Pasha Selim offers a different trope of Turkish characters, the noble savage. He is the master of the seraglio, a setting that is simultaneously extravagant and immoral, and holds power over the three Westerners imprisoned there. He desperately seeks Constanze’s love and often retaliates with empty threats when she refuses. It is implied by Pedrillo that he converted to Islam from Christianity in a conversation with Belmonte about Pasha Selim’s morals. The original libretto suggests as such but neither the second librettist nor Mozart confirm nor deny this suggestion (Kaiser 93-94). Regardless, there is no doubt that Pasha Selim is first and foremost an antagonist in the drama. He holds the Western company hostage and repeatedly threatens them. However, he earns the “noble” aspect of the noble savage when he frees the Westerners after their failed escape attempt. This action may seem contradictory to the negative effects of exoticism but implications of his actions prove otherwise.

As mentioned before, Pasha Selim is a “renegade,” a European converted to Islam and living as an integrated part of Turkish culture (Mozart’s Operas 94). Pedrillo tells Belmonte that Pasha Selim’s former Christianity still grants him “sufficient delicacy not to force any of his women” (Kaiser 160). This places Pasha Selim’s gracious behavior towards members of his harem on his European background rather than his current Turkish setting. This attribution then undermines the positive portrayal of Turkish culture by insinuating that his admirable morals are exclusive to Western tradition and should not be taken as a reflection of Turkish culture.

Furthermore, his graciousness is muddied by his repeated threats to Constanze and the rest of the Western company. In his first introduction, he is shown with Constanze, inquiring as to why she is still upset and assuring her that her honest answer will not upset him. Her answer, in aria form, explains her affection for Belmonte and how she wishes to stay true to him (Rushton 68-69). Pasha Selim, in turn, responds angrily reminding her that she is under his control and he could exert force upon her if he so wished (Bretzner). This change in emotion and control emphasizes Pasha Selim’s role as the “noble savage.” While initially portrayed as kind and gentle to Constanze, a woman he technically has in his control, his temper flares and he reverts to the “savage Turk” commonly portrayed in the genre. This loss of control further diminishes the Western view of Turkish rulers by portraying them as unsophisticated or unstable. When taken as a whole, Pasha Selim’s actions towards the European characters creates a deceiving view of Turkish people. Initially he seems to be a fair ruler (as fair as a harem owner can be) but his underlying motivations and irrational behavior undermine this interpretation.

The interactions within Pasha Selim’s seraglio also exemplify European views of Turkish culture. While the drama lacks any non-European women speaking roles, actions and statements from European women create comparisons and generalizations towards Turkish women. Blonde’s character serves both as the spunky, lively sidekick to Constanze as well as a comparison to the generalized Turkish woman (Kaiser 39). Act II features a scene between Osmin and Blonde, who was given to the guard as a slave by Pasha Selim. Blonde fends off Osmin’s advances and informs him that European girls are “quite different” (Bretzner). While she offers no one specific to base the comparison on, the implication is that she is “quite different” than the girls Osmin is used to, meaning the Turkish women of the seraglio. She describes English women as “good” and “free” and scoffs at the idea of giving into
The Abduction from the Seraglio to consider is the musical interpretation of Turkish culture. Mozart is often regarded as a master of music, a title he earned from his virtuosic and seemingly endless musical contributions. However, his Alla Turca music included in the singspiel show that he failed to portray an accurate depiction of Turkish music.
wars with the Ottoman Empire. Paul Rycaut, a British diplomat and authority on the Ottoman Empire, wrote about the janissary bands at the Siege of Vienna in 1683, “On the 26th, the Turks designing to make a furious Assault, caused all their warlike Musick, such as Flutes, Cymbals, and brass Trumpets, which gave a shrill Sound, to play with their highest Notes, to encourage their Soldiers to make the Onset” (Meyer 485). While Europeans had first been introduced to Eastern instruments and music during the Crusades, interest and knowledge in this type of music did not become popular until after the failed expansion of the Ottoman Empire at Vienna (Meyer 485). Despite the influx of Turkish goods, Eastern music continued to be portrayed only through modified Janissary-style music.

Instead of offering a genuine Turkish music experience, Mozart, as well as other composers of the time, reduces Janissary bands to a few defining traits and applies them universally to every situation. The most common trait to be associated with Janissary music is the extensive use of percussion. At the beginning of exoticism’s popularity, the only percussion employed in Western music was the kettledrum so the percussion sounds heavily featured were exciting for these audiences. Cymbals, triangles, and tambourines were extensively used in this Alla Turca style music which were close approximations to the Turkish instruments traditionally used (Meyer 485-486). Keyboard percussion instruments were often altered to include additional parts that mimicked other Janissary style instruments (Locke 120). Another common musical trope of Turkish music was the use of repeated thirds. This was traditionally associated with Turkish music and often employed to give the piece a defining aspect of orientalism (Head 383). Further characteristics include simple meters, unison parts, and uncomplicated harmonies (O’Connell 183).

Some characteristics of Alla Turca music derive less from the musical examples set by Janissary bands and more from European interpretations of the Turkish culture as a whole. Alla Turca music was often written in key signatures with few flats or sharps, keys that were considered at the time to be “simple keys” (Locke 120). Related to this idea of “simple” music, the phrase structure and form of Alla Turca music was often short and simple. Independent phrases added onto each other to build larger, simple form structures (Locke 121). Another style trait found in Alla Turca operas and singspiel, is patter singing and skewed structures. Patter singing, a rhythmic and syllabic form of expression, is commonly seen in comedic settings and perpetuates the idea of a simple-minded, rambling Turk. The structures of these arias are often also purposefully altered from their traditional forms to sound confused or unfinished (Locke 121). This contributes to the aforementioned negative portrayal of Turkish characters when compared to the polished, traditional style arias written for European characters.

One example of these Alla Turca musical style traits found in The Abduction from the Seraglio is during the Janissary Chorus in the final scene. The strings introduce the repeated third interval early which is later imitated by the vocalists in unison. The rhythm of the main motive is very short and repetitive, relating to the “simple” approach to writing Alla Turca music. Of course, percussion is heavily featured in the chorus. The most commonly expected percussion instruments (cymbals, percussion, and triangle) are all present, adding a specific color to the texture. The cymbals and bass drum emphasize the rhythmic pattern of the chorus members with hits on the emphasized beats of the vocal line. This close relationship between different parts also relates to the simple, unison style trait often associated with Alla Turca music. The triangle adds an omnipresent color as it is struck on every beat of the closing chorus. While these traits are not always found in every instance of Alla Turca music, the combination of them in this situation gives the piece a definitive Turkish sound to the European listener.

With such a specific collection of musical
traits attributed to the 18th century Alla Turca style, a return to the discussion of appropriation versus appreciation is called for. Mozart was exceedingly focused on crafting music that pleased the European listener while still incorporating Eastern elements to give it the flair that the public was looking for (Head 14). This modification of Eastern musical traditions to suit a European standard of beauty was the first element of appropriation of Turkish culture. Further, Turkish music was almost exclusively represented through Janissary-style music in European settings (O’Connell 183). This military-style music was applied universally to all Turkish settings in drama despite them often having no relation to the military. Pasha Selim was not a military figure in The Abduction from the Seraglio yet he is introduced and praised through the Janissary style of music. This shows the apathetic approach of Western artists towards the subtleties of other cultures.

Contrarily, consideration must be given to the composer’s ability to conform Turkish music styles to Western musical notation. Is it fair to decry a piece of Western art music for cultural appropriation when the frame in which they composed was not able to accurately capture Turkish music styles? Perhaps the largest obstacle that Mozart and other composers who wrote in the Alla Turca style faced was the physical difference between the instruments that comprised traditional Janissary bands and the Western instruments that made up the European ensembles. Additionally, the original intent of Janissary military music was not to be performed in a concert setting. Johann Adam Hiller, an observer of Western-interpreted Janissary performance in 1739, reported that the performance lacked the irregularity and roughness of the true Turkish sound (“The Alla Turca Style in the Late Eighteenth Century” 48). The limitations that composers encountered were not always as unavoidable. Composers self-imposed a distinction between Western music and that of true Janissary music. This limitation can be seen in a letter written by Mozart regarding Osmin’s savage nature. He writes, “music, even in the most terrible situations, must never offend the ear” (“The Alla Turca Style in the Late Eighteenth Century” 48). This implication, that Turkish music in its traditional form is offensive to Western ears, illustrates the Western appropriative view of Turkish music rather than a truly appreciative view.

These changes made to the traditional Turkish music style in reverence to the Western ear resulted in a style of music unrelated to what it was originally inspired from. While the style of Alla Turca music written in the 18th century would be recognizable to Europeans as “Turkish,” Aleksandr Ulibichev, a music enthusiast after Mozart’s time, argued, “The Persians and the Turks would not recognize themselves in these Choruses of Janissaries” (Locke 114). Mozart himself wrote that he included Alla Turca style traits in Die Entführung because his Western audience would expect to hear them included in an opera set in Turkey (Locke 121). While the original source material was based in Turkish culture, Alla Turca music took on its appropriative position when composers based their alterations of the style on what would conform to Western beauty standards.

True appreciation of these cultures would portray Turkish characters with multi-dimensional personalities and motivations. Music styles would vary and be representative of the correct style of music traditionally played in that setting. The portrayal of other cultures would be educational instead of the slapstick sideshow approach used in the many “abduction” style seraglio stories.

Mozart, Gluck, Rameau, and other composers were all complicit in perpetuating negative stereotypes of Turkish culture through European art music in the Alla Turca style popular in the 18th century. This genre of art and exoticism reduced an entire culture to only a few defining traits for the sensory enjoyment of Europeans. While these composers are praised and immortalized for their work, it is important for music scholars to
listen critically and understand the problems they present within their context. Musicians are tasked with representing different cultures through their compositions and performances and it is crucial to understanding the line between appreciation and appropriation. True Turkish music styles, as well as music styles of other non-Western cultures, have the same subtleties of Western art music expressed through their unique traditions and deserve to be represented in their true forms rather than be remembered through the appropriative compositions of Western composers.

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The Deviants of Athens through the Positivist Perspective

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ABSTRACT
During the Classical period of 5th to 4th century BCE, citizens of Athens identified deviants through literature and unique burials. Oftentimes, what the Greeks said about deviancy did not coincide with what they did to the actual deviants. Despite the differences in what Greeks said and did, both actions are cohesive enough to reflect the application of a particular perspective of deviancy: Positivism. I argue that the Athenian’s identification and understanding of deviancy, via contemporary literary and physical evidence, coincide with the positivist perspective of deviancy. The positivist perspective is comprised of three assumptions: absolutism, objectivism, and determinism. Absolutism is seeing deviancy as real via physical characteristics; objectivism refers to examining others like objects; and determinism refers to uncontrollable forces dictating deviancy. To better understand the unification of Greek words and actions under the positivist perspective, I connect both to the perspective’s assumptions to prove how they coincide with an ancient society’s interpretation of deviancy. By incorporating this perspective, we develop a better understanding of the Greek mindset and how diverse words and actions can still reflect a united interpretation of deviancy.

During the Classical period, from 5th to 4th century BCE, the Greeks clearly defined their socially inferior and superior members through literary means and burial practices. However, both word and deed appear to contradict one another. In surviving texts, Greeks claimed to bury their socially inferior through a variety of unconventional ways, such as throwing their remains into open bodies of water or fissures. Those labeled as inferior were pirates and murderers people typically thought of when it came to not following society’s expectations. However, there is no physical evidence to support that any of these groups were actually buried in these unique manners. That is not to say that Greek society was absent of its anomalies. There is evidence for atypical burials for other groups, such as warriors, athletes, children, and the physically disabled. However, these groups are dramatically different from those originally identified in ancient texts as warranting uncommon burials. Despite the apparent difference between what the Greeks said and did, I argue that the Greeks had a common understanding of deviancy and the way they constructed the term is through the application of what sociologists call the positivist perspective. In applying the positivist perspective, I will show that although Greek word and deed differ, there is actually a cohesive understanding of deviancy.

In order to reach this conclusion, I will first explain how deviancy will be understood in this paper, and then I will explain the positivist perspective as it is understood by the sociological discipline. I will apply the
perspective to literary and archaeological evidence to show an understanding of deviancy that is consistent throughout its application. The literary and physical evidence is limited to a specific assortment of references examined diachronically in order to support a consistent understanding of deviancy adopted by those in the Classical Period.

UNDERSTANDING DEVIANCY

Deviancy is a versatile term, one with no universal meaning because of its vast interpretations by different disciplines. Even in the Sociological realm, deviancy has opposing explanations that fit into diverse categories, thus making it a term that no one discipline can agree on (Thio 2013: 3). However, in this paper I classify deviancy as people that exceed or fall inferior to the expectations set in place by Greek society. It is important to understand that one of “moral virtues” of Greek society was Arete, which translates to “excellence.” Thus, members of ancient Greek society were expected to constantly engage in activities that made the average person distinguished and memorable. However, it is important to note, that while people may have attempted to be excellent, not everyone was. Only certain members of the community were recognized for their superior efforts, thus granting them an elevated status. Thus, this paper will primarily focus on those who went beyond the societal expectations and those who fell inferior will be mentioned as a means of providing a stark contrast.

THE POSITIVIST PERSPECTIVE

The Positivist perspective has three assumptions: absolutism, objectivism, and determinism (Witting 1990). Absolutism is the assumption that states that deviancy is absolutely real (Thio 2013: 5; Hirschi 1973). In order for something to be seen as absolutely real, it is understood that deviant people have certain characteristics that make them different from the socially accepted. Deviancy is an attribute that exists permanently in a person and it is recognized as a biological trait that is absent in “normal” people. Objectivism is the assumption that defines deviant behavior as an observable object (Thio 2013: 5-6). In other words, “normal” people can separate themselves from deviant persons and can study them as if they were a physical phenomenon that they cannot relate to. Finally, determinism is the assumption that sees deviancy as caused by forces beyond a person’s control, i.e., there are many factors that could have influenced an action or how someone turned out (Thio 2013: 6-7). In the following, I apply these three assumptions to what the Greeks said and did in order to show that the superficial contradiction between text and action instead reflects a unified understanding of deviancy.

WHAT THE GREEKS SAID

Absolutism in Ancient Texts

The Greeks wrote a great deal about those that went above or below their societal expectations. These texts primarily contain descriptions of observable, biological traits that are not typically found in the average, socially accepted person of Classical Greek society. These descriptions are located in texts that discuss health, which additionally reveals the application of absolutism.

Aside from the expectation of excellence, Greeks also had to be healthy. Health, as understood in Plato’s *Laws*, is having a “sound and hale” body (Plato 1926). This type of body allowed the average person to complete the necessary tasks affiliated with their daily life. From farming, training, fighting, and engaging in the political realm, the average Greek had to be physically capable of enduring all of their unique responsibilities. In a competitive environment where everyone strove to be excellent but not all could be, a health issue, such as a physical deformity, was a sign of weakness that prevented the citizen from building their reputation. Ancient texts, such as *Histories*, reinforced this understanding and identification of healthy
people by saying they were “free from deformity and disease, has no experience of evils, and has fine children and good looks (Herodotus 1972).”

The expectation for all Greeks was to be healthy, because it gave them the ability to pursue excellence. However, there were those that went above this societal expectation and thus, their excellence was displayed through their superior health. This superior health was reflected by warriors and athletes, because their bodies were at their absolute peak. Athletes had a body that was seen as “a token of physical and moral superiority (Papakonstantinou 2012: 1658).” These men constantly exercised and trained in order to represent their city-state in games, combat, or to be dominant in a particular sport. The athlete’s body articulates physical strength; beauty, social dominance, and sexual potency (Papakonstantinou 2012: 1659). While the average body of a Greek citizen reflects their stable health and ability to tackle personal responsibilities, it does not compare to what the athletic body represents, endures, and sacrifices for the larger society.

This superiority is reinforced through preserved works such as Pindar, a 5th century poet, who celebrates the athletic body, as well as the contributions and victories established by the athlete (Pindar 1990). The athlete achieves superior health, displays it through his body, and uses it as a means of carrying his community to victory during competitions. The warrior does the same, but in battle. He uses his body to maneuver through blows, to endure wounds, and as a weapon against others who threaten the city-state he fights for. There are enemies that have advanced their bodies for war as well, but to ensure victory, he makes his body better; thus he is obligated to go beyond average. This is precisely what makes the athlete and warrior deviants, because they possess physical, observable traits that go beyond society’s expectation.

**Objectivism in Ancient Texts**

Deviancy was also examined objectively by the socially-accepted citizens of Athens. This objective examination was primarily applied to those who went below the expectations of society. Thus, this section will primarily focus on understanding how the unwanted members of society were observed. The application of objectivism is evident through ancient published texts that acknowledge the outcasts through a scientific lens rather than an approach that recognizes the outcast as a human with their own experiences.

An example of this attempt at observing outcasts through an objective lens is in Aristotle’s biology-centered text, *Generation of Animals*. In his work, Aristotle discusses not only the means of animal reproduction, but also incorporates a discussion of certain “human” deformities such as baldness (784 a). Through the inclusion of a human “deformity” alongside the discussion of animals, it is clear that he disassociates himself from the “unwanted” within his own species and he affiliates such deformities with non-human entities; thus, Aristotle attempts to have an objective discussion about physical abnormalities in the same way he does about animals and their reproductive process.

In addition to identifying baldness as a deformity in *Generation of Animals*, Aristotle also states that women are deformed, because they are contorted versions of men (737 a). He also underlines imperfection as a hereditary trait evident in a child being born with an underdeveloped nostril or ear (Aristotle 1943: 775 a). Other ancient texts belonging to the Classical period identify the following to be considered deformities: weak legs were seen as unfavorable defects in *Diseases* (Mirko 1991: 2.66); children were seen as imperfect when being born to too young or to old parents in Aristotle’s *Politics* (1335 a-b); and *Metaphysics* identifies a person who is missing limbs as having a deformity. It is important to examine closely where these discussions of deformities are taking place within ancient texts. Aristotle is administering a conversation about humans and their “deformities” in a text primarily affiliated with animals. Thus, he is attempting
to apply the same lens used to study animals to how he observes fellow humans who harbor traits that deviate from the socially accepted population. By doing this, he does not acknowledge the deviant as a person who thinks and feels, but rather as an entity that is visibly different from humans thus making it “possible” to observe objectively.

**Determinism in Ancient Texts**

One’s ability to go above or below societal expectations was attributed to forces outside of the Greeks’ control, thus establishing the usage of determinism. In this section, both the favored and unwanted citizens will be addressed in order to understand how they came to occupy such varying statuses. The Greeks believed that phenomena such as physical abnormalities, the process of aging, dying at birth, and doing exceptionally well in competition or battle came from the whim of the gods or even other external forces that could not be combated. The gods were connected to an assortment of realities; from the sky, earth, sea, and so on. Their presence explained select phenomena and they existed as incarnated idols that dominated over particular realms (Schwab 1946: 22). Because gods were seen as the ultimate driving force for certain occurrences, it comes as no surprise that some would believe that the gods were the reason for the birth of physically disabled children.

Deformity was affiliated with “divine anger;” the gods had a reason to express animosity towards either a family or a child, thus leaving the latter with a physical ailment (Garland 1992). The Greeks reasoned that these deformed children were punished for the sins of their fathers or other members of the family, either because they broke an oath or they failed to provide a proper tribute to a god (Garland 1995). Because of this lack of recognition, honor, and respect to the gods, these unfavorable actions warranted a wrathful response.

While the Greeks acknowledge that the gods can do harm, they are also aware of the beneficial outcomes these supernatural forces can impose. As mentioned before, the athlete and warrior are typically seen as those who go above societal expectations. However, while both groups can train to perfect their bodies and they can do things the average man cannot, it is the impact they make in their varying arenas that truly makes them superior representatives of their society. The warrior and athlete are recognized if they win competitions and conquer the battlefield and those who succeed in either arena are seen as favored by the gods. It is the gods that allowed this particular athlete or warrior to triumph over others; they influenced the methods enacted by these men in order to ensure victory.

Favoritism from the gods is even seen in ancient texts. In one scene from the *Iliad*, Athena displays a preference for the Greeks, thus ensuring their victory against Troy (Homer 1951). Throughout the book, there are times when Athena’s efforts are outweighed by the influence of other gods, causing the Greeks to lose a few battles. However, it was Athena’s ability to ultimately outwit her opposing brothers and sisters that ensured the success of her favored army. Despite the gods being mythological entities, this particular point syncs well with the determinism view. If a god favors a particular side, group, or person, then they are likely to receive victory due to the influence of a divine force.

However, there were members of ancient Greek society that believed certain phenomena were determined by forces unrelated to the gods. These forces are primarily biological and are used to explain the origin of those who fail to meet the societal expectation of health. The *History of Animals* by Aristotle makes the “scientific” claim that “lame parents produce lame children” (585 b. 586 a). According to Aristotle, if two parents had physical abnormalities themselves, then they were the reason for the child contracting a physical ailment as well. Another ancient text known as *Sacred Diseases* identifies “lameness” as something that lies in heredity (Hippocrates 1868: 3). Like *History of Animals, Sacred Diseases* attempts to
support the claim that physical ailments can occur from hereditary means and thus can be transferred over from those who have initially suffered from a particular deformity. Both of these texts explain how the child is born into a circumstance that they cannot control, thus crediting the phenomenon to an additional factor beyond the gods.

The ancient Greeks have acknowledged those who are inferior and superior within their own society through text. Within the literature, these deviants are comprised of unique physical characteristics not typically found in socially accepted citizens. In addition, those that write about these different groups attempt to disassociate themselves from fellow man in order to examine these anomalies with an objective, scientific lens. Furthermore, the Greeks believe that one’s successes and shortcomings are credited to the will of the gods and other external forces beyond one’s control. Each assumption further solidifies the Greeks’ application of the positive perspective to identify the inferior and superior deviants through text. The positivist perspective is also evident in Greek action, which further proves the Greeks had a consistent understanding of deviancy despite how different word and deed appear to be.

WHAT THE GREEKS DID

Absolutism in Ancient Actions

As previously stated, excellence was something many Greek citizens strove for. Each citizen attempted to attain excellence in their own way. To be excellent, many citizens emulated qualities belonging to heroes they identified with. In addition, these citizens also showcased their strength and influence in political, athletic, and other competitive arenas in order to reinforce their superiority (Papakonstantinou 2012). With athletic events being exceptionally prized, it was important to have a near flawless physique. Thus, the ideal body as seen on athletes is reinforced through artistic means such as statues such as the Diadumenos which was completed around 420 BCE. In this particular piece, the figure is crafted in a naturalistic fashion; embracing an open posture, proudly displaying his masculine, fit physique while nude. While other prominent members of society also received statues in their honor, they were primarily depicted clothed. These particular citizens got to their prestigious rank because of their ability to communicate effectively and use their brains. However, when the athlete was constructed, he was depicted nude because the body itself was credited for getting the athlete to a prominent position. The athlete was the pinnacle of perfection, an idol worth striving for; his design mimics the manner by which artists construct the gods. He is in a rank beyond the average man, thus making him a deviant due to his uneasily attainable form, what that body was able to accomplish, and how it was displayed through art. Such attributes can be observed outside of ancient books; the deviant qualities of men like him are reinforced through physical manifestations for all to see, thus making the anomaly real.

Athletes in the Classical period were even celebrated in death and their superior status influenced the burial practices specifically reserved for them and warriors. While the average citizen had a specific place allocated for their burial, those who went above societal expectations received a funerary process that was far more grand and prestigious. Deceased athletes and warriors had large stelai dedicated to them and they were typically integrated into these large, life-size monuments. The stelai were specifically designed to draw the eye to the athlete and warrior in order to signify their importance (Lorenz 2007; Stansbury-O’Donnell 2006). The figures on the stelai were often crafted as nude, further emphasizing the body that successfully got the athlete or warrior the reputation for which they are being recognized. It is the body that reveals much about the deceased’s accomplishments, they “speak of hard training, of hours devoted to mastering and moulding the body’s possibilities – and the stelai deliberately evoke the routines of the training ground” (Turner 2012: 222). The
stelai serve as a physical reference to strength and dedication that earned these men a favorable reputation; thus, man and his body were further celebrated in death. The athlete and warrior are deviant because they contain distinct, physical characteristics that are not evident in the majority of citizens. Even when artists constructed statues, athletes and warriors were crafted nude to display the very bodies that represented their hard work and active, elite engagement in the Athenian society (Turner 2012: 221, 223). The way the athletic body is perceived and portrayed by citizens and artists alike serves as real, observable evidence of identities sought after.

Objectivism in Ancient Actions

Objectivism is not only evident through the texts of the time, but also through the actions embraced by the socially accepted citizens as well. This can be primarily examined through the burial practices associated with those who fell inferior to societal expectations. The refusal of burial or conventional burial was primarily devoted to the negatively-stigmatized deviants of the ancient society (Morris 1987: 105). Some Greeks concluded that whatever anomalies the person possessed warranted them a unique funerary process. In other words, if the person could not conform and went below societal expectations, then they were not provided a burial typically arranged for a socially accepted citizen. The two actions went hand in hand and were done as a means of reinforcing the legitimate existence of deviancy. Because it was easy to identify those who failed to meet societal expectations, so too would their inadequacy be evident in death and burial.

In one case, Little and Papadopoulos (1998) analyzed the remains of a man found in a well north of the Acropolis. The physical remains of the man were arranged on a stone slab carefully and he was interred with a small cup, which further solidifies the claim that this was a unique burial and not a man who simply fell into the well and attained his fractures from the fall. The remains indicate that the man suffered from a broken back and a caved in skull, prior to his burial. These injuries occurred during early adulthood and left the man crippled as they healed, thus proving that the injuries on this discarded body were not the product of a murder. Because of the skull fracture, it is highly plausible to assume the man suffered neurological defects, thus affecting his motor skills. This particular behavior and his appearance could have contributed to the unusual method of burial given to this man, thus making him an outcast (Papadopoulos 2002: 104). One might ask, if he had no ailments prior to his injury, why would he still be buried outside of the socially accepted burial location? Because of his impairment, it is difficult for this man to be further engaged with his society; he would have to rely on others for support, thus making him unable to contribute as an active member of his community due to codependency. This inability to find a place within society could warrant for a reason to abandon his body in a well. These wells were primarily affiliated with trash and abandonment; thus the presence of animal remains such as horse, sheep, bovine, dog, and pig skulls were found with many of the men, women, and children interred in these wells (Kritzas 1976-78: 174).

Wells located in the Athenian agora also contain the remains of hundreds of discarded children, some who had physical abnormalities from abuse or bacterial infections that developed during the first week after their birth (Houby-Nielsen 2000: 152). These children were unable to make it past ten days of birth or to the vital age of three because of such ailments; thus, they were not officially considered part of the family, which made their abandonment in disposable areas like wells easier. One of the wells was filled with an assortment of bone fragments belonging to various bodies, thus making it difficult to piece together the remains properly. This complicated finding solidifies how easily disposable the unwanted were. The bodies were stacked upon one another in a random formation, without much thought or care attached to the disposal
of these infants. The fractures evident upon some of the remains also reinforce how undesirable physical abnormalities were used to identify these deviants, thus leading to their questionable and unfavorable burial (Papadopoulos 2002: 105).

For the more favorable deviants, such as athletes whose physical appearance was seen as a goal to strive for, burials were located in more prestigious locations, but still remained outside of conventional burial grounds. Some of these athletes were buried on roadsides (Humphreys 1980). Warriors were also buried on the roadside, thus attaching to the location an aura of fame, importance, and prominence. Thus, the citizens of Athens wanted travelers to see when they made their way towards the city. While not outwardly identified as deviant or assigned any negative connotations, the warrior is still considered an anomaly because he was the only one in the society who was allowed a public burial, whereas every other socially accepted citizen was buried through private means (Houby-Nielsen 2000: 160-161: 11; Cilliers 2006: 52).

Determinism in Ancient Actions

The Greek citizens believed that their opportunities and outcomes were determined by the gods. A person’s ability to meet the expectations of society or to fall above or below these standards depended on whether the gods favored him or not. While people could easily train to become an athlete or engage in the political realm, their infamy was primarily developed by their success in tournaments, competitions, or prominent positions of power that oversaw other leaders. However, these victories were only ensured if these people were favored by the gods. Misfortunes and negative outcomes also came from the gods as they imposed trails and hardships on those who were believed to be unworthy because of their family or their own blasphemous actions.

While one’s ability to fall above or below societal standards was out of a person’s control, many people attempted to engage in activities that swayed the god’s decisions in order to favor their own outcomes or the outcomes of others. Greeks could communicate their desires and seek favors through sacrifice, which is a practice that establishes “a connection between man and gods” (Vernant 1995: 178). It is through sacrifice that one can ask for a bountiful harvest, a safe passage home, a successful trade, and so on. However, people had to communicate the request to the proper deity. Specific gods were responsible for certain phenomena and they required specific sacrifices to ensure a price paid for the request made. In some cases, sacrifices were meant to honor the gods, thus warranting the killing of certain animals over others because some had more value to them. For example, cows were the more favorable sacrificial option (Bremmer 2007: 133), especially in Athens, whereas sacrificing fish revealed how lowly placed the divine god is (Bremmer 2007: 135). Many of these sacrifices took place in temples built for particular deities, an example is the Altar of Zeus (Romano 2005: 384). Around these particular areas, animal remains could be found (mostly of sheep and goats), thus solidifying the use of animal sacrifice as a means of communicating to the gods in order to sway or influence their future actions (Bremmer 2007: 143).

CONCLUSION

The Greeks engaged in practices that appear to differ from what they said they did in their ancient texts, implying a contradiction between word and deed. However, despite the dramatic differences between text and deed, the Greeks actually had a unified understanding of who was seen as exceeding societal standards and who fell inferior to each expectation. Using the positivist perspective as a lens to examine Greek society, we can see that there are not inconsistencies between text and practices relating to their social superiors and outcasts. This shows how diverse representations of groups can be cohesive enough to reflect a society’s values.
and beliefs. The positivist perspective is what links the content of text and action together and it is all comprised of a set of assumptions that further establish this unification: absolutism, objectivism, and determinism.

The absolutism assumption was expressed through the observable physical and/or biological differences that made a person within the Athenian society stand out, thus making deviancy absolutely real. The objectivism assumption existed in physical copies of texts and through the remains found in abnormal burials that attempted to explain ancient Classical anomalies through a neutral, “intellectual” standpoint that was objective for its time. The determinism assumption is supported through the Greeks belief that the gods, or heredity, were the reason for deviants and deviant phenomena, which are both out of a person’s control. Combining the evidence that establishes and supports these three assumptions leads to the development of the positivist perspective. It is through the positivist perspective that we develop a link- age between word and deed that reflects a deeper understanding of society.

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The Coming of the LORD: An Analysis of Religious Rhetoric in the American Civil War

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ABSTRACT

Propaganda has always served an important function in warfare. In the American Civil War, much of the propaganda of both the United States and the Confederacy utilized religion or religious rhetoric. A key aspect of the religiosity of both sides in the war was the notion of an all-powerful Providence that guided history as He saw fit, and while it was a powerful source of encouragement early in the war, as the death toll rose, it posed problems for many people, especially Southerners. The sermons and speeches delivered during the war demonstrate that political and religious rhetoric intermingled freely in churches, and show that political leaders eagerly claimed the favor of God on their causes. Each nation’s claims to divine favor reflected distinctive views of God. The Union and Confederacy alike came to define themselves through religion as well as politics, and they defined their opponents in the same ways. The North held itself to be a crusading force, striking down godless rebels who sought to overthrow rightful authority. By contrast, the South portrayed itself as an embattled defender of Christian tradition against invaders who were heretics at best, and infidels with no regard for Scripture at worst.

The United States, being such a vast country, has always had distinctive regional cultures, and by its very nature, the American Civil War brought those differences to the fore, both highlighting and deepening them. Not only were North and South at odds over matters of economics, societal organization, and government, but also over matters of faith. The outbreak of the Civil War, like most wars, led to incredibly nationalistic propaganda on both sides. In a situation in which both the Confederacy and Union were deeply religious, it is unsurprising that religious rhetoric was ever-present in their propaganda. Much has been written about the interaction of religion with the Civil War in general, from the great revival of the Confederate armies to the clash over biblical interpretation.¹ This paper, however, aims to look at a narrower aspect of this topic: the role of religious rhetoric as propaganda in the war.

Religious rhetoric was a fundamental aspect of Civil War propaganda for both the Confederacy and Union, on the home front and in their respective armies. It was used to motivate soldiers to take up arms, to encourage confidence on the home front, to keep up morale, and, eventually, to color perceptions of the war even after it ended. A key aspect of the religiosity of both parties in the war was the notion of an all-powerful

The sermons and speeches delivered during the war are particularly valuable in studying this issue. These serve to demonstrate that political and religious rhetoric intermingled freely in churches, and show that political leaders eagerly claimed the favor of God on their causes with absolute confidence. Each nation’s claims to divine favor reflected distinctive views of God. The Union and Confederacy alike came to define themselves not just through ideological differences, but through the religious rhetoric in their propaganda. The North portrayed itself as a heroic force crushing the rebels against right and good, while the South portrayed itself as a protector of tradition and doctrine.

The Approach of the War

The secession of the Deep South and the formation of the Confederate States of America made the religious differences immediately obvious. The Northern states were far from irreligious. However, the Confederate government went out of its way to claim God’s favor. Where the United States Constitution is a purely secular document, the Confederate Constitution explicitly aligned itself with theism by opening with a preamble similar to that of the U.S. Constitution, but adding the phrase “invoking the favor and guidance of Almighty God.”

Jefferson Davis, in his inaugural address, invoked divine favor as well, declaring that God would judge who was correct. President Davis suggested that, in the event of war, they could count on Providence to protect them, stating that if “...the integrity of our territory and jurisdiction be assailed, it will but remain for us, with firm resolve, to appeal to arms and invoke the blessings of Providence on a just cause.”

In another speech after the war had begun, Davis echoed this language, stating, “It may be that we shall have to encounter sacrifices; but, my friends, under the smiles of the God of the just, and filled with the same spirit that animated our fathers, success shall perch on our banners.”

Abraham Lincoln, too, utilized religious rhetoric in his inaugural address. However, his tone was less confident than Davis’ certainty of God’s favor. Lincoln used cautious language, saying, “If the Almighty Ruler of Nations, with His eternal truth and justice, be on your side of the North, or on yours of the South, that truth and that justice will surely prevail by the judgment of this great tribunal of the American people.” Lincoln thus refrained from overzealous declarations while still suggesting that the secessionists were in danger of running afoul of God’s will.

While the presidents invoked God to one degree or another, the religious communities of the Union and Confederacy set about thoroughly sanctifying their causes. In both nations, the clergy took up the cause with zeal, and ministers unabashedly preached politics, proclaiming in apocalyptic terms the righteousness of their cause and the wickedness of their enemy. Still, there were voices of moderation. The Reverend Thomas Atkinson, an Episcopalian bishop and minister at St. James Church in Wilmington, North Carolina, preached that the Confederate cause was just, and argued that the taking of arms was necessary and right. However, he warned the Confederates to look to their own morals, and prepare for a long, difficult struggle that might end in defeat, explaining:

I cannot then doubt, and it seems a singular hallucination that any man should mistake the
righteous cause in this present most lamentable controversy, and I hope and I believe that God will bless with temporal success the righteous cause. He may not, however, for He does not always see fit to make right visibly triumphant. But succeed or not, it is the cause on the side of which one would desire to be found. Yet, however this thought may cheer us, we cannot disguise from ourselves that success, should we obtain it, will not probably be reached until after an arduous and painful struggle, involving severe trials of the feelings, and of the character of the community, and of ourselves individually.

Other clergy were less restrained. Ministers on both sides preached sermons with the national cause put forth as the manifest will of God. In accordance with President Davis’ call for a day of prayer, Reverend Daniel Dreher, delivered a sermon in which he declared, “...a just God will hold the offender responsible for the injury done” and condemned Northern leaders as “fanatics” and “inhuman.” The rhetoric sounding the call to arms in the North was hardly less furious. Pastor Henry Bellows thundered to his congregation that:

I wish to know nothing of that kind of religion which will not defend the sacred interests of society, with all the power, physical and moral, which God and nature have supplied. My own enemies I will forgive, and continually turn to them the other cheek; but the enemies of humanity — the enemies of all order, truth, and virtue — the enemies of my country I will not, upon any theory of peace or meekness, unresistingly suffer to achieve their guilty purposes, so long as there is a drop of blood in my heart, a fibre of muscle in my arm, or a note of warning in my voice.

In addition to the assertion that the interests of the nation and the interests of God were the same, Reverend J.G. Bartholomew, a Universalist preacher, declared the South a wicked enemy of freedom, and claimed that “God calls us out of these events, henceforth to consecrate the Church — its spiritual power, its moral strength, and all it has, to freedom.” Political philosophy and theology mingled freely in these passionate sermons, as many clergy preached politics in the most literal possible sense, making arguments based equally on legal theory and theology.

**Religion in the Union Camps**

Neither government in the Civil War was averse to using religious rhetoric as propaganda, nor were civilian preachers. However, one should note the different tones struck by each side. Where the Confederates portrayed themselves as defenders of Christian tradition against apostates and infidels, the rhetoric of the Union lent itself towards an aggressive, crusading view that reflected the military situation — Southerners on the defensive, Northerners heading south to defeat them. In the Federal view, the Confederacy was a blight that needed to be stamped out aggressively, for its very existence endangered the Union and American Christianity.

An extremely useful source for insight into the Federal view of the war is the songs sung by the troops, for war songs provide a view into the mind of the soldier and the emotions resonating within him. The most famous of the Union war songs is the classic “Battle Hymn of the Republic.” The Battle Hymn remains popular today and uses apocalyptic imagery taken from biblical prophecy to describe the Civil War as a battle between good and evil, a “fiery gospel writ in burnished rows of steel” and associates the Confederacy with the biblical “Serpent” - Satan - that is to be crushed under the heel of the Union army, which is associated with Jesus, “the Hero

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born of woman.’”

War songs were not the only songs sung by the troops, and evangelism-minded Northerners supplied troops with hymn books. Most of the songs contained within these books were hymns that might be heard in church, but they also contained patriotic songs with a martial theme. The rhetoric in these songs is explicit in its association of the Union cause with God’s will. For instance, the song “On- Right Onward” outright calls on the singer to “Strike for Jesus! Strike to-day!”

Equally relevant are the sermons preached to the troops. These sermons reflected a firm belief that the Confederates had committed not only treason against the Union, but also a crime against God. George Whitefield Bosworth delivered a sermon in which he turned to the common theme of the sinfulness of rebellion. He cited a story in the Old Testament, in which the Israelite tribe of Benjamin refused to surrender a criminal. In response, God commanded the rest of Israel to take up arms and march on Benjamin to punish them, a story which Bosworth contended was an almost perfect parallel with the secession of the South, suggesting, “It may be that they [Benjamin] started the question of State rights, and remonstrated against coercion.”

The Old Testament was a recurring theme, as it contains many stories of rebellion bringing punishment. In a sermon to an Ohio regiment, Reverend B.W. Chidlaw was ferocious in his condemnation of the Confederates, calling secession a “Baal” and claiming the civilians of the North were spared harm by God’s divine favor on the Union. Reverend Andrew L. Stone, in 1862, drew a parallel between the secession of the Confederate states and the rebellion of Satan, declaring, “Like the great apostasy in Heaven, ‘a third part’ of the banded stars of the confederacy forsook their loyalty to Union and to law.” By drawing these Old Testament comparisons, an overarching Unionist narrative of the war was formed; specifically, that it was a war against a rebellion which for all intents and purposes was a reenactment of Satan’s original act of evil.

The Sacred Union

One of the themes of Unionist rhetoric was the notion of the Union itself as a sacred thing. The recurring citation of Romans 13, St. Paul’s warning against disobeying legitimate authorities, ties in neatly with this notion, as the Northern clergy preached that secession from the Union was an act of ungodly rebellion. Reverend Edward J. Stearns heavily emphasized this idea in a sermon on the matter. He sought to define St. Paul’s “submission to authority,” and argued that God ordains authority in that He instituted civil government. Stearns defined legitimate authority as those in possession of the “machinery” of civil government, making resisting lawful government a sin.

In a sermon, aptly titled “Unconditional Loyalty,” Pastor Henry W. Bellows went even further, arguing that, as government was divinely sanctioned, it was immoral to obstruct its operation in any way. He argued that “The head of a nation is a most sacred person,” and even that “To rally round the President – without question or dispute – is the first and most sacred duty of loyal citizens.” While few took the doctrine as far as Bellows, the divine ordinance of government and the sinfulness of rebellion

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12Ibid., 103-104
was the defining theme of pro-Union religious propaganda.

In that same vein, Reverend Ezra Williams expounded on the nature of rebellion as fundamentally sinful. Reverend Williams’ sermon was unusually aggressive in tone, but contained several themes common to Union religious propaganda – the evil of the Confederacy, the wickedness of rebellion, and the sanctity of civil government. He took a nuanced view and argued that an immoral government was subject to the right of revolution, but only after every constitutional method had been exhausted. He contended that the Federal government was a just government, that the South had no legitimate grievances, and that secession was an unacceptable means of opposition. He began by quoting Proverbs 17:11, which states that “A wicked man seeketh only rebellion,” and then explained,

We have in these words this plain announcement- that Rebellion is a crime, and shall be visited with terrible judgment... God declares his thought, and utters his sanction of law. This is also the expression of natural conscience - vindicating in our breast the Divine procedure, when the majesty of insulted government is asserted, and penalty applied.18

While the United States government did not openly endorse religion in its documents, the theology of the sacred government was the overwhelming theme of Northern sermons related to the war. However, there was also an undercurrent of abolitionism that showed itself throughout the war, and became a key part of Unionist rhetoric.

Abolition as a Holy Cause

From the very beginning of the war, the North made it clear that, while slavery may have been the wedge that split the Union, the Union itself was the object of the Civil War. Lincoln did not hesitate to state that his objective was to preserve the Union, not to end slavery. Moreover, actual abolitionists were rare even in the North. Despite this, the abolitionist minority made itself heard and did an exceptional job of grafting abolition into Union rhetoric, especially after Lincoln’s Emancipation Proclamation in 1862 lent much more credence to their cause.

The abolitionists viewed the pro-slavery governments of the South as an enemy, and this hostility meshed well with the aggressive propaganda already employed by the Union. President Lincoln, in his second inaugural address, declared that slavery was a crime against God, explaining,

If we shall suppose that American Slavery is one of those offences which, in the providence of God, must needs come, but which, having continued through His appointed time, He now wills to remove, and that He gives to both North and South, this terrible war, as the woe due to those by whom the offence came, shall we discern therein any departure from those divine attributes which the believers in a Living God always ascribe to Him?19

While he refrains from stating it directly, Lincoln makes clear the idea that slavery is an offense against God for which He is punishing the United States. Thus, in a brilliant bit of oration, Lincoln avoids the overconfidence declarations of God’s favor in many sermons and speeches, both North and South, whilst invoking the looming threat of God’s judgment on the war.

Many Northerners were significantly less tactful than Lincoln in their condemnations of slavery. Reverend Daniel Steele delivered another sermon comparing the Confederacy

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to the rebellious tribe of Benjamin, and said of slavery:

In the one, undestroyed idolatry bred disobedience to the law of Moses, and treason to the Commonwealth; and in the other, African slavery, abhorred of God, engendered a hideous barbarism in the noon of the nineteenth century, and organized a foul revolt against the wisest government ever framed for the good of mankind. In both was there an irresistible uprising of the loyal hosts against the insurgents, an uprising inspired and commanded by God Himself. For the voice of the King of Kings was no more clearly heard marshalling the faithful tribes of Israel against Gibeah, the champion of murder, than it is heard resounding through all our loyal States, commanding our sons and brothers to set themselves in battle array against Richmond, the strong-hold of slave-breeding. 20

Thus, through song and sermon, pro-Union religious rhetoric created a clear-cut battle of good versus evil. The Union was a sacred thing, its government instituted by God, and the Confederacy, in rebelling against the divine institution of government, was cast in the role at best of the tribe of Benjamin, and at worst of Satan. Slavery only served as more proof of Southern wickedness, whether the objection was to the “Slave Power” or to slavery itself. Defining themselves and their cause in these religious terms, Northern troops marched southward to crush the great evil that threatened the whole of the nation.

The Confederates as Defenders of Conservative Christianity

In a contrast to the Union and its aggressive rhetoric portraying the Confederates as an evil to be struck down, the Confederacy painted itself as a defender and cast the Federals as an invading army of heretics, infidels, and mercenaries, with Southerners as a bulwark between Christian Dixie and the Northern invaders. Reverend Robert Sledd, in a sermon to Confederate cadets in 1861, warned them not to surrender themselves to the passions of war, though they “behold her [the South’s] pleasant places made desolate by an infidel and fanatical foe.” 21 Equally harsh was Reverend George Pierce’s depiction of the allegedly faithless politics of the North:

A perverted public sentiment, largely tinctured with atheism, which excludes God from the affairs of earth, and confines Him, (if it admit His existence at all,) to heaven and heavenly things, is a fruitful source of venality and corruption in high places and low places, of insubordination, of commercial fraud and infidelity to contracts, of impious legislation and wide-spread contamination. Our republican fathers wisely separated the Church from the State; their degenerate successors madly separated the State from Heaven. It has been the fashion to theorise and decide on politics, as if Christianity were not a superior, supreme law, and as though God had abandoned his book and his rights to the chances of a doubtful contest. Statesmanship has become an earthly science, a philosophy without religion, and a system of expediency without a conscience. 22

Similarly, Reverend Joel Tucker roundly condemned the North, describing the conflict as a religious one and telling his Fayetteville, North Carolina, congregation that “Your cause is the cause of God, of Christ, of humanity. It is a conflict of truth with error--of the Bible with Northern infidelity --of a pure Christianity with Northern fanaticism--of liberty with despotism--of right with might.” 23

Far from viewing themselves as “rebels,” the Confederates viewed themselves as upholding a long tradition of Christian government and were conservative in their policies. Davis argued in his inaugural address that the Confederate Constitution was no revolutionary document, but an improvement upon the United States Constitution. 24 In a similar vein, they argued

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that it was in fact the Northerners who were going against the divine order. Along with portraying themselves as defenders of Christianity, the Confederates also contrasted the North’s alleged faithlessness with the South’s piety.

Piety as a Virtue of the Confederate Military

Another major Confederate narrative centered the piety of their military. From generals to private soldiers, the Confederate armies were considered highly religious. That perception was a boon to Confederate propaganda, meshing nicely with the accusations of Northern heresy and godlessness. Particularly notable officers in this regard were General Robert E. Lee and Major General Thomas “Stonewall” Jackson, men who were highly regarded in the Confederacy.

General Lee spent most of the war commanding the Army of Northern Virginia. In that capacity, he exhibited a strong faith that deeply impressed many. Confederate chaplain William Bennett had nothing but praise for the Virginian, writing, “General Lee attached his men to him not less by his goodness of heart and his deep-toned, unobtrusive piety, than by his skill and courage as a warrior – he was to them the model of a Christian soldier.”25 Similarly, in his book, Robert E. Lee: The Christian, William J. Johnson shows that Lee was overwhelmingly regarded by his contemporaries as a model Christian soldier. He noted, among other instances, that after Lee’s death an assembly of soldiers and officers who had served with him adopted a resolution that included the statement, “We have been daily witness to his quiet, unostentatious Christian life; we have seen him prove that ‘no adversity could ever move, nor policy at any time entice to shrink from God and from His Word.’”26 Lee’s faith was, to the Confederates, clear proof of the holiness of their cause, and Lee’s status as the ideal Christian soldier was rivaled only by one of his corps commanders, Major General “Stonewall” Jackson.

Jackson earned a reputation as an incredibly devout Christian, praying frequently and openly. Were he merely an unusually devout man, it is doubtful he would have had the impact he did, but his remarkable success in battle combined with his piety to establish him as the ultimate religious role model in the Southern armies.27 The Confederacy could not have created a better source of propaganda if it had tried. Jackson achieved a status shared by few other men, and became a revered legend in his own lifetime while earning the almost fanatical admiration of his troops. This is reflected in the popular Confederate song “Stonewall Jackson’s Way.” The ditty expresses a profound respect for his faith with,

| Silence! ground arms! kneel all! caps off! |
| Old “Blue Light’s” going to pray. |
| Strangle the fool that dares to scoff! |
| Attention! it’s his way. |
| Appealing from his native sod, |
| In forma pauperis to God, |
| Say “Bare Thine arm; stretch forth thy rod, |
| Amen!” “That’s Stonewall Jackson’s way.” 28 |

The near-religious reverence for Jackson was not reserved to his troops. On the home front, Confederate citizens idolized the general, as much for his devout faith as his military abilities. When Jackson died, the outpouring of grief was incredible, and ministers delivered entire sermons pondering the meaning of his death. Jackson was used to illustrate that God might do something seemingly hostile to a Christian cause for His own ends, a concept that provided Southerners with consolation as the defeat of the Confederacy loomed.29

25William W. Bennett, A Narrative of the Great Revival Which Prevailed in the Southern Armies During the Late Civil War Between the States of the Federal Union (Harrisonburg, VA: Sprinkle Publications, 1989), 67
While General Jackson’s life and death served to inspire troops and civilians alike, he was no passive bystander in evangelizing, either. He actively sought to increase the presence of ministers among the Confederate forces, the most notable of these being his chief-of-staff, Virginia theologian Robert L. Dabney, a Presbyterian minister and die-hard Confederate. Though his position as chief-of-staff was decidedly brief, Dabney played a critical role in defining the Confederate cause as a religious one and promoted the concept of the soldier as a martyr. Unsurprisingly, Jackson was one of the examples he cited, and Dabney was a major advocate of the idea of his superior officer and good friend as not merely a national hero, but a Christian one.\textsuperscript{30} The efforts of Lee, Jackson, Dabney, and numerous other officers and chaplains of the Confederate armies culminated in one of the most fascinating events of the war – the great Confederate revival.

The immense revival that occurred in the Confederate armies was a unique event. While the Federal forces saw some revival-like events, they never came close to the incredible scale of that of the Confederates. This revival provided enormous strength to the claim that the Confederates were the true defenders of Christianity, especially with its highly visible, highly religious leaders.

Chaplain William W. Bennett, a firsthand witness of this event, recorded his experiences after the war in his book, \textit{The Great Revival in the Southern Armies}. The greatest growth in religiosity occurred after the Confederate defeat at Gettysburg, but according to Reverend Bennett, the whole of the war saw growth in religious belief.\textsuperscript{31} Bennett describes the effect that the spread of Christianity had on the soldiers as being near-miraculous in its ability to keep troops from panic and despair. That religion has a profound effect on the morale of soldiers is borne out repeatedly by eyewitnesses, but the uniqueness of the Confederate revival is found in its extent. James Graham of the 27th North Carolina wrote to his mother that “The revival in our Brigade is still going on and there are a good many converts every day and almost everybody is becoming serious. Instead of hearing swearing all the time you seldom hear an oath in our Reg’t now,” and that “All the churches are filled to overflowing every night.”\textsuperscript{32}

The Confederate revival made for superb propaganda in portraying their cause as a holy one. Noted Civil War historian James McPherson writes,

The Confederate revivals had gone a long way toward raising morale in the Southern armies from its low point at the end of 1863. Heightened religiosity helped to prevent the collapse of both armies during the carnage of 1864, but was a particularly potent force in the Confederacy. It may not be an exaggeration to say that the revivals of 1863-64 enabled Confederate armies to prolong the war into 1865.\textsuperscript{33}

The Confederate narrative of the war, then, focused on the piety of the Southerners in contrast to Northern faithlessness. Southern religious propaganda was a call for Christian Southerners to rally and hold the line against a heretical invader. That they would be able to hold these invaders off even in the face of superior resources was, of course, not a question.

Reactions to the End of the War

When the Confederacy finally fell to the United States, North and South handled the conclusion of the War quite differently. In the North, it was vindication of their cause, condemnation of the rebellion, and in many


cases considered proof of the wickedness of slavery. Reverend Norman Seaver spoke on the subject, celebrating the War’s end as proof of God’s favor towards the U.S. government, declaring that “In overthrowing Richmond, the hand of God hath pointed out republicanism as the one true and universal form of government for all the nations of the earth.”34

Others took a more reflective view and found the War to be a humbling experience. Reverend James Vose took this view, but nonetheless also saw it as a triumph and vindication of the values of the North, preaching that “The spirit of New England shall infuse every part and portion of the South, and men shall wonder and be astonished that rebel leaders ever laid their sacrilegious hands upon the ark of our holy covenant.”35

Southerners viewed the result of the war in an entirely different light. Defeat was baffling, because in the opinion of the Southerners, it was the loss of an unquestionably morally superior cause and army to an obviously less moral one; yet at the same time, it was necessarily also the will of God.36 Many interpretations arose regarding the defeat. According to some, it was a punishment for idolizing leaders such as General Lee, or even making an idol of Confederate independence itself.37 Others freely admitted that they simply could not comprehend it, but that it was part of God’s oft-inscrutable plan and must be accepted.

Conclusion – America’s Great Schism

The religious differences between the North and South are too ingrained and long-standing to place the blame wholly, or even mostly, on the propaganda of the Civil War. Nonetheless, propaganda played a crucial role in justifying and sanctifying the respective causes of the combatants in the Civil War and, like much of history, offers us a glimpse of an earlier form of differences and disputes that are still relevant today. The Civil War was not a religious war by any stretch of the imagination, but many of the numerous religious soldiers did see the conflict through the lens of their faith. To understand the rhetoric of war is to gain a better understanding of what spoke to the common soldier, and it is this author’s hope that this paper has shed some small light on the way the Christian soldiers of the Civil War defined themselves and their enemies.

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Social Sciences
The Relation Between the Attachments of Female College Students and Their Self-reported Resiliency and Stress Levels in Emerging Adulthood

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ABSTRACT
Past research has identified emerging adulthood as a period of vulnerability and heightened academic and interpersonal stress (Busari, 2011; Dahl, 2004; Seligman & Wuyek, 2007). Research has found that the trust and security of strong attachments provide support and resiliency during times of distress (Bowlby, 1969). The purpose of the present study was to investigate the association between strong attachments, stress, and resilience in emerging adults. The hypothesis was that participants with stronger attachments and higher resiliency would report less academic and relational stress. Additionally, classic attachment theorists and developmental psychologists have indicated that attachment shifts from parents and caregivers to peers and romantic partners in emerging adulthood (Bowlby, 1969; Erikson 1950; Hazan & Shaver, 1994). Recent research indicating more familial reliance may suggest emerging adults are making the attachment shift to peers and romantic partners in college but later return the primary attachment function to parents and family members. Our hypothesis aligned with this model of attachment transfer. A survey was distributed to current female college students (N = 174) collecting data on demographics, stress, resiliency, and attachment. Results partially supported the hypothesis of transfer of attachment from family to peers and romantic partners and back to family. When predicting academic and relational stress, strong attachments to college friends and resiliency were found to be significant.

The developmental period of emerging adulthood (18-25) is a time of peak physical resilience and strength, but morbidity and mortality rates increase 200% through this same period of maturation (Dahl, 2004). This paradox of physical health and negative outcomes has led researchers to begin to focus on the unique life stage of emerging adulthood, characterized as a time of exploration and instability. Individuals are transitioning into different academic environments, living situations, and adult roles in society (Arnett, 2000), and as a consequence, are experiencing higher levels of physiological, academic, and relational stress (Dahl, 2004). Within the transition from high school to college alone, college freshman have been found to experience clinical levels of separation anxiety and the inability to cope with heightened academic stress (Seligman & Wuyek, 2007; Misra, McKean, West, & Russo, 2000).

Using the Perceived Stress Scale, researchers Misra, and colleagues (2000) determined that within the college population, underclassmen had higher mean levels of stress than upperclassmen due to change, conflict, and frustration. The challenging transition into college may explain why underclassmen were found to have higher behavioral, emotional, and physiological reactions to stress (Misra et al., 2000).

Not only faced with academic stress,
emerging adults in transitional phases often experience significant interpersonal stress. Seligman and Wuyek (2007) explored the separation anxiety symptoms experienced by first-semester college students. These students were living on campus and experiencing significant time apart from their homes and loved ones, many for the first time. Using the Adult Separation Anxiety Checklist, researchers found that 21% of participants could be expected to meet the diagnostic criteria for Separation Anxiety Disorder. These studies suggest that the transitions of emerging adulthood, such as high school to college, may exacerbate stress due to the change in relationships and academic expectations.

The stress of this developmental period is a strong correlate of mental health as found in a study of 1,257 young adults where stress was the strongest predictor of mental health (Bovier, Chamot, & Perneger, 2004). Social support was found to be an intervening variable in the relation between internal resources and stress, suggesting social support exerts its influence by strengthening internal resources (Bovier, et al., 2004).

The increase in stress during emerging adulthood makes internal resources such as resiliency critically important. Resiliency serves as an adaptive function as a protective factor for adjustment (Masten, et al., 2004). In periods of constant instability such as emerging adulthood, the need increases for the ability to “bounce back” and “recover from stress” (Smith, et al., 2008). Masten and colleagues (2004) found that resiliency endures the transition of emerging adulthood and continues through young adulthood. Resiliency was associated with early life experiences, such as quality parenting, and with adaptive resources in emerging adulthood, such as the presence of a supportive adult.

**Attachment**

Erik Erikson (1950) first identified trust as a basis for independent exploration in children. Infants that perceive their caregiver as attentive and accessible feel secure to explore their environment. The relationship with the primary caregiver in infancy serves as an internal working model for attachments across the lifespan (Bowlby, 1969). Attachment is a function of relationships throughout life. Researchers found that the attachment behavioral system that motivated infants to remain close to caregivers is also present in adult relationships (Bowlby 1980; Hazan & Shaver, 1987, 1994). Attachment is characterized by three defining features: proximity maintenance, safe haven, and secure base (Bowlby, 1969). In order of depth, proximity maintenance is the desire to remain physically close to an attachment figure, safe haven is the attachment figure providing comfort in times of distress, and secure base is the attachment figure serving as an emotional stronghold, or anchor, from which the individual feels confident exploring the world (Bowlby, 1969).

Emerging adults, like children, seek proximity to and comfort from a known and trusted person in times heightened stress (Bowlby, 1969; Fraley & Davis, 1997). Adjustment difficulties from transitions such as moving from home, beginning college, or joining the workforce may lead emerging adults to experience greater needs for protection and security provided through attachments (Bowlby, 1969). The increased relational and academic stress of emerging adulthood (Dahl, 2004) may suggest that attachment functions may be more intensely needed than in other life stages (Bowlby, 1969).

**Attachment in Emerging Adulthood**

The emotional bond of attachment is a function of relationships throughout life, shifting from caregivers to peers and romantic partners (Bowlby, 1980; Hazan & Shaver, 1987, 1994). While attachment to parents is important throughout the lifespan, Bowlby (1980) found this relationship to be modified with age. The figure to whom attachment behavior is directed changes in adolescence and adulthood, typically shifting from parents to romantic partners and peers (Bowlby, 1969). Researchers have found that this attachment transfer is sequential by function. Proximity
seeking function transfers in early childhood, safe haven function transfers in adolescence and early adulthood, and secure base function transfers in adulthood (Hazan & Zeifman, 1994; Fraley & Davis, 1997). Fraley and Davis found that while young adults are predominately attached to parents (secure base), attachment related components (proximity maintenance, safe haven) are emerging in peers. Emerging adults are experiencing the transfer of their attachment stronghold as they navigate a stressful and unstable developmental period, creating another transition and potential for disruption.

While classic attachment theorists such as Bowlby (1980) and Hazan and Shaver (1994) identify this attachment shift from parents to peers and romantic partners as linear, emerging research suggests the transfer of attachment from parents to peers and romantic partners then back to parents throughout emerging adulthood. In emerging and young adulthood, peers and romantic partners begin to serve as primary attachment figures. However, parents continue to fulfill attachment needs, attesting to the continued dependence on the parent-child relationship (Doeherty & Feeney, 2004). Emerging adults and parents of emerging adults report financial and residential dependency as well as frequent, positive communication (Arnett & Schwab, 2013). Citing Goldschneider and Davano’s (2000) term “semi-autonomy,” Arnett describes emerging adults as having incomplete independence, responsibility, and freedom. With this continued dependence and need for support, the emotional bond between parent and child may be strengthened after the typical shift to peers and romantic partners, therefore returning the primary attachment function to parents and family.

Hypotheses

The literature has indicated that emerging adulthood is an exceptionally stressful time (Dahl, 2004), and resiliency is a protective factor in a period of vulnerability and transition (Masten et al., 2004). Past research has found that the trust and security of strong attachments provide support and resiliency during times of distress (Bowlby, 1969). The purpose of the present study was to investigate the association between strong relationships with hometown friends, college friends, family members, and romantic partners, stress, and resiliency. The hypothesis is that participants with stronger attachments and higher resiliency would report less academic and relational stress.

Classic attachment theorists and developmental psychologists have indicated that attachment shifts from parents and families to peers and romantic partners in emerging adulthood (Bowlby, 1969; Erikson 1950; Hazan & Shaver, 1994). Recent research has suggested emerging adults remain dependent on their families in times of stress and for financial and residential support. This continued reliance, along with positive and frequent communication, may suggest that parents provide emotional support in emerging adulthood as well. This research supports a model of attachment transfer where emerging adults are making the attachment shift from parents and families to peers and romantic partners but later returning the primary attachment function to parents and families. We aim to examine the trends of attachment figures including two hometown friends, two college friends, two family members, and a romantic partner (if applicable) across the four years of college. Our hypothesis aligns with the model of attachment transfer from parents, to peers and romantic partners, and back to parents in emerging adulthood. We also expect attachment functions (proximity maintenance, safe haven, and secure base) to move sequentially as the attachment shift from parent to peer back to parent progresses.

Method

Participants

Participants (N = 174) included females ages 18-25 attending a women’s college in the Southeast United States. Participants were recruited through Blackboard pages and undergraduate courses in various disciplines. Extra credit was offered in the courses at the discretion of the professors. Participants who
did not meet the age restrictions were allowed to participate and receive extra credit, but their responses were not included in the analyses. Participation was voluntary and confidential, and participants were treated in accordance with the “Ethical Principles of Psychologists and Code of Conduct” (American Psychological Association, 2013). The participants were not otherwise compensated.

Materials

In April 2016, a survey was distributed including a demographic questionnaire, attachment scales, the Brief Resiliency Scale (Smith et al., 2008), and the Brief Relational and Academic Stress Scale. The demographic portion of the survey asked participants to identify age, class affiliation, major, minor, licensure, grade point average, size of hometown, distance from home, and program involvement. The attachment scales were adapted from Fraley and Davis (1997) and used previously in the Meredith Emerging Adulthood Longitudinal Studies (Pantlin & Woolard, 2014). Participants were asked to think of an attachment figure (two hometown friends, two college friends, two family members, and a romantic partner, if applicable) and rate six statements using a 7-point Likert scale (1 = Not at all, 7 = Definitely). Scale items assessed the attachment strength across all three functions of attachment (proximity maintenance, safe haven, secure base). The Brief Resiliency Scale consisted of eight items measuring resiliency as the ability to “bounce back” and “recover” from stress using a 7-point Likert scale (1 = Strongly disagree, 5 = Strongly Agree) (Smith et al., 2008). Participants needed an electronic device and Internet access to complete the survey.

Brief Relational and Academic Stress Scale. Pantlin and Woolard (2014) adapted two stress scales to measure both academic and relational stress in emerging adults (see also Busari 2011; Seligman & Wuyek, 2007). The original adaptation of the measure was 41 items, and the current study utilized a condensed 11 item version of Pantlin and Woolard’s scale. The scale was developed by evaluating reliability indices by computing Cronbach’s Alpha on Pantlin’s original sample (N = 11; α = .745). There was a strong correlation between the scales (r = .85; p<.01).

Procedure

Participants gave informed consent and indicated they were at least 18 years of age by continuing past the first page of the electronic survey. An overview of the confidentiality procedure was provided indicating that names would be replaced with numbers for the duration of the study. The attachment scale was completed for seven attachment figures: two family members, two hometown friends, two Meredith College friends, and a romantic partner if applicable. The attachment scale measured the three functions of attachment (proximity maintenance, safe haven, secure base) and was combined for a total attachment score. The attachment scores were combined for each type of attachment figure except romantic partners, as there was only one romantic partner reported. Where these scores are compared, Z-scores are used in the analyses. After completing the survey, participants were provided contact information for the researchers and information for the on-campus counseling center.

Results

A stepwise regression with backward elimination was chosen to predict stress based on resiliency and attachments. This method of analysis was used to investigate whether the set of variables have significant predictive capability even though a subset of them may not. By testing the impact of the deletion rather than the insertion into the model, variables that don’t predict well individually will have joint predictive capability noticed. For the purpose of this study, this method allowed us to investigate the strength of attachments and resiliency together as overlapping and inextricably linked concepts of internal and external resources.

An ANOVA was conducted to compare total attachment to each type of figure...
Attachment, Stress, and Resiliency. Stress and resiliency were found to be significantly correlated \( r(174) = -0.46, p < .01 \). Resiliency did not significantly correlate with any specific attachment. Stress only correlated significantly with attachment to college friends \( r(174) = -0.23, p < .01 \).

A stepwise regression with pairwise exclusion of missing cases and backward elimination was performed to predict stress based on resiliency and the strength of attachment to college friends, hometown friends, family members, and romantic partners. Table 1 shows the results of regression analysis with four significant models. The first model includes all variables (hometown friends, college friends, family, romantic partners, resiliency). A significant regression equation was found \( F(5, 99) = 7.109, p < .01 \), with an \( R^2 \) of .264. The second model eliminated attachment to family and remained significant (hometown friends, college friends, romantic partners, resiliency) \( F(4, 100) = 8.961, p < .01 \), with an \( R^2 \) of .264. The third model (hometown friends, college friends, resiliency) had a significant regression equation after eliminating romantic partners \( F(3, 101) = 12.041, p < .01 \), with an \( R^2 \) of .263.

The fourth model included college friends and resiliency with a significant regression equation \( F(2, 102) = 18.093, p < .01 \), with an \( R^2 \) of .262. This model eliminated the other attachments with beta values of -0.41 (hometown friends), -0.033 (family members), and -0.032 (romantic partners). Participants’ predicted stress was equal to 84.517, with beta weights of -0.616 (resiliency) and -0.173 (college friend).

A linear regression was conducted to predict stress based only on attachments to assess the role of resiliency as a mediating variable. A significant regression equation was found \( F(2, 102) = 3.526, p < .05 \), with an \( R^2 \) of .254 suggesting that resiliency may exert influence independent of attachment strength.

Attachment Trends. A one-way ANOVA was conducted to compare total overall attachment of each figure (hometown friend, college friend, family, and romantic partner) between class years. A significant difference was found in hometown friends across class year \( F(1, 86) = 4.499, p < .05 \); see Figure 1). When attachment functions (proximity seeking, safe haven, secure base) were examined between freshman and senior year, only changes in hometown friendships were significant. The change in safe haven function for hometown friends was found to be significant \( F(1, 86) = 4.755, p < .05 \), and the change in secure base was approaching significance \( F(1, 86) = 3.703, p < .058 \); See Table 2).

Discussion

Attachment, Stress, and Resiliency. The hypothesis of the present study was that participants with stronger attachments and higher resiliency would report less academic and relational stress. Regression analysis was used to investigate the relation between attachments, stress, and resiliency. Results indicated that higher resiliency and stronger attachment to college friends were significant predictors of lower stress. College friends appear to serve as immediate support and directly buffer stress better than other attachment figures.

Attachments were still a significant predictor of stress after controlling for resiliency indicating that the relationships of hometown friends, college friends, family, and romantic partners may exert protective influence on stress independent of resiliency. This does not support previous findings that suggest resiliency is a generative mechanism through which social support influences stress (Masten et al., 2004; Bovier, Chamot, & Pernerger, 2004). Similar to previous studies, the present study recognizes the predictive capability of strong attachments and resiliency, but findings suggest that...
the external resource of social support and the internal resource of resiliency may act independently. Classic theories of attachment are supported, indicating that attachment serves as a buffer to distress and allows securely attached individuals to face difficulties with less disruption (Bowlby, 1969).

**Attachment Trends**

We expected attachment functions (proximity maintenance, safe haven, and secure base) to move sequentially as the attachment shift from parent to peer back to parent progresses. Among the functions of attachment, safe haven changed significantly from freshman to senior year and secure base was approaching significance. In transition years, college friends and family remain relatively stable. Although the interaction between all class years and attachments was not significant, trends indicate that hometown friends are the primary attachment figure across all four years of college (See Figure 1). Differences in attachment across class years may not have been significant due to small sample size, as the original sample size was divided by class. The hypothesized attachment transfer from parents to peers and romantic partners back to parents was seen in the secondary attachment figure throughout college (Arnett & Schwab, 2013; Fraley & Davis, 1997; see Figure 1). Family members were the secondary attachment figure freshman, junior and senior year. College friends were the secondary attachment figure sophomore year. Romantic partners were not included in the observation of trends, as the other attachment scores were a sum of two figures. Overall, attachment drops among all figures in senior year, but particularly hometown friends (see Figure 1). This could be a reflection of the imminent changes of graduation and another transitional period of emerging adulthood. Future studies will continue to investigate the strength of attachment to different figures across the four years of college. The trends supported the hypothesis of attachment shift from family to peers back to family.

**Limitations**

The institution from which the sample was derived has an all-female and largely in-state student body. The geographical distance from home may have influenced the hometown and family relationships, as some of the typical separation felt during college would be lessened by local accessibility (Seligman & Wuyeck, 2007). Additionally, attachment transfer tends to be a function of relationship length and only longer lasting friendships are likely to be attachment bonds (Fraley & Davis, 1997). This may explain hometown friends trending as the primary attachment figure across all four years of college. An expanded sample and longitudinal studies will be needed to clarify the nature of these trends.

**Conclusion**

Stress is significantly predicted by resiliency and attachment to college friends. Attachment to hometown friends changes significantly in transition years, and all attachment drops in senior year of college. The transitional and unstable nature of emerging adulthood is reflected in the difficulty of identifying consistent trends. The clearest finding of the current study is the importance of proximate social support structures in mediating stress during a challenging developmental life stage. The stress buffering function of college friends is most salient in early transition years in college, indicating the importance of peers who understand the immediate demands of academic and college related social stress. Whereas family and hometown friends may provide longer-term attachment functions relevant to the concerns about an uncertain future common among college seniors.
Figure 1: Mean attachment score for each figure (hometown friends, college friends, family) for each class year. Standard errors are represented in the figure by the error bars attached to each column.

Table 1: Summary of Multiple Linear Regression Analysis with Backward Elimination for Variables Predicting Stress

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Model 1**</th>
<th>Model 2**</th>
<th>Model 3**</th>
<th>Model 4**</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B</td>
<td>SE B</td>
<td>β</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resiliency</td>
<td>-.610</td>
<td>.118</td>
<td>-.453*</td>
<td>-.610</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College Friends</td>
<td>-.162</td>
<td>.076</td>
<td>-.191*</td>
<td>-.162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hometown Friends</td>
<td>-.023</td>
<td>.079</td>
<td>-.029</td>
<td>-.029</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romantic Partner</td>
<td>-.054</td>
<td>.251</td>
<td>-.020</td>
<td>-.059</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family</td>
<td>-.018</td>
<td>.086</td>
<td>-.020</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Pairwise elimination was performed for missing data
*p < .05, **p < .01
Table 2: Attachment Function by Class Year

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class Year</th>
<th>Family Proximity Seeking</th>
<th>Family Safe Haven</th>
<th>Family Secure Base</th>
<th>Hometown Friends Proximity</th>
<th>Hometown Friends Safe Haven</th>
<th>Hometown Friends Secure Base</th>
<th>College Friends Proximity</th>
<th>College Friends Safe Haven</th>
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The Relation Between Impulsivity and Neighborhood Safety on Attitudes Toward Risky Sexual Behavior

Melissa Mayfield, Brittany Armstrong and Erin Denio
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ABSTRACT
Existing work has suggested a link between early impulsivity and risky behavior in adolescence. Despite the negative ramifications of risky sexual behavior in adolescence, few studies have examined impulsivity and risky behavior that is sexual in nature. The current study examined impulsivity in middle childhood as a predictor of attitudes toward risky sexual behavior (RSB) in adolescence. Neighborhood safety was also examined as a protective factor for attitudes toward RSB. Participants included 249 children from a longitudinal study of development. Impulsivity (age 10) was measured using mother-report on the Behavior Assessment System for Children. Attitudes towards RSB (age 15) were assessed using adolescent-report on the Youth Risk Behavior Surveillance System. Neighborhood safety (age 15) was measured using mother-report on the Neighborhood Location and Structural Characteristics questionnaire. Regression analyses yielded a main effect of impulsivity on healthy attitudes towards RSB ($\beta = -0.58 \ p<.05$). Neighborhood safety moderated the association ($\beta=0.135 \ p<.05$) such that neighborhood safety amplified the positive effects of low impulsivity on healthy attitudes toward RSB. Findings provide additional support for impulsivity as a risk factor for adolescent risk taking. Additionally, neighborhood safety and impulsivity interacted to predict unhealthy attitudes towards RSB. More work is needed to examine potential mechanisms explaining these relations and other risk and protective factors.

Adolescence has long been characterized as a transitional period of emotional instability, risk-taking, and acting without thinking (Romer, Reyna, & Pardo, 2016). Adolescents are often expected to display higher levels of sensation-seeking with little forethought. To this point, there appears to be a small subsection of youth who engage in a disproportionate amount of high-risk behaviors that are problematic for both themselves and society (Romer, 2010). For example, in the United States, fewer than 10% of all juvenile offenders are chronic offenders. However, 10% of these offenders are responsible for two-thirds of all violent offenses (United States Department of Justice, 1997; Biglan & Cody, 2003; Sickmund & Puzzanchera, 2014). Adolescent risky behavior has also been linked to a myriad of serious health complications involving preventable injuries, sexually transmitted diseases, heart disease, and cognitive deficits (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2015). Aside from medical concerns, risky behavior is linked to 72% of all deaths between the ages of 10 and 24 (American Psychological Association, 2002). Understandably, adolescent risk-taking is a major concern for social scientists as they attempt to understand, explain, and prevent maladaptive risky behavior in America’s youth.
behaviors such as alcohol use, cigarette smoking, drug use, violence, and school problems (Caspi & Silva, 1995; Romer et al., 2009; Romer et al., 2011; Jaser, Yates, Dumser, & Whittemore, 2011; Treloar et al., 2012). For example, if a teen is suddenly asked by a peer to participate in cigarette smoking, this teen may be more likely to engage in the activity if they typically act without thinking. However, there is limited literature involving the relation between impulsivity and sexual behaviors that are risky in nature. When risky sexual behavior (RSB) is mentioned in the literature, it is often conceptualized as the act of sexual intercourse and/or the lack of protection against pregnancy and STDs (Fulkerson et al., 2006; Braddock et al., 2011; Khurana et al., 2015; 2012; Romer, Reyna, & Pardo, 2016). However, RSB involves more than these two concrete behaviors.

According to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (2015), RSB is any behavior that poses a threat to one’s sexual health. These behaviors include actions that increase the risk for HIV, STDs, and unintended pregnancy. RSB is noted among the leading causes of preventable deaths in the United States (Mokdad, Marks, Stroup, & Gerberding, 2004). However, healthy sexual behavior is not limited to the absence of disease or conception. Sexual health encompasses both healthy sexual behaviors and healthy sexual attitudes that allow for sexual experiences that are safe, appropriate, and free of coercion, discrimination, and violence (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2015). While the literature on impulsivity and risky behavior has begun to examine the relation between childhood impulsivity and later sexual risk-taking, little research has investigated the impact of childhood impulsivity on adolescent attitudes toward RSB. Thus, this is one purpose of this study.

In terms of prevention, it is important to identify and understand variables that may act as risk or protective factors. Extensive research has identified how lower cognitive ability and lower working memory can confer risk on sexual risk-taking. For example,
we know adolescents with lower cognitive abilities are at a greater risk for premature sexual initiation, early childbearing, and having sexual relations with multiple partners (Halpern, Joyner, Udry, & Suchindran, 2000; Khurana et al., 2015). These results indicate that cognitive capacity has an impact on sexual-risk-taking behavior. More importantly, the cognitive content also seems to be important in the decision to engage in risky behaviors. In particular, feedback processing (the cognitive ability to understand and assess the consequences of a decision) appears to be related to the ability to make healthy evaluations of objective risk conditions (Schiebener & Brand, 2015). Pertaining to this study, this suggests that the evaluation of, or attitudes towards, risky sexual behaviors may be an important factor to consider in conceptualizing risk for later RSB.

Empirically, adolescent perceptions and attitudes toward risk have been linked to risky behaviors. Feinberg, Ridenour, and Greenberg (2007) found that attitudes toward risky behavior correlate positively with risky behavioral tendencies. Adolescents with attitudes that tolerated, encouraged, or underestimated the consequences of risky behaviors were more likely to participate in those risky behaviors. In multiple studies, risk attitudes have been found to mediate the relation between measures of impulsivity and risky behaviors such as alcohol and drug use (Romer, 2010; Jaser, et al., 2011; Mishra & Lalumière, 2016). For example, Mishra & Lalumière found risk attitudes to be associated with impulsive and shortsighted behaviors such as engaging in unprotected sex. Considering the impact that attitudes have on behavior, it may be important to examine how other factors impact attitudes. Examining the relation between impulsivity and adolescents’ attitudes toward RSB may increase our understanding of an individual difference variable that relates to high-risk sexual behavior engagement. However, there may also be environmental factors that shape adolescents’ attitudes toward RSB.

A child’s neighborhood is one environmental influence that may contribute to adolescent attitudes toward RSB. Studies generally show that neighborhood and community characteristics have significant effects on both the development and prevention of problem behaviors in youth. Neighborhood safety is typically assessed via parental report on the frequency of crime and violence in one’s neighborhood (Pinderhughes et al., 2001). Unsafe neighborhood characteristics have been linked to other risk-taking behaviors related to juvenile offending, antisocial peer groups, and school problems (Chung & Steinberg, 2006; Chung, Mulvey, & Steinberg, 2011).

Neighborhood safety also relates to externalizing behaviors (including risky behaviors) in children and adolescents through its impact on parental stress (Franco, Pottick, & Huang, 2010). Low levels of neighborhood safety, which are marked by aversive neighborhood events such as crime and vandalism, predict higher reports of stress and feelings of powerlessness (Guterman, Lee, Taylor, & Rathouz, 2009). Parental stress levels in turn can negatively affect a child’s development of prosocial attitudes and behaviors, as higher parental stress inhibits adaptive parent-child relations (Pinderhughes et al., 2001; Franco, Pottick, & Huang, 2010; Guterman et al., 2009) that allow for healthy child development. Thus, we propose that neighborhood safety will relate to adolescent attitudes toward RSB as well.

The link between neighborhood structure and RSB has also been established empirically. For example, Leventhal & Brooks-Gunn (2000) reported a number of studies supporting a link between neighborhood socioeconomic status (SES) and adolescent sexual activity. Specifically, low SES neighborhoods consistently predicted higher rates of adolescent childbearing, younger age of first intercourse, and lower rates of reported contraception use at first intercourse (Pleck, Sonenstein, & Ku, 1990; Crane, 1991; Leventhal & Brooks-Gunn, 2000). This relation may be explained through Bandura’s (1969) Social Learning Theory. According
to Bandura, the processes of observation, imitation, and modeling may shape a child's attitudes in a way that mirrors one's environment. Low SES neighborhoods, which tend to have fewer resources and opportunities, may provide more models of RSB than high SES neighborhoods (Bandura, 1969; Crane, 1991; Leventhal & Brooks-Gunn, 2000). Thus, children in low SES neighborhoods may be more likely to evaluate high-risk sexual behaviors as normative and develop unhealthy attitudes towards RSB.

Considering the strong correlation between SES and perceptions of neighborhood safety, particularly for urban neighborhoods (Bowen & Chapman, 1996; Feldman & Steptoe, 2004), we believe that perceptions of neighborhood safety will impact child development in ways similar to neighborhood SES. That is, we predict neighborhood safety to negatively correlate with unhealthy attitudes toward RSB. Consistent with research suggesting that neighborhood safety moderates the link between family variables and adolescent risk-taking, we predict that neighborhood safety will work to protect children from developing unhealthy attitudes toward RSB. This is the second goal of this study.

The Current Study

Healthy attitudes toward RSB acknowledge the risks, such as unintended pregnancy, inherent in premature and unprotected sexual activities. For example, a teen with healthy attitudes toward RSB may understand the importance of using protection during sexual intercourse in order to prevent pregnancy. Since healthy attitudes are at least in part a reflection of an adolescent’s knowledge of the risks involved in sexual activity, external factors that impact the education and acknowledgement of these risks may serve to moderate the relation between impulsivity in middle childhood and adolescent attitudes toward RSB. In the present study, we examine neighborhood safety as a moderator.

Our goals in the present study were twofold. First, we examined impulsivity in middle childhood as it relates to attitudes toward RSB in adolescence. We also examined the potential moderating effect of neighborhood safety on this association. Our goal is to contribute to a better understanding of the relation between impulsivity in middle childhood and healthy attitudes toward RSB in adolescence.

Consistent with previous literature, it was hypothesized that there would be a negative relation between these children’s impulsivity in middle childhood and later reported healthy attitudes toward RSB. This would indicate that children who displayed high levels of impulsivity would show less healthy attitudes toward RSB in adolescence. It was also hypothesized that higher levels of neighborhood safety in middle childhood would predict healthier attitudes toward RSB in adolescence. To address our second goal, we examined whether neighborhood safety buffered the relation between impulsivity on attitudes toward RSB. It was hypothesized that neighborhood safety would interact with impulsivity to predict attitudes toward RSB, such that children with higher levels of impulsivity and whose mothers reported safe neighborhood characteristics would have healthier attitudes toward RSB than would be predicted by impulsivity alone.

Methods

Recruitment and Attrition

The current study utilized data from three cohorts of children who are part of an ongoing longitudinal study of social and emotional development (Smith, Calkins, & Keane, 2006). The goal for recruitment was to obtain a sample of children who were at risk for developing future externalizing behavior problems, and who were representative of the surrounding community in terms of race and socioeconomic status (SES). All cohorts were recruited through child day care centers, the County Health Department, and the local Women, Infants, and Children (WIC) program. Potential participants for cohorts 1 and 2 were recruited at 2-years of age (cohort 1: 1994-1996 and cohort 2: 2000-2001) and screened using the Child Behavior Checklist (CBCL 2-3; Achenbach, 1992), completed by the mother, in order
to over-sample for externalizing behavior problems. Children were identified as being at risk for future externalizing behaviors if they received an externalizing T-score of 60 or above. Efforts were made to obtain approximately equal numbers of males and females. This recruitment effort resulted in a total of 307 children. Cohort 3 was initially recruited when infants were 6 months of age (in 1998) for their level of frustration, based on laboratory observation and parent report, and were followed through the toddler period (see Calkins, Dedmon, Gill, Lomax, & Johnson, 2002, for more information). Children from Cohort 3 whose mothers completed the CBCL at two-years of age (N = 140) were then included in the larger study. Of the entire sample (N = 447), 37% of children were identified as being at risk for future externalizing problems. There were no significant demographic differences between cohorts with regard to gender, $\chi^2 (2, N = 447) = .63, p = .73$, race, $\chi^2 (2, N = 447) = 1.13, p = .57$, or two-year SES, $F (2, 444) = .53, p = .59$.

Of the 447 originally selected participants, six were dropped because they did not participate in any data collection at 2 years old. An additional 12 families participated at recruitment, did not participate at two-year, but did participate at later years. At age 10, 357 families participated, including 31 families that did not participate in the 7-year assessment. No significant differences were noted between families who did and did not participate in the 10-year assessment in terms of child gender, $\chi^2 (1, N = 447) = 3.31, p = .07$; race, $\chi^2 (3, N = 447) = 3.12, p = .08$; 2-year SES, $t (432) = .02, p = .98$; or 2-year externalizing T score, $t (445) = -.11, p = .91$. At age 15, 327 families participated, including 27 families that did not participate in the 10-year assessment. There were no significant differences between families who did and did not participate in the 15-year assessment in terms of race, $\chi^2 (3, N = 447) = 3.96, p = .27$; 2-year SES, $t (432) = -.56, p = .58$; or 2-year externalizing T score, $t (445) = .24, p = .81$. Boys were less likely to participate in the 15-year assessment, $\chi^2 (1, N = 447) = 9.31, p = .002$.

**Participants**

The sample for the current study included 249 families (145 girls, 104 boys) who participated in the 10 and 15-year assessments. Four participants were dropped from the current study due to developmental delays. In addition, only participants with complete data for all variables of interest were included in the analyses. Sixty-six percent of the sample was European American, twenty-eight percent African American, and six percent other. Families were economically diverse based on Hollingshead (1975) scores at the 10-year assessment, with a range from 17 to 66 ($M = 44.93, SD = 11.90$), and represented families from each level of social strata typically captured by this scale. Hollingshead scores that range from 40 to 54 reflect minor professional and technical occupations considered to be representative of middle class.

**Procedures**

Participants and their mothers participated in an ongoing longitudinal study when the children were 10 and 15 years of age. Families came to the university for two laboratory visits, during which children and their mothers engaged in various tasks designed to elicit emotional and behavioral responding and parent-child interactions. At each visit, children/adolescents and their mothers completed a packet of questionnaires in separate rooms with separate examiners. During the consent and assent process participants were informed that their information would be kept confidential unless abuse, neglect, or suicidal ideations were reported. Families no longer living in the area were asked to complete and return a packet of questionnaires mailed to their home. The current study utilized child self-report questionnaires from the 15-year time point and maternal questionnaires from the 10 and 15-year time point.

**Measures**

**Demographics.** Mothers completed questionnaires to provide demographic information, such as child’s sex and ethnicity, parent marital status, and income and education for each parent.
Impulsivity. Mothers reported on their perceptions of the child’s behavior using the 160-item Behavior Assessment System for Children 2nd Edition (BASC-2; Reynolds & Kamphaus, 2004) when children were age 10. Mothers responded to statements indicating how well a range of adaptive and maladaptive behaviors describes the child recently within the last several months. Each question uses a scale of 0 to 3 indicating how frequently the behaviors occur (0 = never, 1 = sometimes, 2 = often, 3 = almost always). A sum of 5 items assessing the child’s impulsivity was used in the current study; higher scores indicated higher impulsivity. Sample items include statements such as, “acts without thinking” and “has poor self-control.” Internal reliability for these items was adequate (Cronbach’s alpha = .76).

Neighborhood safety. Mothers completed the Neighborhood Location and Structural Characteristics questionnaire which assesses the quality and social aspects of the neighborhood, using participant perceptions of the neighborhood (Chung & Steinberg, 2006). Mothers reported on 16 items about their family’s current neighborhood when children were age 15. Of note, the Neighborhood Location and Structural Characteristics questionnaire was not administered to parents when children were age 10, thus, data collected at 15 year were employed in the current study. The current study used the neighborhood safety subscale which includes 5 items such as “how often are there problems with muggings, burglaries, assaults, or anything else like that around here” and “how much of a problem is the selling and using of drugs around your neighborhood.” An average score was calculated such that higher values indicating higher neighborhood safety. Internal reliability for this scale was adequate (Cronbach’s alpha = .78).

Attitudes toward risky sexual behavior. Adolescents reported on 60 items assessing their perceptions of how “okay” various risky behaviors are when they were 15 years old. Items are from the Youth Risk Behavior Surveillance System (YRBSS), developed by the CDC to monitor health risk behaviors (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2005). Questions from the YRBSS were reworded to ask participants to rate how much they agreed or disagreed with statements about risky behaviors being “okay,” rather than reporting on frequency of their own behaviors. Response options ranged from 0 to 4 and included (0 = strongly agree, 1 = agree, 2 = neither agree nor disagree, 3 = disagree, 4 = strongly disagree). Seven items were phrased differently from other items, using the phrasing “it is important” or “teens should” rather than “it is okay.” For instance, “It is important to be concerned about getting HIV/AIDS,” and “Birth control should be used when s/he has sexual intercourse.” Due to these changes in phrasing, these items were reverse coded such that higher scores indicated higher approval of these behaviors (higher scores on other items indicated greater disapproval of risky behavior). The current study used the sexual behaviors subscale which included 14 items such as, “it is okay to have had several sexual partners” and “it is important to be concerned about getting an STD” with higher scores indicating healthier attitudes toward RSB. Internal reliability for this scale was adequate (Cronbach’s alpha = .76).

Data Analytic Strategy
The present study included participants with complete data for all measures at ages 10 and 15 (N=249). SPSS (IBM Corp., 2012) was used to compute descriptive statistics and measure the correlation between all measures. Also using SPSS, a multiple linear regression analysis was calculated to predict attitudes toward RSB at age 15 based on impulsivity and neighborhood safety.

Results
Preliminary Analyses
Data from the Neighborhood Location and Structural Characteristics questionnaire and the Attitudes Toward Risky Behavior questionnaire were imputed at the single item level to account for missing items (e.g., a mother chose not to answer certain items, accidentally skipped items, or skipped a
page of items). Imputation was completed by removing all cases with completely missing data and using the expectation maximization (EM) method to impute at the item level for the remaining participants. The BASC-2 was not imputed due to the standardized nature of the measure.

Descriptive statistics were examined to assess for normality. Data for all variables fell within normal limits. The Neighborhood Location and Structural Characteristics questionnaire had a minimum score of 3.3 and maximum score of 50. The mean of the Neighborhood Location and Structural Characteristics questionnaire was 41.3 and the standard deviation was 7.8. The Attitudes Toward Risky Behavior questionnaire had a minimum score of 1.6 and a maximum score of 4 with a mean of 3.1. The Attitudes Toward Risky Behavior questionnaire had a standard deviation of 0.5. The BASC-2 had a minimum score of .00 and maximum score of 13. The mean of the BASC-2 was 3.9. The BASC-2 had a standard deviation of 2.3.

T-tests were conducted to assess for potential sex differences across the study’s variables. Analyses indicated that girls tended to have healthier attitudes toward RSB ($t(247)=-6.53, p<.001$). No other sex differences were observed among study variables.

Correlations among demographic variables indicate several significant differences for race and socioeconomic status (SES). More specifically, race was significantly associated with SES. In addition, families reporting higher SES had children with healthier attitudes toward RSB ($r=.15, p<.05$). In terms of neighborhood safety, Caucasian participants reported living in safer neighborhoods compared to African American or “other race” participants ($F(3, 245)=3.42, p=.018$; Caucasian: $M=42.32, SD=6.76$; African American: $M=39.66, SD=8.42$; Mixed: $M=36.33, SD=14.88$).

Correlations among study variables were also examined (see Table 1). Significant correlations were in the expected direction. Children’s impulsivity at age 10 was significantly negatively correlated with healthy attitudes toward RSB in adolescence ($r=-.16, p<.05$) and with positively associated with neighborhood safety at age 15 ($r=.19, p<.01$).

**Regression Analyses**

Hierarchical linear regression analyses were conducted to test the main and moderation effects of impulsivity and neighborhood safety on adolescent attitudes toward RSB. Continuous variables were centered by subtracting the grand mean score of each variable from the data. At the first step, impulsivity at age 10 and neighborhood safety at age 15 were entered to assess for main effects. The interaction term of impulsivity X neighborhood safety was calculated by multiplying centered impulsivity with centered neighborhood safety and was entered in the second step of the regression. Table 2 describes the beta weights and significance levels for all steps of the regression. Consistent with previous literature, children’s impulsivity significantly predicted adolescent’s attitudes towards RBS. More specifically, as rates of impulsivity increased when children were 10, adolescents were more likely to endorse less healthy attitudes toward RSB ($\beta=-.16, p<.01$). There was no significant main effect for neighborhood safety ($\beta=.007, p=.91$). However, there was a significant moderation of the link between children’s impulsivity and later attitudes toward RSB ($\beta=-.14, p<.05$). A simple slope analysis was conducted using the guidelines developed by Aiken and West (1991). Results indicated that children with moderate ($t(245)=-2.76, p<.01$) and high ($t(245)=-3.18, p<.01$) levels of neighborhood safety and lower rates of impulsivity were more likely to report healthier attitudes towards RSB at age 15 (see Figure 1). In fact, children with the lowest rates of impulsivity at age 10 and the highest levels of neighborhood safety reported the healthiest attitudes towards RSB at age 15.

**Discussion**

The first goal of the current study was to test whether impulsivity in middle childhood predicted healthy attitudes toward RSB in adolescence. Consistent with previous literature
and our hypothesis, children with higher levels of impulsivity at age 10 were more likely to have unhealthy attitudes toward RSB at age 15. Although the link between impulsivity and risky behaviors has been documented in numerous studies (Braddock et al., 2011; Treloar et al., 2012), the link between impulsivity and attitudes toward risky behaviors has been less clear. These results indicate that children’s impulsivity may be important to consider in the development of adolescent cognitions about risky behavior, not just the behavior itself. However, it is also important to note that the correlation between impulsivity and attitudes toward RSB, although significant, is relatively small ($r = -.16$), suggesting a weak relation. This indicates that there are other factors influencing the formation of adolescent attitudes toward RSB.

In fact, another potential predictor of attitudes toward RSB is neighborhood safety. We hypothesized that higher neighborhood safety would predict healthier attitudes toward RSB in adolescence. However, neighborhood safety was not correlated with attitudes toward RSB. This finding is inconsistent with previous literature examining the effects of community characteristics on risk-taking behaviors in general (Chung & Steinberg, 2006; Fulkerson et al., 2006); however, these studies did not look specifically at RSB. There may be something different about attitudes toward behaviors that are sexual in nature that sets them apart from other forms of risky behaviors, such as drug use and violence. In addition, it is possible that some adolescents were reluctant to provide accurate information regarding their attitudes to RSB, despite assurances of confidentiality.

The second goal of this study was to examine whether neighborhood safety buffered the relation between children’s impulsivity on attitudes toward RSB. As hypothesized, neighborhood safety moderated the effect of impulsivity on adolescent attitudes toward RSB. However, the moderation effect was different than predicted. Neighborhood safety did not buffer against the negative impact of impulsivity on unhealthy attitudes toward RSB; instead, neighborhood safety amplified the positive effects of low impulsivity on healthy attitudes toward RSB. Children with low impulsivity who lived in neighborhoods categorized as moderately and highly safe at age 10, had the healthiest attitudes toward RSB at age 15 (see Figure 1). That is, for adolescents with low impulsivity, neighborhood safety has additional benefits, specifically when involving adolescent attitudes toward RSB. However, the negative impact of high impulsivity on adolescent attitudes toward RSB was not ameliorated by neighborhood safety. With this in mind, it is important to look at other factors, aside from an adolescent’s neighborhood environment, that may play a part in adolescent attitude formation and involvement with RSB. For example, adolescents may need more proximal positive influences, such as positive family factors and peer relationships, to cope with high levels of impulsivity.

RSB in adolescence is influenced by family factors. Markham and colleagues (2010) conducted a systematic review of the literature of adolescent family connectedness on adolescent RSB. Family connectedness, measured by adolescent attachment, bonding, affiliation, trust, and belonging to a family group, may reduce risk for adolescent RSB. Markham and colleagues (2010) highlight two specific protective factors for adolescent RSB: parent-adolescent communication about sex and parental monitoring. Their results indicate that increased communication about sex was protective against adolescent’s early sexual initiation, in particular. Likewise, parental monitoring decreased rates of adolescent participation in early sexual initiation and contraction of sexually transmitted infections as well as increased adolescent contraceptive use. Results such as these confirm that family factors, including communication and parental monitoring, are strongly associated with adolescent sexual behaviors. Therefore, it is possible that more proximal family variables are more important in determining adolescent RSB behaviors than the neighborhood environment. Further
examination of adolescent attitudes toward RSB may enhance our understanding of the variables that predict positive and negative behavioral outcomes.

Data also suggest that peers have a strong influence on adolescent attitudes and risky behaviors. Gifford-Smith, Dodge, Dishion, and McCord (2005) explain that if one adolescent in a peer group is partaking in risky behaviors it is more likely for other adolescents in the peer group to participate in risky behaviors. For example, if one adolescent participates in early sexual initiation, other adolescents from his/her peer group are then more likely to engage in the same risky behavior. Peer group influence is a powerful influence and if an adolescent is afforded opportunity to interact with risk-taking peers, positive family factors may no longer be a protective factor against risk-taking behaviors (Gifford-Smith et al. 2005). However, if parents are aware that their adolescent’s peer group participates in risky behaviors and restrict their adolescent’s involvement in the peer group, this parental monitoring may buffer the negative impact of the peer group. On the other hand, continued exposure to a group of risk-taking peers will in turn influence the adolescent’s own risk taking attitudes and behaviors (Galan, Shaw, Dishion, & Wilson, 2016). Overall, family and peer factors may be important to consider in the context of impulsivity and attitudes toward RSB, aside from neighborhood safety. It is possible that adolescents living in unsafe neighborhoods with close family and less risky peers will be protected against risk taking attitudes and behaviors that are sexual in nature.

Given the documented importance of family and peers in predicting adolescent risky behavior, future studies may wish to examine the interplay of parent, peer, and environment on the relation between impulsivity and adolescent attitudes toward RSB. This additional exploration of family factors (e.g., connectedness, communication, parental monitoring) and peer factors may lead to a better understanding of how and why adolescents form healthy versus unhealthy attitudes toward RSB. By examining and understanding other risk and protective factors related to RSB, we can facilitate parenting techniques and develop beneficial programs to address risky and unhealthy sexual behaviors. In addition to considering other moderating factors, future work could look at a later stage in adolescence (e.g., age 17). It is possible more RSB is taking place during late adolescence, marking this time as an important period to examine attitudes toward RSB.

We view this work as a first step in understanding the relation between impulsivity and contextual risk variables on attitudes toward RSB. However, the study is not without limitations. For instance, one limitation was its sole reliance on questionnaire data. Future studies should consider using observational measures of impulsivity (e.g., Continuous Performance Test; behavioral coding), or using census data to assess neighborhood risk. It is also possible that teens may not be reporting honestly about their attitudes toward RSB. Thus, peer report on their friend’s attitudes toward RSB may be informational for understanding teen’s attitudes toward RSB. In addition, only a small amount of variance in attitudes toward RSB was explained by this model (4%), indicating that other factors are important to include in future work. There are multiple environmental and individual difference variables that, when taken together, may better explain adolescent attitudes toward RSB.

Despite some limitations, the current study has multiple strengths. For instance, multiple reporters were employed in the assessment of study variables, limiting the impact of same-reporter bias. More specifically, impulsivity and neighborhood safety were assessed by maternal report, but teens reported on their attitudes toward RSB. Given the internal nature of attitudes and the private nature of sex, self-report may be a more accurate indicator of this construct. Additionally, the longitudinal design permitted a prospective analysis of the research questions. To our knowledge this is the first study that
examined factors in per-adolescence that relate to later attitudes toward RSB in early adolescent, which is a particularly salient time. The transition from pre-adolescence to adolescence is an important period when peer influences may outweigh parental influences in attitude formation (Galan et al., 2016). Our study indicates that for those with high impulsivity in childhood, neighborhood safety alone does not protect against forming unhealthy attitudes during adolescence. However, literature shows that both family factors and peer factors can buffer the negative impact of unhealthy attitudes toward RSB. Therefore, future research should examine these factors in concert.

In conclusion, the present study provides additional support for impulsivity as a risk factor for adolescent risk-taking. Children with higher levels of impulsivity were more likely to have unhealthy attitudes toward RSB at age 15. It was expected that neighborhood safety would be related to attitudes toward RSB as well; however, results indicated no correlation between the two. This finding is inconsistent with previous literature, but these studies examined other forms of risky behavior (e.g. drug use, violence) and not RSB. It is also possible the influence of family and peer factors on RSB may overpower the influence of the neighborhood environment. In addition, there may be something structurally different about attitudes toward RSB that sets them apart from other forms of risky behavior. Finally, neighborhood safety and impulsivity did interact to predict unhealthy attitudes towards RSB. Neighborhood safety amplified the positive effects of low impulsivity on healthy attitudes toward RSB. For adolescents who were reported to have low impulsivity at age 10, those currently living in a neighborhood with higher safety have attitudes toward RSB that amplify above the main effect of impulsivity. More work is needed to examine potential mechanisms explaining these relations and other risk and protective factors.

Acknowledgments

Support for this project was provided by a grant from the National Institutes of Mental Health (55625, 58144, & 55584) awarded to Dr. Susan D. Calkins, Dr. Susan P. Keane, Dr. Marion O’Brien, and Dr. Lilly Shanahan. I would like to specifically thank Dr. Susan Keane for her support and assistance with this paper and for being an exceptional mentor during my undergraduate career. Also, a huge thank you to all of the RIGHT Track families for participating!
Table 1: Correlation Coefficients for Study Variables

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Measure</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Attitudes Toward RSB</td>
<td>-.159*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Neighborhood Safety</td>
<td>-.187**</td>
<td>.036</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level.
**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level.

Table 2: Attitudes Toward RSB Regressed onto Impulsivity, Neighborhood Safety, and Their Interaction

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>β</th>
<th>R²</th>
<th>ΔR²</th>
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<td>.025</td>
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<tr>
<td>Impulsivity</td>
<td>-.158*</td>
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<td>Neighborhood Safety</td>
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<tr>
<td>Step 2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Impulsivity X Neighborhood Safety</td>
<td>-.135*</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

*p < .05
Figure 1: Children’s impulsivity and neighborhood safety interact to predict adolescent attitudes towards sex. * Indicates a significant slope.


Hollingshead, A. D. B. (1975). Four factor index of social status. Yale University, Department of Sociology.


Neurocognitive Factors Related to Trauma Symptoms and Emotion Regulation

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ABSTRACT
Previous research has found that implicit or automatic emotion regulation (AER) is a less studied aspect of emotion regulation, and that it may also be useful for coping with negative emotions following traumatic experiences. Alterations in brain function and trauma symptoms have both been linked to deficits in emotion regulation; however, they have not been studied together with AER. We hypothesized that brain changes related to poorer AER would be more strongly associated with negative facial emotions than with positive ones. In addition, we hypothesized that higher trauma symptoms would also be associated with brain changes for positive and negative faces but not neutral. To test these hypotheses, the current study examined AER and trauma symptoms in twenty-three college students while measuring event-related potentials (ERP) with electroencephalography (EEG) during a cued implicit response inhibition task. Results indicated no differences in brain function as measured with ERP latencies at the two electrode sites for the positive, negative, and neutral faces. However, higher trauma symptoms were significantly related to shorter ERP latencies for neutral and negative faces but not for positive. Examining the ways in which trauma symptoms are related to implicit and explicit emotion regulation as well as brain function may help researchers develop novel interventions aimed at improving outcomes for individuals who have trauma symptoms.

Emotion regulation is the process of responding to life events and experiences with a range of emotions that are socially and individually appropriate to the situation. Effective emotion regulation is flexible and facilitates modifying and delaying emotional reactions according to the situation (Zaki & Williams, 2013). In traumatized individuals, particularly those with symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), researchers have found that regulating emotions, especially negative ones, can be difficult (Etkin, Prater, Hoeft, Menon, & Schatzberg, 2010; Shepherd & Wild, 2014). Given the need for emotion regulation in everyday life, an aspect of emotion regulation that is emerging in research is automatic emotion regulation (AER), which is the implicit process of regulating emotions without consciously exerting any effort to do so (Mauss, Cook, & Gross, 2007; Zaki & Williams, 2013). Though most of the current research has focused on explicit emotion regulation, the current study is one of the first to examine implicit emotion regulation. Previous research has found that AER is necessary for individual wellbeing and can be useful in reducing the undesired or problematic impact of negative emotions, such as anger, in a more immediate and fluid manner than explicit emotion regulation (Mauss et al. 2007; Mauss, Bunge, & Gross, 2007). Previous electroencephalography (EEG) studies of brain function have found that
individuals with PTSD have difficulty regulating and reducing negative emotions and show marked deficits in AER (Felmingham, Bryant, Kendall, & Gordon, 2002; Shepherd & Wild, 2014). Learning more about both explicit and implicit emotion regulation should help individuals with trauma symptoms have more options for recovery.

**Post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD).** PTSD is a widespread mental health diagnosis that can occur after experiencing a traumatic event. According to the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, Fifth Edition (DSM-V), yearly prevalence of PTSD among U.S. adults is about 3.5%. Depending on the severity of the disorder, individuals with PTSD may experience a range of symptoms. These include intrusion symptoms such as recurring distressing dreams, avoidance of anything surrounding the traumatic event, negative changes in thoughts and mood associated with the event, and variations in arousal and reactivity associated with the event (American Psychiatric Association, 2013). The directly experienced traumatic events in Criterion A of the DSM-V include, but are not limited to, exposure to war as a combatant or civilian, threatened or actual physical assault, threatened or actual sexual violence, being kidnapped, being taken hostage, terrorist attack, torture, incarceration as a prisoner of war, natural or human-made disasters, and severe motor vehicle accidents (American Psychiatric Association, 2013).

**PTSD and emotion regulation.** For emotion regulation to be effective, it should help shape emotional reactions to fit the needs of the situation. Some commonly used emotion regulation strategies are reappraisal, distraction, expressive suppression, and distancing (Zaki & Williams, 2013). Interestingly, research has found evidence that emotion regulation processes are dysfunctional in individuals with PTSD. Both Cisler and Olatunji (2012) and Pitman et al. (2012) found more PTSD symptoms to be associated with increased deficits in emotion regulation. Most recently, Shepherd and Wild (2014) also found that PTSD was associated with difficulty regulating, and specifically reducing, negative emotions. However, despite the availability of research surrounding general emotion regulation and PTSD, there is limited research on how PTSD relates specifically to AER.

**Automatic emotion regulation (AER).** Much of the current research on emotion regulation focuses on the explicit side of it, but little attention has been given to the implicit side of emotion regulation (Etkin, et al., 2010). However, in the past decade AER has attracted considerable attention from researchers (Etkin et al., 2010; Mauss, Bunge, & Gross, 2007; Zhang & Lu, 2011). For example, while reviewing the available research on AER, Mauss, Bunge, & Gross (2007) found little evidence regarding the cognitive processes underlying AER in previous studies. To account for the lack of information on AER, they turned to past neuroscientific literature involving neuroimaging studies that may have found underlying mechanisms of AER. This analysis identified two distinct processes involved in AER: response-focused AER, which occurs after an emotional response, and antecedent-focused AER, which occurs earlier in the emotional response. Interestingly, these two types of AER appear to have separate neural correlates. It seems that response-focused AER may be supported by the subcallosal cingulate cortex, dorsal pathway, and cerebellum. There is evidence that antecedent-focused AER may be supported by neural pathways involving portions of the prefrontal cortex, the anterior and posterior cingulate cortices, and basal ganglia. The existence of two separate processes involved in AER may provide an explanation for why it has been associated with both adaptive and maladaptive emotional response patterns.

In a more recent study of 17 patients with generalized anxiety disorder (GAD) and 24 healthy controls, Etkin et al. (2010) examined abnormalities in implicit regulation of emotions using fMRI. Participants completed an emotional conflict task, in which they labeled facial affect while ignoring superimposed
for the importance of AER in everyday social interaction and emotion regulation. These results are important not only for understanding how AER can effectively decrease negative emotions, but also how its absence may affect the emotional health of the individual.

Event-related potentials. The current study examined the relationship between PTSD and AER by measuring event related potentials (ERPs) captured using EEG. ERPs are small voltages produced in the brain in response to specific stimuli (Sur & Sinha, 2009). Following the presentation of a stimulus or event, these electrical potentials are observed as changes in EEG that are time-locked to the stimuli or events in cognitive tasks (Luck, 2014; Sur & Sinha, 2009). Researchers often study ERPs because ERPs can achieve a level of temporal accuracy that other measurements, such as fMRI imaging, do not (Karl, Malta, & Maercker, 2006). ERP waveforms can be described in terms of latency, which reflects time in milliseconds, or amplitude, which is measured in millivolts and reflects amount of mental effort exerted (Clayson, Baldwin, & Larson, 2013).

P300 Waveform. The P300, or P3, waveform is one of the most commonly studied ERP components. It is the third positive peak in an ERP component that occurs following a task-related stimulus (Clayson et al., 2013). It may also be elicited by the absence of a stimulus, if participants are instructed to respond to the absence of a certain stimulus. The P3 tends to occur post-stimulus around 300ms, which is how it was termed the “P300” (Luck, 2014). However, latencies for P3s can be variable, ranging anywhere from 200ms to 700ms, leading researchers to refer to it simply as the P3 (Luck, 2014). In general, P3 latency is a more reliable sign of cognitive dysfunction than P3 amplitude, because it is less altered by attention (Picton, 1992). A common way to measure the P3 component of the ERP using EEG is to use an oddball paradigm, in which a participant identifies infrequently presented target stimuli in a task consisting primarily of standard non-target affect label words. They found that healthy controls could regulate emotional conflict on a trial-by-trial basis, but patients with GAD were unable to do so. In fact, they showed a marked inability to lessen amygdala activity during the task. These results suggest that patients with anxiety disorders like GAD exhibit deficits in implicit emotion regulation processes, otherwise known as AER.

AER and PTSD. One aspect of AER that may be important for individual health is helping individuals regulate negative emotions (Mauss, Cook, & Gross, 2007). If individuals develop PTSD following trauma, it is common for them to have difficulties regulating emotions, especially negative ones (Felmingham et al., 2002; Shepherd & Wild, 2014). Though limited research has been done on the direct relation between PTSD and automatic emotion regulation, we suspect that individuals with trauma symptoms will exhibit deficits in AER. These deficits may also contribute to a reduced ability to regulate negative emotions.

To examine if the relatively unexplored automatic processes in emotion regulation could effectively reduce negative emotions, Mauss, et al. (2007) conducted a two-part study. First, researchers investigated if it was possible to manipulate an implicit component of emotion regulation such as AER. Next, they examined the affective consequences of AER. In the first part of the study, researchers experimentally manipulated AER by priming either emotion control or emotion expression using a modified version of the Sentence Unscrambling Task and subsequently asking participants to report their anger. The second part of the study was conducted similarly, but researchers also measured the occurrence of overall negative emotion and cardiovascular responses. The second half of the study aimed to find out if AER could reduce anger. Researchers hypothesized that priming for emotion control would lead to less anger than priming for emotion expression. The findings from this study suggest that AER may lead to reductions in anger after anger provocation in the lab, which has real-world implications for the importance of AER in everyday social interaction and emotion regulation.
stimuli. Typically, the infrequent stimuli will generate a larger P3 wave than the frequent stimuli (Luck, 2014).

**N200 Waveform.** The N200, or N2 waveform is one of the most frequently studied negative-going ERP waveforms. It is commonly referred to as the N2 because it peaks approximately 200ms after onset of a task-related stimulus. Often, it is evoked during stimulus discrimination tasks, in which the participant must ignore one stimulus and focus on another. Like the P3, the N2 is commonly evoked using the oddball paradigm (Felmingham et al., 2002). However, both P3 and N2 waveforms have been evoked in previous studies using a version of the Go/Nogo paradigm in which there are equal presentations of target and non-target stimuli (Zhang & Lu, 2012; Luck, 2014).

**PTSD and P3 Latencies.** The relationship between P3 waveforms and PTSD has been studied in previous literature, but the results have been largely inconclusive (Johnson et al., 2013). While some studies have found P3 latencies to be shorter in populations with PTSD than healthy populations, many studies have also found them to be prolonged (Felmingham et al., 2002; Johnson et al., 2013; Schaefer & Nooner, 2017; Stanford et al., 2001). Two commonly selected electrode sites used for analysis of ERP data include Cz and Fz. Both of these midline electrode sites have been widely used by researchers to examine P3 latency. For example, Stanford et al. (2001) found that when presented with negative, trauma-relevant pictures, participants with PTSD exhibited shorter P3 latencies at electrode site Cz than a control group without PTSD. Nooner and Schaefer (2017) found evidence of shortened P3 latencies at site Cz in a high trauma symptom group compared to the low trauma symptom group. Conversely, Felmingham et al. (2002) used an auditory oddball paradigm to elicit P3s from a group with PTSD and a control group who were exposed to 40 target tones and 247 common tones. The results of this study found evidence of longer P3 latencies at electrode site Fz in the PTSD group than the control group (Felmingham et al., 2002). More recently, Johnson et al. (2013) conducted a meta-analysis of 22 studies found on Psych Info and PubMed regarding ERP components and PTSD. Researchers used a random effects model and included all studies looking at P3 components and PTSD between 1990 and 2010. Specifically, they wanted to further the existing literature on the clinical usefulness of the P3 ERP and its components, including less commonly studied parts of the P3 including the P3a, P3b, and P3wm (working memory). The P3a is a subcomponent of the P3 that tends to be elicited when the brain is processing novelty, and is usually invoked using infrequent target stimuli. The P3b is another subcomponent that can be elicited by novelty, and is often used to measure cognitive load. The P3wm is a third component that measures working memory during a task (Johnson et al., 2013). This analysis found that P3a latency in response to neutral distracters was longer in patients with PTSD compared to non-PTSD patients, but these results were not statistically significant for sites Fz, Pz, or Cz. This meta-analysis also did not reveal any significant differences in P3b latency between the PTSD and control groups at sites Fz, Cz, and Pz. Finally, the effect size for P3wm latency for Fz, Cz, and Pz was not significant. Based on this meta-analysis, the current literature on the relationship between P3 latency and PTSD appears to be inconclusive. Further research is necessary to determine if there are differences in P3 latencies between PTSD patients and healthy controls.

**Go/NoGo task.** To study the time course of AER, Zhang and Lu (2012) measured ERPs during an implicit Go/NoGo emotion task. Researchers recorded ERPs from 20 participants during the task with positive, negative, and neutral faces. The task was gender-cued, meaning that participants were presented with a gender word (“male” or “female”) and then presented with a face to respond to. The participant was instructed to press the space bar if the face matched the gender of the preceding cue (“Go” condition), and to do nothing
if it did not (“NoGo” condition). The findings of this study suggested that N200 amplitudes and latencies in the Go condition following positive and negative faces decreased more than those following neutral faces, but N200 amplitudes and latencies in the NoGo condition didn’t change with valence. Positive and negative faces created larger P3 amplitudes and smaller P3 latencies than neutral faces in all trials (Zhang & Lu, 2012). The current study replicated Zhang and Lu’s (2012) Go/NoGo task to examine similar neural processes and extend these results to encompass the relationship between trauma symptoms and AER. To replicate Zhang and Lu’s study as closely as possible, the current study utilized a Go/NoGo with equal presentations of “Go” and “NoGo” conditions, instead of a typical oddball paradigm.

Current Study. Explicit emotion regulation has been a popular topic in previous literature, but implicit emotion regulation has remained elusive. Two of the important functions of this implicit regulation, known as AER, include reducing negative emotions and contributing to better outcomes in individuals following trauma. Previous studies have shown that individuals with trauma symptoms exhibit marked deficits in AER, perhaps contributing to a reduced ability to regulate their negative emotions (Felmingham et al., 2002; Shepherd & Wild, 2014). However, the previous literature on the relationship between AER and trauma is limited, and because of that the current study aims to examine AER as it relates to trauma symptoms. Specifically, we replicated a previous study to examine the relationship between trauma symptom scores and P3 latencies in three separate emotional valence conditions (positive, neutral and negative). Based on more recent findings by Zhang and Lu (2012), we first hypothesized that negative and positive faces would elicit briefer P3 latencies than neutral faces. Then, we hypothesized that shorter P3 latencies in the negative valence condition in the frontal and central cortices as measured by sites Fz and Cz would be associated with more trauma symptoms. Next, we hypothesized that shorter P3 peak latencies in the neutral valence condition in the central cortex as measured by Cz would be associated with more trauma symptoms. Finally, we hypothesized that participants would exhibit shorter P3 latencies at sites Fz and Cz when presented with negative and positive faces but not neutral faces.

Method

Participants

Twenty-three volunteers (16 women, 7 men, \( M_{\text{age}} = 20.087 \) years, age range 18 - 33 years) were recruited from the University of North Carolina Wilmington using flyers. All participants had normal visual acuity and no history of neurological deficits at the time of the experiment. Participants signed an informed consent prior to the experiment and received no compensation. All study materials were approved by the UNCW Institutional Review Board (IRB). Including informed consent, the study took one hour or less to complete. Participants received two student research credits for volunteering.

Materials

Behavioral Measures

TSC-40. Participants completed the 40-item Trauma Symptom Checklist (TSC-40) trauma questionnaire. The TSC-40 is a 40-item self-report instrument for adults containing six subscales: Anxiety, Depression, Dissociation, Sexual Abuse Trauma Index (SATI), Sexual Problems, and Sleep Disturbance, as well as a final overall score. Items are rated according to frequency of occurrence over the prior two months, using a four-point scale ranging from 0 (never) to 3 (often). It takes approximately 10-15 minutes to complete the TSC-40, and it can be scored in approximately 5-10 minutes. Previous studies using the TSC-40 indicate that it is a relatively reliable measure (subscale alphas typically range from .66 to .77, with mean alphas for the full scale between .89 and .91). The TSC-40 has predictive validity regarding a wide range of traumatic experiences (Elliott & Briere, 1992).

Demographics. Participants completed a demographics survey,
indicating race, ethnicity, gender, and age.

**Cued Implicit Response Inhibition Task**

**NimStim Set of Facial Expressions.** The NimStim set consists of 43 professional actors and 672 total stimuli, including 18 female and 25 male faces between ages 21-30. Four ethnicities are represented in the NimStim, including African (N = 10), Asian (N = 6), European (N = 25), and Latino-American (N = 2). Each actor exhibited a happy, sad, disgusted, fearful, angry, surprised, neutral, and calm expression, including open and closed mouth versions of all except surprise (Tottenham et al., 2011). One hundred and twenty-six of these faces met the criteria for our study, meaning they exhibited either a positive (happy), negative (angry), or neutral valence. Each positive, negative, and neutral expression for each actor was presented twice during our task: once in the Go condition and again in the NoGo condition. The final task included 84 presentations of positive faces, 84 presentations of negative faces, and 84 presentations of neutral faces. We used 10 African American, 6 Asian, 24 European, and 2 Latino-American faces. Finally, our faces included 24 men and 18 women. The NimStim set was chosen over other sets because it provided racial diversity, showed high validity, and included neutral expressions, which some sets do not (Tottenham et al., 2011). We acquired the NimStim by contacting Nim Tottenham, the creator of the set and the researcher in charge of the Developmental Affective Neuroscience Lab at Columbia University, and receiving her permission to use the set in our task.

**Go/NoGo Task.** To find out if PTSD is correlated with ERP dysfunction, we measured ERPs collected during a cued emotional Go/NoGo task that was modified from another study on AER (Zhang & Lu, 2012). We sought to replicate Zhang and Lu’s (2012) Go/NoGo task using Paradigm, a psychology research software program. The final cued emotional Go/NoGo task consisted of 42 validated and standardized faces from the NimStim facial stimulus set (Tottenham et al., 2011). Participants pressed the space bar when the gender word matched the gender of the face that immediately followed it (Go condition). They abstained from pressing the space bar if the gender word did not match the face that immediately followed it (NoGo condition). During the task, a blank screen appeared for 1200 ms between each trial. Each trial began with a small black cross (+), which was visible for 500 ms. This was followed by the word for a gender cue (“male” or “female”) presented on the computer screen, which appeared for 1000 ms. A face was presented at random for a random duration between 150-250 ms and participants had the opportunity to push the space bar or not depending on their perception of the condition as a Go or NoGo. The entire experiment consisted of 21 randomized blocks, with 12 randomized trials each. There was a 20 second resting baseline every 9 blocks to allow participants to have a break from the stimuli. In accordance with Zhang and Lu’s (2012) task, an equal number of Go and NoGo trials were presented to account for the novelty of NoGo cues. The task took approximately 21 minutes.

**EEG.** The current study used a Food and Drug Administration (FDA) approved 64-channel Biosemi EEG system with ActiveTwo Pin-type electrodes provided by Cortec Solutions to assess brain activity while participants completed the Go/NoGo task. Participants’ heads were measured in centimeters using a tape measure before the experiment to determine the appropriate EEG cap size to use. We also used four reference electrodes, referenced to the left or right mastoid. We also included references on the left and right cheekbone to detect eye blinks. EEG data were acquired simultaneously with Paradigm stimulus presentation.

**Procedure**

After arriving at the laboratory, each participant signed an IRB-approved informed consent. Participants completed the Trauma Symptom Checklist (TSC–40; Elliot & Briere, 1992) and a demographics survey. Directly after completing these assessments, participants completed the Go/NoGo task.
while the EEG activity was recorded. A licensed psychologist was present to monitor clinical safety. For confidentiality, participant identifiers were removed, including names, birth dates, and assessment dates. All data was secured using an encrypted, computerized data collection and management system, the Collaborative Informatics and Neuroimaging Suite.

**EEG Data Processing.** We processed data using the EEGLab and ERPLab plug-ins designed for MATLAB following the methods outlined on the ERPLab Toolbox Web site (Lopez-Calderon & Luck, 2014). The EEG data were divided into epochs, which are windows of time during stimulus presentation generated from -200 ms to 1000 ms relative to the onset of stimuli. Then we modified the EEG data sets in MATLAB to eliminate bad channels, electrical noise, and unnecessary artifacts such as blinks, which can distort brain waves. We analyzed the data using steps from the ERPLab Toolbox tutorial, which outlines the best steps for analyzing EEG and ERP data (Lopez-Calderon & Luck, 2014). ERPLab was used to create ERPs without artifacts to examine P3 latency at two electrode sites: Fz (frontal) and Cz (central). We chose the P3 component of the ERP and the midline electrode sites because both were used frequently in the previous literature (Zhang & Lu, 2012).

**Results**

Scores from the Trauma Symptom Checklist were used as a continuous variable in our analyses. Descriptive statistics for the TSC-40 ($M = 30.53, SD = 14.09$) indicated that our sample fell below the clinical range, which is 65 and above.

A one-way repeated measures ANOVA indicated a trend in the Cz latencies between positive, negative or neutral stimuli, $F(2, 28) = 3.128, p = .059$ (see Figure 1). Post-hoc comparisons at site Cz indicated that latencies to positive stimuli were marginally longer than those to negative stimuli and that latencies to neutral stimuli did not differ from those to positive or negative stimuli. A one-way repeated measures ANOVA indicated no difference in the Fz latencies between positive, negative or neutral stimuli, $F(2, 28) = .473, p = .78$ (see Figure 2).

We found a strong, significant negative correlation between P3 peak latency at site Cz with a neutral valence and trauma symptom score, which indicated that those with shorter P3 latencies tended to report more trauma symptoms, $r(13) = -.592, p < .01$. A strong, significant negative correlation between P3 peak latency at site Fz with a negative valence and trauma symptom score indicated that those with shorter P3 latencies tended to report more trauma symptoms, $r(13) = -.529, p < .05$. A strong, significant negative correlation between P3 peak latency at site Cz with a negative valence and trauma symptom score indicated that those with shorter P3 latencies tended to report more trauma symptoms, $r(13) = -.650, p < .01$. We found no significant correlation between P3 peak latency at site Cz with a positive valence and trauma symptom score. We also found no significant correlation between P3 peak latency at site Fz with a positive valence and trauma symptom score.

Tests of the three hypotheses were conducted using Bonferroni adjusted alpha levels of .017 per test (.05/3). Three separate simple regression analyses were calculated to test if P3 peak latency at electrode sites Fz and Cz with negative and neutral emotional valences significantly predicted participant score on the TSC-40 (see Table 1). The first simple linear regression was calculated to predict trauma symptom score based on P3 peak latency at electrode site Cz with a neutral valence. A significant regression equation indicated smaller Cz peak latencies when viewing neutral stimuli predicted higher trauma symptoms with $R^2 = .300, p < .02$. The second simple linear regression was calculated to predict trauma symptom score based on P3 peak latency at electrode site Fz with a negative valence. A significant regression equation indicated smaller Fz peak latencies when viewing negative stimuli predicted higher trauma symptoms with $R^2 = .224, p < .02$. The last simple linear regression
was calculated to predict trauma symptom score based on P3 peak latency at electrode site Cz with a negative valence. A significant regression equation indicated smaller Cz peak latencies when viewing negative stimuli predicted higher trauma symptoms with $R^2 = .377, p < .01$.

**Discussion**

While emotion regulation has been regarded as an important topic for some time, most of this research has focused on explicit or skill-based emotion regulation that is used following trauma or a challenging life experience (Etkin et al., 2010). However, the implicit aspect of emotion regulation, known as AER, may also be important for reducing negative emotions and contributing to better outcomes for individuals suffering from trauma, particularly following a traumatic event (Shepherd & Wild, 2014).

The current study examined AER in an implicit emotion regulation task. The task was explicitly a response inhibition task known as a Go/NoGo task in which participants had to match gender words to gender pictures. However, the pictures also had emotional valences of positive, negative, or neutral, which was the implicit portion of the task. Participants were told to match faces but were not told anything about the emotions on the faces, nor were they asked to do anything with the emotions on the faces. We were interested in seeing if response times (i.e., latencies) in the Go/NoGo task differed as a function of the emotion of the face presented. Our hypotheses that positive faces would elicit shorter P3 latencies at sites Fz and Cz were not supported. Our next hypothesis (i.e., shorter P3 latencies with negative faces at sites Fz and Cz would be associated with more trauma symptoms) was supported. For negative faces, we found that individuals with shorter P3 latencies at electrode sites Fz and Cz were more likely to report greater trauma symptoms. Our last hypothesis, (i.e., shorter P3 latencies with neutral faces at sites Cz and Fz would not be associated with more trauma symptoms), was supported for site Fz but not Cz. For neutral faces, we found that individuals with shorter P3 latencies at electrode sites Cz were more likely to report greater trauma symptoms.

The results of our study are supported by findings in previous literature. Stanford et al. (2001) found that when presented with negative, trauma-relevant stimuli, participants with PTSD exhibited shorter P3 latencies at electrode sites Cz and Pz than a control group without PTSD. Previous research has also found evidence of longer P3 latencies at electrode site Fz in response to negative visual stimuli (Felmingham et al., 2002), which would explain why P3 latencies at site Fz did not reach significance in our sample. Karl et al. (2006) found that individuals with PTSD exhibited shorter P3 latencies at site Cz in response to neutral stimuli, which supports our findings. Johnson et al. (2013) conducted a meta-analysis of a decade of P3 component research and found nothing of significance for PTSD and P3 latency at midline electrode sites Fz and Cz, but our findings suggest that more trauma is related to shorter latencies at sites Fz and Cz. It is important to note that our findings add support to previous studies that have found evidence of shorter P3 latencies at sites Cz and Fz in response to negative stimuli. However, to account for inconsistency in results of previous research, it is clear that further study is needed to determine the relationship between trauma and P3 latency.

Our findings at site Cz (i.e., that latencies were shorter for neutral faces) were not supported in Zhang and Lu’s (2012) study. However, it is possible that participants in our sample reporting high trauma might have suffered from a negativity bias, resulting in shorter latencies in response to both neutral and negative faces. Etkin et al. (2010) found that in a sample of women with PTSD and a control group, women with PTSD were unable to process differences between negative and neutral faces because of their trauma. Unless the faces had a clearly positive valence, they were processed as negative faces. Because the neutral faces in the NimStim set appear have a more negative
chose to present an equal number of target and non-target stimuli in our task as well. At this time, it is impossible to know the effects of using an oddball versus a traditional Go/NoGo task to examine AER. Future research should examine differences between the two methods.

Finally, limited statistical power because of the modest sample size in the present study \((n = 15)\) may have played a role in limiting the significance of some of the statistical tests that were conducted. A post hoc power analysis was conducted using G*Power on the basis of the mean for the 15 participants. The between-groups comparison effect size observed in the present study was less than 1 standard deviation \((d(13) = .74 \text{ to } .93)\). With a recommended cutoff of .80 (Cohen, 1988), the effect sizes for Cz neutral \((d(13) = .93)\) and Cz negative \((d(13) = .85)\) were sufficiently powered to detect a between-groups effect, while Fz negative \((d(13) = .74)\) was not.

There are several areas of interest future research should consider. One of these would be looking at AER in a population with a PTSD diagnosis. While the TSC-40 is a reliable measure used to gauge severity of trauma symptoms, further exploration of the relationship between AER and PTSD would require participants with a formal diagnosis, which we were unable to attain. Furthermore, the clinical applications of AER would be greater if a similar relationship could be established between PTSD and AER instead of just AER and trauma. Another point of interest may be examining gender differences in AER and trauma, which we were unable to do. Unfortunately, much of the data we had to exclude from analysis was from male participants, leaving us with an unbalanced sample of 11 women and 4 men. Partly due to this gender imbalance, we decided not to include gender as a variable in our analyses.

Limitations. This study included several limitations that should be considered for future research. One limitation of the current study was our relatively small sample size. While we recruited a total of 23 participants, only 15 of those participants were included in our final analyses. Six participants were excluded from our analyses because of difficulties with EEG data collected while presenting the Go/NoGo task using Paradigm. Because these six data files lacked markers to indicate when participants were presented with positive, neutral, and negative stimuli, we were unable to track their response times and include their data. Two other participants were also excluded because their EEG data contained too much noise to use for analysis, especially at site Fz which is close to eyebrows and forehead muscles that tend to move even at rest.

It is common for researchers to elicit P3 waveforms using an oddball paradigm, in which infrequent target stimuli are randomly interspersed among more frequent non-target stimuli. Indeed, much of the previous literature used an oddball paradigm to elicit P3 amplitudes and latencies (Karl et al., 2006). Thus, it may have been a limitation to our study that we attempted to study P3 latencies without using an oddball paradigm. However, the study we replicated (Zhang & Lu, 2012) is one of the first to successfully use affective stimuli without using an oddball paradigm to elicit P3s, which was intentional. Zhang and Lu (2012) specifically chose to have an equal number of target and non-target stimuli in their Go/NoGo task, to control for the novelty of NoGo cues. To replicate their task as closely as possible, we chose to present an equal number of target and non-target stimuli in our task as well. At this time, it is impossible to know the effects of using an oddball versus a traditional Go/NoGo task to examine AER. Future research should examine differences between the two methods.

Finally, limited statistical power because of the modest sample size in the present study \((n = 15)\) may have played a role in limiting the significance of some of the statistical tests that were conducted. A post hoc power analysis was conducted using G*Power on the basis of the mean for the 15 participants. The between-groups comparison effect size observed in the present study was less than 1 standard deviation \((d(13) = .74 \text{ to } .93)\). With a recommended cutoff of .80 (Cohen, 1988), the effect sizes for Cz neutral \((d(13) = .93)\) and Cz negative \((d(13) = .85)\) were sufficiently powered to detect a between-groups effect, while Fz negative \((d(13) = .74)\) was not.

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site Pz, which is often included in analyses of midline electrodes like Cz and Fz, to see if there are any noticeable differences in latency at that region of the brain. While our analysis did not include site Pz, much of the previous literature found significant evidence that site Pz is related to trauma symptoms.

**Conclusion.** The goal of the current study was to examine emotion regulation, specifically implicit regulation known as AER, as it relates to trauma symptoms using an implicit Go/NoGo task. We found in frontal regions of the brain, latencies did not significantly vary by face type. However, in central areas of the brain, latencies for positive faces were longer than for negative faces. We also found that briefer latencies in central areas of the brain in response to negative and neutral faces were associated with more trauma symptoms. Finally, we found that briefer latencies in frontal areas of the brain in response to negative faces were associated with more trauma symptoms. Our results suggest that individuals with trauma symptoms may exhibit difficulties with implicit regulation of negative emotions, and may be subject to a negativity bias in which they process all stimuli that isn’t clearly positive as negative. These findings add to the existing literature on brain function, trauma, and differences in emotion regulation. Our study is also one of the first to address the implicit side of emotion regulation as it relates to trauma using affective stimuli. Examining this relationship further may help to develop new interventions to improve prognoses for individuals with trauma symptoms, and perhaps in the future, PTSD.

**Figure 1:** P3 latency in milliseconds at site Cz in positive, neutral, and negative emotional valence conditions. No statistically significant differences were found between emotional valences.
Figure 2: P3 latency at site Fz in positive, neutral, and negative emotional valence conditions. No differences were found between emotional valences.

Table 1: Summary of Simple Linear Regression Analysis for TSC-40 Score and P3 Latency at Cz and Fz

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sites</th>
<th>Valence</th>
<th>$R^2$</th>
<th>Sig. ($p$)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cz</td>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>.377</td>
<td>&lt;.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cz</td>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>.300</td>
<td>&lt;.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fz</td>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>.224</td>
<td>&lt;.02</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. Positive valence was not included for either site because P3 latency and TSC-40 score were not significantly related in relation to positive stimuli. Neutral valence was not included for site Fz because P3 latency and TSC-40 score were not significantly related.
REFERENCES


About the Student Authors

Brittany Armstrong is currently a research associate at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro where she also received her bachelor’s degree in Psychology. She continued her education with a master’s program. Her current work with the RIGHT Track Project, a longitudinal study funded by the National Institutes of Mental Health, looks at health trajectories, emotion regulation, and development over time.

Corry Atkinson is currently a graduate student at East Carolina University, where he is pursuing his MA in history, with a keen interest in ancient Roman history. He recently graduated from East Carolina University with a BA in classical studies and history. His goal is to earn his PhD in both classical studies and history, focusing on the Roman Empire.

Olivia Chalkley graduated from Guilford College in May of 2017 with a Bachelor’s degree in English. While at Guilford, she minored in Quaker studies and community and justice studies, and was involved in several racial- and gender-justice campus organizations. Over the next year she will complete a fellowship with the Quaker Voluntary Service in Atlanta, Georgia, and also plans on applying to graduate programs in theology and literary studies.

Erin Denio is currently a graduate student at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro, where she is pursuing her doctorate in Clinical Psychology. Her research interests include examining the role of early protective and risk factors on the development of emotion regulation skills and later outcomes.

Alyson Mann recently graduated magna cum laude from Meredith College where she was a Meredith College Teaching Fellow. She was recognized as Meredith’s Outstanding Senior in Psychology, chaired the annual Special Populations dance, and enjoyed working collaboratively on a DuPont funded summer research grant with a team of students from Meredith College and Wake Young Women’s Leadership Academy and faculty from North Carolina Governor’s School East. She is currently enrolled in Meredith’s Masters of Arts in Teaching program and holds a graduate assistantship for teaching and research. Alyson plans to teach high school special education and eventually pursue a PhD in education or psychology.

Melissa Mayfield is a recent graduate from the University of North Carolina at Greensboro where she received her bachelor’s degree in Psychology. In addition to her studies, she worked as a research assistant in the RIGHT Track laboratory under the direction of Dr. Susan Keane. She aspires to continue her education by pursuing a law degree and becoming involved with legal policy research.

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Marie Rodriguez is a recent graduate of the University of North Carolina Wilmington where she obtained her BA degree in Psychology with a minor in Neuroscience. She is currently working as a neuropsychology technician for a private practice in Wilmington. She aspires to continue her education by pursuing a degree in clinical psychology.

Drake Smith is currently pursuing his MA in history at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro, and earned his BA in history from Campbell University in 2016. His primary interest lies in the study of the South, particularly from a cultural perspective, and his long-term goals are to earn his PhD, teach history at the college level, and foster a greater understanding of the South and its relationship with the rest of the United States.

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About the Faculty Mentors

Diya Abdo, PhD
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Wade G. Dudley, PhD
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Cynthia Edwards, PhD
enjoys diverse research interests and particularly enjoys working collaboratively with students in the development of research projects. Her research program is comprised of a series of cross-sequential longitudinal studies aimed at understanding the role of family and peer social support in mediating the stressors associated with adolescent and emergent adult life transitions. Edwards has served in a number of administrative posts, including as head of the Department of Psychology and Social Work. In this role, she has guided the development and launch of Meredith College’s new graduate program in industrial/organizational (I/O) psychology. Edwards holds a PhD in developmental psychology and an MA in psychology from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill and a BA in psychology from Wake Forest University. She has co-authored a reader in the history of psychology, published in Developmental Psychology, presents regularly at national and international conferences, and has mentored numerous students to national conference presentations and publications. Edwards reviews regularly for the Journal of Research on Adolescence and Social Development. She is a faculty mentor in the Duke University Preparing Future Faculty program, and a member of the faculty at the Center for Developmental Science at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

Susan P. Keane, PhD
serves as a professor of Clinical Psychology at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro and is the director of clinical training for the UNC-Greensboro Psychology Clinic. She received her doctoral degree in Clinical Psychology from Purdue University. Dr. Keane works closely with undergraduate students enrolled in independent research and since 1983, she has graduated over 40 PhD students who hold positions at universities, medical centers, and mental health agencies across the nation. She has more than 60 peer reviewed empirical publications and has presented her research
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Christina Reitz, PhD
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Jaclyn Stanke, PhD
is an Associate Professor of History at Campbell University. She graduated from Washington State University with BA degrees in Political Science and Russian Language and Literature. She earned her MA and PhD in History from Emory University in Atlanta. Her research interests are American foreign relations, the Cold War, and the Cold War in popular culture and memory.
Submission Process

Who is Eligible?
The primary author or authors must be undergraduates at a 2 or 4 year college or university in the state of North Carolina working on original research under the direction of a faculty mentor. Works may be co-authored. Students at North Carolina School of Science and Mathematics are also eligible.

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3. Proofread, proofread, proofread.

Submission Deadline for Volume XIII: To be announced.