

Fall/Winter 2024-2025

"Realism and idealism are the building blocks for many other political theories and ideologies, and they represent two very different political attitudes."

Ryan Cole, pg.14

"I wonder if you hear my language through caressing wind and foreign time" —Lilliana Lamanga, pg. 24

LIVE IDEAS: UNDERGRADUATE PRIMARY TEXTS JOURNAL

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Live Ideas: Undergraduate Primary Texts Journal is the open-access, peer-reviewed undergraduate journal of Kansas State University's Primary Texts Certificate program. It is co-produced by students and faculty at K-State and is published online quarterly (Oct., Dec., Feb., Apr.). Live Ideas was co-founded by Jakob Hanschu and Dr. Laurie Johnson in 2018 with the mission of providing a platform from which undergraduates could express their original ideas or add to the conversations of existing ideas in creative, unbounded and meaningful ways. It is a student-led adventure into thought-provoking and creative expression. The founding editors would like to firstly acknowledge Dr. Glenn Swogger and the Redbud Foundation he founded to support the liberal arts and sciences, without whose financial support the creation of this journal would not have been possible. Second, we would like to thank the numerous reviewers, contributors, and friends that helped us get this journal "off the ground."

—Jakob Hanschu & Laurie Johnson

VOLUME 6 NUMBER 1

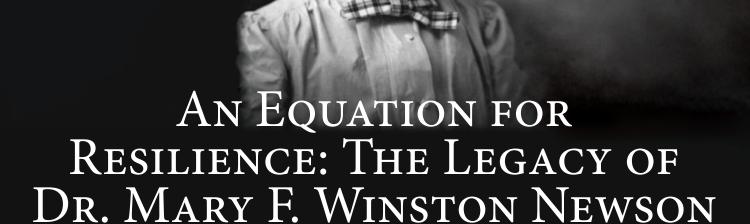


LIVE IDEAS

Fall 2024

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MEGHAN WARD

senior | history

Abstract

During the nineteenth century in America, the educational system was undergoing a gradual change and the same could be said for the changing structures of Kansas State University. Dr. Mary F. Winston Newson was a Kansas State University faculty member from 1897-1900. After being the first female American to receive a Ph.D. in mathematics from a European university (University of Göttingen, 1897), Dr. Winston was appointed as head of the Math Department at Kansas State University. Although her tenure there was short, her impact was great. However, her legacy as a female trailblazer of the nineteenth century has been forgotten and overshadowed for more than 120 years. The purpose of this project is to bring her story and legacy back to life again and reexamine her experiences as a female trailblazer in mathematics to glean out lessons that are still very much relevant in today's American society. Her story illustrates common struggles experienced by many American women during the nineteenth century who sought more for themselves than traditional gender role divides allowed. Difficult as it was for many women to transcend these gendered confines, Dr. Winston received assistance from many who recognized that her skills would be well-utilized within academia.

Before receiving her Ph.D. and becoming the head of the Mathematics Department at Kansas State Agricultural College (now Kansas State University), Mary Winston was known by family and close friends as May. Born in Forreston, Illinois, in 1869, May was the fourth child of Dr. Thomas Winston and Caroline Eliza Mumford. The first daughter of the family, she was doted on.

Caroline fostered May's endless search for knowledge. She and her six surviving siblings were homeschooled by Caroline, who aspired to provide her children with a well-rounded education and prepare them for college. Although their upbringing was considered humble, Dr. Winston and his wife carried on a philosophy to provide their children with a better childhood and future than they themselves had. It was this philosophy and continued hard work that would set May up for success and prepare her for college in the future.

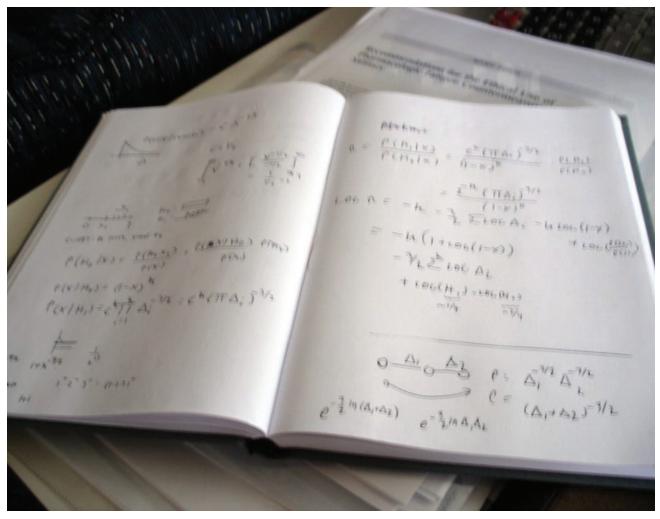
Though most of her education was done at home, May and three of her siblings were enrolled for a year in the local elementary school in 1879 after her mother had been offered a year-long position at the high school May wrote her eldest brother, Eddie, about her experience in Latin and arithmetic. Her Latin class was studying Caesar, but arithmetic was an entirely different story. "...in arithmetic we are f[l]ourishing miserably," she wrote to Eddie, explaining that the teacher's poor

instruction was attributed to the difficult textbook.

May's education at home seemed to be leaps and bounds above the local school system. At the time, she was teaching her three-year-old brother to read and was taking penmanship lessons from a visiting professor in town. Caroline wrote of May's progress in her own correspondence, "I hope she will profit from them but the improvement is hardly evident as of yet." However, May lacked enthusiasm for writing, favoring mathematics over all her other studies.

Later letters between the family seem to justify May's lack of enthusiasm for writing, though. In an apologetic letter to Eddie, May explained why he'd received more letters from her sister than from Mary herself. She wrote, "Gene and I are different girls. Gene likes to write and she likes to spell. I don't. I like Arithmetic and Algebra." In addition to her love for mathematics, May found teaching an agreeable task as she assisted her siblings in their education. Of teaching her younger brother, May wrote, "I promised him that if he learned six or more words before he is four years old, I would take him to visit the [public] school and buy him his first reader." In a cooperative educational environment at home, May was perhaps able to find a passion for teaching early on in life.

As Caroline continued schooling her children at home, the Winston fami-



ly's educational techniques began to garner a local reputation, their schoolroom at home being referred to as "The Academy." This reputation was accompanied by the local belief that each of Caroline's seven children would go on to earn at least two college degrees after studying at home with their mother. The Academy eventually would host other local students, eager to learn, and many, even more eager to prepare for college entrance exams.

Caroline's methods were certainly rigorous and continued with other children after her own were away at college.

May and her siblings studied at home with other local children and Caroline taught them Latin, in addition to the usual courses like arithmetic, pedagogy, geography, grammar, and history. Later, Caroline still searched for other ways to expand her children's' education, so the Winston Literary Society was established, the first meeting held in the spring of 1886.

The program for the society included an evening meeting held in the Academy room with contributions made by all students currently under Caroline's tutelage. Parents and family members of

many of the students listened to readings, recitations, original stories, and a debate. These exercises would vastly improve the students' comprehension and writing skills. Of the work, May commented, "This exercise has seemed to do us a great deal of good. Not only improving out comprehension but also out ability to judge of the authors. I know more about the style of those works we have read and written about than I would if I had read two or three of their books." Other popular readings studied by the Academy students came from authors such as Hawthorne, Longfellow, Macaulay, Joseph Addison, and Bayard Taylor. Although at times difficult, the analysis completed by pupils of the Academy served to increase their literary comprehension as well as writing and oratory skills.

Eventually, though, May outgrew her mother's school in preparation for college. This came in 1883 when Caroline received a list of books prescribed by the University of Wisconsin "for applicants to have read and understood." It was a transitional time for Caroline's home schoolroom, and she began assigning weekly essays to her older children, who would soon be attending college.

The beginning of Mary's college education began at the University of Wisconsin in Madison and continued at the University of Chicago. It was here, she would later claim, that she was "bitten by the German bug." Mary had made up her

mind about studying in Germany and her professors agreed that she should do so through Professor Felix Klein. So serious was the endeavor that one of Mary's instructors, Professor Heinrich Maschke wrote to Klein:

...She has...talent, thinks independently, and at any rate, is above average...Bolza and I hope to convince her...to go to Göttingen, and at the same time we are urging her not to go to Berlin in order to preserve her from becoming rigid. Now there is first of all the question, whether female students... will be admitted at Göttingen, or whether, if this is not the case, you believe that through your influence you could succeed in having an exception made in this case.

Mary would not interact with Klein, however, until the following year at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago. The university had organized an International Congress of Mathematicians to take place and it was Klein who gave the opening speech. By this time, Mary had already written to Göttingen for admission to the university.

Following a colloquium at Northwestern University in Evanston, Mary found her chance to personally speak with Klein about her admission to the university. Klein believed she would be admitted but did not want to be quoted as saying so. He suggested that if her application would be turned down by the Ministry of Education, she should go to Zurich or Leipzig instead. Mary also had assistance from fellow mathematician, Christine Ladd-Franklin, who had been struggling for women's rights to earn PhDs in the U.S. and Germany. When Christine heard that Mary had applied to Göttingen, she offered Mary \$500 for her expenses during her first year in Germany. Despite financial concerns and doubting her admission, Mary set sail for Germany in the fall of 1893.

Mary at Göttingen

Arriving in Germany, Mary was not the only female student in attendance at Göttingen. Grace Chisholm, also seeking admission in mathematics, as well as Margaret Maltby, hoping to study physics, became quick friends with Mary. Despite not being official students, Klein allowed Mary, Grace, and Margaret to attend lectures, explaining that they were to go to his private office before the regular time for changing classes to avoid meeting students in the halls. Mary would later recount their first attendance in Klein's lecture, saying, "We were a little amused at the close of the lecture when he [Klein] started to say 'die Herren' [the gentlemen] and corrected himself and said 'Mitglieder' [members]. He looked back at us and smiled."

Germany held many firsts for Mary as she was eventually expected to present a paper in seminary entitled "The

Connectivity Formulas of the Principal Branches of the P-Function". She wrote in a letter home of her anxieties, "...It is altogether a sufficiently difficult thing to write and read a paper in a strange language before such a gathering as Prof. Klein's Seminary before such a man as Prof. Klein without the added difficulty of being the first woman to do it in the University..." However, resilience and Klein were both on her side and the opportunities for success continued through Mary's first year in Germany.

Mary continued to study under Professor Klein and reviewed solutions to problems he posed to her. Of one of his comments, Mary wrote, "He says it is quite correct and says I ought to have it published." The encouragement from Klein was much needed. Mary's "Note on the Theory of the Hypergeometric Function" was published later that fall in the German mathematics journal, Mathematische Annalen. Setbacks were also common, however, as in March 1895, Mary wrote that while Professor Klein had been ill, she had completed three weeks' worth of work in another direction than he had anticipated which meant reworking the section again.

As her time in Germany progressed, Mary continued work on her thesis throughout the summer. Entitled "Über den Hermiteschen Fall der Laméschen Differentialgleichung" (Hermite's case of Lamé's differential equa-

tion), her work was sixty-three pages of discussion of various cases. She used different assumptions to "unfold the geometrical relationships inherent in the solutions of the equation." The real curves of thirty-two different cases were then graphed by hand, including graphs of the ground-level path of a gyroscope and of a spherical pendulum.

With her thesis completed by the end of December, Mary was ready for the oral examination given to determine the depth of knowledge gained in all disciples while studying at Göttingen. The exam was the determining factor for awarding degrees. Mary passed her exam with flying colors at the end of July 1896, but her dissertation had to be printed before her degree could be granted. Since the end of the summer was nearing, Professor Klein suggested she take her dissertation with her back to the U.S., and have it printed there while she searched for work.

Mary could not claim to be the recipient of a PhD upon returning to the U.S., which made finding work difficult. During her years in Germany, she had written home many times, writing about her hopes of finding a university appointment. Her family assisted her in the job search, looking for positions in Chicago, Stanford, and elsewhere, but the was no place for a woman who had earned a PhD from Göttingen.

Always optimistic and patient, Mary accepted a last resort position at St. Joseph High School in Missouri, teaching mathematics and German. With plans to have her dissertation printed, so her degree could be granted, Mary was dismayed to find that no printer in the U.S. could manage the German symbols in her thesis. Her dissertation was then sent back to Germany for printing, and her work was published in 1897, with her degree being finally granted on June 30, 1897. This came eleven months after she had passed her examination and eighteen months after she had finished her dissertation. Mary was finally Dr. Winston.

Following the award of her degree, Dr. Winston would relocate to Manhattan, Kansas, and serve as the first female head of the mathematics department at Kansas State Agricultural College (now Kansas State University). She was also KSAC's first female faculty member to hold a doctorate degree. Despite only remaining at KSAC until 1900, her influence was felt both within the accepting community of faculty and the diverse population of students. She was a popular figure for attendance at many university society gatherings, and, was on numerous occasions, asked to speak about her time in Germany. Her memories of her years abroad were always recounted fondly, but her use of those experiences to further educate students reveals a larger lesson. Not only did Mary's experiences reflect broad changes in gender equality during the nineteenth century, but they also



portrayed the changing structures with education.

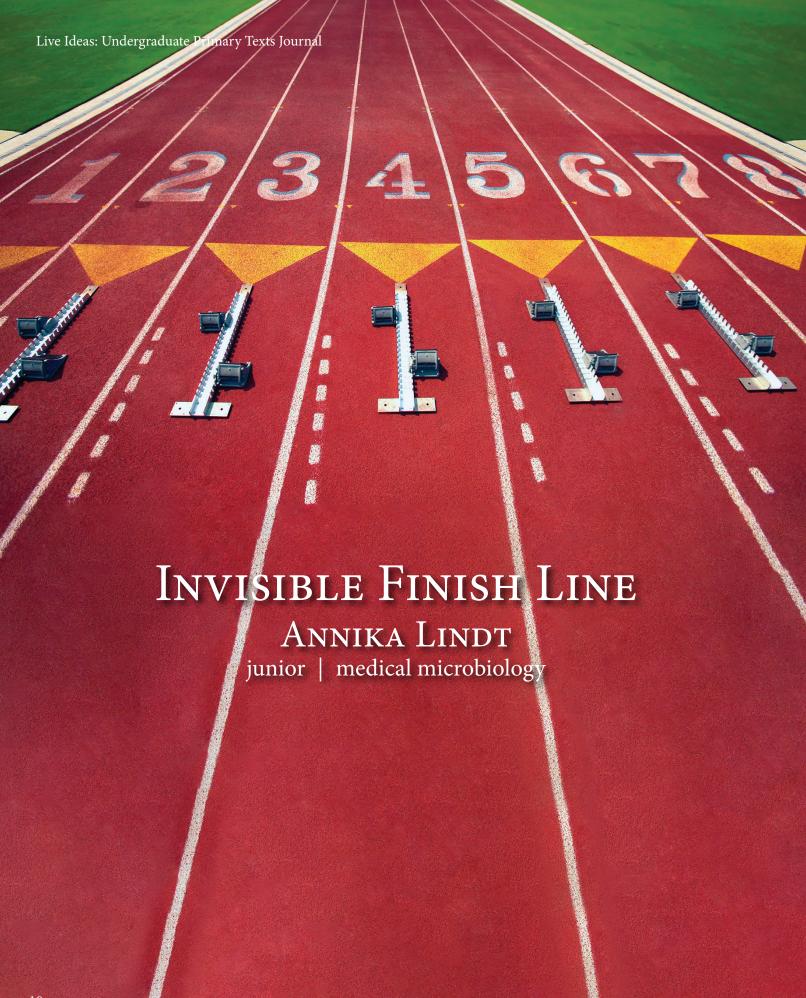
Upon her return from Germany, Mary was beginning her long fight for the equality of women in the academic profession, battling against the belief that women were not suited to positions as professors at institutions of higher education. This struggle, whether in academia or not, was one experienced by many women during the nineteenth century. Dr. Winston's story is a testament to those who had similar struggles that have now been lost to time.

References

Mary Frances Winston to family: typed transcripts, with biological forward and description of student days in Germany, 1893-1895. Mary Frances Winston papers, Sophia Smith Collection, SSC-MS-00213, Smith College Special Collections, Northampton, Massachusetts.

Courtesy "Mary F. Winston", Photograph Collection Vertical Files: People, Morse Department of Special Collections, Kansas State University Libraries.

Whitman, Betsey Sellner. A Woman
Ahead of Her Time: Mary Frances
Winston Newson. Middletown, Delaware: CreateSpace Independent
Publishing Platform, 2016.



3...2...1...

The race begins
The air is fresh, and my feet sturdy
across the ground
People are cheering
I'm already ahead

For a while I don't think
I just go
Conquering every turn or misstep
with ease
I've been so far ahead since the
beginning
That I have no fear of trailing behind

Suddenly the air thickens
The sun's rays start to become
unbearable
I can feel the blisters forming on my feet
My shoes are worn
But was I not given everything I
needed?

I have to keep going
I can feel the pain in my side growing more intense
Keep going
Sweat stars to drip down my forehead
Stinging my eyes
Go
I can no longer see

I can no longer see what is right in front of me
Only the perfectionist ideals that have been pounded further into me with each step
I'm so lost in my own head
I trip
My world comes crashing down

I am no longer the perfect child I have been made out to be.

Running is a mental game, But it reaches an extreme where it does become physical

Bruises on my legs From being shoved down by those supposed to build me up

The feeling of my own body being crushed into itself
Due to the immense weight
Placed on my shoulders

Scratches down my arms
Because I can't bear the pain of never
being good enough

I've realized I'm living in a world where perfection

Is the only thing to be proud of

That no matter how much I give, No matter how tirelessly I work How fast I run How many miles I overcome

The cheers will never be loud enough.

Somehow against everything in my body,
I keep crawling
Towards the invisible finish line
I'm so miserable
The pouring rain soaks my socks
Drenches my hair

I lay in in the puddles
Hoping to be washed away
How can I be proud of myself?
When nobody else is
Why would I continue a race
Without a finish line?

...

The rain feels nice on my face Calming the burning pain in my lungs I look over and notice, for the first time...

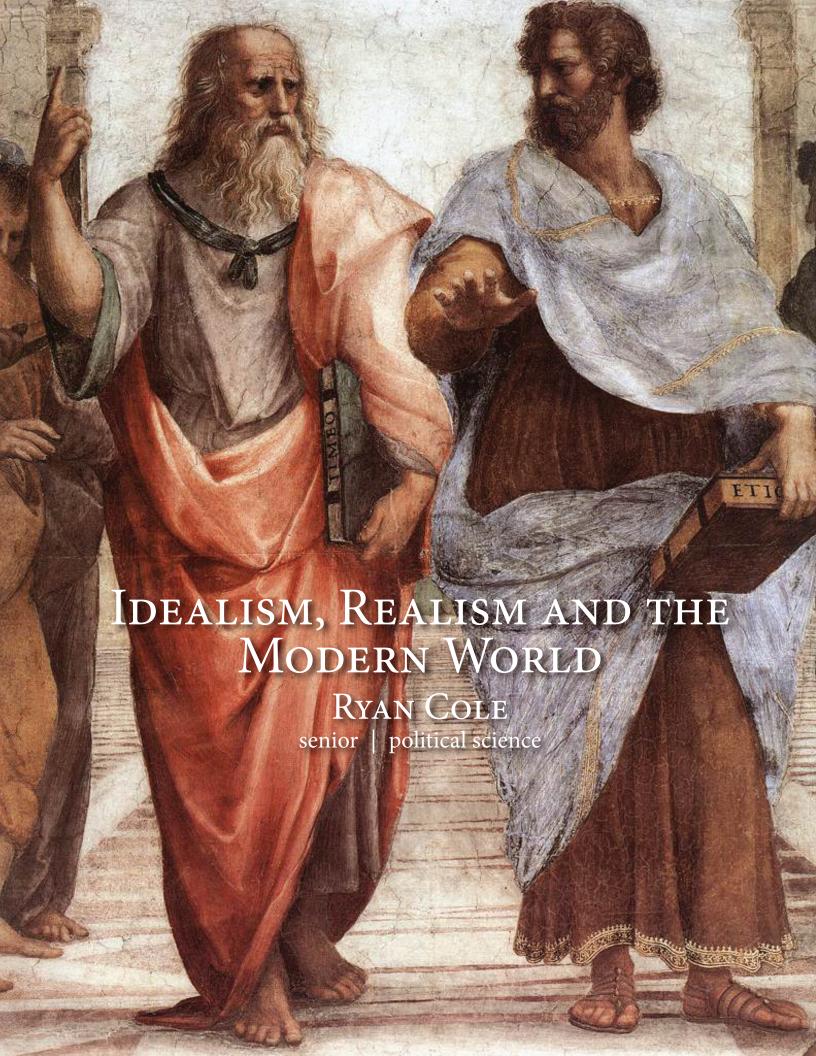
The trees
Their branches dancing in the wind

The flowers
Thanking the clouds for their gift

I always saw the rain as a bad thing, Turning the smooth path Into mud The clear mile markings Into a blur

Now the cheers have quieted And I notice the sweet birdsong Emerging from the forest

Maybe there is more to life Than just reaching the end Because what's the point Of running a race With an invisible finish line?



We live in an age of political instability. The global order that the last two generations have grown up in is in turmoil as threats both internal and external seek to undo democracy. The nations of the West have been shaken by the rise of political extremism. Many are looking for alternatives to our current way of life, and others seek reform to preserve democratic institutions. In this tumultuous age, many people ignore or forget the political ideologies that built the world that we live in, yet understanding them is more important now than it has ever been. Two of these schools of thought are realism and idealism. By analyzing the texts that have arisen out of these two schools, we may develop a better understanding of what we can do to address extremism. Despite originating from different political and philosophical backgrounds, each of the following works describe what kinds of societies would create the ideal political state. For a better understanding of which political ideology would serve the needs of the current world, we can start with realist works such as The Prince by Niccolo Machiavelli and Leviathan by Thomas Hobbes, and idealist works like *The Republic* by Plato and *The* Social Contract by Jean-Jacques Rousseau. Realism and idealism are the building blocks for many other political theories and ideologies, and they represent two very different political attitudes.

The art of war is all that is expected of a ruler...the first way to lose your state

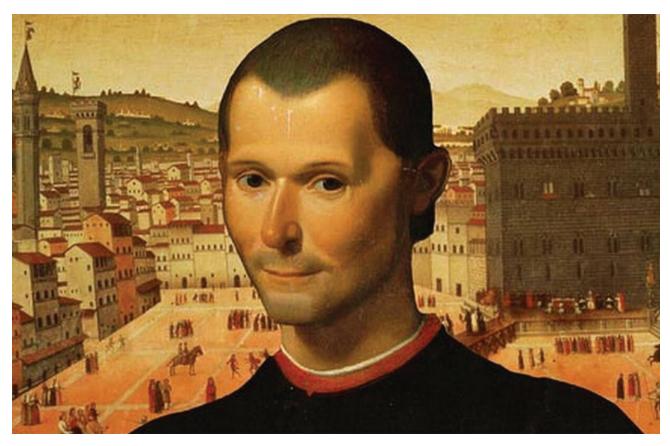
is to neglect the art of war; the first way to win a state is to be skilled in the art of war." (Machiavelli, 87).

One of the earliest seminal works of realist political philosophy is *The* Prince written by Niccolo Machiavelli and published in 1532. In it, Machiavelli describes the actions a ruler must take in order to rule effectively. Specifically, Machiavelli ascertains what qualities a ruler should have. His cardinal principle of a ruler is skill in the art of war. In Chapter 14, he states that "A prince, therefore, must have no other object, nor acquire skill in anything, except war, its organization and its discipline. The art of war is all that is expected of a ruler... the first way to lose your state is to neglect the art of war; the first way to win a state is to be skilled in the art of war." (Machiavelli, 87). In this sense, Machiavelli's prince is one who rules with an iron fist because the origin of all political power is force. Machiavelli then proceeds to refute idealism, arguing that "Many have dreamed up republics and principalities which have never in truth been known to exist; the gulf between how one should live and how one does live is so wide that a man who neglects what is actually done for what should be done learns the way to self-destruction rather than self-preservation....Therefore if a prince wants to maintain his rule he must learn how not to be virtuous, and to make use of this or not according to need." (Machiavelli, 91). Machiavelli argues that a prince cannot be dissuaded by criticism if he is doing whatever is necessary to preserve the state: "He must not flinch from being blamed for vices which are necessary for safeguarding the state. This is because, taking everything into account, he will find that some things that appear to be virtues will, if he practices them, ruin him, and some of the things that appear to be vices will bring him security and prosperity." (Machiavelli, 92).

Furthermore, Machiavelli argues that generosity will harm the prince's interests. It squanders a state's resources which forces a ruler to take drastic steps, leading the subjects to turn on him. Machiavelli argues for the contrary, that a prince should not be generous. "In time he will be recognized as being essentially a generous man, seeing that because of his parsimony his existing revenues are enough for him, he can defend himself against an aggressor, and he can embark on enterprises without burdening the people." (Machiavelli, 93). Again, one sees that the chief principle of a Machiavellian ruler is knowledge of the art of war. For Machiavelli, war is a tool for dealing with both foreign armies as well as internal enemies. Lastly, Machiavelli argues that a ruler should do whatever it takes to avoid being hated and despised."As long as he does not rob the great majority of their property or their honor, they remain content. He then has

to contend only with the ambition of a few" (Machiavelli, 102). By satisfying the basic needs of the common people, the Machiavellian ruler can focus on waging war against external enemies as well as internal enemies of which, Machiavelli believes there should only be a few, and easily be dealt with.

About a century after the publication of The Prince, another monumental work of realist political philosophy was written. In 1651, English political philosopher Thomas Hobbes wrote Leviathan. Hobbes, having witnessed the brutality of the English Civil War, wrote Leviathan to formulate an understanding of human nature and determine how a civilized society should prevent a repeat of the terrors of war. Hobbes' description of human nature utilizes the "state of nature" that many philosophers from this era used. The state of nature is the condition that human beings live before, or in the absence of, government. However, Hobbes' state of nature varies from those of other philosophers such as John Locke and Jean-Jacques Rousseau in that the Hobbes' view of natural freedom is chaos. Hobbes describes this anarchic state in Chapter 13: "Hereby it is manifest, that during the time men live without a common power to keep them all in awe, they are in a condition which is called war; and such a war, is of every man, against every man" (Hobbes, 186). Additionally, Hobbes further describes life in the state of nature



as "solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short" (Hobbes, 186).

Hobbes goes on to outline definitions of the Right of Nature and the Law of Nature. The Right of Nature, or Jus Naturale, is the liberty of each man to use their power for self-preservation according to their own judgment and reason. The Law of Nature, or Lex Naturalis, is a general rule determined by reason that forbids self-destruction. Hobbes points out the contradiction of these ideas in the state of nature, saying "Right, consisteth in liberty to do, or to forbear; whereas law determineth, and bindeth to to one of them: so that law, and right, differ as much, as obligation and liberty; which in one and the same manner are inconsistent. And because the condition of Man is a condition of war of everyone against everyone....It followeth, that in such a condition, every man has a right to everything; even to one another's body. And therefore, as long as this natural right of every man to everything endureth, there can be no security to any man" (Hobbes, 189-190). By this reasoning, Hobbes determines that human life may only be preserved in a centralized state under an absolutist sovereign.

Hobbes argues that the foundation of a commonwealth is to escape the state of nature and that it is in the vested interest of each person's self-interest for them to agree to an all-powerful commonwealth. Hobbes states, "The final cause, end, or

design of men, (who love liberty, and dominion over others,) in the introduction of that restraint upon themselves, (in which we see them live in commonwealths,) is the foresight of their own preservation, and of a more contented life thereby; that is to say, of getting themselves out from that miserable condition of war" (Hobbes, 223). To this end, Hobbes argues that for each person to live in peace and contentedness they must relinquish their rights of self-governance all into one supreme authority. "For by this authority, given him by every particular man in the commonwealth, he hath the use of so much power and strength conferred on him, that by terror thereof, he is enabled to form the wills of them all, to peace at home, and mutual aid against their enemies abroad" (Hobbes, 227-228). In this way, the society that he envisions sees an absolute sovereign holding the vested interests of the commonwealth in their mind and ruling with an iron fist in order to preserve order and peace at all costs.

"I say, therefore, that sovereignty, being only the exercise of the general will, can never alienate itself, and that the Sovereign, which is only a collective being, cannot be represented but by itself; the *power* may well be transmitted but not the *will*." (Rousseau, 23).

One of the earliest works of idealist political theory was *The Republic* written by Plato circa 375 BC. *The Republic* follows a dialogue among Socrates and sev-

eral other characters that explores various definitions of justice and theorizes what an ideal political state and society would look like. Many consider *The Republic* to be the first instance of utopianism in political philosophy because it explores what an ideal society would look like, and its influence can be seen throughout works of political philosophy to this day.

Book I of The Republic follows Socrates as he is invited to a dinner with three of his contemporaries. Here, Socrates and the other characters, Cephalus, Polemarchus and Thrasymachus, argue over the definition of justice. Cephalus argues that justice is to give to each what they are owed and to pay their debts. Socrates refutes this by arguing that this is sometimes just and sometimes unjust, stating that one would not return a weapon to a mad man, even if one technically "owed" him the weapon back. Polemarchus argues that justice is to do good to friends and bad to enemies, which Socrates counters by arguing that this definition of justice is subjective and useless. Most notable is the argument with Thrasymachus, who argues that justice is whatever is advantageous to the strongest. Socrates counters this by arguing that, since rulers are fallible, whatever bad decisions they make are disadvantageous to themselves. Through this, Socrates develops his idea of a just leader: "There isn't ever anyone who holds any position of rule, insofar as he is ruler, who considers or commands his own

advantage rather than that of what is ruled and of which he himself is the craftsman; and it is looking to this and what is advantageous and fitting for it that he says everything he says and does everything he does." (Plato, 20-21). In other words, for the ruler, justice is doing what is best for everyone at all times.

With his conception of justice defined, and seeking a better understanding of individual and social justice, Socrates later discusses what a just society would look like. This conceptual city starts out as "the city of utmost necessity," that is a city with only the bare necessities for survival: food, housing and clothing, with one person specializing in one job. Because of this, each person in the city must provide for the whole of the city as well as themselves. As more materials are needed to provide for the city, craftsmen, merchants, sailors and other trades are added to the city. However one of Socrates' contemporaries, Glaucon, becomes dissatisfied by the city due to the lack of luxuries and relishes. Socrates argues that in a luxurious city, as appetites will never be satisfied, the city will grow large enough to the point where it must expand through force and would need a standing army to defend it, advocating the creation of a warrior class which he refers to as guardians.

These guardians, the defenders of this ideal city, must be educated with stories of heroism and virtue, Socrates argues. The discussion over education in the city leads Socrates to determine the "soul" of the city, stating that "It doesn't look to me as though it's a sounds body that by its virtue makes the soul good, but the opposite: a good soul by its own virtue makes the body as good as it can be...... If we gave adequate care to the intellect and turned over to it the concern for the precise details about the body....would we be doing the right thing?" (Plato, 82). For these guardians to defend the city and not overthrow it as tyrants, Socrates must introduce the concept of a noble lie which will convince the guardians, rulers and citizens to protect the city and its inhabitants and to maintain justice and peace. He argues that it "would be good for making them care more for the city and one another." (Plato, 94). With the city established, it is agreed upon that the soul of the city will be "wise, courageous, moderate and just" (Plato, 105). These virtues upon which the city is founded must be both present in the soul of the city and the soul of the individual.

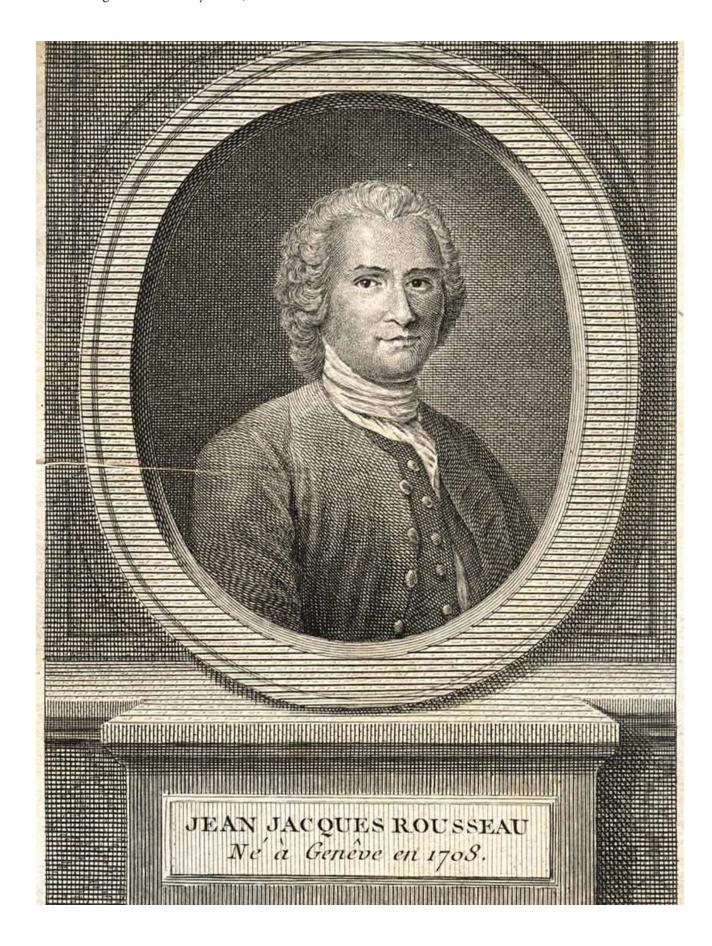
The Enlightenment saw a reinvigorated interest in idealism and what societies could preserve humanity's natural freedom and liberty. In 1755, Jean-Jacques Rousseau wrote the Discourse on Inequality, offering his own interpretation of the state of nature and the genealogy of social development and inequality. Contrary to Thomas Hobbes, Rousseau's state of nature saw human beings living free and equal. While Rousseau acknowledged the

inability to return to the state of nature, he offered an idea of how a civilized society could simultaneously safeguard natural freedom. In his 1762 work The Social Contract, Rousseau argues that no man has any natural authority over another, whether that be conquest or slavery. Obedience and authority is only legitimate on the basis of consent. Rousseau's social contract is his solution to what he sees as the chief difficulty of civilized society that is, in his words, "where shall we find a form of association which will defend and protect with the whole common force the person and and the property of each associate, and by which every person, while uniting himself with all, shall obey only himself and remain as free as before?" (Rousseau, 14-15).

In The Social Contract, Rousseau describes the sovereign as the essence of the social contract. Under this sovereign, the interest of the individual and the interest of the collective are one and the same: "As soon as this multitude is united in one body, you cannot offend one of its members without attacking the body; much less can you offend the body without incurring the resentment of all the members. Thus duty and interest equally oblige the two contracting parties to lend aid to each other; and the same men must endeavor to unite under this double character all the advantages which attend it" (Rousseau, 17). Rousseau distinguishes the civil state from the state of nature. He argues that through the social contract

and civil society, individuals trade their natural liberty, or the unlimited right to all they please, for civil liberty, or proprietorship of themselves and their possessions. Civil liberty is only limited by the general will which, being prescribed by the people themselves, does not restrict an individual's freedom.

Rousseau also argues that the general will, or sovereign, must be separate from the government. In fact, the government must be subordinate to the general will. Rousseau writes that "I say, therefore, that sovereignty, being only the exercise of the general will, can never alienate itself, and that the Sovereign, which is only a collective being, cannot be represented but by itself; the power may well be transmitted but not the will." (Rousseau, 23). Rousseau also distinguishes the general will from the will of all, the former regarding the common interest and the latter private interest. This distinction is important because it is the essence of the corruption of legislative bodies. "But when cabals and partial associations are formed at the expense of the grand association, the will of each such association, though general with regard to its members, is private with regard to the State: it can then be said no longer that there are as many voters as men, but only as many as there are associations." (Rousseau, 27). In this way, one can argue that political parties and factions are not representative of the people's will, but rather that of private interest.



While the general will is the supreme authority to which all political power is subordinate, Rousseau argues that this does not mean that democracy is the form of government best suited for the flourishing of liberty and equality. He argues "Taking the word 'democracy' in its strict sense, perhaps there never did, and never will, exist such a government. It is against the natural order that the greater number should govern, and the smaller number be governed. It cannot be imagined that the chief part of the people should be always assembled for the discharge of public affairs, and it is evident that commissioners cannot be appointed to govern without the form of administration changing." (Rousseau, 59). Rousseau instead argues that there are three types of aristocracies: natural, elective and hereditary. Elective aristocracy is the best and hereditary aristocracy is the worst. He argues that all people are magistrates in elective aristocracies and that it is a more meritocratic government where the wisest govern in accordance to the general will. On the contrary, he argues that hereditary aristocracies perpetuate the class divide between rich and poor and confines the number of magistrates in a society. While acknowledging the capabilities of benevolent monarchs, he argues that monarchy is the form of government most easily subject to private will because it is responsive and regulated all by the same individual. Rousseau argues that

"Kings are all desirous of being absolute, and they are told from all quarters that the most certain way of becoming so is to gain the affections of the people. This is a fine maxim, and even very true in some respects. Unfortunately, they will always laugh at it at court. The power which is derived from the attachment of the people is undoubtedly the greatest; but it is precarious, and conditional; princes will never be content with it." (Rousseau, 64). In summary, Rousseau's argument is that elective aristocracies constitute the form of government in which civil liberty and equality can best be preserved and are the least likely to be corrupted by private interest.

Through the analysis of these four texts, realism is revealed as a pragmatic, sometimes authoritarian ideology that advocates political stability at all costs beneath an iron fist, whereas idealism advocates the preservation of civil liberty and political stability through virtue and civic duty. With this in mind, idealism seems to be the preferable alternative for the modern world. In our society, the individual rights and liberties of each person are held in the highest regard. Realist ideology would see these cast aside in favor of authoritarianism to preserve the social order. Machiavelli and Hobbes both advocate for rulers who rule with absolute power and either do not care for or actively restrict individual freedom. While idealist philosophy may be considered

utopian and unrealistic by some, that does not mean we should ignore it. Idealism has fueled the drive for social progress, leading to an increase in civil rights and equality throughout history. While our society is not perfect, idealism will provide a basis for us to push for a better world.

However, social and political ideals do not survive on their own. The commitment to preserving and protecting these ideals has been ignored and taken for granted in our society. Our liberty can only be preserved with a commitment to the virtues and ideals present in works like these, whether that be the "adequate care to the intellect" and the virtues of the city in The Republic or the separation of private and common interest present in The Social Contract. It takes the commitment of everyone to the preservation of liberty and the common good for a free society to survive.

"From the errors of other nations, let us learn wisdom."

-Thomas Paine, Common Sense



RESURRECTION IN JUNE

LILLIANNA LAMAGNA

senior | english literature

and it's on this June dayscalding with light and air,
that I wonder if you hear my language
through caressing wind and
foreign time
I ask if you can feel our next life.
lavish thing
of ordinary thread.
a caught eye. holding my gaze
knowing me; making me alive.

and its on this June day
that I remember
how to laugh while being consumed
by flourishing flames. the perfect
resurrection. devotion
of being and undoing
like a kiss at the opening of dawn
(a taste within a dream)
which I'm told is only imagined unlike
the flowing turbulence in a star
scattered
night or the ecstasy of



a new word. human
is what you hunger for, that
thing unspoken. do you know
what I'm trying to tell you?
sacred is the burning touch
uncertain of the flame, as
the fear and the thirst and the thrill
of June passionately permits us
to forget that there was ever a day
before today. and will you know
what I mean

tomorrow, when I hear the heat of June and think only of your hands. will you balance the sun within my eyes and know what

I want to tell you



Undermining Public Health: Countering Religious Objections to Insurance Coverage for Pre-Exposure Prophylaxis

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The Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act (ACA) was achieved in 2010 under the Obama Administration, with the goal of expanding access to healthcare. Four years later, going into effect on January 1st, 2014, the United States began its expansion of Medicaid. Medicaid expansion was added to the Affordable Care Act as an additional effort to expand access to health care by making individuals in the United States under the age of 65 who live at or below the 138% Federal Poverty Level (FPL) eligible for Medicaid coverage. Medicaid expansion is not federally required; however, states can obtain federal funding should they choose to expand. As of today, there are forty states that have adopted the Medicaid expansion plan, eleven that have not, and one, South Dakota, that has adopted but is not yet implementing it ("Status of State Medicaid Expansion Decisions: Interactive Map | KFF" n.d.). With the goal of expanding access to health care, an array of preventive services became covered under the Affordable Care Act when it was enacted in 2010. Beginning in 2014, Section 4106 of the ACA denotes that the states adopting Medicaid expansion must cover preventive services recommended by the United States Preventive Services Task Force (USPSTF) that have received a grade of A or B ("A and B Recommendations | United States Preventive Services Taskforce" n.d.).

The USPSTF made a recommen-

dation in June of 2019 for the addition of Pre-Exposure Prophylaxis (PrEP) to be added to the Affordable Care Act, giving the recommendation a grade of A. PrEP is a medication taken by individuals who may be at risk of acquiring Human Immunodeficiency Virus or HIV ("A and B Recommendations | United States Preventive Services Taskforce" n.d.). There are currently two brand name medications that provide PrEP: Truvada and Descovy. Truvada is currently the only medication that can be taken by individuals with a vaginal canal and when taken accurately, either brand can lower the risk of acquiring HIV by up to 90% (Bond et al. 2022, 2). However, once the addition of PrEP was finalized in the Affordable Care Act on July 19, 2021, it faced almost immediate backlash (Keith n.d.).

On September 7th, 2022, District Judge Reed O'Connor ruled in favor of Braidwood Management in the case Braidwood Management v. Becerra, formally known as Kelly v. Becerra (Aubrey 2022). It was this court decision that sparked immense controversy regarding the impending removal of preventive services implemented into the ACA that came following the recommendation from the USPSTF (Stolberg 2022). PrEP provided through the Affordable Care Act should be upheld to best support those with any risk for acquiring HIV, and is not exclusive to those who are a part of the LGBTQ+ community. This paper

explores the reasoning behind what motivated the Braidwood plaintiffs to seek to remove preventive services, specifically PrEP. It also works to explore how PrEP can be beneficial for people outside of the LGBTQ+ community and should not be considered solely as a service to members of the LGBTQ+ community. It should be noted that the research for this paper was conducted prior to the decision made on March 30th, 2023, in which Judge Reed O'Connor of the U.S. District Court, Northern District of Texas court ruled that insurers are no longer required to cover such preventive services recommended by the USPSTF (Luhby 2023) (Aubrey 2022).

To dissect the impacts that PrEP as a preventive service in the ACA has had, and may still have, considerations of PrEP as a preventive service during Medicaid expansion is addressed. Due to PrEP's addition to the ACA in 2021, there is insufficient published data on the efficacy of PrEP in the ACA due to the distraction of SARS-CoV2, as well as the recency of the addition. Thus, the positive effects of Medicaid expansion help outline what the tenure of PrEP as a preventive service in the ACA could look like. When considering Medicaid expansion efficacy, information provided by Baugher in the article "Health Care Coverage and Pre Exposure Prophylaxis (PrEP) Use Among Men Who Have Sex with Men [MSM] Living in 22 US Cities With vs Without Medicaid expansion, 2017" provides a positive insight on a comparison of MSM's ability to access health care in Medicaid expansion states versus non-Medicaid expansion states. This study explores Medicaid expansion during a time when only 37 states had expanded Medicaid coverage and includes 13,852 people interviewed between the ages of 18 to 64 who reported that they had had sex with another male in the past twelve months. Baugher reports that of the people who were screened for this study 8,857 were included in the data. Not only are MSM in this study statistically less likely to have insurance as well as have a consistent relationship with their provider, information in this study is also included regarding co-pay. Baugher describes a national study that elaborates on the negative impacts of such costs.

- "[A] PrEP monthly copay of \$20 or more was associated with lower long-term adherence suggesting that no- or low-cost programs are needed for long-term PrEP use.

The government program Ready, Set, PrEP provides no-cost PrEP medication to qualified individuals without prescription drug coverage; however, it does not cover costs of required provider visits or laboratory tests, so some cost barriers may persist ((Baugher et al. 2021, 747)".

With the implementation of Medicaid expansion and thus the Affordable

Care Act, intense co-pays become less of a stressor for individuals who may benefit from taking PrEP. By keeping co-pays non-existent or low, more people can utilize PrEP, thus reaching the goal of the ACA, which is to expand health care to American citizens. By keeping co-pays down/non-existent and in turn raising the number of people on a PrEP medication, the long-term PrEP adherence will increase, decreasing the number of positive cases of HIV per year.

The article "Effect of Medicaid expansions on HIV Diagnoses and Pre-Exposure Prophylaxis Use" also explores the efficacy of Medicaid expansion as a method of working to lower HIV trans-

mission. Information for this study was found using data from the Kaiser Family Foundation (KFF) who published Medicaid expansion details regarding whether states have chosen to expand. At the time of this study thirty-five states had expanded. Using the Kaiser Family Foundation data and HIV prevalence trends during the time of Medicaid expansion, Farkhad concludes that through an increase in access to Medicaid, in all states that did expand Medicaid, HIV cases were lower while PrEP usage was higher. Further, it was found that Medicaid expansion also brought a .508 per 100,000 case increase in HIV diagnoses (13.9%). People are now able to be treated for HIV after



their diagnosis because they are in a state that expanded Medicaid (Fayaz Farkhad, Holtgrave, and Albarracín 2021, 6). The information provided by Farkhad worked to support that because PrEP usage was higher through Medicaid expansion and HIV diagnoses were higher during Medicaid expansion (which is attributed to individuals having access to providers), that should PrEP be kept in the Affordable Care Act, these trends would continue. Keeping PrEP in the ACA would enhance efforts to lower overall HIV transmission and allow those with HIV infections to seek diagnosis and care.

Within one year of the PrEP's addition to the ACA, backlash ensued. The case Braidwood Management versus Becerra began in July of 2022. Allison Aubrey describes in the National Public Radio article "Preventive Care Such as Birth Control, Anti-HIV Medicine Challenged in Texas Lawsuit" the efforts of the plaintiff John Kelley, an orthodontist from Tarrant County, Texas, who describes various complaints against preventive services covered under the Affordable Care Act. Kelley declares that he

- "has no desire to purchase health insurance that includes contraceptive coverage because his wife is past her childbearing years. He does not want or need health insurance that covers Truvada [for] PrEP drugs because neither he nor any of his family members is engaged in

behavior that transmits HIV, 'Mr. Kelley is also a Christian,' and is unwilling to purchase health insurance plans that subsidize certain types of contraception or PrEP drugs 'that encourage homosexual behavior and intravenous drug use" (Aubrey 2022).

Aubrey explains how the plaintiffs' complaint in this case argues that these preventive services are infringing upon the Religious Freedom Restoration Act. Braidwood Management v. Becerra was presented before Judge Reed O'Connor, of the U.S. District Court Northern District of Texas, who also ruled the Affordable Care Act in its entirety unconstitutional in 2018. Because of the decision, over 150 million Americans are at risk of losing preventive services that they, according to A. Mark Fendrick, a doctor who directs the University of Michigan Center for Value-Based Insurance Design, will not be able to access without the Affordable Care Act (Aubrey 2022).

The plaintiffs also argue that the way that those serving on the United States Preventive Services Task Force are appointed is unconstitutional due to it violating the Constition's Appointment Clause (Sobel et al. 2023). In "The Fresh Assault on Insurance Coverage Mandates," Mello and O'Connell describe the plaintiff's wanting the court to divert from requiring nationwide mandates.

They describe,

- "to avoid this outcome, Congress could require USPSTF members to undergo Senate confirmation hearings, a grueling prospect that could deter many prospective members. It is already challenging to identify distinguished academic scientists willing to provide more than 250 hours of uncompensated service annually. The government proposed that the secretary of health and human services could instead ratify the USPSTF's recommendations, but O'Connor rejected this solution. To save the coverage mandate, the government argued in its November 23 [rd] brief that the court should undercut the USPSTF's independence specifically, by severing (or lopping off) the ACA provision that the USPSTF 'shall be independent and, to the extent practicable, not subject to political pressure." (Mello and O'Connell 2023, 2)

Carol Mangione, a member of the USPSTF describes how, since the task force was created in 1984, it has only ever been based on, and with recommendations made based on, evidence. She describes that when making recommendations, research-based recommendations are deeply considered to determine "whether the use of a specific preventive service is likely to improve the length and

quality of a person's life without causing undue harm" (Nelson 2022, 105). The plaintiff's stance on the members of the USPSTF being appointed unconstitutionally is done with the intent to claim that all recommendations made by the USPSTF are unconstitutional.

While Medicaid expansion has proved that keeping PrEP as a preventive service in the ACA may benefit the long term of lowering HIV transmission, the Braidwood Management plaintiffs' requests are concerning when considering that religious exemptions may become more available to insurance purchasers and individual employees. It is described by Mello how the change in insurance policy would allow a person to make a deceitful claim to avoid having to be involved in an otherwise mandatory health service. This would allow for anyone with a bias against any group that they are not in support of to ultimately avoid paying for healthcare services that benefit these individuals. Mello exemplifies groups that may be at risk for this kind of insurance picking and choosing, describing specifically members of the LGBTQ+ community and unmarried pregnant people (Mello and O'Connell 2023, 2). Like with employers and employees having a larger decision when it comes to what services are being provided to whom, the changes to the Affordable Care Act would allow employers to have a greater say in the specific service that is being provided.

While the focus of this paper is on PrEP, it is clear that this becomes a larger issue than just access to PrEP. If people are able to have a larger capacity to dictate what is being covered for their employees, vaccines, and other preventive services that could be argued using the Religious Freedom Restoration Act would and will be at risk. Michael Thompson, CEO of the National Alliance of Healthcare Purchaser Coalitions describes that,

- "We'd push insurers to continue offering no-cost preventive services, but I can see some plans wanting to put up cost-sharing to make sure their premiums are more competitive," he says. "That would erode the progress we've made in making sure people have ready access to immunizations and other key preventive services." It could also complicate the ACA's risk-adjustment program, which transfers funds from plans with lower-risk enrollees to those with higher-risk members. That's because plans that keep a zero-cost policy for HIV prevention, diabetes screening and lung cancer screening for smokers may end up with a higher-risk population and be forced to add cost-sharing in order to survive" (Meyer 2022, 43).

The progress that has been made in the Affordable Care Act since its enactment in 2010 and Medicaid expansion in 2014 is at risk of being lost all together. The effects of additional cost-sharing for PrEP drugs has an intersectional impact as well. A. Mark Fendrick, who helped draft the ACA's preventive services coverage section, describes that Black, Indigenous, People of Color (BIPOC) who experience financial insecurity will experience the effects of these changes at a higher rate.

- "Of the 1.1 million people who could benefit from PrEP, 44% are Black and 25% are Hispanic, according to the CDC. Many also are low income. Before the PrEP coverage rule took effect, less than 15% of eligible Black and Hispanic people took advantage of it. 'This disproportionately impacts Black and Latino people,' comments Carl Schmid, MBA, executive director of the HIV + Hepatitis Policy Institute, who also noted the importance of the ACA's no-cost coverage of tests for hepatitis and sexually transmitted infections. 'If first-dollar coverage went away, people wouldn't pick up the drug. That would be extremely damaging for our efforts to end HIV and hepatitis" (Meyer 2022, 44)

Young black women (YBW) are at an increased risk for becoming HIV positive not only because of racial inequalities but also due to disparities in HIV incidence rates and other sexually transmitted disease incidence rates. Depending on socioeconomic status, different resources may be available to assist in the prevention of acquiring HIV. The lower the economic status however, the less likely it is for social, financial, or medical resources to be available for young black women (Caldwell and Mathews, 2015, p. 2). The article "Using an Intersectional Framework to Understand the Challenges of Adopting Pre-Exposure Prophylaxis (PrEP) Among Young Adult Black Women" written by Bond expands the understanding that PrEP is not only used to "encourage homosexual behavior" as Plaintiff Kelley states (Aubrey 2022). Bond's research specifically focuses on YBW with male partner's, directly opposing plaintiff Kelley's statement that PrEP usage encourages "homosexual behavior". Bond indicates that there are around 1.1 million people living at risk of becoming HIV positive, which in turn would make them good contenders for taking PrEP. However, only 11.2% of the people taking PrEP are black, showing that action needs to be taken to provide access to people of color. 468,000 of the 1.1 million are women. Truvada is currently the only PrEP medication that can be taken by people with a vaginal canal, so there become limitations to access from the beginning in terms of young black women's (YBW) access to PrEP. The study done by Bond was conducted using the "LOVE" (Learning Options Through Video) method, "is a

mixed method study focused on exploring factors that facilitate and impede YBW's interest in oral PrEP and investigate the feasibility of using a brief eHealth intervention to increase awareness and motivation for PrEP" (Bond et al. 2022, 3-4).

The results of the study determined that none of the twenty-six participants had ever taken PrEP or PEP (Post-Exposure Prophylaxis). Many of the women in this study shared the common concern about costs. This is a notable consideration because if PrEP is not going to be covered by the Affordable Care Act, it will cost around \$2,000 per every 30 days supply without insurance coverage. Bond denotes that there are six general themes: lack of information and knowledge and medical mistrust in the sociocultural environmental network; HIV stigma and fear of main partner rejection in the social normative network; and maintenance and long-term effects on reproductive health in the intrapersonal network (Bond 2022, 7). This article allows for an understanding of how PrEP is not only a beneficiary of those in the LGBTQ+ community. The argument that plaintiff Kelley makes against these services is that he does not wish to endorse insurance plans to support the LGBTQ+ community. However, evidence provided by Bond shows that PrEP does not solely benefit the LGBTQ+ community and through an intersectional lens it can be understood that while YBW may also be a part of the LGBTQ+ community, some

may not, however all can benefit from PrEP usage. An additional point to consider is that the partners that YBW have may include MSM. Thus, exposure to HIV may come through this interaction.

One of the people from the Bond study states that she would use PrEP, however, the cost is a large factor. This is something that many of the women in the study share as a concern. She says that

- "I would ask the doctor to make sure that insurance covers it because I know my parents wouldn't be willing to spend x amount of money on something that costs thousands of dollars. So, if it was reasonably priced or no payment, then I would probably consider taking it" (Bond 2022 et al, 8).

Ensuring access through the ACA assures that most people have access to these services. Other concerns that these women share include the lack of marketing towards women, as well as a social stigma around taking PrEP as a preventive service. By Plaintiff Kelley being able to have a platform to claim that "he is a Christian" and does not support medication that "encourages homosexual behavior" allows for an explanation for why when a medication supports more than only the LGBTQ+ community, folks are uncomfortable taking it (Aubrey 2022).

The case Braidwood Management v. Becerra (formally known as Kelley v. Bec-

erra) presented before Judge Reed O'Connor in the late summer of 2022 paved the way for preventive services to be revoked from communities for whom they serve the most. Americans living above the 138% FPL in non-Medicaid expansion states reaped the benefits that services recommended by the United States Preventive Services Task Force for approximately one year prior to the plaintiff's complaints leading to Braidwood Management v. Becerra. Based on evidence from the Medicaid expansion era, continuing to support the preventive service of Pre-Exposure Prophylaxis in the Affordable Care Act will not only support the LGBTQ+ community, but also other communities beyond Plaintiff Kelley's argument that these services are in opposition to the Religious Freedom Restoration Act. Information provided by Baugher, Farkhad, and Meyer works to support that the tenure of PrEP as a preventive service will not only serve those at risk of acquiring HIV from sex, but also those who may be at risk due to socioeconomic inequalities including access to resources supporting the ability to prevent acquiring HIV. Using an intersectional framework, it is seen that the stance that Plaintiff Kelley takes against PrEP in the Affordable Care Act is an inaccurate representation of the actual usage, and the entire extent and benefit should be considered when exploring Pre-Exposure Prophylaxis as a preventive health care service.



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