

Life In Steel:

How is the Duality of the Material and the Immaterial Presented in
Mitch Epstein's 'American Power'?

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1. Introduction

In this work, I aim to present that the duality of the Material and the Immaterial is present in images presented in the series “*American Power*” by Mitch Epstein. The ancient philosophical question of how the immaterial nature of the mind and the material nature of the body relate to each other resonates through abstractions and artwork from ancient Greece to the modern age and beyond. In this essay, I hope to present a small example of this question in philosophy through the contemporary photographer, Mitch Epstein’s work. Specifically *American Power*, a series of documentarian photographs of American industry and culture. Using this influential example of artistic photography, I hope to create parallels with ancient beliefs of Eastern and Western philosophy and to bring the question to the forefront of the post-industrial information age.

Mitch Epstein is regarded as one of the most important industrialist photographers working today and allowed an international audience to catch a glimpse into the challenges of ecological disaster, industrial over-expansion, population displacement, and border security in the United States. He has also produced work that presents cultures from all over the globe with a focus on social culture within cities and their relationship with nature and wildlife.

This essay is not an attempt to contribute to the collective understanding of Dualism but rather a celebration of Mitch Epstein’s success and talent as a photographer and to provide further insight into the depth and value of his series *American Power*.

2. Mitch Epstein's 'American Power'?

“American Power examines how energy is produced and used in the American landscape, and how energy influences American lives. Made on forays to production sites and their environs, these pictures question the power of nature, government, corporations, and mass consumption—as well as the power of looking—in the United States.”

- Mitch Epstein (Epstein, 2009)

“I began to make pictures of the production and consumption of energy in the United States. I wanted to photograph the relationship between American society and the American landscape, and energy was the lynchpin ... For the next five years, I travelled the country making photographs at or near energy production sites: coal, oil, natural gas, nuclear, hydroelectric, fuel cell, wind, and solar.”

- Mitch Epstein (Tate 2009)

Mitch Epstein, born in 1952 in Holyoke, Massachusetts, is an American documentarian photographer who has worked to present American industry and culture through works such as *Family Business* (2003) and *American Power* (2011). Both these series have been printed and published as books to be sold internationally.

Epstein's *American Power* shone a bright light on the realities of environmental tragedy, such as Hurricane Katrina in his work *Biloxi, Mississippi 2005* (Epstein, 2005) (Figure 1) and the environmental

influences of power infrastructure development on the lives of Americans and the space they live in (O'Hagan, 2011).



Figure 1 - Biloxi, Mississippi 2005 (Epstein, 2005)

American Power was developed by Epstein over 5 years from 2003 to 2008 (Tate, 2011b) and presents American culture in stark contrast to American power infrastructure. This, being the primary focus of the work, acts as a conduit for a much deeper and more nuanced reality to appear. A reality that is filled

with hardship and hope, necessity and play, and the subtle formalities of life as a modern American. As described by Epstein his work presents the “community, power, nature, and politics” that surround the encroaching growth of industrial society (Tate, 2011b).



Figure 2 - Amos Coal Power Plant, Raymond City, West Virginia 2004 (Epstein, 2004a)

With the focus on American power infrastructure, many types of power generation feature in the work. The most prominent being the Amos Coal Power Plant based in West Virginia, which remains a

controversial solution for generating electrical power in the area. It has been functioning since 1971 and has been revised multiple times since 2002 to reduce its carcinogenic emissions, especially sulfur dioxide. The Amos Plant has faced repeated litigation for its sulfuric acid emissions in 2008 and 2009 and has been attributed to a considerable number of deaths, heart attacks, asthma attacks, and chronic bronchitis within the local area (Global Energy Monitor, 2023) (Associated Press, 2021). This marks the site to be one of the more harmful coal-based electricity generation plants in North America (Storow, 2022).

The site's controversy is usually based on its safety and geological influence on the personal lives of individuals who are in proximity to the now notorious method of creating electricity (Union of Concerned Scientists, 2017). The visual influence these large-scale plants have on an environment is presented clearly in *American Power*. The cooling towers appear as a looming and possibly sinister feature in playful contexts, as seen in Figure 3.



Figure 3 - Poca High School and Amos Coal Power Plant, West Virginia 2004 (Epstein, 2004b)



Figure 4 - Winfield, West Virginia, USA (Google Maps, 2023)

On January the 25th 2008, a “blue haze” was reported by residents of Kanawha Valley. The haze was reported to smell like chlorine and became trapped under a thermal inversion in the cloud base. The haze remained over the local area and spurred a Department of Environmental Protection (DEP) response. A DEP investigation reported no faults within the plant and a report released in May determined that the strange weather conditions turned the sulfuric acid emissions into an aerosol which created a smoky blue look (DEP West Virginia, 2009). The DEP determined the cause of the “blue haze” was the installation of selective catalytic reduction units (SCRs) to control and reduce their nitrogen oxide emissions. Sulfur dioxide emission, which can become sulfuric acid, is one of the byproducts of SCRs (Global Energy Monitor, 2023).

When considering the influence of a power station in a pragmatic manner, it is important to note the actual purpose of a site of this size. Amos Coal Power Plant powers on average supplies 3000 megawatts of power to over 2 million homes and industries (Desk, 2023).



Figure 5 - Chalmette Oil Refinery, New Orleans Louisiana II 2007 (Epstein, 2007b)

The contexts of *American Power* vary from each work as does the year the images were taken. The contexts can usually be identified by considering what the focus of the image is. The fact that this question cannot be answered immediately is at the core of Epstein's work. Each photograph is a question as to what are you looking at. Each work is about a balance between two conflicting or harmonising ideas. Usually, the balance is between life and industry with a blurry definitive line between the two. Sometimes this line is very literal in the form of a fence or horizon line.



Figure 6 - BP Carson Refinery, California 2007 (Epstein, 2007a)

Photographed in 2007, Epstein captured the Marathon Carson oil refinery with its famous USA flag adorned on its north-facing side. The Carson Refinery is a cornerstone of industry and economic life in Carson California. It employs approximately 2000 people and has been running since 1924 which was 44 years before the city of Carson was established (Shell US, 2023). Built to support manufacturing

efforts before and during the Second World War, the site became a population centre as its output began to increase in scale.

On the 25th of February 2020 at 11 p.m., the Marathon refinery exploded into a large fire that burned for over 18 hours. No deaths or injuries were reported but the resulting fumes were of serious concern (Flores, 2020).

Despite the USA's historic reliance on coal power, there has been an emergence of "clean power" solutions since the start of the 21st century. Wind Turbines have appeared as a popular choice and have appeared throughout Northern America. Epstein presents the Blairsburg wind farm in rural Iowa through Figure 7.



Figure 7 - Century Wind Project, Blairsburg, Iowa 2008 (Epstein, 2008a)

Blairsburg is a very rural area, which is in stark contrast to the population-dense areas Epstein previously photographed. The population density is in correlation to the type of power infrastructure being photographed. Wind farms require flat-open planes to function effectively. They also do not introduce the demand for an extensive and omnipresent workforce, unlike the Amos and Carson sites.

In this photograph, a harmony is being presented. Unlike Figures 2, 3, and 5, there appears no clear divide between the elements of the landscape. A continuous green plane covers the image with the wind turbines being an element of the background while the focus is primarily on the centre of the small town.



Figure 8 - Iowa 80 Truckstop, Walcott, Iowa 2008 (Epstein, 2008b)

Figure 8 shows a small part of the “Iowa 80” truck stop found on Iowa 80 Road. It is considered the largest truck stop in the world with 8 restaurants, a museum, dentists, chiropractors, a gym, and a movie theatre. It hosts music events, and festivals and has become an important part of trucking culture in the North East of the USA. There is a conflicting duality to a service station of this size. It provides the services required of a truck stop yet facilitates a culture built from a utility, so much so that the formed culture is of its own utility and attracts those who don't necessarily need the transport and commercial services Iowa 80 would have initially been built to provide. This is a form of symbiotic growth with human life. This is described through the portraits adorning the walls above a sea of truck parts, required for the transporting industry to continue functioning.



Figure 9 - Iowa 80 Truck Stop (Iowa 80 Group, 2009a)



Figure 10 - Iowa 80 Truck Stop (Iowa 80 Group, 2009b)

3. The Duality of the Material and the Immaterial.

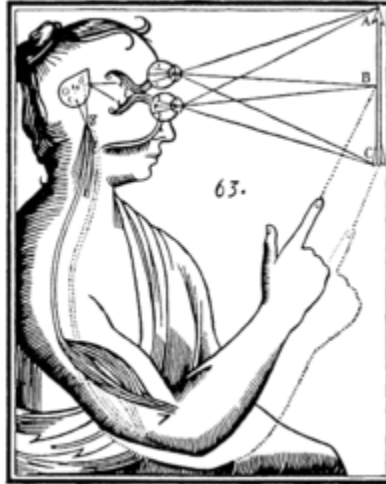


Figure 11 - René Descartes's illustration of dualism. Inputs are passed on by the sensory organs to the epiphysis in the brain and from there to the immaterial spirit. (Descartes, 1662)

The duality of the material and the immaterial has been a topic of debate for centuries and is still regarded as an important topic of debate in contemporary philosophy today (Harré, 2001). The debate is based upon the idea that there is or isn't a definitive difference between that which is physical and ethereal. Examples of the physical or material would be objects with tangible and measurable mass that exist irrespective of consciousness (Cosmo Intel, 2020). The material, or the ethereal, are the principles and phenomena that exist within reality that lack a physical source and typically reside from/within consciousness. Questions arise from where the material becomes immaterial and vice versa.

The debate can be framed in terms of the mind and body. Humans exist within both the material, with our bodies, and an immaterial plane that can almost function without influence on the physical reality.

Imagination is a key example of the ethereal reality. The fact that we can conceive of anything at all beyond our immediate physical surroundings is evidence of a presence within and beyond physical reality. As described in Descartes' famous phrase "Cogito, ergo sum" (I think, therefore I am) (Descartes, 2011, pp.19–20). Descartes describes the certainty of mental immateriality as distinct from the uncertainty of the material world. He suggested the mind/soul is immaterial and the body is separate and mechanical.

The primary reason this concept is still up for debate is that within the conversation lies a contradiction. The mind-body problem famously presents the question: "How does the immaterial mind interact with the material body?" (Armstrong, 2015). Consciousness is considered immaterial yet can only emerge through the physical function of the biological systems of the brain. Descartes suggests the pineal gland is to blame but to identify the source of consciousness as totally physical implies that consciousness is physical too (Lokhorst and Kaitaro, 2001) (Nagel, Ulrich Diehl and Philipp Reclam Jun. Gmbh & Co, 2016, pp.435–450). Yet how do we accommodate concepts and phenomena such as memory, imagination, and transcendental beliefs?

Attempts to tackle the questions have been made as early as the 17th century. The most famous likely being the Taoist "Yin and Yang" which depicts a circle split in half by an oscillating line. One-half black, the other white. In each half is a circle of the opposing colour. This image has been used to describe many different related subjects, including love/hate, chaos/order, male/female, life/death, mind/body, and material/immaterial (Shan, 2020) (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2019). The symbol has influenced many aspects of Eastern philosophy and acts as a holistic framework for the complexities of the world and how opposing forces can be interconnected and complementary rather than conflicting.



Figure 12 - (Ying Yang, 2021)

Yin and Yang, through its high levels of abstraction, has become a deeply subjective symbol duality, as suggested by its many interpretations.

“It is only those who practice philosophy in the right way, we say, who always most want to free the soul; and this release and separation of the soul from the body is the preoccupation of the philosophers? So it appears. Therefore, as I said at the beginning, it would be ridiculous for a man to train himself in life to live in a state as close to death as possible, and then to resent it when it comes? Ridiculous, of course.” (Plato, 1951)

As presented in *Phaedo*, Plato believed that the soul was immortal and never reliant on the body, yet the immaterial soul was imprisoned within the body and the pursuit of knowledge or death was the only way to set it free. The philosophical inquiry needed to free the soul was based on a process of observation of the non-physical via our innate knowledge and practises. Our intuition, void of desire could lead us into a position where our minds would no longer be reliant on the mortal, imperfect physicality of our bodies.

Plato believed that beauty and visual aesthetics were a feature of the immaterial mind and existed beyond the material world. Aesthetic beauty is merely reflected by the material world and isn't present unless the immaterial mind is there to observe it (Plato, Gill and Lee, 2005).

This presents an interesting distinction within the duality of the mind and body: subjectivity and objectivity. Subjectivity does not exist in material form (Ned Joel Block, Flanagan and Güven Güzeldere, 1997). For something to occupy physical space, it cannot have ambiguous, changing, and undefined attributes. Its structure must obey the laws of physics and nature for it to be present. This is the defining element of objectivity. Subjectivity, on the other hand, is defined by its inability to be defined (Kant, 1951). Our minds process the objective through our senses and don't always produce the same results (Priselac, 2017). Its processes are complex and leave room for vast amounts of variation between 'souls'. This is a fundamental element for the existence of the sublime. The foundation of beauty is defined by the perception of it (Dimitrov, Maymone and Kroumpouzou, 2023). It is the perception that is beautiful, not the material. In terms of visual artwork, the artwork itself is merely a set of law-abiding physical attributes, the perception and interpretation of it is where its true form exists.

**4. How is the Duality of the Material and the Immaterial Presented in Mitch Epstein's
'American Power'?**

4a) Figure 3 - Poca High School and Amos Coal Power Plant

In each of the selected works, there is the presence of life in some form. Either plant life or human life. In the flesh or through a visual depiction such as a flag or portrait. This has been presented alongside a very material example of industry and its influence on the environment at the moment. Figure 3 for example, shows the cooling towers emitting smoke, and likely doing so for the production of electricity. This is contrasted heavily by the players and their in-moment immersion in the game of American football.

A *game* is a collective rule-bound interaction that is typically understood by multiple people in the same context (Binmore, 1994). It is a figment of collective imagination and does not exist outside of the minds of those who are playing or observing. A *game* has no inherently physical presence. The infrastructure to facilitate the game, a stadium for example, is a physical object but cannot be understood as the game itself. It cannot be seen and is immaterial. For the players and fans, a game is real. It isn't just felt emotionally, but also affects real-life, material decisions; the construction of a stadium for example. The notion of a *game* is that of triviality and non-essential utility. American football, despite its large economic value and large-scale national infrastructure, is played for passion and entertainment. Its influences are theoretically bound to the pitch. This is what separates the game of American football being played and the reality of the power plant behind it.

Industrial power generation is an essential part of modern life in the United States (US EPA, 2022). The Amos Plant serves no aesthetic or entertainment purpose. It doesn't produce stories or narratives. It generates electricity as required by the plant's customers, which would be hospitals, schools, shops, homes, industries, and further infrastructure in West Virginia. Its presence and function are non-trivial and many people and industries rely on its constant output. This fact, despite its numerous cases of ecological damage, continues to exist, run, be maintained, and expanded upon (Haynes, 2006). Its primary purpose is to generate, store, and transport electric potential energy; an entirely material practice unlike a game of American football, whose purpose is to produce a narrative or experience, where the physical is a conduit for those to be made.

Mitch Epstein has chosen to present this dichotomy very carefully. A division through the middle separates the people from the source of power. One under a wash of golden light and full of life, one blue, towering and imposing. Yet both contrasting elements are present in the same scene and the division isn't total. It is present but part of a larger landscape that encapsulates both people and the power station. One cannot exist without the other, yet they both remain fundamentally different and separated within the image. This could be described using the Yin Yang relationship described in Figure 12. Where the whole is made up of two opposing/complimentary parts. Each part is equal in influence but definitively separate. Yet the whole cannot be without the existence of both sides. Each side has a part of the other within it, thus forcing a connection from one side to the other. The game of American football cannot be played without the electricity generated by the industrial infrastructure the Amos plant is linked to. The society that the players live within is reliant on the material and objective practicality of the power infrastructure looming behind their game. This is of course a generalisation of the nuances of the relationship a population has with its infrastructure since there are elements of a

power plant that are positive and negative to each person. One who works at the plant would find it more vital than those who use the electricity it generates but are negatively affected by the fumes. Because of this, in *American Power*, there isn't necessarily an answer to what the relationship between the material and immaterial is. This is in line with the philosophical debate as to what exactly is the relationship between the material and the immaterial in the human mind and body. In *American Power*, we simply see that muddy dichotomy at play through visual media rather than written text.

4b) Figure 5 - Chalmette Oil Refinery, New Orleans Louisiana II 2007

In Figure 5, the same relationship is presented, just in a significantly less-even manner. The trees dominate the scene, taking up over 70% of the image. Yet all that the trees do is frame and direct the viewer to identify an element of the background. The primary source of warmth in the image. The Chalmette Oil Refinery's representation is very similar to the Amos Plant, just less prominent. The difference here is we begin to see the relationship described above but with plant life as the partner to the industrial elements. There is an apparent conflict of materials in the image. Cold and green for the plant life and then a sudden change into warm industrial complexity in the centre. Although the image presents as if there isn't an immediate boundary between the two elements.

We know that this isn't necessarily the case since the reality of industrial development typically has a negative influence on the wild and plant life in the surrounding area and, on a grander scale, in terms of climate change. A lot of natural woodland has to be destroyed and wildlife displaced for power plants to be made and there is a risk of further damage to the local ecosystems from the emissions.

The material purpose of the plant is less present in this image. This is because the plant doesn't have a direct, positive influence on the natural life that surrounds it. There isn't a lot in the image that suggests the relationship between the plant and the surrounding nature is either harmonious or conflicting.

The immaterial has little presence in this image. With no humans or subjective culture within the scene, there lacks any ethereal elements. Yet this brings into question the spiritual significance of our relationship with nature and how we confine it to serve our industrial requirements.

4c) Figure 6 - BP Carson Refinery, California 2007

The most significant element in this image is the USA flag within the direct centre. This is the primary focus of the image and its placement renders the industrial pipework to be mere complexity void of relevant detail. The flag dominates with a message of identity. Identity is something that is a collective figment of imagined reality (Jeffrey Andrew Barash, 2020). The USA is an immaterial idea, the flag an arrangement of colours, yet so powerful that it can dominate an almost entirely industrial landscape.

In this image, we see the dichotomy between the material and the immaterial in a paradoxical harmony. The material practicality of the industrial plant is decorated with the collective narrative of identity, belief, and nationalism.

Like that of the game discussed in Figure 3, nationalism follows a very similar structure (Anderson, 1983). It can only exist and function as if it exists if the collective population agrees and believes in its existence. It has a material presence in the form of the USA land mass and physical borders, but this is arbitrary in a practical manner but very carefully selected politically. Politics is theoretically the logic of

the collective mind. The decisions of imagined laws are theoretically made through the game of political debate, a process of rules that are defined and respected by all players. This isn't naturally the case in real day-to-day life in any country, let alone the USA. Democracy is an imagined structure of morals that, without it, collective understanding wouldn't exist. Many do not believe in or play by the rules and this is a topic that Mitch Epstein has expressed through his work *Property Rights* (Epstein, 2017).

4d) Figure 8 - Iowa 80 Truckstop, Walcott, Iowa 2008

In Figure 8, we see the most prominent divide in an image so far. The photograph is split horizontally approximately through the middle, defining two complete and diverse spaces within the photograph. The upper half is framed by a band of orange while the lower half is a sea of neatly arranged parts and components, presented for sale. There is a dizzying number of objects and the angular presentation only makes them more difficult to define. There are no people in the scene other than photographs taken of patrons of the Iowa 80 Truck Stop placed evenly along the orange wall.

The two sections of the image can be described as 'life' and 'utility'. The individuals in each portrait present a family-focused insight into the important private industry of long-haul goods transportation. These vehicles are usually privately owned by the driver and are offered delivery contracts which make the industry an example of a profession that is culturally associated with the 'American Dream' (Jones, 2022) (Kilcarr, 2016). The 'American Dream' is a belief that through hard work and private enterprise, an individual of any background and economic status can attain private land and a home, to raise a nuclear family (Brueggemann, 2010).

The large array of products for sale causes the image to appear complex and visually out of reach. This is very similar to Andreas Gursky's 99-Cent-II-Diptychon (Figure 13).



Figure 13 - Andreas Gursky, 99-Cent-II-Diptychon (Gursky, 2001)

Gursky aimed to present a side of American capitalism through maximalist photography and was able to portray the nauseating effects of choice paralysis through the above photograph (Photography Talk, 2017). Epstein has shown the same but the similar sprawling array of products is calmed by Iowa 80's inclusion of its patron's portraits.

The fact that the Iowa 80 truckstop decided to present portraits above its rows of utilitarian parts shows an awareness of an immaterial presence within their establishment and the trucking industry as a whole.

The American Dream is an immaterial principle and acts as a collective goal for many Americans.

Heralded as a purpose to pursue individual capital enterprise, the truckers' families are held as guiding principles, transcendent to the realities of the mechanical failure of a truck. This is presented in the portraits being above the shop floor. As if they were stained glass murals of saints in a traditional church.

These two elements describe a duality of purpose and process. A goal and its journey. An immaterial goal and its material path to it. The goal projected upon the path to provide a direction.

5. Conclusion

Mitch Epstein has presented a vivid and colourful look into the lives of modern Americans and found the duality of being within them. With this insight, it is possible to begin to see this balance in most things we do, as the Yin and Yang symbol suggests. The balance between the immaterial and the material is something that can be perceived in each photograph, but it is worth considering that all the insights I have presented regarding Epstein's work could be a matter of personal interpretation.

As we step further into the age of technical acceleration and rapidly decreasing transistor size, our ability to grasp the reality of how our society and industries function practically is becoming more like imagination instead of physical observation. The internet, in contrast to power infrastructure, serves a novel purpose in a society that has become more vital than resources such as oil and electricity - even though the internet requires electricity - The internet facilitates connections despite physicality. The power of cultural communication that transcends physicality is that it facilitates a greater relevance of that which is beyond the physical. A concept that has been at the core of ancient and now modern philosophy. So artist that present the industries we use is becoming more and more vital as industry become less visible and more influential in our lives. Because of this decreasing visibility, we may have to look at artists whose practice is far from material. It may sound contradictory, but immaterial art, inspired by the material, can provide a real and meaningful perspective on how technology and industry affect us on a humanitarian level. Mere photographs are not enough, it is the interpretation and the eyes they are viewed through that are of value.

6. Afterword

I have found this exploration deeply rewarding in terms of my practice. As an industrialist photographer, I have found Mitch Epstein's work very influential, and delving deeper into the symbolism of his most famous work has helped me seek the meaning and influence of photographs I have previously taken as well as projects I intend to do in the future.

When listening to interviews with Mitch Epstein, he makes a clear distinction between "taking a photograph" and "making a photograph". This made me realise that he approaches his work with considerable intentionality. I am unsure of how much planning goes into his work but since all the photos I have shared of his appear as static and carefully framed pieces, I imagine he carefully considers the scenes beforehand. Most of my photography is usually taken opportunistically. I prefer this since it seems to allow me to capture moments with a spontaneous authenticity. This leaves little in terms of abstract symbolism and Epstein's *American Power* has shown me that I should be more careful and considered when approaching a subject to photograph.

7. Illustrations and Images

Figure 11 - Descartes , R. (1662). 'Mind–Body Dualism.' - Rene Descartes. [Etching] 'Treatise of Man' . Available at: https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/3/35/Descartes_mind_and_body.gif [Accessed 8 Nov. 2023].

Figure 2 - Epstein, M. (2004a). *Amos Coal Power Plant, Raymond City, West Virginia 2004*. [Digital Photograph] *American Power Photo Series*. Available at: <https://mitchepstein.net/american-power> [Accessed 2 Nov. 2023].

Figure 3 - Epstein, M. (2004b). *Poca High School and Amos Coal Power Plant, West Virginia 2004*. [Digital Photograph] *American Power Photo Series*. Available at: <https://mitchepstein.net/american-power> [Accessed 2 Nov. 2023].

Figure 1 - Epstein, M. (2005). *Biloxi, Mississippi 2005*. [Digital Photograph] *American Power Photo Series*. Available at: <https://mitchepstein.net/american-power> [Accessed 2 Nov. 2023].

Figure 6 - Epstein, M. (2007a). *BP Carson Refinery, California 2007*. [Digital Photograph] *American Power Photo Series*. Available at: <https://mitchepstein.net/american-power> [Accessed 2 Nov. 2023].

Figure 5 - Epstein, M. (2007b). *Chalmette Oil Refinery, New Orleans Louisiana II 2007*. [Digital Photograph] *American Power Photo Series*. Available at: <https://mitchepstein.net/american-power> [Accessed 2 Nov. 2023].

Figure 7 - Epstein, M. (2008a). *Century Wind Project, Blairsburg, Iowa 2008*. [Digital Photograph] *American Power Photo Series*. Available at: <https://mitchepstein.net/american-power> [Accessed 2 Nov. 2023].

Figure 8 - Epstein, M. (2008b). *Iowa 80 Truckstop, Walcott, Iowa 2008*. [Digital Photograph] *American Power Photo Series*. Available at: <https://mitchepstein.net/american-power> [Accessed 2 Nov. 2023].

Figure 4 - Google Maps (2023). *Winfield, West Virginia, USA*. Available at: <https://www.google.com/maps/place/John+Amos+Powerplant/@38.4676144,-81.8290074,4081m/data=!3m1!1e3!4m6!3m5!1s0x8848c99c537dc883:0xf662a9588e8b3d2d!8m2!3d38.472216!4d-81.8265792!1>

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Figure 9 - Iowa 80 Group (2009a). *About Iowa 80 | Iowa 80 Truckstop*. [online] iowatruckstop. Available at: <https://iowa80truckstop.com/about-iowa-80/> [Accessed 6 Nov. 2023].

Figure 10 - Iowa 80 Group (2009b). *About Iowa 80 | Iowa 80 Truckstop*. [online] iowatruckstop. Available at: <https://iowa80truckstop.com/about-iowa-80/> [Accessed 6 Nov. 2023].

Figure 12 - Ying Yang (2021). *Ying Yang (Public Domain) No Original Authorship*. [SVG File] *Wiki Commons*. Available at: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Yin_and_Yang_symbol.svg [Accessed 10 Nov. 2023].

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